

Energy requirements for decent living in India, Brazil and South Africa

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Abstract

For over thirty years researchers have tried to estimate how much energy societies require to provide for everyone's basic needs. This question gains importance with climate change, because global scenarios of climate stabilization assume strong reductions in energy demand growth in developing countries. Here, we estimate bottom-up the energy embodied in the material underpinnings of decent living standards for India, Brazil and South Africa. We find that our estimates fall within these countries' energy demand projections in global scenarios of climate stabilization at 2°C, but to different extents. Further, national policies that encourage public transportation and sustainable housing construction will be critical to reduce these energy needs. These results offer one benchmark to compare countries' mitigation efforts and technology transfer arrangements to assess the extent to which they address development priorities in an equitable manner.

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21 **Main**

22 How much energy do societies require in order to meet everyone's basic needs? This question
23 first emerged after the oil crises of the seventies¹, and still continues to beg a satisfactory answer.
24 With the threat of climate change, the question assumes greater urgency. Global scenarios of
25 climate mitigation indicate that meeting the Paris Agreement goals will likely require rapid,
26 transformative changes in global energy supply, land use and potentially negative emissions,
27 among many other changes². Notably, these scenarios also assume that energy demand will grow
28 more slowly than economic growth.³ The implications of drastic reductions in energy demand
29 growth for developing countries has received limited attention⁴. If meeting even basic living
30 standards requires higher energy demand than projected in these scenarios, then the scale of the
31 energy supply transition required in developing countries would be even more daunting than is
32 currently expected. The promulgation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) has
33 accelerated efforts to eradicate poverty and improve basic living standards. Their impact on
34 energy demand is a critical, but poorly understood, link to the climate challenge. This study starts
35 to fill this gap by calculating bottom-up the energy demand required to meet decent living
36 standards (DLS) in three exemplary countries, India, Brazil and South Africa.

37 Global scenarios from Integrated assessment models (IAM) estimate that average energy demand
38 growth in developing regions, typically modeled as Asia, Latin America and Middle East/Africa,
39 will rise to less than double present levels by 2050 in a 2°C world (*Supplementary Note 2*), while
40 GDP can more than quadruple. This is also the case for India, Brazil and South Africa in the few
41 scenarios where these countries are modeled individually. At the most aggregate level, average
42 energy demand in non-OECD countries would, starting from an average of 38 GJ/cap today,
43 grow up to at most 60 GJ per capita⁵. These scenarios encapsulate a wide range of

44 socioeconomic futures and mitigation measures. At the upper end, significant negative emissions
45 would be required to decarbonize high demand growth in a fossil-dominant world, while with
46 stronger demand-side measures, lower energy demand growth would reduce the reliance on
47 negative emissions. However, these scenarios provide very limited basis, if any, to assess the
48 adequacy of their energy demand estimates to sustain basic human needs. Energy is an
49 unavoidable input into the built environment that supports human life. Given that over three
50 billion people lack adequate access to clean cooking or electricity, and over a billion lack clean
51 water and sanitation,⁶ among other essential services, it is important to know whether these
52 scenarios are compatible with support for a decent life for all and under what technological
53 conditions.

54 Numerous studies have attempted to quantify an energy threshold for human wellbeing, whose
55 results span an order of magnitude– from 10 GJ per capita to over 100 GJ per capita⁷⁻¹⁴. This
56 range is not informative, however, not only because of the high implied uncertainty, but also
57 because of its weak footing. Past studies aren't rigorous about establishing energy needs in the
58 first place. Most studies derive their estimates from an association between countries' energy use
59 and various aggregate 'outcome' indicators of human progress, such as the human development
60 index (HDI) or life expectancy. With few exceptions, these studies use cross-national or panel
61 data to estimate a relationship between countries' energy use and their chosen indicator, thereby
62 implicitly assuming the dominance of such a global order over other drivers of energy use.
63 However, these studies often do not control for income or country-specific drivers, such as
64 climate, neither do they explain the large variance observed around these estimated
65 relationships¹⁵. As such, these studies may be picking up energy use associated with affluence,

66 and ignoring legitimate differences in energy needs across countries. The evidence, therefore, is
67 indicative of a dependence on energy, but insufficient to establish its primacy.

68 A few bottom-up studies do build up energy demand from specific energy uses^{1,13,14}. Among the
69 first of these, back in 1985, suggested the possibility of a ‘one kilowatt per capita’ (32 GJ)
70 society that could meet human needs and more¹. However, indirect energy used to manufacture
71 products was assumed, rather than calculated. Furthermore, none of these studies are based on
72 comprehensive formulations of human needs. In summary, after thirty years, the question of how
73 much energy is necessary to meet human needs still remains unanswered.

74 We derive the energy needs for basic human wellbeing from its material prerequisites, or decent
75 living standards (“DLS”), whose derivation and justification can be found in previous work¹⁶. In
76 contrast to ‘outcome’ indicators of well-being, the DLS define the physical ‘means’ that enable,
77 but do not define, wellbeing. The DLS approach is in line with the broadening trend in
78 development indicators of representing the multiple non-income dimensions of poverty, starting
79 with the HDI, and culminating in the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)¹⁷. DLS includes
80 not just requirements for physical wellbeing but also the means for social affiliation and political
81 participation in society¹⁸. We chose conservative threshold quantities that correspond to a basic
82 minimum for a decent life (*Supplementary Table 10*). For instance, cooling homes to a
83 comfortable temperature and humidity to avoid heat stress may require air conditioning (AC).
84 We calculate energy needs for building a minimally sized home (10m² per capita) and cooling
85 just the bedrooms at night, to a conservative temperature threshold for comfort (26°C) rather than
86 to the level used in most studies (18°C)¹⁹. We estimate, bottom-up, the energy embodied in the
87 relevant materials and in the infrastructure to manufacture, deliver and provide these goods and
88 services using standard tools of industrial ecology (See *Supplementary Figure 1* for the

89 conceptual framework and *Supplementary Methods* for details). The three chosen economies -
90 India, Brazil and South Africa - represent a broad range of economic, climatic and cultural
91 conditions in non-OECD countries. Due to this heterogeneity, a universal living standard gives
92 rise to different energy requirements for decent living in each country – an important departure
93 from previous approaches.

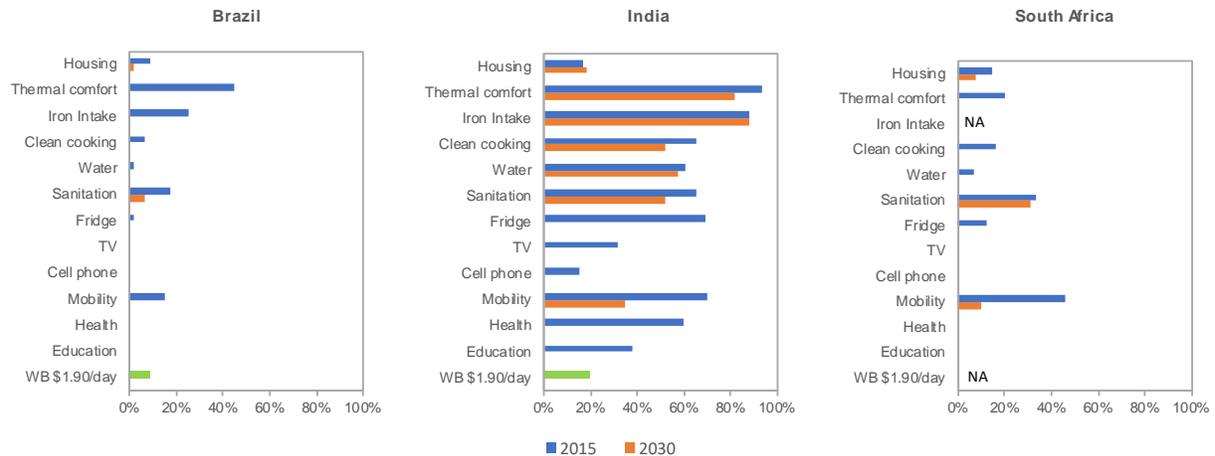
94 **Decent living standards**

95 We choose the DLS to represent a comprehensive, but minimum set of material requirements, so
96 as to estimate a lower bound on the energy needs. The DLS consumption basket includes
97 adequate nutrition, safe shelter with minimum space and thermal comfort, sufficient and in-house
98 water for drinking and basic ablutions, improved sanitation, lighting, clean cooking fuels, cold
99 storage, access to the Internet and broadcast media, and the use of motorized transport, including
100 public transit. In addition, it includes at the national level the provision of health care services
101 and education facilities to support both physical and social wellbeing. We refer to these aspects
102 as DLS dimensions. Threshold quantities for these dimensions are derived from international and
103 national standards and literature on basic needs (*Supplementary Table 10*)¹⁶. For different DLS
104 dimensions, universal requirements translate to country-specific materials and energy needs,
105 when operationalized in different contexts. For instance, a universal standard for adequate floor
106 space, durable housing and thermal comfort translates to different construction materials and
107 space heating and cooling requirements. Providing and maintaining these living standards to all
108 would in turn give rise to investments in and construction of infrastructure, such as public
109 transportation, water and sanitation, roads, housing, health and education facilities. Our analysis
110 aims to gain insights on the relative energy demand for hypothetically providing the same DLS
111 in different countries. We do not consider implementation challenges (See *Supplementary Note*

112 3). We also provide sufficient information to assess the energy needs using different threshold
 113 quantities (See *Supplementary Tables 14-18*).

114 **Figure 1: Gaps in decent living.**

115 Gaps in decent living (percent of population lacking in each dimension) in India, Brazil and
 116 South Africa, in 2015 (blue) and in 2030 (red, extrapolation of recent trends), compared to World
 117 Bank’s International Poverty Line (green, WB \$1.90/day). NA: Not available.



118
 119 The DLS reveals the multidimensionality of poverty and its extent. More people lack DLS than
 120 the number of income poor, as defined by the World Bank’s International Poverty Line (IPL) of
 121 \$1.90/day (Figure 1)²⁰. In India, 15-93 percent of the population lack various elements of DLS,
 122 which far exceed the IPL headcount of 20 percent. One dimension of particular importance to
 123 public health and climate change is the need for space cooling to avoid heat stress-induced health
 124 effects, which affects up to 3.4 billion worldwide²¹, including over 93 percent (over a billion) of
 125 Indians¹⁹. We estimate that about 45 percent of Brazilians and 20 percent of South Africans also
 126 lack access to air conditioning (AC) to provide adequate thermal comfort. Otherwise, the DLS
 127 deficits in Brazil and South Africa are largely in access to mobility and sanitation.

128 There is no easy way to predict how these gaps will evolve. If current trends continue, deficits in
 129 India would persist in some measures beyond 2030. The slowest progress is in gaining access to

130 improved sanitation, clean cooking, minimum mobility services, and AC for thermal comfort. In
131 Brazil, gaps in access to improved sanitation would persist beyond 2030, while in South Africa
132 mobility and housings gaps would also exist past 2030. If population growth were to exceed, and
133 income growth were to fall below, current trends, gaps in most of these dimensions would
134 increase, but the demand for basic mobility could reduce if this shift were accompanied by less
135 urbanization.

136 As an illustrative exercise, we create three principal scenarios for how DLS gaps may evolve
137 over time. The first is an extrapolation of historical trends (DLS_BAU). We create two other
138 scenarios of full achievement of DLS by 2030, consistent with the SDGs: the first,
139 DLS_ACCEL; and a variation (DLS_ACCEL_LCT) that incorporates development strategies
140 that improve DLS while also reducing energy demand growth. These include public transit to
141 support future mobility in cities²², energy efficiency measures in industry and buildings²³ and
142 diet diversification²⁴ (*Supplementary Table 11-13*). These measures illustrate, rather than
143 encompass, the potential for lowering the energy intensity of providing DLS from ‘no regrets’
144 measures. We do not include drastic technological advances such as deep electrification of
145 transport, which in any case are modeled in traditional IAM scenarios. Together, these scenarios
146 provide a range of energy demand estimates under different rates of progress in DLS in different
147 contexts and under different types of development policies. We also capture the combined effect
148 of uncertainty in the DLS gaps and key material requirements in DLS_HIGH and DLS_LOW
149 sensitivity scenarios, which capture the high and low bounds of this uncertainty, respectively
150 (*See Supplementary Note 1, Supplementary Figure 7*).

151 Below, we present the results and their implications for energy demand, energy policy and
152 climate change mitigation. The last section presents the methods behind these estimates.

153 **The energy demands of basic human needs**

154 Below we first describe the aggregate energy needs, and the contribution of DLS dimensions.

155 We compare their composition across countries with respect to new construction requirements

156 and operating energy. We then discuss the implications of these findings for national policy,

157 climate equity, and future energy research. Note that construction energy includes the energy to

158 build out and turnover of new capital, including vehicles, appliances, housing and infrastructure.

159 As capital outlays are front-loaded, and reduce to capital turnover in later years, we present the

160 construction energy investment as an average per capita energy requirement per year over the

161 time period 2015-2050. Operating energy includes the economy-side energy required to deliver

162 DLS to all, expressed in GJ per capita per year. We focus on the operating energy post 2030,

163 when DLS is hypothetically achieved.

164 We find, somewhat surprisingly, that operating energy dominates total energy needs, despite the

165 large infrastructure gaps, particularly in India (Figure 2). Between the DLS_ACCEL_LCT and

166 DLS_ACCEL scenarios, total annual operating energy is 10-11 GJ per cap in India, 14-16 GJ per

167 cap in South Africa, and 19-21 GJ per cap in Brazil, in final energy terms, once the infrastructure

168 to provide DLS has been built out (that is, post 2030). In addition, the construction energy over

169 the 2015-2050 period lies between 1.4-2.3 GJ per cap in India, 2.1-3.2 GJ per cap in South

170 Africa, and 1.9-2.9 GJ per cap in Brazil. In the case of India, which has the largest gaps, meeting

171 DLS for all by 2030 (the target for achieving SDGs) would require 23 percent greater capital

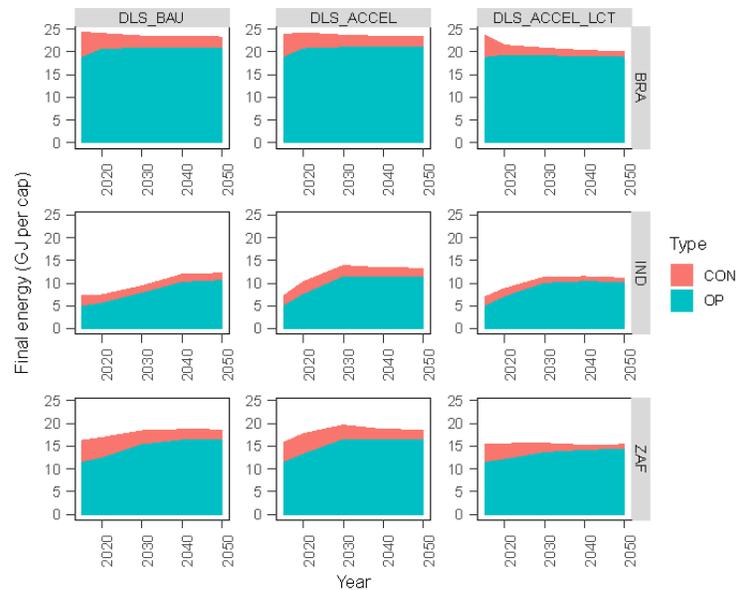
172 (and related energy) infusion compared to BAU trends. Notably, these energy requirements are a

173 likely lower bound, as they are based on conservative thresholds.

174

175 **Figure 2: Energy requirements for providing decent living standards.**

176 Energy (final) requirements per capita for providing decent living standards (DLS) in Brazil
177 (BRA), India (IND) and South Africa (ZAF) in three scenarios of progress: left, business as
178 usual, where full access is not achieved by 2030 (DLS_BAU); middle, full achievement by 2030
179 (DLS_ACCEL); right, full achievement by 2030 with climate-friendly strategies
180 (DLS_ACCEL_LCT). Values include construction energy (CON, red) to build out and maintain
181 infrastructure; and economy-wide energy demand to support DLS (OP, blue).



182

183 Taking construction and operation together, total DLS energy needs (averaged over the period
184 2015-2050) lie at the lower end of the 10-100 GJ per capita range in literature, but significantly
185 dependent on context. This is not surprising, considering that most studies estimate global
186 relationships between energy and outcome-based indicators, which may not isolate energy that
187 supports only basic living standards. In comparison to previous bottom-up studies, this range
188 falls between them (10 and 32 GJ final energy per cap per year). The limitations of these have
189 already been mentioned.

190 The DLS dimensions that dominate total energy needs are mobility (51%-60%), food for
191 production and cooking (21%-27%), and housing (5%-12%), including thermal comfort. Health
192 care provision, clothing, water and sanitation (together), and the remaining social wellbeing

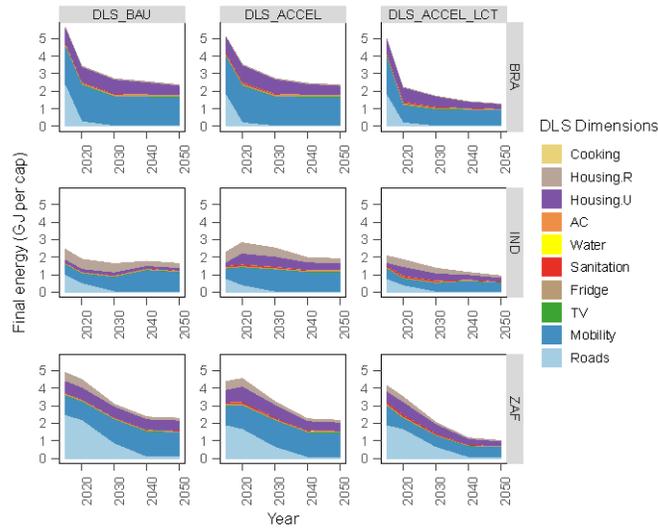
193 requirements (basic education and ICT) are of comparable magnitude, at 2-3 percent of the total
194 each.

195 The construction energy requirements per capita are similar across the three countries, even
196 though the gaps in decent living differ so widely between them. This is due to different
197 circumstances related to mobility in each country, which dominates construction energy (45-66
198 percent, across scenarios and countries) (Figure 3). In Brazil, which is reliant on road transport,
199 just the replacement of retiring stock of private vehicles dominates this investment. In India, the
200 overall stock of transport infrastructure has to grow more than in Brazil, but with a higher share
201 of public transit, which is less energy intensive to build. In South Africa, paving unpaved roads
202 in rural areas dominates its construction energy.

203 It is also noteworthy that with sustainable development policies, the construction energy to
204 provide DLS for all can be reduced by over 34 percent for all countries (DLS_ACCEL_LCT
205 scenario vs DLS_ACCEL). In the case of India, such a sustainable path would entail less energy
206 demand than that associated with DLS_BAU — a slower expansion of DLS access and less
207 efficient technology choices. Most of this potential is in transport, and to a lesser extent in
208 housing. In particular, the construction energy for mobility for all countries can be reduced by
209 36-48 percent (the latter in India, where growth is highest) if incremental demand in cities is met
210 by public transportation alone. This would reflect an increase in the share of public transport, rail
211 or bus, in 2050 from 20 to 80 percent in South Africa, from 2 to 26 percent in Brazil, and from
212 63 percent to 78 percent in India. Replacing slums and overcrowded homes with multi-storey
213 housing, and over 30 million sub-standard homes in rural India, and a million in rural South
214 Africa with durable alternatives would require (~0.6-0.9 GJ/cap, 2010-2050), depending on the
215 construction practices deployed.

216 **Figure 3: Construction energy requirements for providing decent living standards.**

217 Construction energy per capita (including infrastructure and product manufacturing) breakdown
218 by sector for providing decent living standards to all in Brazil (BRA), India (IND) and South
219 Africa (ZAF) in three scenarios of progress: left, business as usual, where full access is not
220 achieved by 2030 (DLS_BAU); middle, full achievement by 2030 (DLS_ACCEL); right, full
221 achievement by 2030 with climate-friendly strategies (DLS_ACCEL_LCT).



222

223 Supporting mobility on an ongoing basis dominates DLS operating energy as well (Figure 4).

224 The energy requirements for mobility depend significantly on existing mode shares, because
225 different transport modes have very different energy intensities. Despite high growth in private

226 vehicles in India, over two-thirds of the population that use motorized transport still rely on

227 public bus and rail. Between meeting all future urban demand with public transport (in the

228 DLS_ACCEL_LCT scenario) and keeping the mode shares the same as today (DLS_ACCEL

229 scenario), the annual mobility energy requirements in India would vary between 4.7-6.0

230 GJ/cap/yr. after 2030. If future urbanites purchase an increasing share of cars over two-wheelers,

231 from the current share of three-quarters to half by 2030, the operating energy for mobility would

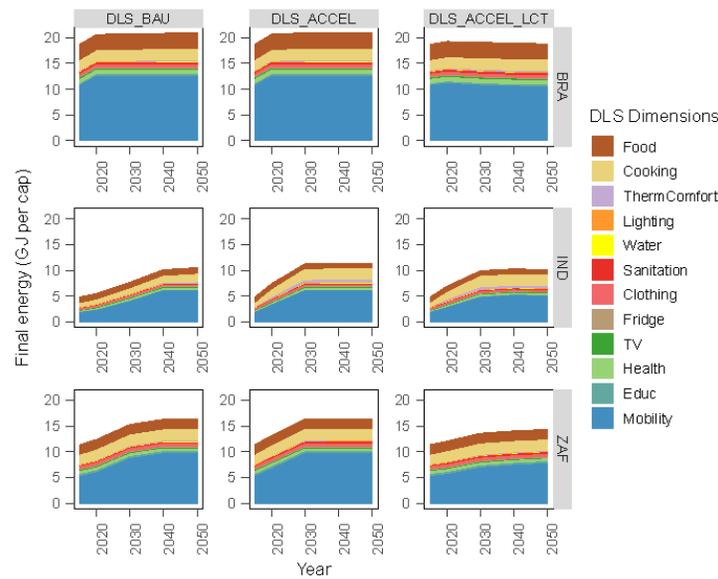
232 increase by about 9 percent. In Brazil, due to the present dominance of road transport and

233 passenger vehicles, its mobility operation energy needs alone (~10-12 GJ/cap/yr.) would be

234 comparable to India’s entire DLS energy needs, even if public buses serve the bulk of future
 235 demand growth.

236 **Figure 4: Operational energy requirements for providing decent living standards.**

237 Operating energy per capita for delivering decent living standards to all in Brazil (BRA), India
 238 (IND) and South Africa (ZAF) in three scenarios of progress: left, business as usual, where full
 239 access is not achieved by 2030 (DLS_BAU); middle, full achievement by 2030 (DLS_ACCEL);
 240 right, full achievement by 2030 with climate-friendly strategies (DLS_ACCEL_LCT).



241

242 After mobility, the production and preparation of food comprises the largest share of annual
 243 energy needs, albeit to different extents in the three countries. Food production contributes 1.1
 244 GJ/cap/yr., 2.1 GJ/cap/yr. and 3.2 GJ/cap/yr. in India, South Africa and Brazil respectively to
 245 energy demand. This is explained in large part by the extent of meat consumption,²⁵ which
 246 contributed 12, 35 and 51 grams of protein per day to an average person in the three countries
 247 respectively in 2012-13²⁶. Actual food-related energy demand in India would likely grow, as
 248 meat consumption is on the rise, but previous work shows that nutritional requirements can be
 249 met with modest diet changes that reduce energy use.²⁴ In keeping with our approach to
 250 calculating minimum energy needs, we do not count this growth in the DLS energy needs.

251 Energy demand for cooking (including stove and fuel production) would decrease with DLS to
252 ~2 GJ/cap/yr. for all three countries, due to the replacement of inefficient and toxic solid fuel
253 combustion with cleaner and more efficient stoves and fuels such as liquid petroleum gas
254 (LPG)²⁷. The energy for conditioning a minimal amount of residential `space at night to a
255 comfortable range of temperature and humidity amounts up to only 0.5 GJ in India per person
256 per year.

257 **Implications for sustainable development policy**

258 The lifestyles people adopt as they rise out of poverty will influence their wellbeing and, through
259 their material content, energy demand growth.²⁸ This study helps relate energy demand growth to
260 aspects of lifestyles associated with basic needs and affluence. Compared to the modest energy
261 needs required to avoid heat stress in homes, more luxurious use of AC can entail energy
262 demand of five times this minimum level²⁹. Means of social affiliation, including basic
263 education, and access to broadcast and social media, require just a few gigajoules of energy per
264 capita. In contrast, electronics are a growing and non-trivial share of household energy use in
265 affluent countries³⁰.

266 For India in particular, the findings reveal the extent to which national energy demand mirrors
267 inequities in living standards. Current final energy use was 17.5 GJ per cap in 2015, of which,
268 given the large gaps in DLS, about 7 GJ/cap of current demand likely serves basic needs.
269 Further, only 12-15 GJ per cap per year would be required to meet DLS for all, and only a small
270 fraction of that to build out the necessary infrastructure. Although this is not a comprehensive
271 estimate of the energy use needed to support an economy, it reveals that the scale of the energy
272 gap to eradicate poverty is comparable to current energy use.

273 These insights also help define policy choices that can support climate mitigation and enhance
274 wellbeing. Over a third of construction energy can be avoided if slums and poor quality rural
275 homes were upgraded with energy-saving housing construction practices,²³ and if public
276 transportation were scaled up to serve future urban mobility demand. Targeting future energy
277 infrastructure expansion and improvement towards newly emerging urban areas, particularly in
278 support of such improved housing and public transit, can be an effective way to dovetail energy-
279 efficient and equitable growth. Expanding access to clean cooking and encouraging healthy diets
280 are already well-known strategies to improve wellbeing and reduce energy demand³¹.

281 The analytical framework can also provide stakeholders with insights into the sensitivity of the
282 DLS energy needs to different threshold values of the DLS dimensions, since the final results are
283 a linear combination of these inputs and their respective embodied energy intensities
284 (*Supplementary Tables 15-18*). For instance, one can compare the impact on energy needs of
285 changing the minimum standard of floor space in public housing to that of changing minimum
286 mobility requirements.

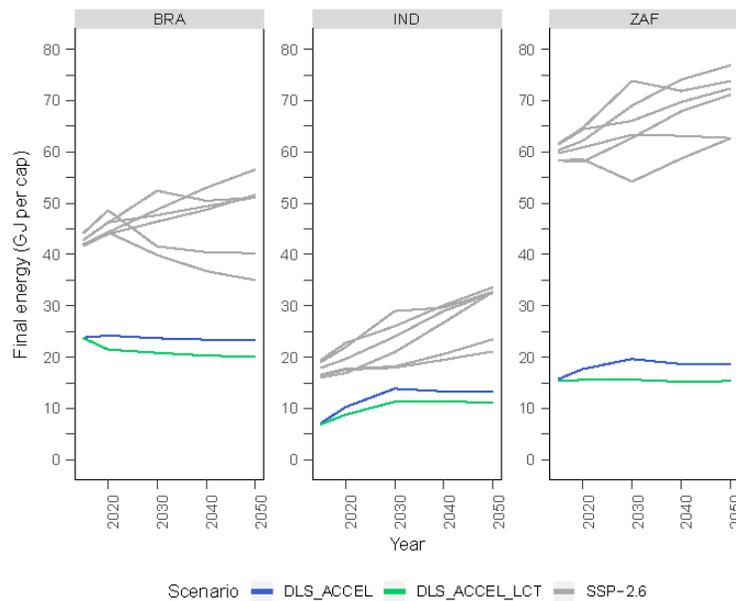
287 **Implications for climate equity**

288 Climate agreements have for long expressed in their call to action an intent to protect
289 development rights^{32,33}. However, without a concrete articulation, the compatibility of such an
290 entitlement with meeting ambitious climate mitigation has eluded policy debates. The DLS can
291 be a basis to characterize such an entitlement. Its related energy demand is one critical link to the
292 many societal transformations required for climate mitigation. This study shows that the energy
293 demand in global scenarios of 2°C can support DLS in the three chosen countries. However, the
294 extent of this compatibility differs across the countries.

295 The gap between countries' DLS energy requirements and IAMs' projected energy demand
 296 pathways in a 2°C world (Figure 5) reflects the energy demand associated with affluence, above a
 297 DLS. India, as the poorest country with the largest DLS gap (Figure 1), has the least 'headroom'
 298 under the IAM trajectories, despite already having lower average demand of DLS. This implies
 299 that India's future affluence from income growth would have to be achieved with relatively less
 300 growth in energy demand or have to bear a higher carbon price tag than elsewhere. International
 301 cooperation on technology transfer and diffusion in future negotiations have to address such
 302 inequities if countries like India are expected to pursue ambitious mitigation. These questions
 303 require exploration in the broader context of greenhouse gas emissions and not just energy, but
 304 the DLS framework offers a common foundation for such a discussion.

305 **Figure 5: Comparison of energy demand scenarios for decent living standards and national**
 306 **projections.**

307 Comparison of energy demand scenarios for decent living standards (DLS_ACCEL,
 308 DLS_ACCEL_LCT) to national projections from two IAMs (IMAGE, GCAM) under available
 309 socioeconomic futures (Shared Socioeconomic Pathways SSPs 1, 2, 4) that all achieve climate
 310 stabilization at 2.6W/m² (2°C) (SSP-2.6). Variability of DLS pathways to socioeconomic futures
 311 is relatively small. See *Supplementary Note 1*. Note: DLS for all achieved only in 2030.



312

313 Questions about fair efforts and technology transfer have immediate practical significance for
314 countries' Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) under the Paris Agreement. Current
315 pledges fall well short of what is required to meet the targets. Many stakeholders believe that
316 equitable efforts-sharing is central to ratcheting up ambition³⁴⁻³⁶. The global stock take, starting
317 in 2023, obligates parties to develop more ambitious plans for mitigation, adaptation and means
318 of implementation, which include technology transfer and climate finance. The energy needs and
319 climate impacts of providing DLS can be one lens through which subsequent NDC pledges are
320 viewed. Its underlying components provide a concrete basis to debate comparability of countries'
321 demand-side climate mitigation efforts. For instance, India's significantly lower energy demand
322 for the same DLS compared to Brazil raises questions about convergence. What factors justify
323 these differences? How should path dependence and the maturity of Brazil's transport
324 infrastructure be considered against its higher income and transport energy intensity? Similar
325 questions can be asked of food and culture, or housing characteristics and climate, among others.

326

327 **Implications for future research**

328 The analytical approach pursued here builds on a new direction of research that bridges between
329 IAM and industrial ecology research. This link has been recognized as a way to formally assess
330 climate policy alongside other sustainability impacts of a changing industrial system^{37,38}. This
331 study extends this link to consumption and its contribution to wellbeing. Future sustainability
332 research can assess trade-offs and impacts between policies that influence consumption,
333 materials and energy system changes against environmental and social objectives. We create a
334 common point of comparison through energy demand, which we relate to consumption through

335 IE and to climate impacts through IAM. Future work can derive other sustainability impacts of
336 DLS from IE and relate these to climate mitigation goals.

337 **Methods**

338 This study utilizes a service-driven energy accounting model (SEAM) to map countries' progress
339 in living standards to their energy use (*Supplementary Figure 1*). SEAM builds on a foundation
340 of previous studies, particularly for the definition and justification of DLS¹⁶ and the simulation
341 of building construction and operation²⁹. SEAM calculates embodied energy intensities of DLS
342 dimensions using standard methods in industrial ecology³⁹, including multi-regional input-output
343 (using the EXIOBASE MRIO⁴⁰) and life cycle assessment (LCA)^{41,42}. The MRIO is linked to
344 household consumption and expenditure surveys for the three countries so that embodied energy
345 intensities can be calculated for all household consumption categories⁴³. We use this household
346 footprinting approach for calculating, by country, the embodied energy for food, clothing, health
347 and education. The LCA tools are used primarily to calculate the embodied energy of
348 construction and manufacturing, for appliances, buildings and infrastructure. In both methods,
349 we track final energy use (instead of primary energy) through the supply chain, in order to
350 capture actual energy demand, so as to remove the dependence of the results on the fuel mix of
351 the respective countries and thereby enable legitimate comparisons of energy needs across
352 countries. The quantification process involves several similar steps for each DLS dimension.
353 First, based on normative thresholds quantities for DLS dimensions, supported by academic
354 literature¹⁶ and prevailing regulations and standards, estimate shortfalls in DLS from household
355 survey and other national data (*Supplementary Methods, Supplementary Note 4*). Second, using
356 statistical or simulation techniques, where needed, to determine the material satisfiers that best
357 relate to the chosen DLS dimension. For instance, for cold storage and adequate shelter the

358 material satisfiers are straightforward – refrigerators and buildings. The chosen material basis for
359 health and education standards – national expenditure – is less obvious but was found to best
360 correlate to outcomes compared to other physical indicators, such as hospitals or schools. Third,
361 we use MRIO and LCA, as appropriate, to estimate the embodied energy intensity of the chosen
362 material satisfiers. MRIO was used for food, health, education and clothing, while LCA was used
363 for buildings, appliances, vehicles and infrastructure. The choice was based on the specificity of
364 material requirements and their alignment with sector or product definitions in each method.
365 Fourth, we estimate pathways of progress for the DLS dimensions under the chosen scenarios of
366 development and climate policies. In the DLS_BAU scenarios we extrapolate historical rates of
367 progress/growth in each DLS dimension; in DLS_ACCEL we accelerate growth to fill all gaps in
368 DLS by 2030, in line with the SDGs. In the DLS_ACCEL_LCT scenario, different measures are
369 adopted in each dimension, which are described later. We operationalize these choices in a
370 simple capital stock and flow model to represent the material stock that deliver DLS and their
371 operational characteristics. Capital is replaced in accordance with the assumed lifetimes of
372 durables.

373 The rest of this section first briefly summarizes the principles underlying the estimation
374 approach, and then presents how the above steps were operationalized for each dimension. The
375 full details of the material stocks, operating assumptions and the resulting energy demands can
376 be found in the *Supplementary Tables 14-18*.

377 With foundations in theories of basic capabilities and basic needs, the DLS identifies a common
378 universal set of material prerequisites, or ‘satisfiers’, for attaining physical and social wellbeing
379 in modern society¹⁶. Everyone ought to have adequate nutrition, shelter, health care and
380 education, decent living conditions, and the opportunity to participate in society. The DLS

381 operationalizes these universal satisfiers into context-dependent material and energy
382 requirements. The use of industrial ecology tools allows us to comprehensively capture the
383 hierarchy of material dependence, and therefore, the full extent of the built environment, needed
384 to provide DLS. The threshold quantities of individual satisfiers, where relevant (e.g. daily
385 allowance for micronutrients, or floor space), are based on prevailing international and national
386 standards or global trends and translated to actual material consumption based on local
387 conditions. For instance, in all countries a universal floor space threshold (10m² per person) and
388 range of thermal comfort is used, but country-specific building types (e.g. urban multi-storey vs
389 rural single-storey), local construction materials and prevailing efficiency standards, determine
390 the housing and space conditioning energy requirements. Adequate nutrition translates to
391 different daily calorie and micronutrient requirements based on the bioavailability of available
392 foods, which in turn translate to different foods based on prevailing diet choices.

393 The results obviously depend on the chosen thresholds, whose determination involves some level
394 of subjectivity, and ought to, in principle, be driven by policy. We have selected values with the
395 intent of capturing a basic minimum, and provide results that scale proportionately with
396 alternative threshold values. We describe each dimension and its related content next.

397 Food requirements and nourishment are conventionally characterized as average calories per day,
398 which masks and understates the extent of malnourishment in the form of deficiencies in micro-
399 nutrients, such as iron, zinc and vitamins⁴⁴. We estimate these deficiencies with reference to
400 national standards for nutritional adequacy. The diet composition for the countries are based on
401 weighted averages from national (representative) household surveys for Brazil and South Africa
402 in all scenarios. In previous work, we use optimization methods to find regional diets in India
403 that meet these nutritional constraints and energy use while minimizing deviations from existing

404 diets²⁴. The DLS_ACCEL and DLS_ACCEL_LCT scenarios for India adopt this nutritionally
405 optimal (low-rice) diet. In the cases of Brazil and South Africa, the same granularity on
406 household diets and their nutritional content was not available. We instead assess DLS in terms
407 of total calorie requirements. We calculate the embodied energy of DLS diets using the MRIO-
408 based household footprinting tool described above (*Supplementary Methods* for further details).

409 Food preparation inside homes has a significant effect on well-being due to emission of harmful
410 pollutants from solid and liquid fuel based cook stoves. Thus, DLS require that households have
411 gas or electric stoves, which do not emit these pollutants. We calculate the embodied energy in
412 manufacturing and using stoves based on typical usage in middle-income households in India.

413 We find support for a minimum space requirement of 10 m² per person, above a minimum home
414 size of 30 m² (for up to three persons), in several national standards for public housing. For
415 instance, populated regions such as Hong Kong and Taiwan, have regulations for minimum
416 living space between 8-13 m² per capita¹⁶. To avoid heat stress, maximum indoor temperature is
417 restricted to 26°C and 60 percent humidity^{19,29}. The material requirements, the embodied energy
418 intensities of construction and the cooling energy are calculated using a building simulation
419 model developed elsewhere that uses multi-storey and single-storey building archetypes for
420 urban and rural areas respectively²⁹. This model uses the *EnergyPlus* software to simulate space
421 conditioning and an LCA engine to calculate the embodied energy in materials. For the
422 DLS_ACCEL_LCT scenario, we deploy aerated earth blocks for construction and energy
423 efficient materials and cooling equipment, which previous work shows reduces both construction
424 energy and cooling energy requirements relative to conventional masonry²³.

425 For clothing, we find a robust relationship, using linear regression, between quantity of clothing
426 (from household surveys) and climate. We accordingly determine minimum clothing

427 requirements for the three countries using population-weighted climate index (a variation of
428 Heating Degree-Days HDD, see *Supplementary Methods*), and combining with their respective
429 embodied energy intensities from the MRIO. We keep the clothing requirements fixed over time
430 and across scenarios.

431 Decent standards for water supply and sanitation entail in-house access to a minimum quantity of
432 clean water per person per day to support drinking needs, basic ablutions and in-house toilets.
433 Energy for water use in agriculture and industry is accounted for in the indirect energy
434 accounting for other DLS dimensions. The embodied energy for constructing the infrastructure
435 and supplying water are drawn from the LCA literature. Both quantities and intensities are
436 invariant in all scenarios.

437 Households are equipped with basic appliances to meet the needs for cold storage and
438 connectivity to society, including a television, based on the most widely prevalent technology
439 and size options in each respective country⁴⁵. In the DLS_ACCEL_LCT scenario, we assume
440 full penetration of the best available technologies, as modeled in previous work.

441 The provision of health care and education is through shared facilities (e.g. hospitals and
442 schools). The literature reveals that indicators of good health (life expectancy and infant
443 mortality) and education completion correlate well with national per capita health and education
444 expenditures respectively, and stronger than other physical indicators such as the number of
445 hospitals or schools^{16,46}. These minimum expenditures were combined with embodied energy
446 intensities from MRIO to yield energy requirements for health and education.

447 **Uncertainty analysis**

448 We characterize uncertainty in our results following the types of uncertainty identified by the
449 IPCC⁴⁷: unpredictability in behavior related to society and institutions; value uncertainty, related
450 to data inputs; and structural uncertainty in models related to the underlying energy intensity
451 calculations. Note that we already illustrate policy uncertainty through the scenario design. We
452 describe how we represent each type of uncertainty below.

453 We represent two types of societal uncertainty: socioeconomic futures, and institutional
454 conditions. We select key influential variables in each, and combine them, for ease of
455 presentation, to show the outer bounds of energy needs, using two scenarios, DLS_HIGH and
456 DLS_LOW. The socioeconomic uncertainty influence primarily the DLS gap, and the latter the
457 characteristics of new capital required to fill this gap. We use population, income and
458 urbanization projections from available socioeconomic futures from the climate literature
459 (Shared Socioeconomic Pathways, or SSPs)⁴⁸. Population influences the overall gap; income
460 influences the secular uptake of appliances (TV, cell phone and AC); and urbanization influences
461 the share of urban and rural housing requirements, which have different archetypes, and
462 therefore different energy use for the same comfort thresholds. in the DLS gaps. We use the DLS
463 gap most closely related to current trends (SSP2) for the main results (DLS_ACCEL and
464 DLS_ACCES_LCT scenarios), and use SSP1 and SSP3 for the DLS_LOW and DLS_HIGH
465 variations respectively, because they yield the most contrasting values for the DLS gaps.

466 The lifetime of capital, particularly housing, vehicles and roads, and the share of two-wheelers
467 and four-wheelers in India, constitute the most influential institutional uncertainties. In addition,
468 we incorporate uncertainty in the health care sector expenditures that would be required to
469 achieve DLS.

470 Regarding value uncertainty, several data inputs go into the embodied energy intensity
471 calculations. As described below, the literature does not typically offer a logical basis to estimate
472 ranges for these inputs. Instead, we present a sensitivity analysis of the main results to key input
473 parameters. The input data fall into two categories: threshold material requirements in DLS; and
474 the technical parameters in the energy intensity calculations. The threshold quantities of DLS
475 dimensions are a normative input representing consumption levels, which, as mentioned earlier,
476 have been chosen conservatively to develop a lower bound on energy needs for DLS. As the
477 final result is a linear combination of these quantities and their respective embodied energy
478 intensities, the individual components scale proportionately with different threshold values.
479 Regarding energy intensities, aside from our simulations, we have drawn many estimates of
480 embodied energy intensity of products from the LCA and IO literature, for which authors
481 typically do not provide sensitivities. For convenience, we have tabulated the sensitivity of the
482 overall result to a 10 percent change in every threshold value and input parameter that influence
483 these embodied energy intensities (*Supplementary Figure 7*).

484 The primary structural uncertainties lie in the LCA and IO inventories and databases that we rely
485 on in our calculations. However, these uncertainties are only known generally in the field, not for
486 the specific studies and databases from which we draw. Nevertheless, we quantify the extent of
487 this uncertainty (See *Supplementary Note 1*). A comparison of the main results to the uncertainty
488 scenarios can be found in *Supplementary Table 25*.

489 **Data Availability Statement**

490 The data that support the plots within this paper and other findings of this study are available
491 from the corresponding author upon reasonable request. Publicly available data used in the
492 analysis include nationally representative household consumption expenditure surveys in India⁴⁹,

493 Brazil⁵⁰ and South Africa⁵¹, and the Ecoinvent 3⁵² and EXIOBASE 3⁴⁰ databases. Further details
494 available in *Supplementary Note 4*.

495 **Code Availability Statement**

496 The code used to manipulate the data and generate the results are available from the
497 corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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500 **Contributions**

501 NDR designed the study; NDR, JM and AM conducted the analysis and wrote the manuscript.

502 **Financial and non-financial competing interests**

503 The authors declare no competing interests.

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