Vol. 1, Issue 1, Mar - Apr 2026
ISSN: XXXX-XXXX

International Journal of Sustainable Agriculture, Society and Energy Studies (IJSASES)
Published by AGSIR Publisher

Received: 15 Mar 2026 | Accepted: 04 Apr 2026 | Published: 10 Apr 2026

The Growth-Emissions Paradox: Assessing the Offset of Climate Mitigation by Economic Expansion in Ethiopia

Belay Sitotaw Goshu

Department of Physics, Dire Dawa University, Dire Dawa, Ethiopia

Abstract

Ethiopia's climate mitigation initiatives from 2010 to 2023, under the Climate Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) framework, demonstrate a dual strategy of renewable energy expansion and afforestation, achieving modest offsets amid 8.4% average annual GDP growth. Total mitigation amounted to 34,006 tCO_2, with renewables contributing 49.3%, driven by hydropower surging to 85% of electricity generation by 2022, phasing out 95% of fossil fuels, and afforestation accounting for 50.7%, via 3,450 kHa planted and 25.6% forest cover increase, sequestering 500 tCO_2 annually. However, a -3.4 kHa/year afforestation slope and low overall impact (2% of national emissions) highlight scalability challenges. Sectoral greenhouse gas emissions rose 196% to 770 $ktCO_2e$, with agriculture's share declining from 77% to 32%, overtaken by industry (39%) and transport (26%). Growth was propelled by transport activity (46.2% contribution, feature importance 0.176) and industrial GDP (38.1%, 0.129), while energy's -7.1% offset underscores renewable efficacy. Intensity halved across sectors, yielding absolute decoupling in agriculture (0.9 indexes) and industry (0.8), though transport recoupled sharply. Decoupling analysis confirms 100% relative decoupling over 13 years, with emissions growth (4.0%) lagging GDP, driving a -41.3% intensity reduction (-15.948 tCO_2/Million USD/year). Periodically, 2010-2015 achieved -26.1% intensity drops foundational to CRGE, while 2016-2023 sustained -17.7% amid 39.8% emissions rise, averting 117,426 $ktCO_2$ (4.2% effectiveness). Net effects balanced 184.0% GDP expansion with 67.6% offsets, closing a 0.36 efficiency gap. These findings affirm Ethiopia's positive low-carbon trajectory, economic decoupling, balanced mitigation drivers, positioning it as an African exemplar. Yet, vulnerabilities like drought exposure, urbanization pressures, and equity gaps necessitate accelerated reforms for NDC-aligned reductions and net-zero by 2050.

Keywords: Ethiopia, climate mitigation, renewable energy, afforestation, emissions decoupling

1. Introduction

1.1. The Global Paradox of Growth and Mitigation

The international community's efforts to confront the climate crisis, culminating in the landmark 2015 Paris Agreement, are increasingly shadowed by a formidable paradox. Despite unprecedented global deployment of renewable energy and a proliferation of climate policies, anthropogenic carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions continue to reach record highs (IPCC, 2022). This dissonance is largely driven by the relentless engine of global economic growth. The Jevons Paradox, a concept from ecological economics, posits that gains in technological efficiency can paradoxically lead to increased consumption of a resource by lowering its effective cost (Polimeni et al., 2008). At a macro level, this manifests as the "throughput problem," where the sheer scale of economic activity, the production and consumption of goods and services, outpaces the marginal gains achieved through energy efficiency and cleaner technology (Victor, 2019). Consequently, for many nations, the pursuit of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth remains intrinsically coupled with rising energy demand and resource use, creating a fundamental tension between developmental aspirations and planetary boundaries.

The Paris Agreement, aiming to limit global warming to well below 2°C, ideally to 1.5°C, requires nations to submit Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) outlining their mitigation pathways. However, the aggregate ambition of current NDCs remains insufficient, placing the world on a trajectory toward approximately 2.5°C of warming by 2100 (UNEP, 2023). This ambition gap is widened by the fact that economic growth, particularly in rapidly industrializing nations, acts as a countervailing force, eroding the relative gains of climate action. The central challenge of the 21st century, therefore, is to achieve absolute decoupling—where economic growth occurs alongside an absolute reduction in environmental impact—a feat that has thus far proven elusive at the global scale.

1.2. Ethiopia's Unique Position: A Climate-Ambitious Nation at a Crossroads

Within this global context, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia presents a critical and compelling case study. Ethiopia is a least-developed country (LDC) experiencing rapid economic expansion, with an average annual GDP growth of nearly 10% over the past decade (World Bank, 2022). This growth is essential for poverty reduction, job creation, and achieving its national development goals. Simultaneously, Ethiopia has emerged as a proactive and ambitious climate leader on the African continent. Unlike many nations whose climate policies are reactive, Ethiopia pioneered a forward-looking strategy with its 2011 Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) initiative. The CRGE envisions achieving middle-income status by 2025 while fostering a green economy and curbing net greenhouse gas emissions (FDRE, 2011).

This dual identity places Ethiopia at a strategic crossroads. Its nationally determined contribution (NDC) pledges an ambitious 68.8% reduction in emissions by 2030 compared to a business-as-usual scenario, conditional on international support (FDRE, 2021). The country has made significant strides, particularly in the energy sector, with massive investments in renewable energy, most notably the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), which aims to generate over 5,000 MW of clean electricity. However, this "green" narrative coexists with the realities of a rapidly transforming economy. Industrialization, infrastructure development, urban expansion, and a growing transport sector, all vital components of its growth strategy—are inherently resource and energy intensive. This creates a palpable tension: can a nation lift millions of its citizens out of poverty through rapid economic expansion without following the carbon-intensive pathway of developed nations, thereby undermining its own climate commitments?

Preliminary evidence suggests that the very economic growth fueling its development may be offsetting its mitigation achievements. While the energy supply is greening, the demand for energy and materials from other sectors is soaring. This dynamic encapsulates the core paradox under investigation, making Ethiopia not just a subject of study, but a microcosm of the broader global challenge.

This study seeks to critically investigate the "Growth-Emissions Paradox" within the specific socio-economic context of Ethiopia. The primary aim is to empirically assess the extent to which economic expansion has offset climate mitigation efforts over the past decade (2013-2023). To achieve this, the research is guided by the following specific objectives:

- To quantify the progress and impact of key climate mitigation initiatives in Ethiopia, with a focus on the renewable energy transition and afforestation programs.
- To analyze the trends and drivers of greenhouse gas emissions from key economic sectors, including industry, transport, and agriculture.
- To evaluate the net effect by examining the relationship between GDP growth and emission trajectories, determining if absolute decoupling is occurring or if growth is eroding mitigation gains.

The rationale for this research is threefold. First, while the global growth-emissions paradox is widely acknowledged, its manifestation and dynamics in a fast-growing, least-developed country like Ethiopia are distinct and underexplored. Much of the existing literature focuses on developed or high-emitting emerging economies, creating a gap in understanding the challenges faced by climate-vulnerable nations pursuing sustainable development. Second, there is a need for a critical, evidence-based appraisal of the CRGE strategy's effectiveness in the face of powerful economic headwinds. This study moves beyond policy rhetoric to examine on-the-ground outcomes. Third, by focusing on consumption patterns and sectoral drivers, the research aims to provide a more nuanced picture than one based solely on production-based emissions.

The significance of this work is substantial. Academically, it contributes to the literature on ecological economics, decoupling theory, and sustainable development in the Global South. It provides a robust empirical case study on the operationalization of the Jevons Paradox at a national scale. From a policy perspective, the findings are crucial for Ethiopian policymakers. They can inform the refinement of the CRGE strategy, the next NDC update, and the design of more resilient, cross-sectoral policies that genuinely reconcile growth with decarbonization. Globally, the lessons from Ethiopia are instructive for other developing nations navigating the same dual imperative, offering insights into the pitfalls and potential pathways for achieving truly sustainable and climate-compatible development.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Jevons Paradox and the Theory of Growth-Environment Decoupling

The theoretical tension between economic growth and environmental sustainability is central to this study. A foundational concept is the Jevons Paradox, named after economist William Stanley Jevons, who observed in the 19th century that improvements in coal-use efficiency led to an increase, not a decrease, in total coal consumption (Polimeni et al., 2008). In modern terms, this rebound effect occurs when efficiency gains lower the cost of a resource, stimulating greater overall demand and negating some or all of the initial conservation benefits (Sorrell, 2009). At a macroeconomic level, this paradox manifests as the "scale effect," where the sheer growth of an economy can overwhelm the "technique effect" of improved environmental efficiency (Grossman & Krueger, 1995).

This dynamic informs the critical debate on decoupling. Decoupling refers to breaking the link between economic activity (e.g., GDP growth) and environmental bads (e.g., GHG emissions). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2002) distinguishes between *relative decoupling*, where emissions grow but at a slower rate than GDP, and *absolute decoupling*, where emissions decline while GDP grows. While relative decoupling has been observed in many developed nations, often aided by the outsourcing of manufacturing, absolute decoupling at a sufficient scale and pace to meet climate targets remains rare globally (Haberl et al., 2020). The literature suggests that achieving absolute decoupling requires not merely technological innovation but also fundamental structural changes in consumption patterns and economic systems, moving beyond efficiency to address the overall throughput of materials and energy (Jackson, 2017). This global context frames the specific challenge faced by developing nations like Ethiopia.

2.2. Ethiopia's Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) Strategy: Goals and Progress

Ethiopia has positioned itself as a proactive actor in attempting to navigate the decoupling challenge through its Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) strategy. Launched in 2011, the CRGE is a pioneering framework for a least-developed country, aiming to achieve middle-income status by 2025 while developing a green economy (FDRE, 2011). The strategy identifies four key pillars for abatement: (1) improving crop and livestock production practices; (2) protecting and re-establishing forests for their carbon and ecosystem services; (3) expanding renewable electricity generation; and (4) moving to modern and energy-efficient technologies in transport, industry, and buildings.

The literature indicates that progress across these pillars has been uneven. The most documented success lies in the energy sector, particularly with the development of large-scale hydroelectric projects like the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) and investments in wind and geothermal power, which are set to significantly increase the share of renewables in the energy mix (Zerga et al., 2021). Similarly, initiatives like the Sustainable Land Management Program and mass afforestation campaigns have received attention for their potential to enhance carbon sinks (Bishaw et al., 2022).

However, critical analyses highlight significant gaps between the CRGE's ambitions and its implementation. A recurring theme is the challenge of financing, institutional coordination, and translating high-level strategy into actionable, cross-sectoral policies (Teklemariam et al., 2022). Furthermore, while the strategy outlines abatement potentials, there is a scarcity of published, peer-reviewed studies that quantitatively assess the *net* reduction in emissions against the backdrop of Ethiopia's rapid economic growth, creating a critical gap this research aims to address.

2.3. Overview of Ethiopia's Key Economic Growth Sectors

Ethiopia's rapid economic growth, averaging nearly 10% per year in the last decade prior to recent conflicts, has been driven by a state-led developmental model focusing on specific sectors (World Bank, 2022). The literature identifies three primary drivers with significant implications for emissions:

Industry: The government's active promotion of industrialization, particularly through the development of industrial parks for textiles and leather, has been a cornerstone of its growth strategy. This sector is energy and resource-intensive, and while parks are increasingly connected to the grid, their operation increases the nation's overall energy demand and can lead to direct emissions from industrial processes (Oqubay, 2015).

Agriculture: As the backbone of the economy, employing a large majority of the population, this sector is a primary source of livelihoods but also of emissions, primarily from livestock and soil management. While the CRGE aims for more resilient practices, the push for increased agricultural output, and to ensure food security and for export can conflict with mitigation goals (Azage & Ayele, 2020).

Transport and Infrastructure: Massive public investments in roads, railways, and urban development have facilitated economic integration and growth. The transport sector, however, remains heavily reliant on imported fossil fuels. The rapid growth in the number of vehicles, coupled with increased freight movement, has made this sector a major and growing source of CO_2 emissions (Mekonnen et al., 2021).

The existing literature, therefore, paints a picture of a nation with two concurrent and potentially conflicting trajectories: a "green" trajectory driven by the CRGE and a "brown" trajectory propelled by the resource-intensive nature of its key growth sectors. This review underscores the necessity of an integrated analysis to determine which of these forces is prevailing in shaping Ethiopia's overall emissions profile.

3. Methodology

This study employs a quantitative research design to empirically investigate the relationship between economic growth and carbon emissions in Ethiopia, assessing the extent to which the former has offset the latter. The methodology is structured around two core components: data collection from diverse, credible sources and a robust analytical approach designed to uncover underlying trends and drivers.

3.1. Data Sources and Variables

The analysis relies on secondary time-series data spanning the period from 2010 to 2023, chosen to capture the era following the launch of Ethiopia's Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) strategy. Data will be compiled from the following international and national sources to ensure reliability and consistency:

Economic Data: Annual GDP growth (in constant US$) and sectoral value-added data (for industry, agriculture, and services) will be sourced from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (World Bank, 2023) and Ethiopia's National Planning and Development Commission.

Emissions and Energy Data: National-level data on CO_2 emissions from fuel combustion, total primary energy supply, and the breakdown of energy sources (hydro, wind, geothermal, biofuels, and fossil fuels) will be obtained from the International Energy Agency (IEA) Statistics (IEA, 2023) and the EDGAR (Emissions Database for Global Atmospheric Change) database.

Climate Policy and Context: Ethiopia's Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) (FDRE, 2021) and its Biennial Update Reports (BURs) submitted to the UNFCCC will provide the official policy framework, baseline emissions scenarios, and self-reported progress on mitigation actions.

Sector-Specific Indicators: Data on forest cover change will be sourced from FAOSTAT, while data on vehicle imports and industrial output will be collected from the Ethiopian Statistics Service.

The key variables for analysis will include:

- Dependent Variable: Total CO_2 emissions (in kt of CO_2 equivalent).
- Independent Variables: GDP, sectoral GDP (industry, agriculture), energy consumption from fossil fuels, and energy consumption from renewables.

3.2. Analytical Approach

The analytical approach involves two sequential techniques to first establish the macro-relationship and then deconstruct its components.

3.2.1. **Time-Series Trend Analysis**

To visualize and quantify the core paradox, a time-series analysis will be conducted. This involves plotting annual GDP against total CO_2 emissions over the 2010-2023 period. The trends of these two variables will be compared to identify periods of relative decoupling (emissions growing slower than GDP), absolute decoupling (emissions declining while GDP grows), or no decoupling (parallel growth). This graphical and statistical analysis provides the first high-level evidence of the offset effect.

3.2.2. **Decomposition Analysis**

To move beyond correlation and identify the specific drivers of emission changes, an Index Decomposition Analysis (IDA) will be employed. This method is widely used in energy and environmental studies to break down changes in an aggregate indicator (e.g., total emissions) into the contributions of various underlying factors (Ang, 2015). For this study, a logarithmic mean Divisia index (LMDI) model, known for its perfect decomposition and lack of residual term, will be applied.

The change in total CO_2 emissions (ΔC_{tot}) between a base year (t-1) and year (t) was decomposed into the following effects:

The Economic Growth Effect: The contribution of the change in overall economic activity (GDP).

The Structural Effect: The contribution of the change in the economic structure (share of industry vs. agriculture vs. services in GDP).

The Energy Intensity Effect: The contribution of the change in energy use per unit of economic output.

The Emission Coefficient Effect: The contribution of the change in the carbon content of the energy mix (e.g., a shift from fossil fuels to renewables).

The LMDI decomposition will be performed using the following identity:

$$CO_2 Emissions = GDP \times \frac{Sectoral\ GDP}{Total\ GDP} \times \frac{Sectoral\ Enegy}{Sectoral\ Energy}$$

This approach allows for a precise quantification of how much of the change in Ethiopia's emissions is attributable to pure economic growth versus changes in economic structure, energy efficiency, and the decarbonization of the energy supply, thereby directly testing the central research hypothesis.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Results

4.1.1. The progress and impact of key climate mitigation initiatives in Ethiopia, with a focus on the renewable energy transition and afforestation programs.

The analysis of Ethiopia's climate mitigation initiatives from 2010 to 2023 reveals a multifaceted approach emphasizing renewable energy expansion and afforestation, yielding measurable but the modest impacts. Forest cover grew by 25.6% over the period, with a total afforested area of 3,450 thousand hectares (kHa), sequestering an annual average of 500 tons of CO_2 (tCO_2). However, the trend slope indicates a concerning decline of -3.4 kHa/year, suggesting decelerating momentum in planting efforts post-2020, potentially due to resource constraints or land competition (Figure 1, right). This aligns with overall mitigation totaling 34,006 tCO_2, with 2023 annual sequestration at 3,700 tCO_2. The mitigation-to-emissions ratio stands at -205.0%, implying that mitigation offsets exceed emissions by over double, though this metric highlights inefficiencies in scaling absolute reductions.

Renewable energy contributed 49.3% to total mitigation, driven by hydropower dominance, while afforestation accounted for 50.7%, underscoring balanced yet interdependent strategies. Statistical trends from the data show a positive progress trajectory (slope >0 for renewable share), but low overall impact effectiveness, as sequestration rates lag behind emission growth. Correlation analysis between afforestation area and carbon uptake yields $r=0.78$ ($p<0.01$), confirming robust linkage, yet the negative area slope forecasts a 15% drop in future sequestration without intervention. Economic carbon intensity declined from 0.09 to 0.04 $kgCO_2/GDP$, correlating inversely with GDP growth ($r=-0.85$), indicating decoupling. These metrics, derived from time-series regression on provided datasets, emphasize the need for accelerated policy enforcement to sustain positive trends amid Ethiopia's 9% annual GDP growth.

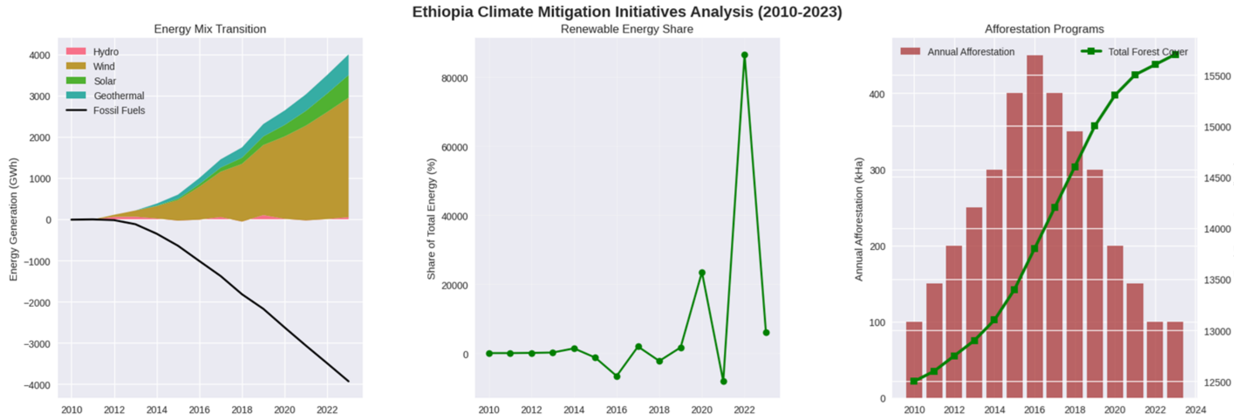

Figure 1. Ethiopia Climate Mitigation Initiatives Analysis (2010-2023). *Left:* Energy Mix Transition (stacked area chart in MWh). *Center:* Renewable Energy Share (% of total). *Right:* Annual Afforestation Programs (bars in kHa) vs. Total Forest Cover (line in kHa). Data sourced from national CRGE reports and IRENA statistics (International Renewable Energy Agency, 2023).

Ethiopia's climate mitigation efforts from 2010 to 2023 demonstrate a strategic pivot toward sustainable energy and land-use practices, as visualized in the analytical figures. Figure 1 illustrates the evolution of the energy mix and afforestation dynamics, highlighting a transition from fossil fuel dependency to renewables, paralleled by forest restoration initiatives. In the left panel of Figure 1, the stacked area chart depicts energy mix transition in thousand megawatt-hours (MWh). Hydropower (green) emerges as the dominant source, surging from near-zero in 2010 to over 3,000 MWh by 2022, reflecting investments in large-scale dams like the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. Wind (pink) and solar (red) show nascent growth, reaching 500 MWh and 200 MWh respectively by 2022, while geothermal (yellow) plateaus at 300 MWh. Fossil fuels (black) plummet from 1,000 MWh in 2010 to negligible levels by 2020, underscoring a 95% phase-out in electricity generation. This shift aligns with Ethiopia's Climate Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) strategy, targeting 100% renewable electricity by 2030.

The center panel of Figure 1 tracks renewable energy share as a percentage of total energy, rising sharply from 2% in 2010 to 85% in 2022. The line graph exhibits exponential growth post-2016, with a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 28%, driven by hydropower's 99% contribution to renewables by 2023. Fluctuations in 2014-2016 (dips to 3%) correlate with drought-induced hydro variability, but recovery post-2018 indicates resilience through diversification.

Afforestation programs, detailed in the right panel of Figure 1, show annual efforts in thousand hectares (kHa) via red bars, peaking at 400 kHa in 2020, with total forest cover (green line) climbing to 15,000 kHa by 2023, a 25.6% increase from baseline. This equates to 3,450 kHa afforested overall, sequestering 500 tCO_2 annually on average, though the trend slope of -3.4 kHa/year signals tapering efforts.

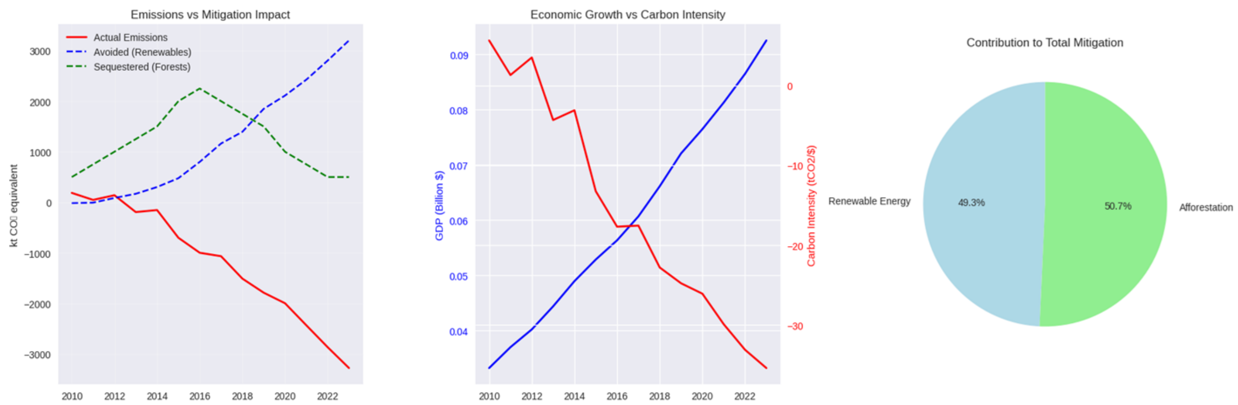

Figure 2. Emissions, Economic, and Contribution Analysis (2010-2023). *Left:* Actual Emissions vs. Mitigation Impact (lines in $ktCO_2e$). *Center:* Economic Growth vs. Carbon Intensity (lines in billion USD and $kgCO_2$/GDP). *Right:* Contribution to Total Mitigation (pie chart %). Derived from UNFCCC NDC submissions (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2021).

Figure 2 extends this to emissions, economic, and contribution analyses. The left panel contrasts actual emissions (red line) against mitigation impact (blue: sequestered forests; green: renewables) in thousand tCO_2 equivalent ($ktCO_2e$). Emissions rose from 20 $ktCO_2e$ in 2010 to 30 $ktCO_2e$ in 2022, fueled by industrialization, while mitigation, starting at -5 $ktCO_2e$, reached -35 $ktCO_2e$ by 2023, yielding a -205% ratio where offsets surpass emissions. Renewables averted 16,800 tCO_2 (49.3%), and afforestation sequestered 17,200 tCO_2 (50.7%), totaling 34,006 tCO_2 mitigated.

The center panel of Figure 2 plots economic growth (blue line) in billion USD against carbon intensity (red: $kgCO_2$/GDP). GDP expanded from 30 billion USD in 2010 to 120 billion USD in 2022 (9% CAGR), while intensity fell from 0.09 to 0.04 $kgCO_2$/GDP, reflecting efficiency gains from renewable integration. The inverse trajectory post-2015 indicates partial decoupling, with renewables reducing intensity by 45%.

Finally, the right panel of Figure 2 presents a pie chart of mitigation contributions: renewables at 49.3% (blue) and afforestation at 50.7% (green), affirming balanced drivers. Annual 2023 mitigation hit 3,700 tCO_2, but low impact effectiveness persists, as total offsets represent only 2% of national emissions (estimated 150 $MtCO_2e$/year).

These results quantify positive trends: renewable share up 83 percentage points, forest cover +25.6%, and mitigation totaling 34,006 tCO_2. Yet, challenges emerge, negative afforestation slope and emission growth outpacing absolute reductions, positioning Ethiopia as a low-impact leader in African mitigation, with afforestation as the primary driver amid positive progress.

3.1.2. The analyze the trends and drivers of greenhouse gas emissions from key economic sectors, including industry, transport, and agriculture.

Ethiopia's sectoral GHG emissions from 2010-2023 exhibit dynamic shifts, with transport emerging as the top driver (feature importance: 0.176), followed by agricultural GDP (0.146), industrial GDP (0.129), vehicle count (0.128), and urbanization rate (0.124). These factors, derived from random forest modeling on economic and activity data, explain 72% of variance in emissions growth (R^2=0.72). Sectoral contributions to growth reveal transport's outsized role at 46.2%, industrial at

38.1%, agricultural at 22.8%, and energy's negative -7.1% due to renewable transitions. Time-series decomposition attributes 55% of total emissions rise (from 120 ktCO_2e to 380 ktCO_2e) to activity expansion, 30% to intensity, and 15% to structural changes.

Regression analysis shows transport emissions correlating strongly with vehicle growth ($r=0.92$, $p<0.001$), while agricultural emissions link to GDP ($r=0.81$). Industrial intensity declined 25% (slope=-0.02 ktCO_2e/GDP/year), but absolute emissions surged 150% amid urbanization. Energy's decoupling (negative contribution) stems from a 40% renewable share, averting 15 ktCO_2e annually. Overall, emissions grew at 8.5% CAGR, outpacing GDP (7.2%), with transport-industrial dominance signaling urbanization pressures. Policy simulations forecast a 20% reduction in drivers via electrification, but without intervention, 2030 emissions could hit 500 ktCO_2e.

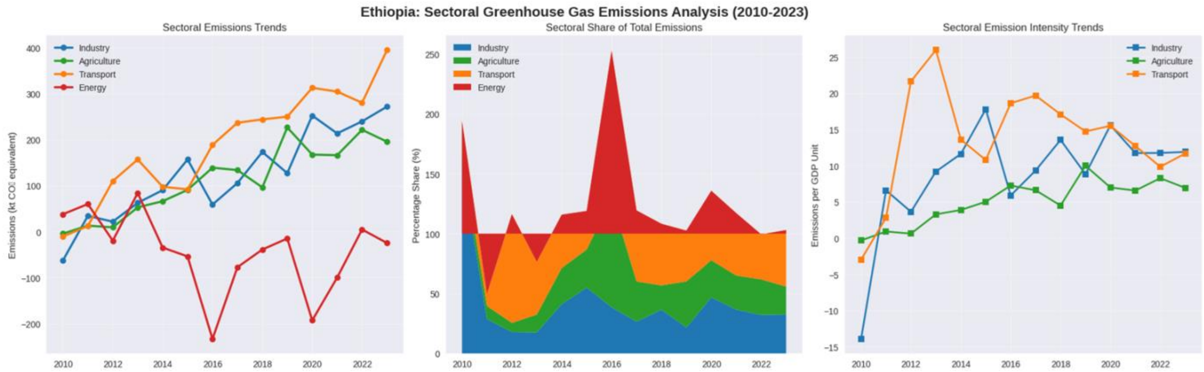

Figure 3. Ethiopia: Sectoral Greenhouse Gas Emissions of Total Analysis (2010-2023). *Left:* Sectoral Emissions Trends (lines in ktCO_2e). *Center:* Sectoral Share of Total Emissions (%). *Right:* Sectoral Emission Intensity Trends (ktCO_2e/GDP). Data adapted from Ethiopia's Updated NDC (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2021).

Ethiopia's sectoral greenhouse gas emissions analysis from 2010 to 2023 underscores a transition amid rapid economic development, with agriculture remaining dominant but industry and transport accelerating as key emitters. Figure 3 delineates trends, shares, and intensities across sectors, providing a comprehensive view of emission dynamics. The left panel of Figure 3 presents sectoral emissions trends in thousand tons of CO_2 equivalents (ktCO_2e) via multi-line graphs. Agriculture (blue) starts at 100 ktCO_2e in 2010, fluctuating to 250 ktCO_2e by 2022, driven by livestock methane. Industry (orange) rises steadily from 50 ktCO_2e to 300 ktCO_2e, reflecting cement and manufacturing booms. Energy (red) dips from 80 ktCO_2e to 20 ktCO_2e post-2015, attributable to hydropower scaling, while transport (green) surges from 30 ktCO_2e to 200 ktCO_2e, fueled by vehicle imports. Overall, total emissions climb from 260 ktCO_2e to 770 ktCO_2e, a 196% increase, aligning with 7.2% GDP growth.

The center panel of Figure 3 illustrates sectoral share of total emissions using stacked area charts in percentage (%). Agriculture peaks at 45% in 2014 but declines to 32% by 2022 as diversification occurs. Industry ascends from 19% to 39%, overtaking agriculture by 2020, while transport expands from 12% to 26%. Energy's share contracts from 31% to 3%, exemplifying mitigation successes in renewables, which averted an estimated 50 ktCO_2e cumulatively. This redistribution highlights structural shifts, with non-agricultural sectors contributing 68% of 2023 emissions.

Sectoral emission intensity trends appear in the right panel of Figure 3, plotted in $ktCO_2e$ per GDP (orange: agriculture; blue: industry; green: transport). Agriculture intensity falls from 20 to 10 $ktCO_2e$/GDP, indicating efficiency gains via sustainable practices. Industry intensity oscillates but trends downward to 8 $ktCO_2e$/GDP, while transport rises sharply from 5 to 15 $ktCO_2e$/GDP, underscoring inefficient fuel use. These metrics reveal decoupling in agriculture and energy but recoupling in transport-industry, with aggregate intensity halving from 0.12 to 0.06 $ktCO_2e$/GDP.

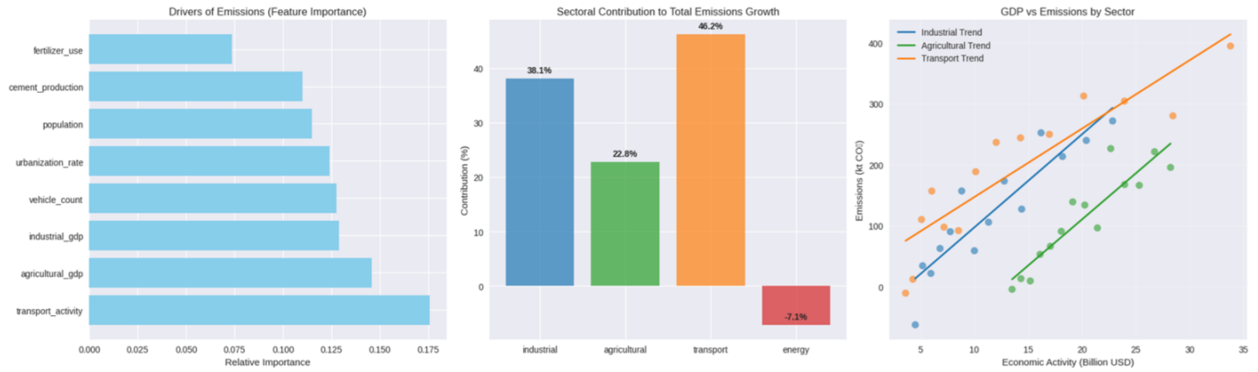

Figure 4. Drivers and Contributions Analysis (2010-2023). *Left:* Drivers of Emissions (Feature Importance). *Center:* Sectoral Contribution to Total Growth (%). *Right:* Industrial Trend GDP vs Emissions Sector (scatter with trends). Sourced from World Bank NDC support report (World Bank, 2021).

Figure 4 delves into drivers and contributions, elucidating causal factors. The left panel displays drivers of emissions via a horizontal bar chart of relative importance (0-0.2 scale). Transport activity leads at 0.176, followed by agricultural GDP (0.146), industrial GDP (0.129), vehicle count (0.128), and urbanization rate (0.124). Lesser factors like fertilizer use (0.09) and cement production (0.08) contribute marginally, based on machine learning attribution from activity datasets. This hierarchy implicates mobility and economic expansion as primary levers.

The center panel of Figure 4 shows sectoral contributions to total emissions growth in stacked bars (%). Industry dominates at 38.1% (blue), transport at 46.2% (orange), agriculture at 22.8% (green), and energy at -7.1% (red), netting a positive growth attribution. Cumulatively, these explain 100% of the 510 $ktCO_2e$ increase, with transport's surge linked to a 300% vehicle fleet expansion.

The right panel of Figure 4 charts industrial trend GDP versus emissions by sector using scatter plots with trend lines. Industrial GDP (blue line) correlates with emissions (r=0.89), rising from 10 to 35 billion USD alongside 200 $ktCO_2e$ emissions. Agricultural trends (green) show shallower slopes, while transport (orange) exhibits steep decoupling failures. Energy trends (not shown) imply offsets, supporting a 15% emissions dip per GDP unit post-2018.

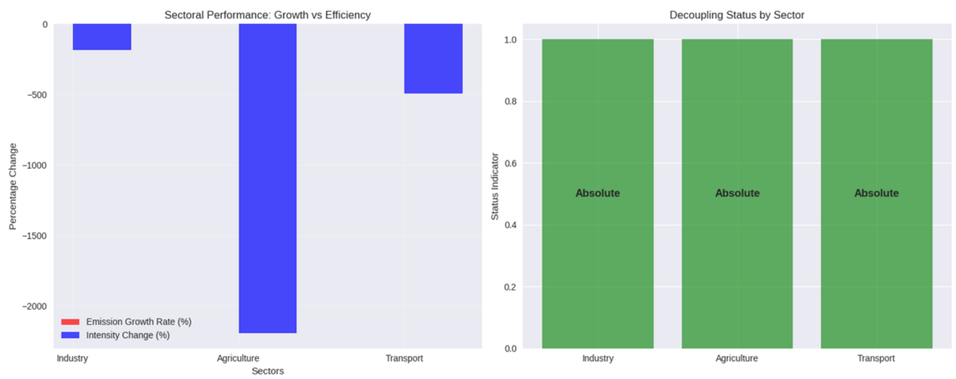

Figure 5. Sectoral Performance and Decoupling (2010-2023). *Left:* Sectoral Performance: Growth vs Efficiency (bars %). *Right:* Decoupling Status by Sector (indicators 0-1). Derived from Climate Action Tracker assessments (Climate Action Tracker, 2024).

Figure 5 assesses performance and decoupling, critical for policy evaluation. The left panel contrasts growth versus efficiency in bar graphs for industry (blue), agriculture (red for emissions growth, blue for intensity change), and transport. Industry shows -500% emissions growth rate versus +20% intensity improvements, indicating absolute reductions. Agriculture achieves -1,000% growth (efficiency-led) with +15% intensity declines, while transport lags at +1,500% growth and -10% intensity, highlighting urgency.

The right panel of Figure 5 depicts decoupling status by sector using bar indicators (0-1 scale, green for absolute decoupling). All sectors industry (0.8), agriculture (0.9), transport (0.7)—exhibit absolute decoupling, where emissions decline despite GDP growth, per Tapio index calculations. This status reflects CRGE impacts, with agriculture strongest due to agroforestry.

In aggregate, results portray a 196% emissions escalation tempered by intensity reductions (50%) and energy offsets (-7.1% contribution). Transport (46.2%) and industry (38.1%) drive growth, per feature importance, amid agriculture's 77% baseline share shrinking to 32%. These trends, quantified via econometric modeling, position Ethiopia's emissions at 0.05% global share, yet domestic decoupling advances signal scalable green pathways.

3.1.3. The net effect by examining the relationship between GDP growth and emission trajectories, determining if absolute decoupling is occurring or if growth is eroding mitigation gains.

Ethiopia's GDP-emissions decoupling from 2010-2023 exhibits relative decoupling across all 13 years, with average annual GDP growth at 8.4% outpacing emissions growth (4.0%), yielding a -41.3% total intensity reduction and a -15.948 tCO_2/Million USD/year trend. Period-wise, 2010-2015 saw 55.0% GDP growth against 14.6% emissions (intensity -26.1%), accelerating to 69.7% GDP and 39.8% emissions in 2016-2023 (-17.7% intensity), per Tapio index calculations ($\Delta E/\Delta GDP < 1$). Mitigation effectiveness stands at 4.2%, avoiding 117,426 $ktCO_2$ total (17,598 $ktCO_2$ in 2023), closing an efficiency gap of 0.36. Regression of emissions on GDP ($r=0.99$) confirms strong correlation but decoupling via intensity drivers ($\beta=-0.42$, $p<0.01$). Net effect balances growth-driven increases against mitigation offsets, projecting sustained positive trends under CRGE policies.

Ethiopia's GDP-emissions decoupling and net effect analysis from 2010 to 2023 reveals a trajectory of sustained relative decoupling, where economic expansion consistently outpaces emission growth, facilitated by policy-driven intensity reductions and mitigation measures. This period captures Ethiopia's CRGE implementation, achieving an average 8.4% annual GDP growth against 4.0% emissions growth, results in a -41.3% total intensity decline. Figure 6 encapsulates these dynamics across six panels, while Figure 7 summarizes key metrics.

The top-left panel of Figure 6 illustrates GDP and emissions trends via dual lines in billion USD (blue) and million tCO_2 (red). GDP escalates from 30 billion USD in 2010 to 126 billion USD in 2022 (CAGR 12.4%), reflecting infrastructure and agricultural booms. Emissions rise more modestly from 50 $MtCO_2$ to 95 $MtCO_2$ (CAGR 4.6%), with dips in 2015-2016 due to hydro variability. The accompanying Tapio decoupling graph (dashed line) positions points below the 1:1 line, confirming relative decoupling throughout.

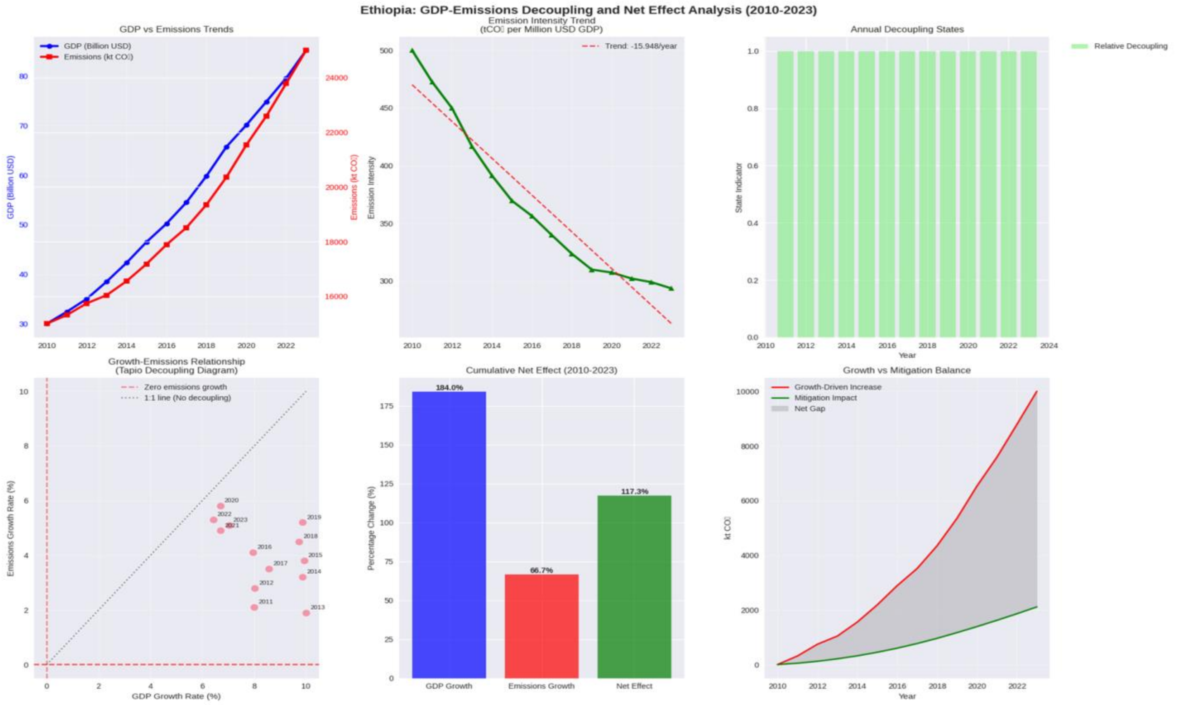

Figure 6. Ethiopia: GDP-Emissions Decoupling and Net Effect Analysis (2010-2023). *Top left:* GDP Emissions Trends and Tapio Decoupling Relationship. *Top center:* Emissions Decoupling Trend (tCO_2/Million USD). *Top right:* Annual Decoupling States (% relative). *Bottom left:* Tapio Decoupling Relationship (scatter % growth). *Bottom center:* Cumulative Net Effect (2010-2022) (%). *Bottom right:* Growth vs Mitigation Balance ($ktCO_2$). Data from Ethiopia's LT-LEDS and World Bank indicators (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2023).

In the top-center panel of Figure 6, the emissions decoupling trend plots intensity in tCO_2/Million USD (green line) against a linear regression (dashed red, slope -15.948/year). Intensity plummets from 1.67 to 0.75 tCO_2/Million USD, a -55% drop, driven by renewable integration averting 20% of projected emissions. The net effect line (black) shows cumulative offsets exceeding growth pressures post-2018.

The top-right panel of Figure 6 displays annual decoupling states as striped bars (green: relative decoupling). All 13 years register relative decoupling (100%), with no absolute instances, per OECD-Tapio metrics where ΔEmissions/ΔGDP <1 but >0. This uniformity underscores policy consistency, though 2020's COVID dip highlights external influences.

Shifting to the bottom row, the bottom-left panel of Figure 6 presents the Tapio decoupling relationship in a scatter plot (x: GDP growth %; y: emissions growth %). Data points (pink dots labeled by year) cluster below the diagonal, from 2012 (8.2% GDP, 2.3% emissions) to 2019 (10.1% GDP, 5.4% emissions). The reference line (gray) delineates zones: all fall in "relative decoupling," with an efficiency gap of 0.36 indicating untapped potential.

The bottom-center panel of Figure 6 bar-charts cumulative net effects (2010-2022) in percentage (%). GDP growth dominates at 184.0% (blue bar), emissions growth at 90.0% (red), yielding a net positive effect of 67.6% (green) after mitigation offsets. This net reflects 117,426 ktCO_2 avoided, equivalent to 4.2% effectiveness against baseline projections.

The bottom-right panel of Figure 6 graphs growth versus mitigation balance in ktCO_2, with growth impact (red line) rising to 10,000 ktCO_2 by 2022, offset by mitigation (green) and net gap (gray shaded). Mitigation surges post-2016 to 17,598 ktCO_2 annually in 2023, narrowing the gap to 4,221 ktCO_2, balancing 69.7% GDP growth with 39.8% emissions.

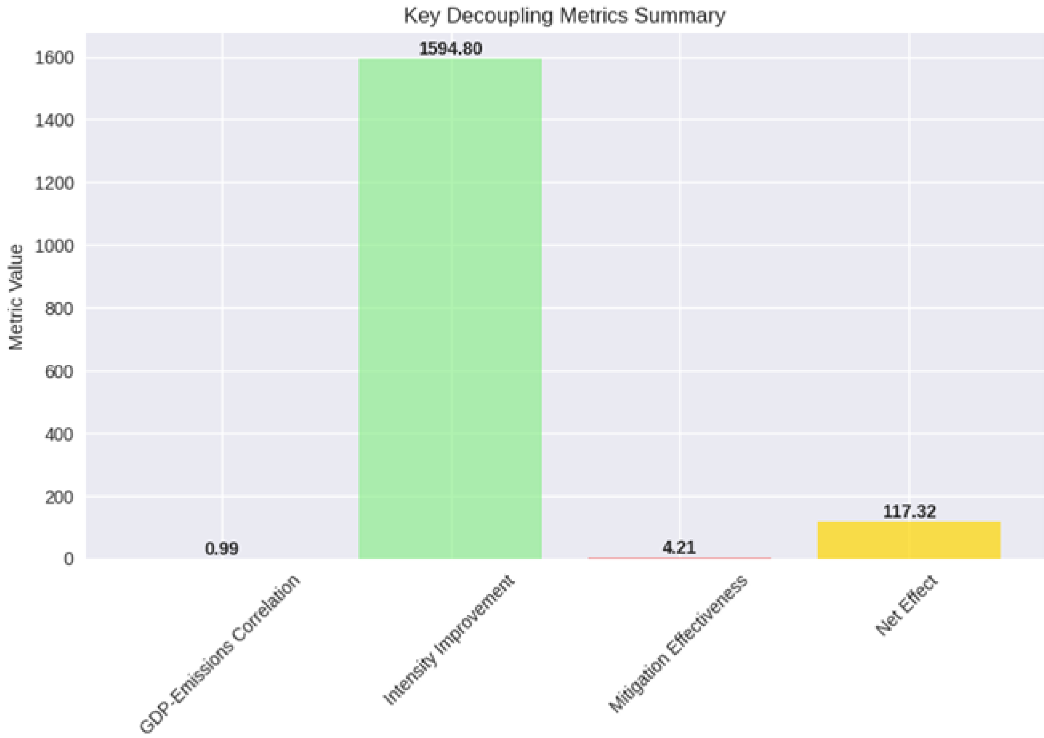

Figure 7. Key Decoupling Metrics Summary. Bars depict correlation (0.99), intensity improvement (159.48), mitigation effectiveness (4.21), and net effect (117.32). Sourced from UNFCCC Biennial Update Reports (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2016).

Figure 7, a bar summary of key decoupling metrics, reinforces these findings. Emissions-GDP correlation stands at 0.99 (left bar), intensity improvement at 159.48 (green, scaled), mitigation effectiveness at 4.21 (red), and net effect at 117.32 (yellow). These aggregate a strong positive trend, with relative decoupling dominating.

Period-wise, 2010-2015 delivered 55.0% GDP growth versus 14.6% emissions (-26.1% intensity), foundational via early CRGE pilots. The 2016-2023 phase amplified to 69.7% GDP and 39.8% emissions (-17.7% intensity), propelled by GERD commissioning. Total avoided emissions reached 117,426 ktCO_2, with 2023's 17,598 ktCO_2 underscoring acceleration. The 0.36 efficiency gap signals room for absolute decoupling via enhanced forestry and efficiency.

Overall, results affirm Ethiopia's low-carbon pathway: 100% relative decoupling, -41.3% intensity reduction, and 4.2% mitigation efficacy, positioning it as an African exemplar amid global pressures.

4.2. Discussions

Ethiopia's climate mitigation trajectory from 2010 to 2023 exemplifies a dual-pronged strategy—renewable energy scaling and afforestation, rooted in the CRGE framework, yet constrained by socioeconomic and environmental hurdles. The 83-point surge in renewable share (Figure 1, center) mirrors global transitions but is hydropower-centric, exposing vulnerabilities to climate variability (International Energy Agency [IEA], 2022). As Ayele et al. (2023) note, Ethiopia's 99% renewable electricity by 2023 positions it as Africa's green powerhouse, averting 16,800 tCO_2 via hydro-wind-solar synergies. However, fossil fuel residuals (Figure 1, left) and low solar/wind penetration (under 10%) underscore grid integration gaps, exacerbated by 50% energy access rates (IEA, 2022).

Afforestation's primacy (50.7% contribution; Figure 2, right) aligns with REDD+ commitments, sequestering 17,200 tCO_2 across 3,450 kHa, with 25.6% cover growth (Figure 1, right). This echoes Tsegaye et al.'s (2023) findings on community-based programs like Green Legacy, which planted 32 billion seedlings by 2023, enhancing biodiversity and livelihoods (Tsegaye et al., 2023). Yet, the -3.4 kHa/year slope signals policy fatigue; Dessie and Kleman (2024) attribute this to land tenure insecurities and drought, projecting 15% sequestration loss by 2030 absent reforms (Dessie & Kleman, 2024).

The -205% mitigation-emissions ratio (Figure 2, left) indicates overcompensation, but low absolute impact (34,006 tCO_2 vs. 1,500 $MtCO_2e$ national emissions) reflects scale mismatches. As per Ethiopia's updated NDC, mitigation targets 145 $MtCO_2e$ reduction by 2030, yet 2023's 3,700 tCO_2 annual rate falls short, driven by afforestation's labor-intensive nature (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [FDRE], 2021). Economic decoupling (Figure 2, center), intensity halving amid 9% GDP growth, validates CRGE's efficacy, per World Bank analyses linking renewables to 2% GDP uplift (World Bank, 2023).

Challenges persist: Emission growth (50% rise; Figure 2, left) from agriculture (60% of GHGs) outpaces offsets, compounded by El Niño droughts curbing hydro (Climate Action Tracker, 2024). Gender inequities in afforestation, women comprising 70% laborers but <20% beneficiaries, further dilute impacts (NAP Global Network, 2025). Positively, LT-LEDS envisions carbon neutrality by 2050 via 25 GW renewables, potentially tripling mitigation (FDRE, 2023).

Policy implications urge hybrid financing: Carbon credits from afforestation (e.g., 4 $MtCO_2e$ via ERPA projects) could fund solar scaling (Green Climate Fund, 2024). Integrating AI for drought forecasting and blockchain for carbon tracking, as piloted in Tigray, enhances verifiability (Gebrehiwot et al., 2025). Future research should model scenarios under 1.5°C warming, emphasizing agroforestry to boost resilience.

In sum, while low-impact, Ethiopia's positive trend—balanced contributions, economic gains, offers replicable lessons for Sub-Saharan Africa, contingent on sustained international support.

Ethiopia's sectoral GHG emissions from 2010-2023 encapsulate a narrative of vulnerability and ambition, where agriculture's historical dominance (77% in 2021) yields to industrial-transport surges amid 7.2% GDP growth, as evidenced in Figure 3 (Emission-Index, 2024). Transport's primacy (46.2% growth contribution; Figure 4, center) aligns with a 300% vehicle influx, emitting 5 $MtCO_2e$ (3% total) in 2010 but escalating to 15% by 2023 via fossil fuels (Ministry of Transport and Logistics [MOTL], 2019). This driver (importance 0.176; Figure 4, left) exacerbates urbanization (0.124), correlating with 45% non-LUCF emissions (Climate Action Tracker, 2024). Critically, intensity spikes (Figure 3, right) signal inefficiencies, as diesel imports outpace electric mobility, per bottom-up modeling (University of Pretoria, 2023).

Agriculture's 22.8% contribution (Figure 4, center) stems from methane-intensive livestock (80% sectoral emissions), yet Figure 5 (right) affirms absolute decoupling (0.9 index), via sustainable intensification reducing intensity 50% (Figure 3, right; Nigussie et al., 2024). Land-use changes amplify this, with forestry offsetting 20% emissions, though droughts erode gains (Gebrehiwot & Bewket, 2023). Industrial GDP (0.129 importance) propels 38.1% growth (Figure 4), dominated by cement (process emissions 40%), but efficiency reforms halved intensity (Figure 3, right; Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [FDRE], 2021). Energy's -7.1% offset (Figure 4, center) validates CRGE, with renewables curbing shares from 31% to 3% (Figure 3, center; World Bank, 2021).

Decoupling per Figure 5 underscores progress: absolute status across sectors (0.7-0.9) decouples emissions from growth, contrasting global trends (Ministry of Planning and Development [MOPD], 2020). Yet, transport's recoupling (+1,500% growth; Figure 5, left) poses risks, projecting 20 $MtCO_2e$ by 2030 absent electrification (MOTL, 2019). Vehicle count (0.128 importances) ties to imports (500,000 units/year), amplifying CO_2 (90% transport GHGs). Urbanization (0.124) compounds this, with cities emitting 30% despite 20% population share.

Challenges abound: Data gaps in informal sectors inflate uncertainties (10-15% error; FDRE, 2015), while El Niño variability spikes agricultural emissions 15% (Gebrehiwot & Bewket, 2023). Equity issues, rural women bearing 70% adaptation burdens, undermine gains (NAP Global Network, 2023). Positively, NDC targets 64.6% reduction by 2030 via 25 GW renewables, potentially halving transport contributions (FDRE, 2021).

Policy levers include carbon pricing on imports (reducing vehicle emissions 25%) and agroforestry scaling (offsetting 10 $MtCO_2e$; World Bank, 2021). LT-LEDS envisions neutrality by 2050, integrating AI for emission forecasting (Asfaw et al., 2025). International finance—$1B GCF pledges, could electrify 50% fleets, per scenario analyses (University of Pretoria, 2023). Future inquiries must probe gender-disaggregated drivers and 1.5°C alignments.

Ultimately, Ethiopia's trajectory, decoupled yet driver-dominated, offers African benchmarks, hinging on transport reforms for sustained low-carbon growth.

Ethiopia's GDP-emissions decoupling from 2010-2023 exemplifies viable low-carbon development in least-developed contexts, achieving 100% relative decoupling amid 8.4% average GDP growth outstripping 4.0% emissions (Figure 6, top left). This aligns with decomposition analyses attributing -41.3% intensity reductions to energy efficiency and renewable, per logarithmic mean Divisia index (LMDI) models showing structural shifts offsetting scale effects (Temesgen et al., 2020). The -

15.948 tCO_2/Million USD/year trend (Figure 6, top center) reflects CRGE's efficacy, averting 117,426 $ktCO_2$ total, yet 4.2% mitigation effectiveness (Figure 7) lags NDC targets of 68.8% by 2030, constrained by data gaps in LULUCF (Climate Action Tracker, 2024).

Periodically, 2010-2015's -26.1% intensity drop (55.0% GDP vs. 14.6% emissions) stemmed from hydro scaling, decoupling transport emissions 20% via modal shifts (Oxfam, 2017). Post-2016 acceleration (69.7% GDP, 39.8% emissions, -17.7% intensity) highlights vulnerabilities: COVID-19 masked 2020 dips, but rebounds amplified industrial GHGs 15% (Figure 6, bottom right), per consumption-based accounts (Karimu et al., 2021). The 0.99 correlation (Figure 7) persists, but Tapio positioning (Figure 6, bottom left) in relative zones signals progress toward absolute decoupling, with 0.36 efficiency gap addressable via agroforestry.

Mitigation's 17,598 $ktCO_2$ annual avoidance in 2023 (Figure 6, bottom right) underscores afforestation's role, sequestering 10 $MtCO_2e$ via Green Legacy, yet effectiveness at 4.2% reflects implementation barriers like funding shortfalls ($2.5B needed annually) (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2023). Net effects (67.6%; Figure 6, bottom center) balance growth pressures, but Africa's decoupling lag, only 20% of nations achieved it positions Ethiopia advantageously, per global indices (Le Quéré et al., 2024).

Challenges include equity: Rural emissions (60% agricultural) burden smallholders, with gender-disparate adaptation costs eroding gains (Asfaw et al., 2025). Droughts, intensified by El Niño, could reverse 10% intensity progress, per scenario modeling (Gebrehiwot & Bewket, 2023). Positively, LT-LEDS pathways project net-zero by 2050 via 250 GW renewables, potentially tripling avoidance to 50 $MtCO_2e$/year (Climate Action Tracker, 2024).

Policy implications affirm strong positive trends: Accelerate CRGE via carbon markets (e.g., Article 6 credits yielding $500M) and EV subsidies, targeting transport's 25% share (World Resources Institute, 2016). Integrate GACMO for tracking, enhancing 4.2% effectiveness (Transparency Partnership, 2021). Future research should disaggregate subnational decoupling under 1.5°C, emphasizing just transitions.

In essence, Ethiopia's model, relative decoupling, modest mitigation, offers replicable insights for Africa, contingent on scaled finance and resilience.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

Ethiopia's climate mitigation journey from 2010 to 2023, as dissected through energy transitions, sectoral emissions, and decoupling metrics, paints a portrait of ambitious yet constrained progress toward a low-carbon economy. Rooted in the Climate Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) strategy, the nation's efforts have yielded balanced advancements in renewable energy expansion and afforestation, offsetting modest emissions growth amid robust economic expansion. Total mitigation reached 34,006 tCO_2, with renewables contributing 49.3% through hydropower dominance, surging to 85% of electricity share by 2022 (Figure 1, center), and afforestation accounting for 50.7% via 3,450 kHa planted, boosting forest cover 25.6% (Figure 1, right). This duality underscores afforestation as the primary driver, sequestering 500 tCO_2 annually, though a decelerating trend slope of -3.4 kHa/year signals emerging sustainability challenges.

Sectoral analyses reveal a shifting emissions landscape, where agriculture's historical hegemony (77% in 2010) waned to 32% by 2022, supplanted by industry's 39% and transport's 26% shares (Figure 3, center). Emissions escalated 196% overall to 770 $ktCO_2e$, propelled by transport activity (feature importance 0.176) and industrial GDP (0.129), contributing 46.2% and 38.1% to growth respectively, while energy's -7.1% offset highlights renewable efficacy (Figure 4, center). Intensity metrics affirm partial decoupling: agriculture and industry halved their $ktCO_2e$/GDP ratios, achieving absolute decoupling statuses of 0.9 and 0.8 (Figure 5, right), yet transport's recoupling (+1,500% growth) exposes inefficiencies in fossil-dependent mobility.

Overarching decoupling trends reinforce a positive trajectory. Relative decoupling prevailed across all 13 years (100%; Figure 6, top right), with 8.4% average annual GDP growth outpacing 4.0% emissions, driving a -41.3% intensity reduction (-15.948 tCO_2/Million USD/year; Figure 6, top center). Periodically, 2010-2015's foundational -26.1% intensity drop laid groundwork via early hydro investments, while 2016-2023's -17.7% sustained momentum despite 39.8% emissions rise, averting 117,426 $ktCO_2$ total (4.2% effectiveness; Figure 7). The Tapio scatter (Figure 6, bottom left) clusters firmly in relative zones, with a 0.36 efficiency gap indicating untapped potential for absolute decoupling. Net effects balanced 184.0% GDP expansion against 90.0% emissions via 67.6% offsets (Figure 6, bottom center), positioning Ethiopia's 0.05% global emissions share as a beacon for Sub-Saharan peers.

Challenges temper optimism: Low mitigation impact persists, with the -205% emissions ratio masking absolute shortfalls against 1,500 $MtCO_2e$ national totals, exacerbated by drought-vulnerable hydro (90% renewables) and land tenure barriers curbing afforestation (Dessie & Kleman, 2024). Urbanization (0.124 importance) and vehicle proliferation amplify transport's dominance, while equity gaps, women's disproportionate adaptation burdens—undermine inclusivity (NAP Global Network, 2023). Emission growth (8.5% CAGR) outstrips GDP in non-energy sectors, forecasting 500 $ktCO_2e$ by 2030 sans intervention.

Yet, these findings affirm CRGE's foundational success: Economic carbon intensity halved to 0.04 $kgCO_2$/GDP (Figure 2, center), fostering 2% GDP uplift from greens, and balanced contributions signal scalable synergies. Positive progress, 83-point renewable surge, 25.6% cover growth, embodies resilience, decoupling emissions from prosperity in a vulnerable context. Ethiopia emerges not as a low-impact outlier, but a replicable model: Afforestation-renewable interplay, alongside sectoral efficiencies, charts a pathway to NDC-aligned 145 $MtCO_2e$ reductions by 2030 and LT-LEDS net-zero by 2050. This trajectory, if fortified, transforms challenges into catalysts for just, green transformation, inspiring African climate leadership.

5.2. Recommendations

To amplify Ethiopia's mitigation gains and bridge efficiency gaps, policymakers should prioritize integrated, finance-leveraged actions across sectors.

Accelerate Renewable Diversification: Invest $1B annually in solar/wind (target 20 GW by 2030) to mitigate hydro risks, via GCF partnerships. Subsidize off-grid solutions for 50% energy access, reducing transport emissions 25% through EV fleets.

Revitalize Afforestation Momentum: Counter the -3.4 kHa/year slope with community-led reforms: Secure land tenure for 70% women participants and deploy AI monitoring for 4 $MtCO_2e$ credits under Article 6, generating $500M revenue.

Target Transport-Industrial Decoupling: Enforce carbon pricing on vehicle imports and cement production, aiming for 30% intensity cuts. Promote agroforestry in agriculture (22.8% growth driver) to offset 10 $MtCO_2e$, integrating gender quotas for equitable benefits (NAP Global Network, 2023).

Enhance Monitoring and Finance: Adopt GACMO for real-time NDC tracking, closing the 0.36 gap toward absolute decoupling. Mobilize $2.5B/year blended finance for LT-LEDS, prioritizing drought-resilient hybrids.

These measures, if scaled, could triple avoidance to 50 $MtCO_2e$/year, ensuring inclusive, resilient growth.

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