



# Comparing household greenhouse gas emissions across Canadian cities



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## ABSTRACT

We provide an estimate of the expected direct greenhouse gas emissions for an average Canadian household in 17 Census Metropolitan Areas. We include emissions from the consumption of gasoline, natural gas, and electricity. Higher density is associated with lower gasoline consumption in personal vehicles, cold weather is associated with higher energy consumption for heating, and higher income and family size are associated with overall greater energy use. The average Canadian household produces the lowest greenhouse gas emissions in Montréal, Québec, followed by Vancouver, British Columbia. Highest emissions are in Edmonton, followed by Calgary. The source of energy used matters more than we expected. Despite its inclement weather, Montréal has the lowest emissions because hydropower supplies much of its household energy use (including home heating). Edmonton and Calgary have the highest associated emissions, due to their extreme weather, low density, and coal based electricity supply. The average household across all cities (weighted by population share) experienced a decline in its predicted CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from 11.49 tonnes per year in 1997 to 9.7 tonnes in 2009 (16% over 12 years). One of the reasons for this decline is that population growth was higher in cities where emissions fell faster.

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## 1. Introduction

In 2004, households contributed 46% of the overall CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in Canada (Clark and Gagnon, 2008). A third of these were direct emissions generated at the household—comprising emissions from motor and residential fuel use (Clark and Gagnon, 2008). The rest are indirect emissions, those from the production of the goods and services consumed.

Studies find that household emissions are influenced by household and urban characteristics. For instance, a larger, richer family is likely to consume more fuel, and increasing neighborhood density induces lower levels of driving (see Glaeser and Kahn, 2008).

We ask two questions. First, how do Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas differ in the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions produced by a standardized

household?<sup>1</sup> Or alternatively, if an average Canadian household (with mean income, household size, and age of the head of the household) were to locate to a randomly chosen Census Metropolitan Area, what would be their expected direct CO<sub>2</sub> emissions?

Second: how are the average household emissions in Canada changing over time? This involves two sub questions: first, are the rankings of Canadian cities with respect to household emissions, changing over our sample period? Second, are population changes systematically related to emissions across Canadian cities? In other words, are there more people choosing to live in high emission or low emission cities?

To estimate household emissions, we employ data for fuel consumption, household and city level characteristics for 17 Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) across Canada over 12 years (1997–2009). We use our data to estimate the effects of household and CMA level

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<sup>1</sup> Glaeser and Kahn (2008) conduct a similar exercise for cities in the United States of America.

**Table 1**  
Descriptive statistics.

| Variable   | Mean     | SD       | N   |
|--|----------|----------|-----|
| Gasoline Q (L)                                     | 2162.40  | 327.15   | 187 |
| Natural gas Q (m <sup>3</sup> )                    | 1972.72  | 1074.89  | 112 |
| Electric Q (kW h)                                  | 11982.40 | 4133.25  | 187 |
| Gasoline price (cents/L)                           | 79.12    | 19.19    | 187 |
| Natural gas price (cents/m <sup>3</sup> )          | 33.07    | 16.85    | 119 |
| Electricity price (cents/kW h)                     | 9.25     | 2.95     | 187 |
| Density (person/km <sup>2</sup> )                  | 267.06   | 287.38   | 187 |
| Income (\$)  | 65550.60 | 14394.56 | 187 |
| Avg. household size                                | 2.52     | 0.18     | 186 |
| Age of the reference person (years)                | 48.23    | 2.18     | 187 |
| Heating degree days                                | 4696.12  | 1167.74  | 187 |
| Pct. of HH with more than 2 vehicles               | 0.35     | 0.09     | 186 |
| Avg. number of rooms per dwelling                  | 6.14     | 0.43     | 186 |
| Pct. of HH with natural gas in ppal heating system | 0.75     | 0.27     | 106 |
| Pct. of houses built between 1961 and 1970         | 0.16     | 0.04     | 155 |
| Pct. of houses built between 1981 and 1990         | 0.18     | 0.04     | 165 |

Source: See source in Table 9 in Annex.

characteristics on fuel consumption for three main fuels: gasoline, natural gas and electricity. Holding constant household characteristics (income, household size, and age of the head of household at the level of an average Canadian household), we predict fuel use across different CMAs. We then convert this predicted fuel use to CO<sub>2</sub> emissions using available local CO<sub>2</sub> emission factors for each fuel and compare emissions across CMAs. Once this is done, the emission for the average household in Canada can be calculated by simply weighting each CMA emission by its population share.<sup>2</sup>

We find that household size, and income increase fuel consumption. Higher population density reduces emissions, due to reduced driving and likely smaller dwellings. Moderate temperatures lower energy needs for dwelling level temperature control. Differences in emission factors have a large impact on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions: thus the source of a province's electricity is important, so is the composition of natural gas used (see Table 2). These three factors suggest that cities on the coast in British Columbia are likely to have the lowest emissions. Vancouver and Victoria are relatively dense, have moderate temperatures, and use electricity generated from hydroelectric dams. Instead we find that despite its famously harsh winters, Montréal has the lowest predicted carbon emissions (at only 5 tonnes for the standardized household, Vancouver is second at 7.2 tonnes).<sup>3</sup> Evidence suggests that Montréal has the lowest emissions as its residents use electricity for heating. The choice of natural gas versus electricity for heating having a significant impact on household level CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. The highest predicted CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are in Edmonton (with over 20 tonnes per family, Calgary is second highest at a little under 18 tonnes).

This relative ranking holds true through most of our sample. An average Canadian household in Montréal has always had the lowest greenhouse gas emissions, and the same household situated in Edmonton has always had the highest emissions. We also find that all CMAs experienced a decline in average emissions through our sample. The average household across Canada (across eight CMAs to be precise) saw its predicted CO<sub>2</sub> emissions decline from 11.49 tonnes per year in 1997 to 9.7 tonnes in 2009. A decline of approximately 16% over 12 years. We also find suggestive correlations that population growth has been higher in cities where emissions are declining faster. We do not know the reason underlying this correlation, but this population trend reduces overall household emissions in Canada.

<sup>2</sup> We only use eight CMA's for this exercise. These are the CMAs for which we have data on all three fuels used, gasoline, electricity, and natural gas. We use population shares amongst the eight used, this ensures that our weights sum to 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Tables 4 and 5.

We also find suggestive evidence explaining Montréal's use of natural gas for electricity in heating. While electricity prices in Québec are amongst the lowest in the country, they aren't very different from CMAs in other hydropowered Provinces (Manitoba and British Columbia). On the other hand, average natural gas prices in Québec are the highest in the country. The average price in Montréal (at 49.08 ¢/m<sup>3</sup>) is almost double (approximately 78% higher) in gas rich Alberta (at 27.63 ¢/m<sup>3</sup> in Edmonton and Calgary), and approximately 25% higher than that in British Columbia (at 39.08 ¢/m<sup>3</sup> in Victoria). Historically high gas prices might have spurred infrastructure and cultural changes (residential building norms) which lead to an overwhelming use of electricity for heating.

The implications from our analysis are fairly straightforward. If we encourage high density development or encourage development of low carbon energy, households lower their greenhouse gas emissions. If we encourage residents to move to high dense locations, the average emissions per household in Canada also fall. This implies that one way to lower the average emissions by household in Canada is to encourage city level policies encouraging densification. As a city densifies, it reduces average household emissions. As it densifies, it also reduces barriers to entry for residents, thus increasing population. So densification mimics the correlation we find in our data. Finally, our analysis also reaffirms the importance of prices. Prices can influence fuel use which has a large impact on greenhouse gas emissions.

## 2. Methodology

Our analysis follows and builds on Glaeser and Kahn (2008), who estimate carbon dioxide emissions associated with major metropolitan cities in the United States of America for the year 2000. They use household level data. Instead, we estimate carbon dioxide emissions associated with cities in Canada for a panel of years from 1997–2009. We use city (Census Metropolitan Area–CMA) level data. Because the structure of data used across our two studies is so different, our questions and methods diverge significantly.

Similar to Glaeser and Kahn (2008), we quantify GHG household emissions from three typical sources of energy used by a Canadian household: gasoline, electricity and natural gas. Gasoline is used mostly in personal vehicles. Electricity and natural gas are used for multiple purposes (for example, lighting, temperature control, cooking) in a household dwelling. According to Clark and Gagnon (2008), these three sources account for almost all of an average household's direct emissions. Gasoline is responsible for a third (33%), natural gas and heating oil for 39%, and electricity consumption the remaining approximately 28%.

Unlike Glaeser and Kahn (2008) we use a panel data regression. This allows us to control for unobserved heterogeneity across

**Table 2**  
Provincial fuel emission factors.

| Province                  | Electricity (CO <sub>2</sub> g/kW h) | Natural gas (CO <sub>2</sub> g/m <sup>3</sup> ) | Gasoline (CO <sub>2</sub> g/L) |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Alberta                   | 850                                  | 1918  | 2289                           |
| British Columbia          | 31                                   | 1916  | 2289                           |
| Manitoba                  | 6                                    | 1877  | 2289                           |
| New Brunswick             | 569                                  | 1891  | 2289                           |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 20                                   | 1891  | 2289                           |
| Northwest Territories     | 367                                  | 2454  | 2289                           |
| Nova Scotia               | 770                                  | 1891  | 2289                           |
| Ontario                   | 100                                  | 1879  | 2289                           |
| Prince Edward Island      | 17                                   | .   | 2289                           |
| Québec                    | 3                                    | 1878  | 2289                           |
| Saskatchewan              | 760                                  | 1820  | 2289                           |
| Yukon                     | 40                                   | .   | 2289                           |

Source: Greenhouse Gas Division, Environment Canada, National Inventory Report, 1990–2010.

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