MOVING CALIFORNIA FORWARD

HOW SMART GROWTH CAN HELP CALIFORNIA REACH ITS 2030 CLIMATE TARGET WHILE CREATING ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CO-BENEFITS

SUMMARY FOR POLICYMAKERS

SEPTEMBER 2015

By Chris Busch, Erika Lew, and Joe DiStefano
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We gratefully acknowledge feedback on prior versions of this paper from these reviewers: Ken Alex (Office of Planning and Research), Don Anair (Union of Concerned Scientists), Amanda Eaken (Natural Resources Defense Council), Wendy James (Better World Group), Amber Mahone (Energy + Environmental Economics, Inc.), Silvio Marcacci (Marcacci Communications), and Mitch Tobin (Sea to Snow Consulting). For help with health impact valuations, we thank Michael Chan (Tetra Tech) and Bonnie Holmes-Gen (American Lung Association in California). Colleagues at Energy Innovation also offered valuable guidance: Hal Harvey, CC Huang, Hallie Kenan, and Michael O’Boyle. Conclusions and opinions expressed herein belong to the authors of this report, as do responsibility for any remaining errors.

ENERGY INNOVATION

Energy Innovation: Policy and Technology, LLC is an energy and environmental policy firm. We deliver high-quality research and original analysis to policymakers to help them make informed choices on energy policy. The firm’s Urban Sustainability program area helps cities create energy-efficient, high-quality communities by working with planners, mayors, developers, and other influential figures around the world. Our goal is to equip key decision makers with best practices so they can help build cities that are prosperous, livable, and sustainable. Energy Innovation’s mission is to accelerate progress in clean energy by supporting the policies that most effectively reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Through customized research and analysis for decision makers, we uncover the strategies that will produce the largest results.

CALTHORPE ANALYTICS

Calthorpe Analytics is an urban planning and analysis firm founded on 30 years of leadership in regional planning and analysis. The firm has led some of the largest and most complex planning efforts in North America. Calthorpe Analytics’ planning and modeling work is grounded in a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between planning and infrastructure decisions and the fiscal, environmental, public health, and livability challenges facing states, regions, and cities across the globe.

PREFACE

This document presents the summary findings of recently completed research. The full technical results are forthcoming.

(Cover photo: iStock)
SUMMARY FOR POLICYMAKERS

This past spring, Governor Jerry Brown set a goal of reducing California’s carbon emissions in 2030 by at least 40% below the 1990 level of emissions (Executive Order B-30-15). This target, now reflected in the proposed legislation of Senate Bill 32, is both scientifically grounded and feasible. But achieving the target will require California to intensify its policy efforts across all sectors of the economy. This study analyzes the role of land use policy in achieving the emissions target. Our results show that implementation of smart land use policy, in combination with technological advances in the energy sector, will be critical for the state to achieve its ambitious 2030 decarbonization target.

We recommend that the California Air Resources Board (CARB) strengthen emissions reduction targets under SB 375 (California’s regional land use planning law) as part of a 2030 Scoping Plan and complement these targets with substantial funding to support cities and regions so they can successfully implement the target-compliant land use plans they are tasked to develop. Along with reducing emissions, smart growth also delivers an impressive array of co-benefits: cleaner air, improved public health outcomes, lower water use, cost savings for households, reduced dependency on oil, more efficient provision of public infrastructure, reduced congestion, and the preservation of natural and working lands, which provide carbon sequestration and other ecosystem services. Smart growth will help expand the supply of housing most in demand. Increasingly, people want to live closer to work, in walkable neighborhoods that are well served by transit.

Land use patterns and transportation investments play a fundamental role in how far we travel and how we get from home to work, school, shopping, recreation, and other activities. The spatial layout of neighborhoods determines whether we have the option of walking, biking, and taking public transit, or whether we must drive. Offering choices provides relief from land use patterns that otherwise promote dependence on cars for most travel. These options increase travel efficiency, reduce congestion, and improve overall mobility. This is the fundamental cause-effect dynamic at work in the results that follow.

This dynamic is being put into practice in cities and regions across California. Statewide, the number of trips people take by transit, walking, and biking doubled between 2000 and 2012. In Southern California, cities and the regional planning and transit agencies have collaborated and taken bold steps to rapidly build up a comprehensive transit system. These efforts are steering more housing and job growth to new and existing transit-connected locations. The Bay Area recently saw the nation’s biggest reduction in the

---

share of people commuting alone by car.\textsuperscript{3} These changes are cutting emissions by reducing reliance on cars for everyday travel needs. This is a crucial step toward reducing emissions from passenger vehicles, the top source of carbon emissions in California (as shown in Figure ES-1).

*Figure ES-1. California GHG Emissions by Sector in 2013\textsuperscript{4}*  

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure.png}
\end{figure}

**THE ROLE OF LAND USE IN REDUCING EMISSIONS**  

Land use is a critical element of California’s climate change efforts. Urban form shapes travel demand, and the quantity of passenger vehicle miles traveled (VMT) is a major determinant of California's carbon emissions. To this end, our study utilizes Calthorpe Analytics’ RapidFire model\textsuperscript{5} in combination with the Energy + Environmental Economics (E3) California Pathways study (“the E3 study”)\textsuperscript{6} completed in April 2015. The E3 analysis provides the energy technology specifications, as well as assumptions about variables such as future population and energy prices, that are needed as inputs for RapidFire. We align with the E3 work because it is a careful study providing comprehensive energy coverage, and it was commissioned by state policymakers to inform the setting of a 2030 carbon emissions reduction goal.

The E3 study explores a variety of 2030 scenarios, building on low-carbon technologies currently available in the marketplace. The fastest emissions reduction pathway mapped in the E3 study falls short of the 2030 goal. We test a hypothesis that smarter land use could make the difference in meeting or surpassing the 40% reduction. Our results indicate that smart growth can indeed serve California in achieving the 2030 goal while also yielding other valuable environmental, fiscal, and public health co-benefits.

\textsuperscript{5} Calthorpe Analytics. Technical Summary available at www.calthorpeanalytics.com
\textsuperscript{6} Energy + Environmental Economics, Inc. 2015. *California Pathways + GHG Scenario Results.*
Table ES-1 summarizes the land use inputs applied in the E3 study and the scenarios developed for this study.

**Table ES-1: Land Use Scenarios Defined**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Scenario Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>E3 California Pathways</strong></td>
<td>Baseline</td>
<td>Representative of past trends, not taking into account actions under SB 375.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smart Growth</td>
<td>The main smart growth scenario used by E3 assumes significant VMT savings as compared to the Baseline land use/VMT applied with their Reference Case scenario. E3 also developed a more aggressive smart growth scenario used for sensitivity testing, but it was not applied in combination with their Early Deployment scenario.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Energy Innovation/ RapidFire</strong></td>
<td>Past Trends</td>
<td>A continuation of past trends, not taking into account the impact of SB 375.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current Plans</td>
<td>Potential trajectory given current planning and policy actions in line with SB 375.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More Compact</td>
<td>Stronger smart growth policy that prioritizes focused development in coordination with transit investments, and meets demand for housing in walkable, accessible communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infill Focus</td>
<td>Strongest smart growth policy, building upon the More Compact scenario with greater focus on infill. Going forward, 85% of new housing and jobs are added within existing urban boundaries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The land use scenarios are combined with two sets of energy technology assumptions from the E3 study:

1. **E3 Reference Case:** this scenario forecasts the technological pathway expected given current policy (e.g., 33% Renewable Portfolio Standard). The E3 Reference Case scenario applies the E3 Baseline land use assumption (described in Table ES-1). The scenario produces an economy-wide reduction equal to 8% below 1990 emissions by 2030.

2. **Early Deployment:** this is the deepest-reduction pathway to 2030 developed in the E3 study. It assumes aggressive technology deployment across sectors (e.g., 60% renewable electricity in 2030). Regarding land use, E3 assumes their Smart Growth VMT projection. The Early Deployment scenario reaches 38% below the 1990 level of carbon emissions in 2030.

Figure ES-2 brings these energy and land use assumptions together, showing the deeper reductions attributable to land use. The dotted lines show the original emissions reduction pathways traced by E3’s Reference Case and Early Deployment scenarios. The dashed and solid lines illustrate further emissions reductions achievable with our More Compact and Infill Focus scenarios, respectively, in combination with the E3 energy technology assumptions.
Updated Smart Growth Analysis Shows Statewide Reductions Reaching 40-41% Below 1990 Emissions in 2030

In combination with the E3 Early Deployment scenario, the RapidFire smart growth scenarios yield additional reductions of 9-12 million metric tons (MMT) of carbon dioxide equivalent (CO\textsubscript{2}e). This leads to statewide reductions of 40-41% below 1990 emissions, in line with the proposed 2030 target. The additional avoided emissions stem primarily from differences in passenger VMT, with some savings also attributable to reduced building energy demand. The results demonstrate that smart land use is integral to achieving California’s 2030 decarbonization targets.

The graph shows the results of two of E3 scenarios as originally estimated, and then updates these with the More Compact and Infill Focus scenarios developed for this study. E3’s study began before a more recent state transportation evaluation known as EMFAC 2014 was completed. E3 took steps to try to correct for this, but their Baseline VMT levels – those expected under current conditions without additional smart growth action – still appear to be too high. As the graph illustrates, in correcting for the higher VMT, baseline emissions are reduced to levels that are lower than is likely today. The statewide inventory shows a total of 459 MMT of CO\textsubscript{2}e in 2013, the most recent year reported. We hypothesize that the E3 study’s inflated VMT was offset by assumptions on fuel economy. With respect to interpretation of smart growth impacts, this means that our estimates of avoided carbon emissions are likely on the conservative side. Better vehicle fuel economy reduces the benefit of each mile of travel demand avoided.

\textsuperscript{7}
SIGNIFICANT CO-BENEFITS

Smart land use does more than “close the gap” in achieving target carbon reductions. Compact land use patterns, developed in coordination with transportation investments, will meet Californians’ increasing demand for housing in walkable, transit-accessible communities and create valuable co-benefits. We quantify these co-benefits given current policy (assuming the E3 Reference Case energy assumptions). Table ES-2 summarizes the benefits by 2030 of the Current Plans, More Compact, and Infill Focus scenarios as compared to the Past Trends scenario. Cumulative impacts reflect results from 2015 to 2030, while annual impacts reflect results in 2030.

Table ES-2. Co-Benefit Impacts in 2030, Annual and Cumulative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household cost savings(^a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative to 2030</td>
<td>$28.9 billion</td>
<td>$72.1 billion</td>
<td>$91.1 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual per average household in 2030</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$1,600</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoided public health costs(^b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative to 2030</td>
<td>$2.6 billion</td>
<td>$6.4 billion</td>
<td>$8.2 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual in 2030</td>
<td>$321 million</td>
<td>$853 million</td>
<td>$1,040 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure cost savings(^c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative to 2030</td>
<td>$9.3 billion</td>
<td>$12.4 billion</td>
<td>$18.5 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Environmental impacts quantified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Current Plans</th>
<th>More Compact</th>
<th>Infill Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criteria pollutant emissions avoided(^d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative to 2030</td>
<td>217,000 tons</td>
<td>532,000 tons</td>
<td>686,000 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual in 2030</td>
<td>19,000 tons</td>
<td>50,000 tons</td>
<td>61,000 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential water savings(^e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative to 2030</td>
<td>52,600 acre-feet</td>
<td>124,200 acre-feet</td>
<td>154,900 acre-feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual average per new household in 2030</td>
<td>9,300 gallons</td>
<td>21,900 gallons</td>
<td>27,300 gallons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land conservation(^f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative to 2030</td>
<td>270 sq mi</td>
<td>490 sq mi</td>
<td>700 sq mi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Household costs include those for auto fuel, ownership, and maintenance; and residential energy and water.

\(^b\) Public health costs include those related to air pollutants from passenger vehicle transportation, including cases of mortality; respiratory-related ER visits; upper, lower, and acute respiratory symptoms; exacerbated asthma attacks; heart attacks; hospitalization from respiratory and cardiovascular illness; and lost work days.

\(^c\) Infrastructure costs include one-time capital costs for building local roads, water, and sewer infrastructure; and ongoing annual operations and maintenance costs.

\(^d\) Criteria pollutant emissions include NO\(_x\), SO\(_x\), CO, VOC, PM-2.5, and PM-10 from passenger vehicles.

\(^e\) Water use includes indoor and outdoor use, with outdoor irrigation being the primary cause for variation.

\(^f\) Land conservation refers to the savings of undeveloped “greenfield” land, including open space and agricultural lands.
Smarter land use patterns beyond the Current Plans scenario would save households $1,000 to $1,400 annually (2015 dollars), mostly through lower auto-related spending. In addition to household savings, the costs borne by cities to build and maintain local roads, sewers, and water infrastructure is also reduced significantly, with $12-$18.5 billion in cumulative savings through 2030 due to more compact growth. Avoided health costs related to pollution from passenger vehicle travel are also substantial, with cumulative savings of $2.6-$8.2 billion through 2030. The benefits of smarter land use build over time and will be even larger in 2035 and 2050.

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

In addition to bolstering the case for the proposed 2030 emissions goal, this report also performs two other analyses that are relevant to current policy questions. These analyses are related to SB 375, the state’s pioneering land use law, and the target to use 50% less oil for transportation, one of the “pillar” goals that California Air Resources Board (CARB) is working on to build up a set of actions to meet the 2030 target.

The CARB is currently considering whether to deepen future SB 375 targets. Our results indicate that stronger targets, combined with funding and implementation support, could be a deciding factor in achieving the 2030 goal. The More Compact and Infill Focus scenarios would yield reductions below the 2014 VMT per capita level of 9-12% in 2030 and 12-15% in 2035.

Our analysis of the potential for oil use reductions for transportation in 2030 pertains to the passenger vehicle segment, which makes up three-quarters of all on-road emissions. Our analysis indicates that a 2% reduction from today’s total VMT levels would accomplish a 50% reduction in oil use (using the E3 Early Deployment scenario for other assumptions). Under the Infill Focus scenario, total VMT in 2030 rises by about 1% from today’s level while population increases by 14%. Though this reduction is slightly higher than that of any of the scenarios we model, we would expect such an outcome to be achievable in combination with other evolving mobility options, such as ride-hailing companies (e.g., Uber, Lyft), micro-transit (private companies operating like public transit agencies over smaller areas, e.g., Chariot), bike sharing and e-bikes, and investments in safe active transportation infrastructure (i.e., to support cyclists and pedestrians). These emerging transportation choices fit well with more compact and mixed land use patterns where homes, services, and jobs are nearby.

---

8 Avoided health cost assumptions developed by Environmental Defense Fund/American Lung Association in California/Tetra Tech for their recent study, *Driving California forward: Public health and societal economic benefits of California’s AB 32 transportation fuel policies* (May 2014).
CONCLUSION

Building mostly within our existing urban boundaries won’t be simpler, but it will pay off with economic, environmental, and social benefits. The smarter growth patterns modeled in this study deliver more transportation choices, better mobility, and an upgraded quality of life for millions of Californians. This report quantifies the carbon emissions reductions and a selection of the co-benefits associated with smarter development. The land use patterns studied here could lead to even larger carbon emissions reductions than estimated because they will also preserve more land in California for carbon sequestration.

In conjunction with technological innovation, comprehensive land use planning is crucial to meeting the larger goals for economy-wide emissions reduction and reducing oil consumption by 50%. CARB should set stronger SB 375 goals that are consistent with the Governor’s Executive Order to reduce statewide carbon emissions 40% below 1990 levels by 2030. CARB should also set stronger requirements for smart growth actions by local governments to qualify for funding from auction revenues.

California’s population is expected to hit 50 million by 2050, up from 39 million today. As the state’s population and economy expand, it is vital to think about future growth patterns and their implications. Land use patterns, once established, are long-lasting and can be costly to reverse or retrofit. Rather than emphasize the downside of past patterns, this report prefers to focus on the potential upside to redoubled smart growth efforts. There is a golden growth opportunity to be seized. The state should further advance its efforts to encourage patterns that will help the state meet its health, climate, energy, water, and fiscal challenges. The world’s cities, like California’s, are bursting with energy. California, as a policy leader and America’s most urbanized state, is poised to benefit from this new age of enlightened urbanism.