

1 Initial declines in China' provincial energy consumption 2 and their drivers

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13 Introduction

14 The years from 2003 to 2016 chronicle China's three distinct periods, characterized
15 by fast economic expansion from 2003 to 2007, the fall and recovery of the economy
16 under the strike of global financial crisis from 2007 to 2011, and the strategic
17 adjustment from 2011 to 2016 known as "China's new normal" period (a slowdown of
18 economic growth to around 7%) aimed at "low but high-quality growth". In the wake
19 of this economic cycle, China's energy consumption was also in a state of flux. From
20 2003 to 2007, China's gross domestic product (GDP) and total primary energy
21 consumption grew by 11.68% and 12.96% per year, respectively.¹ Struck by the
22 financial crisis, the growth of GDP and energy consumption slowed down to 10.68%
23 and 6.20%, respectively, from 2007 to 2011. As China entered the "new normal"
24 period in 2011, the economy grew at an annual rate of 7.68%, and the growth of
25 energy consumption eased to 3.2% per year till 2016. It can be observed that the
26 energy elasticity (the percentage change in energy consumption to achieve one per
27 cent change in national GDP)² in China had decreased continuously from 2003 to
28 2016. Starting at a level of 1.11 from 2003 to 2007, the energy elasticity dropped to
29 0.58 from 2007 to 2011, followed by an even lower value of 0.42 from 2011 to 2016.
30 China seems to be on a path towards more energy-efficient growth.

31 The reduction in the growth of energy consumption is even more prominent at the
32 provincial level. Eight of the provinces saw declines in their total primary
33 consumption (including coal, petroleum, natural gas and non-fossil fuels) from 2011
34 to 2016. In addition, the other six provinces decreased their combined consumption
35 of coal and petroleum, although their total primary consumption slightly increased. In
36 other words, nearly half of China's 30 inland provinces have made positive
37 transitions in their energy consumption. It is important to understand the drivers
38 behind such transitions and the possibility to sustain them.

39 There is an extensive body of literature on driver analysis of China's energy
40 consumption at the national level and, to a lesser extent, at the provincial level. At
41 the national level, these studies cover a wide time span from 1970 to 2015 but are
42 generally inconsistent in the number of decomposed factors, time lag and sectors of
43 interest.^{3,4} Such inconsistencies make it hard to compare the results from different
44 studies. At the provincial level, many of the studies focus on energy-related carbon
45 dioxide (CO₂) emissions⁵, energy intensity⁶ and CO₂ emission intensity.⁷ The
46 studies missed the declines in energy consumption of some provinces due to the
47 grouping of provinces or lack of sub-period analysis. For example, some studies only
48 targeted the start and end years (e.g., 2000 to 2015, or 2005 to 2010), which
49 obscured the emerging trend in between these periods. Other studies grouped the
50 provinces by their spatial locations or types of drivers for ease of discussion. In a
51 previous study, for instance, provinces were grouped into eastern, central and
52 western regions and energy-related CO₂ emissions for central regions have levelled
53 off since 2011.⁸ Among these provinces, it is highly likely that some of their
54 emissions had already declined. It is unfortunate that the trend was smoothed and
55 overlooked.

56 In this commentary, we study the changes in energy drivers for the provinces with
57 observed declines in their primary energy consumption and discuss how their drivers
58 are different from the others. The logarithmic mean divisia index decomposition
59 analysis was combined with cumulative sum test to study socioeconomic factors
60 driving the declines and the possibility for such trends to be sustained. Energy and
61 socioeconomic data is collected from China's provincial statistical yearbooks (More

62 in Supporting Information-Method and Data). This study highlights the opportunity
63 for structural declines in terms of energy consumption at the provincial level in China.

64 **Negative forces playing catch-up**

65 Despite the variations in absolute contributions, the extensive body of literature
66 agree that economic growth is always the predominant driver of increased energy
67 consumption, while energy intensity is the most significant factor of decreased
68 energy consumption in China.³⁻⁸ Nevertheless, the decreasing effect of energy
69 intensity on energy consumption is hardly close to the increasing effect of economic
70 growth. This phenomenon is observed in previous studies as well as in the analysis
71 before 2011 in this work. However, changes began to occur during the period from
72 2011 to 2016. In eight provinces, the decreasing effect of energy intensity exceeded
73 or approximated the increasing effect of economic growth ('catch-up' of energy
74 intensity). In six of these provinces, energy intensity alone offset all the increased
75 consumption triggered by the economy (Figure 1A). Collectively, the decrease in
76 energy intensity in six provinces, i.e., Fujian, Chongqing, Jilin, Henan, Hubei and
77 Yunnan, led to a decrease of 473 million tonnes of coal equivalent (Mtce),
78 surpassing the increase caused by economic growth (419 Mtce). For the other two
79 provinces, i.e., Hebei and Shanghai, the decrease from energy intensity
80 compensated 95% and 73% of the increased consumption led by economic growth,
81 respectively (Figure 1B). Detailed decomposition results by province can be found in
82 Supporting Information-Table S2.

83 Moreover, new drivers that decrease consumption are emerging. One driver is the
84 share of coal. All the eight provinces with declined consumption are found to have
85 decreasing consumption triggered by a decreased share of coal in the energy mix
86 (Grey in Figure 1A). In Hubei, Shanghai, Fujian and Yunnan, the decreasing effect
87 from the share of coal was particularly significant, which offset 27%, 21%, 21% and
88 16% of the increase from economic growth, respectively. Such decreases reflect the
89 rapid expansion in wind and solar energies happening within China.⁹ The other
90 driver is the change of industrial structure. With the exceptions of Chongqing,
91 Yunnan and Hubei, industrial structure is a driver that decreases consumption
92 featured by a reduced share of heavy industries (Dark blue in Figure 1B).

93 In a deeper sense, the catch-up might be attributed to either the slowdown in
94 economic growth or the significant reduction in energy intensity (or both). Indeed,
95 both drivers contribute, but the effect of the energy intensity is more dominant.
96 Economic growth was responsible for 283, 386 and 419 Mtce growth in energy
97 consumption for the eight provinces every five years from 2003 to 2011 and six
98 years from 2011 to 2016. The driving effect from the economy kept growing but at a
99 slower pace. Meanwhile, the decrease from energy intensity was dominant. Within
100 the same time frame, energy intensity had led to decreases in energy consumption
101 of 42, 209, and 473 Mtce. In the most recent six years from 2011 to 2016, the
102 decreasing effect from energy intensity alone (473 Mtce) was able to offset all the
103 increasing effect of economic growth on energy consumption (419 Mtce)– not to
104 mention the additional decreases by the share of coal and the change of industrial
105 structure. It can be concluded that the catch-up is more attributable to the
106 enhancement of drivers that reduce consumption rather than the slowdown of the
107 economy.

108 Six provinces are found to have reduced consumption of coal and petroleum,
109 although their total primary consumption slightly increased. These provinces are
110 Beijing, Tianjin, Guangdong, Liaoning, Zhejiang and Hunan (Figure 1D). Their
111 energy drives are very similar to those discussed above, in which the decreasing
112 effects of energy intensity, share of coal and industrial structure change exceeded or
113 approximated the increasing effects of economic growth on energy consumption.
114 The main difference, however, is the effect of the share of cleaner fuels including
115 natural gas and non-fossil fuels. While the shares coal and petroleum decrease in
116 the energy mix, the shares of natural gas and non-fossil fuels increased significantly
117 and neutralized the reduction effects of energy intensity and other decreasing drivers
118 (Figure 1C). Take Zhejiang as an example, the decreasing effects of energy
119 intensity, share of coal and industrial structure surpassed the increasing effect of
120 economic growth on energy consumption by 7% from 2011 to 2016. However, the
121 increase by share of natural gas and non-fossil fuels, meanwhile, was equal to 10%
122 of the increment led by economic growth. Although the total energy consumption is
123 still increasing slightly, we consider the changes in these provinces to be successful
124 transitions given the ‘cleaner’ nature of natural gas and non-fossil fuels in their
125 climate and air pollution impacts.

126 **Structural declines or not**

127 The observed declines in consumption are encouraging, but it is important to know
128 the possibility of sustaining such trends. If there is a structural break in the
129 consumption pattern, the nascent decline is likely to last and can be interpreted as a
130 'structural decline'.³ Here, an econometric (cumulative sum) test was used to
131 identify structural break points in provincial energy consumptions from 2003 to 2016.

132 For the 14 provinces analysed above, unfortunately, only two of them (Shanghai and
133 Hubei) have structural breaking points during the period from 2011 to 2016. This
134 finding suggests that the strong decreasing forces featured by energy intensity and,
135 to a lesser extent, by the change of industrial structure and share of coal, are likely to
136 be sustained. Regarding the other provinces, the changes in their energy drivers are
137 not structurally significant.

138 **Future reduction pathways**

139 The non-structural changes indicate two potential reduction pathways. One path is
140 to sustain the strong decreasing effect mainly from energy intensity. It might be
141 applicable to Hebei, Liaoning, Jilin, Henan, Hubei and Yunnan, whose energy
142 intensities are still high (3.0~5.8 tce/10⁴ \$USD in 2016). The other is to complement
143 energy intensity with new decreasing drivers. It better suits the other eight
144 provinces, which have achieved relatively low levels of energy intensity. Their
145 energy intensities were reduced by 34% from 2011 to 2016, whereas the average
146 rate for the other provinces was 24%. By 2016, the energy intensities of these eight
147 provinces were among the lowest in China and were even comparable to that of the
148 United States, although their per capita GDP were only 20~30% that of the United
149 States. A prominent example is Beijing. With a per capita GDP at 30% that of the
150 United States, the energy intensity in Beijing by 2016 was 7% lower than that of the
151 United States. To maintain decreasing drivers neck to neck with economic growth,
152 the decreasing effects from energy mix and, to a lesser extent, from industrial
153 structure, should be exploited.

154 The above suggestion is also due to the observation that energy intensity reduction
155 seems to be a low-hanging fruit achievable even by less developed provinces.

156 Although new drivers that decrease consumption, i.e., share of coal and industrial
157 structure, are emerging, a thorough review of the energy drivers from 2003 to 2016
158 in Chinese provinces shows that energy intensity was always the first driver of
159 reduction that developed and applicable to provinces in various development states.
160 Figure 2 illustrates the evolution of energy drivers for a province with an initial
161 decline in consumption (e.g., Chongqing in A) and for provinces with growing
162 consumption (e.g., Shaanxi in B and Inner Mongolia in C). Figure 2A shows how the
163 decreasing effect of energy intensity emerged in Chongqing and quickly intensified to
164 a magnitude comparable to that of economic growth, accompanied by the
165 emergences of new drivers such as share of coal. Shaanxi and Inner Mongolia also
166 reflect the enhancement of energy intensity but at a much slower rate. The effects
167 from industrial structure change and share of coal were minor or even increasing. In
168 addition, a reduction in energy intensity did not severely compromise economic
169 growth. Provinces with increasing consumption were able to reduce their energy
170 intensity by 7% while maintaining an 8% GDP annual growth from 2011 to 2016. As
171 the Energy Supply and Consumption Revolution Strategy (2016-2030) (hereinafter
172 as the Strategy) ¹⁰ was launched in 2016, China will further reduce its energy
173 intensity by 15% from 2015 to 2020. Such a reduction is less than the 23% achieved
174 from 2011 to 2015, indicating that energy intensity might not be as strong of a
175 decreasing driver as it was in the past. Further reduction in energy intensity should
176 be mainly achieved by less developed provinces with growing consumption.

177 Part of high energy intensities of less developed provinces are attributed to their
178 locations in the upstream of supply chain as energy suppliers and heavy industrial
179 goods producers.¹¹ For example, approximately 34% of the electricity produced in
180 Inner Mongolia were sent out to other provinces in 2016. The less developed
181 provinces will benefit from demand-side adjustments and decoupling from energy in
182 developed provinces. Nevertheless, local technological improvements might be
183 more practical in the short term and benefit the greener growth of China as a whole.
184 A dynamic market for energy-saving technologies has been developed in China with
185 5800 energy service companies and energy performance contracts worth of 15
186 billion USD.¹² As a way to apportion the responsibility, subsidies from other
187 downstream provinces with greater ability to pay might be considered to fasten
188 technological improvement in these supporting provinces.

189 The Strategy also targets the share of cleaner fuels (natural gas and non-fossil fuels)
190 and production overcapacities. By 2030, the share of cleaner fuels should reach
191 35%, doubling the level in 2016. The share of coal and petroleum, in other words,
192 will be capped at 65%. The decreasing effects from share of coal and petroleum
193 could be greatly enhanced.¹³ This is especially true for the provinces with declined
194 consumption, whose reduction potentials from energy intensity are depleting. Their
195 greater ability to pay and pressure on pollution alleviation also urge the transition.
196 Phasing-out overcapacities is also highlighted in the Strategy, targeting inefficient
197 capacities in coal mines, iron and steel, and cement industries. The decreasing
198 effect of industrial structure might emerge in those energy-supplying provinces and
199 heavy industrial hubs, such as Heilongjiang, whose share of heavy industries
200 decreased from 23.9% in 2011 to 17.3% in 2016. The decreasing effect of industrial
201 structure change on energy consumption (25 Mtce) even exceeded that of energy
202 intensity (9 Mtce) from 2011 to 2016.

203 The total energy consumption of China will be capped as 5000 Mtce and 6000 Mtce
204 by 2020 and 2030, respectively. The annual growth, as a result, must be no higher
205 than 1.8%, comparable to the growth from 2011 to 2016 (1.7% annually). To
206 achieve such a low growing rate, energy consumption of some provinces need to be
207 reduced, or at least, plateaued. China should endeavour to secure the initial
208 declines observed in some of its provinces and foster energy efficiency improvement
209 and industrial reconstruction for more energy-efficient growth in the less developed
210 provinces.

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255 **FIGURE LEGENDS**

256 **Figure 1 Key Negative Drivers Leading to Reduced Consumption**

257 Drivers of reduced consumption, mainly from energy intensity, have caught up with
258 the drivers that increase consumption and led to reduced total energy consumption
259 in (A) Hubei, (B) Hebei and other provinces (provinces in dark green in D). Similar
260 patterns are observed in (C) Beijing and in the other five provinces (provinces in light
261 green in D), which were able to reduce their combined consumption of coal and
262 petroleum.

263 **Figure 2 Evolutions of Energy Drivers in Different Provinces**

264 Often a prevailing driver of decreased energy consumption, the impact of energy
265 intensity is intensified across provinces with reduced consumption (e.g., Chongqing
266 in A) as well as those with increased consumption (e.g., Shaanxi in B and Inner
267 Mongolia in C). However, the process is faster in the former ones, accompanied by
268 the emergences of new drivers that reduce consumption such as industrial structure
269 change and share of coal.