U.S. Government Accountability Office

Electricity: Information on Peak Demand Power Plants

GAO-24-106145
Q&A Report to Congressional Requesters

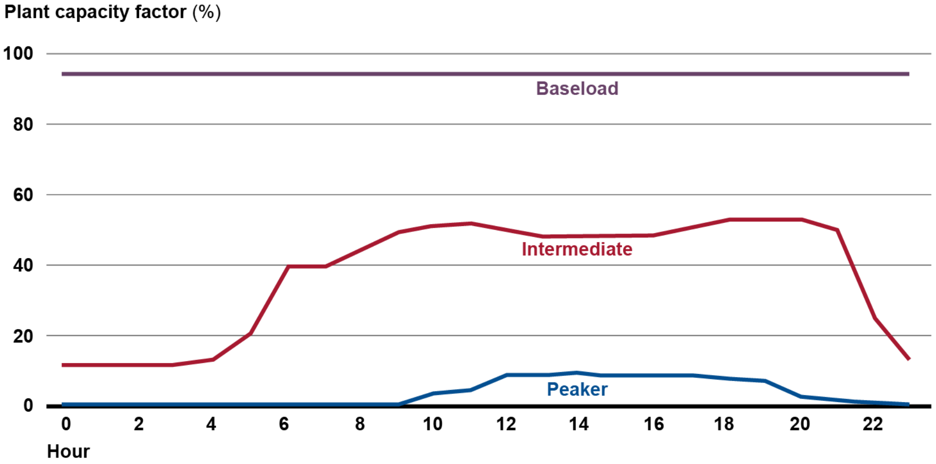
May 21, 2024

Accessible Version

Why This Matters

Peaker power plants are part of the U.S. energy infrastructure and help meet peak electricity demand. Peak demand generally occurs at times during the day when cooling and heating needs are generally the highest among households. Peakers are used to supplement other types of power plants, such as baseload plants, which run consistently throughout the day and night, and intermediate plants, which run mostly during the day and less at night (see fig. 1).

Figure 1: Illustrative Example of Annual Average Hourly Capacity Factors, by Plant Type



Source: GAO Analysis of Environmental Protection Agency data. | GAO-24-106145

Note: A plant’s capacity factor is the percent of energy it produced of the total energy it could have produced during a certain time frame if it operated continuously at full power.

Peakers may be less efficient than other types of plants—such as intermediate and baseload plants—because they undergo frequent startups using comparatively large amounts of fuel. Further, environmental advocates and some congressional leaders have expressed concerns that peakers may also negatively affect the air quality in communities—which may be historically disadvantaged or disproportionately low income—around the plants.

We were asked to examine pollution from peakers across the nation. We are providing information on the number and locations of peakers in the U.S.; the proximity of peakers to disproportionately low-income, and historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic populations; the extent to which they emit pollutants and how these pollutants affect the health of people exposed; alternatives for replacing them; and potential challenges of replacing them.

Key Takeaways

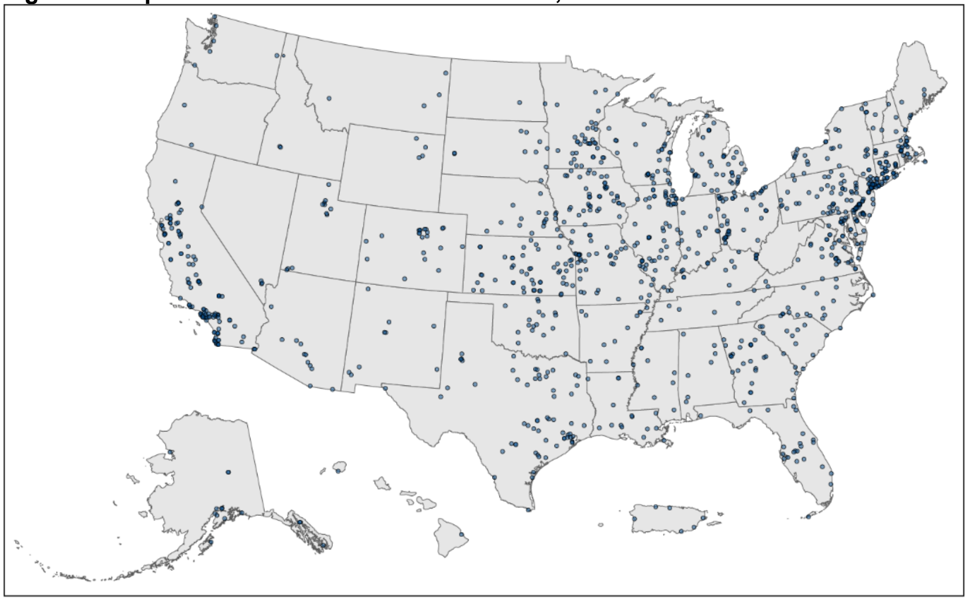
- Historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic communities tend to be closer to peakers.

- Fossil-fueled peakers are primarily fueled by natural gas and emit air pollutants associated with various negative health effects, including on respiratory, cardiovascular, and nervous systems.
- Alternatives are available that could potentially replace or provide similar services as peakers, but we identified challenges for their use related to costs, reliability, space, and location.

How many peakers are there in the U.S., and where are they located?

We identified 999 peakers in the U.S. in 2021, based on our analysis of Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) data (see fig. 2).[1] For the purpose of our report, we generally define peakers as plants that use fossil fuels, including natural gas, coal, and oil; have a capacity factor (the percent of energy produced over a certain time frame, out of what could have been produced at continuous full power operation) of 15 percent or less; and have a nameplate capacity (the designed full-load sustained output of a facility) of greater than 10 megawatts (MW) of electricity.[2] Most of these peakers are fueled by natural gas (see table 1). In 2021, these peakers accounted for 3.1 percent of annual net generation and 19 percent of total nameplate capacity for all power plants.

Figure 2: Map of Peaker Power Plants in the U.S., as of 2021



Source: GAO analysis of Environmental Protection Agency Emissions & Generation Resource Integrated Database (eGRID). | GAO-24-106145

Note: Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico are shifted for display purposes. We define peakers as fossil-fueled power plants that have a capacity factor of 15 percent or less and a nameplate capacity of greater than 10 megawatts of electricity. Areas with multiple peakers appear darker than those with only one. This map does not identify whether there is any statistically significant spatial association or differentiate whether peakers are more concentrated in certain geographies relative to underlying population size.

Table 1: Total Net Electricity Generation and Total Nameplate Capacity of Peaker Power Plants, by Primary Fuel Type, 2021

Plant primary fossil fuel type	Number (%)	Total net generation (MWh)[a] (%)	Total nameplate capacity[b] (MW)
Natural gas	698 (69.87)	106,791,342 (82.75)	190,373
Oil	267 (26.73)	2,646,700 (2.05)	23,991
Coal	33 (3.30)	19,617,924 (15.20)	22,904
Other[c]	1 (0.10)	-9,824 (0.00)[d]	99
Total	**999 (100)**	**129,046,142 (100)**	**237,367**

Source: GAO analysis of Environmental Protection Agency data. I GAO-24-106145

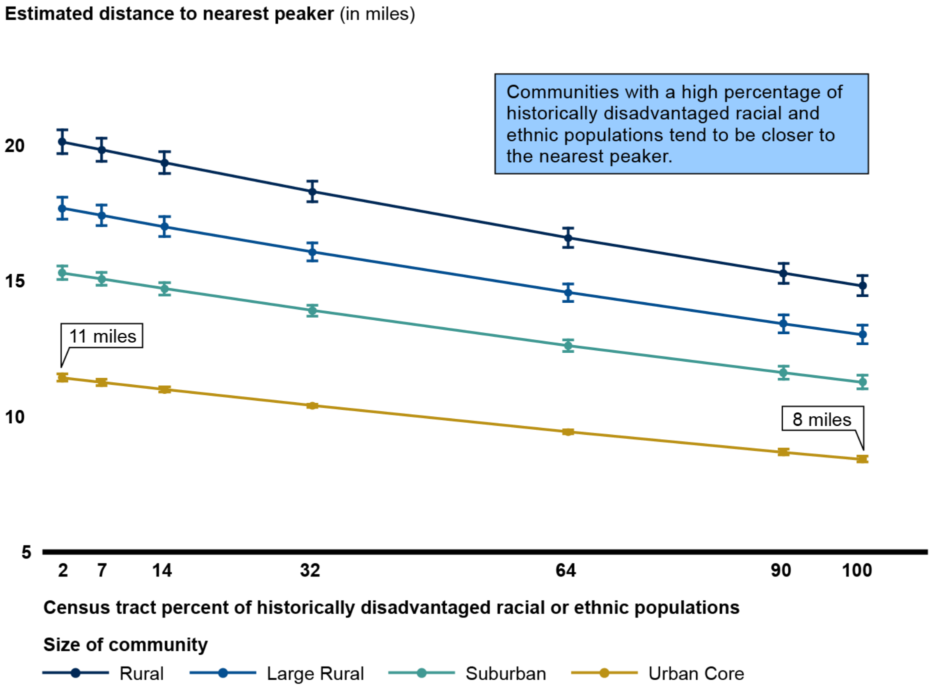
Note: We define peakers as fossil-fueled power plants that have a capacity factor of 15 percent or less and a nameplate capacity of greater than 10 megawatts of electricity.

[a] MWh = megawatt hour
[b] Nameplate capacity is the maximum output of electricity a power plant can produce without exceeding design thermal limits.
[c] This category includes other fossil fuels including blast furnace gas, other gasses, or tire-derived fuel.
[d] This plant has a negative net generation because electricity consumed by the plant exceeds the gross generation of the plant.

How closely are peakers located to historically disadvantaged and low-income communities?

We found that historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic communities (i.e., census tracts with higher percentages of historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic populations) are associated with being closer to peakers (see fig. 3).[3] To perform this analysis, we developed a statistical model to assess how community demographics are associated with proximity to peakers.[4] We tested this model with four alternative definitions of peakers and found that historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic communities are associated with being closer to peakers for all four definitions.[5] For example, based on our model and main definition of a peaker, a community that is 71 percent historically disadvantaged is expected to be 9 percent closer to the nearest peaker than the average community, which is 40 percent historically disadvantaged.[6] In addition, we found that the estimated distance to the nearest peaker varies according to population density, where urban communities have smaller estimated distances to the nearest peaker when compared to otherwise similar rural or suburban communities.

Figure 3: Estimated Distance to Nearest Peaker Power Plant Based on Percent of Community That Is Historically Disadvantaged, by Population Density

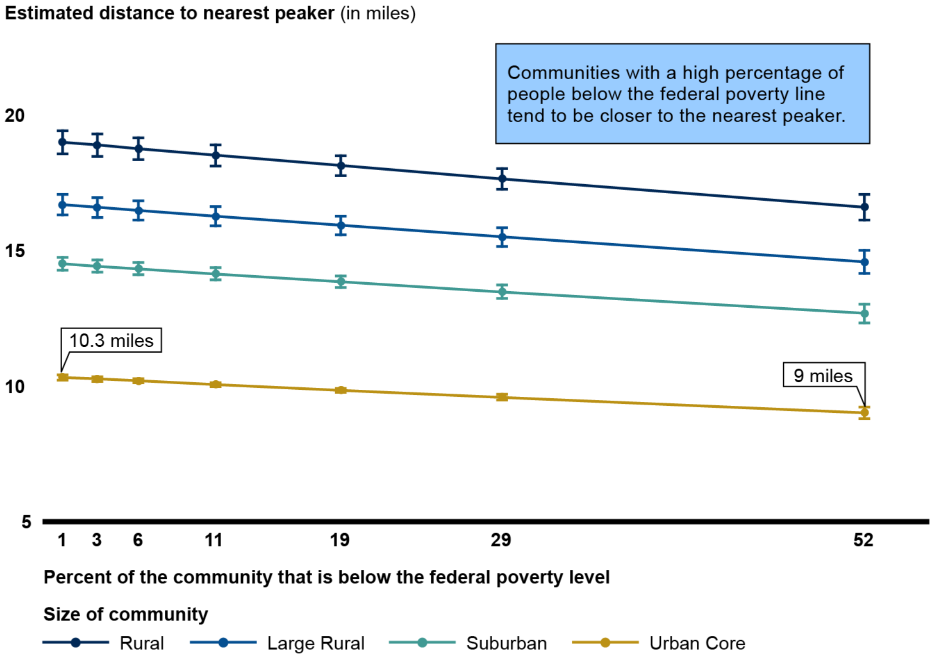


Source: GAO analysis of Census Bureau American Community Survey, Department of Agriculture Economic Research Services, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration National Weather Service, and Energy Information Administration data. | GAO-24-106145

Note: We define peakers as fossil-fueled power plants that have a capacity factor of 15 percent or less and that generate greater than 10 megawatts of electricity. We tested our model with alternative definitions of peakers and found similar results. This figure summarizes the results of our model assessing the relationship between the distance from a census tract to the nearest peaker and the demographic characteristics of that census tract. Our model includes controls for population density (e.g., rural or urban), climate, and other factors. Values on the x-axis represent various sample percentiles. Whiskers represent 95 percent confidence intervals, and non-overlapping whiskers are significantly different.

We found mixed results for income. Specifically, for three of our four definitions of a peaker, we found that communities with higher percentages of people below the federal poverty level were statistically significantly closer to the nearest peaker (see fig. 4).[7] Income was not statistically significant for our fourth definition.[8]

Figure 4: Estimated Distance to Nearest Peaker Power Plant Based on Percent of Community That Is Below the Federal Poverty Level, by Population Density



Source: GAO analysis of Census Bureau American Community Survey, Department of Agriculture Economic Research Services, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration National Weather Service, and Energy Information Administration data. | GAO-24-106145

Note: We define peakers as fossil-fueled power plants that have a capacity factor of 15 percent or less and that generate greater than 10 megawatts of electricity. We tested our model with alternative definitions of peakers and found similar results for three definitions, but insignificant results for one definition. This figure summarizes the results of our model assessing the relationship between the distance from a census tract to the nearest peaker and the demographic characteristics of that census tract. Our model includes controls for population density (e.g., rural or urban), climate, and other factors. Values on the x-axis represent various sample percentiles. Whiskers represent 95 percent confidence intervals, and non-overlapping whiskers are significantly different.

To what extent do peakers emit pollutants, and how can these pollutants affect the health of people exposed?

When operating, peakers emit similar types of pollutants to other power plants that also use fossil fuels, and these pollutants are associated with various negative health effects, according to existing literature.

Pollutants

Compared to non-peakers, peakers emitted more pollutants—such as nitrogen oxides and sulfur dioxide—per unit of electricity generated, but fewer total annual pollutants in 2021, according to our analysis of EPA data (see table 2).[9] In other words, peakers emit less in total because there are fewer peakers and they operate less frequently overall than non-peakers. However, when they do operate, they emit more pollution per unit of electricity produced. For example, the median sulfur dioxide emission rate for natural gas fueled peakers was 1.6 times more per unit of electricity generated than the median emission rate for non-peakers. Conversely, total annual sulfur dioxide emissions from peakers were 96.8 percent lower than total non-peaker annual sulfur dioxide emissions. Overall, peakers contributed 3 percent of the total annual sulfur dioxide emissions and 9 percent of total annual nitrogen oxide emissions.

Table 2: Sulfur Dioxide and Nitrogen Oxide Emissions from Fossil-fueled Peaker and Non-peaker Power Plants with Nameplate Capacity Greater than 25 MW, 2021

	Fuel Type	Peaker	Non-peaker
Median sulfur dioxide emission rate (pounds per megawatt hour)	Natural Gas	0.008[b]	0.005
	Coal	2.487	1.308
	Oil	4.218	2.174
	Other[a]	—	0.027
	All fuel types	**0.009**	**0.008**
Median nitrogen oxides emission rate (pounds per megawatt hour)	Natural Gas	0.949[b]	0.156
	Coal	1.554	1.330
	Oil	15.014[b]	3.152
	Other	—	0.670
	All fuel types	**1.272[b]**	**0.468**
Total annual sulfur dioxide emissions (tons)	—	32,111	1,014,787
Total annual nitrogen oxides emissions (tons)	—	83,874	885,345

Source: GAO analysis of Environmental Protection Agency data. | GAO-24-106145

Note: This analysis is limited to fossil-fueled plants with a nameplate capacity greater than 25 megawatts of electricity (1,605 plants) because plants of this size are required to report certain emissions, including sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. Peakers in this analysis include plants with a capacity factor of 15 percent or less, and non-peakers include baseload and intermediate plants that supply more consistent power throughout the day. This analysis excludes plants that had incomplete emissions or generation data (57 plants).

[a] This category includes other fossil fuels including blast furnace gas, other gasses, or tire-derived fuel.
[b] Statistically, the median for peakers is significantly different from the median for non-peakers at the 0.05 level.

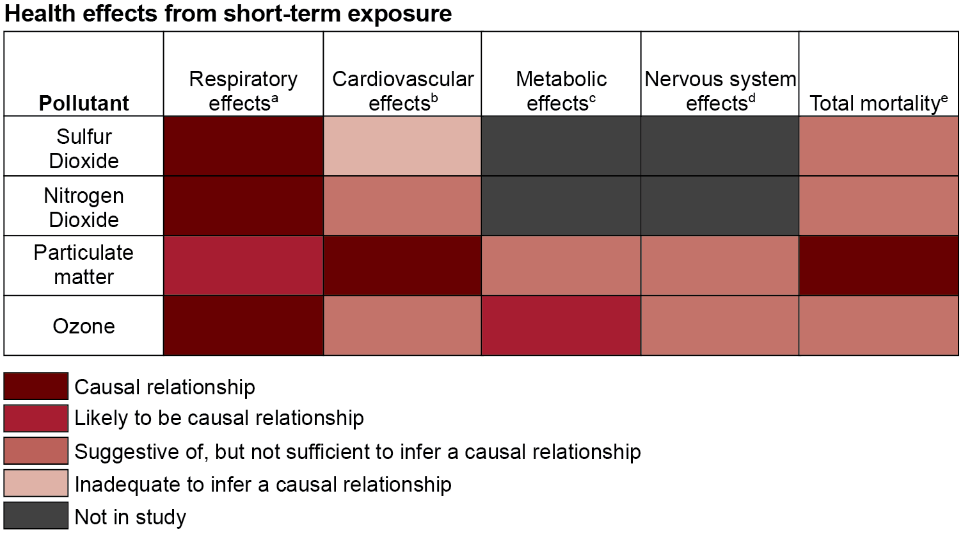
In addition to sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, ground-level ozone and particulate matter are pollutants related to the operation of peaker plants. Ground-level ozone is formed through chemical reactions between nitrogen oxides—emitted by peakers—and volatile organic compounds. Particulate matter is a mixture of solid particles and liquid droplets found in the ambient air and can be directly emitted from power plants or formed by chemical reactions involving pollutants such as sulfur dioxide that are emitted by peakers.

Peakers may have higher median emission rates per unit of electricity generated because of the nature of their operations. According to EPA, emissions generally increase under partial load conditions, which is how peakers operate.[10] Further, peakers typically do not have emissions control technologies, according to EPA officials.

Health effects

Multiple pollutants that are emitted from peakers and other plants are associated with various negative health effects for the people exposed, according to federal agency reports we reviewed.[11] In particular, EPA's Integrated Science Assessments identified causal relationships between short-term exposures to four key pollutants (nitrogen dioxide, sulfur dioxide, particulate matter, and ozone) and health effects that vary in degree of severity and duration (see fig. 5).[12] For instance, short-term exposure to sulfur dioxide—the indicator for sulfur oxides used in EPA's assessments—can lead to negative respiratory effects, such as decreased lung function, cough, chest tightness, and throat irritation.

Figure 5: EPA's Assessment of Causal Determinations for Relationships between Short-Term Exposure to Certain Air Pollutants and Health Effects



Health effects from short-term exposure

Pollutant	Respiratory effects[a]	Cardiovascular effects[b]	Metabolic effects[c]	Nervous system effects[d]	Total mortality[e]
Sulfur Dioxide	█	░	⬛	⬛	▒
Nitrogen Dioxide	█	▒	⬛	⬛	▒
Particulate matter	▓	█	▒	▒	█
Ozone	█	▒	▓	▒	▒

█ Causal relationship
▓ Likely to be causal relationship
▒ Suggestive of, but not sufficient to infer a causal relationship
░ Inadequate to infer a causal relationship
⬛ Not in study

Source: Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Integrated Science Assessments. | GAO-24-106145

Notes: Short-term exposure refers to time periods from minutes to 1 month.

We used sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide in the figure because they are the indicators for sulfur oxides and nitrogen oxides, respectively, and sources of health effects studies for causal determinations in EPA's integrated science assessments.

The causal determinations related to particulate matter in the figure are associated with exposure to particles that are 2.5 microns or less in diameter. Causal determinations are also made for exposure to particles of other sizes (e.g., 10 microns or less).

We selected four of the six criteria air pollutants because we deemed them the most relevant pollutants to our analysis. This figure focuses on health effects of short-term exposures to these four pollutants. EPA's Integrated Science Assessments also include causal determinations for long-term exposures and for health effects that are not specific to short-term or long-term exposures (e.g., cancer and pregnancy and birth outcomes for particulate matter exposure).

[a] Respiratory effects include decreased lung function, cough, chest tightness, and throat irritation.
[b] Cardiovascular effects include heart attack, stroke, and changes in blood pressure.
[c] Metabolic effects include changes in blood glucose level and inflammation.
[d] Nervous system effects include brain inflammation and oxidative stress.
[e] Total mortality includes all nonaccidental causes of mortality and is informed by findings for the spectrum of morbidity effects (e.g., respiratory, cardiovascular) that can lead to mortality.

Additionally, mercury emitted from peakers, and other sources, is associated with neurological health effects, including tremors and disturbances of vision and cognitive performance, according to federal agency reports we reviewed.[13]

According to EPA, elevated temperatures can directly increase the rate of ground-level ozone formation, worsening air quality effects on human health. Elevated temperatures can also drive increased electricity demand, which is associated with the operation of peakers. As previously noted, the operation of peakers further increases ozone—and other pollutant—levels, exacerbating air quality issues and poor public health days.

What are some available alternatives that can potentially replace fossil-fueled peakers?

Available alternatives such as battery storage systems could potentially replace fossil-fueled peakers, according to studies we reviewed and stakeholders we interviewed (see table 3).[14] These alternatives could decrease emissions associated with peakers.

Table 3: Examples of Alternatives That Could Potentially Replace Fossil-fueled Peakers

Alternative type	Potential examples
Electricity generation and storage: Alternatives able to store or generate electricity to directly replace the output of peakers.	• Battery storage, which consists of rechargeable batteries charged during off-peak times, and discharged during times of peak demand. • Pumped hydroelectric storage is an energy storage system that pumps water to higher levels during off-peak times and releases said water to turn turbines and generate electricity during peak times. • Thermal energy storage is an energy storage system that stores thermal energy, which is released to power turbines during times of peak demand. • Renewable energy systems (e.g., wind and solar) may be paired with energy storage. For example, adding roof-top solar and battery storage to houses could reduce the demand for peakers in adjacent areas.
Transmission and distribution infrastructure improvements: Upgrades or expansions to increase the capacity of current infrastructure that transmits and distributes electricity. These upgrades or expansions may help enable existing underutilized plants to meet peak demand.	• Upgrading transmission lines by expanding the capacity of current lines or adding additional lines to solve bottlenecks in the grid and allow electricity to be moved to other locations. • Upgrading distribution systems by expanding or adding infrastructure to deliver electricity more efficiently.
Efforts to decrease consumers' use of power during peak times: Efforts to incentivize consumers to reduce or shift electricity use during times of peak use to off-peak times.	• Consumer based demand initiatives that provide lower prices for energy consumption during off peak hours, such as overnight electric vehicle charging. • Various energy efficiency programs.

Source: GAO analysis of literature and stakeholder interviews. | GAO-24-106145

Note: These alternatives are not comprehensive. For example, there are other alternatives that are not ready for grid-scale deployment and are in early development stages, such as other types of energy storage technologies.

What are the potential challenges of replacing peakers?

Potential challenges to replacing peakers with non-emitting or non-combustion alternatives include challenges related to cost, reliability, and location, according to studies we reviewed and stakeholders we interviewed (see table 4).

Table 4: Potential Challenges Associated with Alternatives for Replacing Fossil-fueled Peakers

	Alternatives		
	Electricity generation and storage	**Transmission and distribution improvements**	**Efforts to decrease consumers' use of power during peak times**
Cost: some alternatives may have higher capital and operating costs compared to current fossil-fueled peakers	✓	✓	✓
Reliability: current alternatives may not be able to provide the same reliability of current fossil-fueled peakers	✓	—	✓
Location: alternatives may not be able to be installed because of space and location concerns	✓	✓	—

Source: GAO analysis of literature and stakeholder interviews. | GAO-24-106145

Replacing peakers, some of which have already paid off their capital costs, will likely lead to additional up-front or operating costs compared to keeping the existing peakers. Further, the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) reported that solar and wind plants had higher average construction costs compared to natural gas-fired plants in 2023.[15]

Similarly, some alternatives may create reliability challenges. For the grid to be reliable, the energy resources in an area need to be able to supply power to meet peak demand for as long as it lasts, according to U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) officials. Some battery storage systems provide up to 4 hours of output, but peak demand may be longer in some areas. In contrast, a fossil-fueled peaker is only limited by fuel availability—a natural gas-fueled peaker could keep operating so long as natural gas is available.

Some alternatives may also run into space constraints or location concerns. For example, a densely populated urban community likely would not have sufficient space for a large renewable energy system paired with battery storage to help meet peak electricity demand.

In general, recognizing these challenges, some officials with whom we spoke identified trends that may lead to the continued use of fossil-fueled peakers. According to DOE officials, some U.S. peakers may not be able to be replaced with existing alternatives within cost, reliability, and location constraints. Combinations of electricity generation and storage technologies, transmission and distribution improvements, and efforts to decrease consumer's use of power during peak times may be too costly for consumers in some areas to provide an adequate level of grid reliability. Further, officials at two utilities noted that due to increased use of intermittent renewable resources on the grid (e.g., wind and solar power), the continued use of peakers to meet electricity demand may be necessary to maintain grid reliability. For example, the availability of sunlight for a solar installation may not match with peak demand in the evening when the sun goes down. Therefore, additional supplemental energy resources would be needed to fill the gaps and meet demand.

Agency Comments

We provided a draft of this report to DOE, EPA, and the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) for review and comment. DOE and EPA provided technical comments, which we incorporated, as appropriate. FERC did not have any comments on the report.

How GAO Did This Study

To identify the number and location of peakers, we analyzed data from EPA's Emissions and Generation Resource Integrated Database and EIA power plant data. We generally define peakers as plants that use fossil fuels, have a capacity factor of 15 percent or less, and have a nameplate capacity of greater than 10 megawatts of electricity. In addition to the primary definition of peakers used in this report, we also considered several other definitions including plants with a capacity factor of 10 percent or less and a nameplate capacity over 0 megawatts (total of 1495 peakers).

To describe the relationship between community demographic characteristics (e.g., race, ethnicity, and income)[16] and distance to a peaker, we developed a statistical model that includes controls for population density (e.g., rural or urban), climate, and other factors. (See app. I for more detail.)

To identify air quality effects associated with peakers, we analyzed data from EPA's Emissions and Generation Resource Integrated Database to describe emissions and emission rates from peakers versus non-peakers. Our emission rate analysis focused on plants with a nameplate capacity greater than 25 MW because EPA regulations define that as the threshold for continuous emission monitoring and reporting requirements, including for emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, under the state and federal Acid Rain Program.[17] We reported median emission rates because the median is robust to outliers. For example, the top three emitting plants for sulfur dioxide had emission rates in the hundreds of pounds per megawatt, and two of the three had nitrogen oxide emission rates in the thousands of pounds per megawatt. Officials from EPA and EIA told us these plants were likely used infrequently as peakers, or they generated electricity for on-site consumption.

To identify health effects, we reviewed reports from EPA, the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention that assess the health effects of exposure to selected pollutants that are emitted from, or related to, emissions from power plants. We also conducted a systematic literature search of peer reviewed journals and grey literature published from 2013–2023 in databases such as ProQuest Research Library and Natural Science Collection, and Dialog Energy & Environment collection. We conducted an additional search to identify studies on the health effects of peakers in the same databases, and additionally PubMed, published from 2018–2023. Based on these searches, conducted from November 2022 to March 2023, we did not identify studies that looked specifically at health effects of peaker plants.

To identify available alternatives for and challenges to replacing peakers, and to inform our other reporting questions, we conducted a systematic literature search. We conducted searches of databases such as ProQuest Research Library, Harvard Kennedy School Think Tank Search, SCOPUS, and Dialog Energy and Environment collection to identify studies and grey literature published between 2013 and 2023 that were relevant to our research objectives. We performed these searches from November 2022 to March 2023. Additionally, we reviewed studies recommended to us by stakeholders.

To inform all our questions, we also interviewed federal officials from DOE, EPA, and FERC, and state officials from California, Georgia, Indiana, New York, and Texas. We selected these states based on their geographic diversity and electricity market structure (e.g., traditionally regulated or deregulated). We also interviewed stakeholders representing 13 industry and nongovernmental organizations with a diversity of perspectives about peakers. The sample of officials and stakeholders we interviewed is non-generalizable.

We used data from EPA, EIA, and the U.S. Census Bureau. We reviewed information about the data and the systems that produced them, and interviewed agency officials knowledgeable about the data. We requested and received written responses about data reliability from EPA and EIA. We determined that the data were sufficiently reliable for the purposes of our reporting objectives.

We conducted this performance audit from July 2022 through May 2024 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain sufficient, appropriate evidence to provide a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives. We believe that the evidence obtained provides a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives.

List of Addressees

The Honorable Jamie Raskin
Ranking Member
Committee on Oversight and Accountability
House of Representatives

The Honorable Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
House of Representatives

The Honorable Yvette D. Clarke
House of Representatives

We are sending copies of this report to the appropriate congressional committees, the Secretary of Energy, the Administrator of EPA, and the Chairman of FERC. In addition, the report is available at no charge on the GAO website at https://www.gao.gov.

GAO Contact Information

For more information, contact: Frank Rusco, Director, Natural Resources and Environment, RuscoF@gao.gov, (202) 512-3841.

Chuck Young, Managing Director, Public Affairs, YoungC1@gao.gov, (202) 512-4800.

A. Nicole Clowers, Managing Director, Congressional Relations, ClowersA@gao.gov, (202) 512-4400.

Staff Acknowledgments: Quindi Franco (Assistant Director), Andrew Moore (Analyst-in-Charge), Adrian Apodaca, Mark Braza, Katherine Chambers, Noelle Du Bois, William Gerard, Michael Kendix, Mollie Lemon, Andony Payne, Caitlin Scoville, Amber Sinclair, and Sonya Vartivarian.

Connect with GAO on Facebook, Flickr, Twitter, and YouTube. Subscribe to our RSS Feeds or Email Updates. Listen to our Podcasts.

Visit GAO on the web at https://www.gao.gov.

Appendix I: Technical Appendix

To assess the relationship between the distance to the nearest peaker and the demographic characteristics of a community (i.e., census tract), we developed an ordinary least squares regression model where the outcome is distance and the covariates are the demographic characteristics of a community. These characteristics are the percent of a community that are from historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic populations and percent of a community at or below the federal poverty level. We also controlled for the community's climate, population density, and distance to the nearest power plant.

The resulting coefficients from our model allowed us to

- describe whether there was a statistically significant relationship, and if so, the direction of the relationship. For an otherwise similar community and for significant coefficients, a negative coefficient means communities with higher values of the covariate are associated with being closer to a peaker, whereas a positive coefficient means they are further.
- quantify the estimated distance in miles to the nearest peaker for communities with higher rates of disadvantaged populations and for those with lower rates of this demographic, but that are otherwise similar.
- estimate the percentage decrease in distance to the nearest peaker for a community that is "above average" on a demographic, compared to an otherwise similar, but average community. Note we define "above average" as one standard deviation above the sample value of that demographic.

Model Variables/Data Sources

- Distance. We assigned to each community the distance between its central point and the central point of the nearest peaker's property, and this formed the outcome of our model. Similarly, we assigned to each community the distance between its central point and the nearest power plant, which was included as a control in our model. We used great circle distances.
- Demographics. We used American Community Survey (ACS) 2021 5-year estimates for the percent of people in a community who are below the federal poverty level and the percent of people in the community who are from historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic populations. Specifically, individuals who identify as African American or Black; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; Hispanic or Latino; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; and two or more races.
- Climate. We included the county level heating and cooling degree days from 2017–2019 as indicators of electricity demand for heating and cooling. These indicators are intended to control for climate variations within states in our model. These data are not available for Alaska or Hawaii; therefore, any models with climate data excluded these states. We assessed models that were otherwise similar, but that excluded climate data (hence included Alaska and Hawaii), and the results were consistent. We calculated county level averages using data accessed from Columbia University on daily minimum and maximum temperatures on a 2.5x2.5-mile grid for the contiguous United States.
- Population density. We used U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Economic Research Service (ERS) 2010 rural/urban commuting area codes (RUCAs), the most recently available data, with a four-category classification scheme based on Secondary RUCA Codes to classify each tract's population density.

    - We associated the 2019 USDA ERS tract codes with 2020 U.S. Census tracts using the U.S Census tract relationship files between the 2020 census tract entities and the 2010 tract entities.
    - In cases where there is more than one record for a 2020 tract, we select the tract that has the largest area of intersection.
- Definition of peakers. We identified plants as peakers using each of the four definitions described and ran separate models for each definition. To capture potential variation within a plant in recent years, the peaker status in our regression is based on 2018–2021 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) data.

Model Specifications. We took several steps to assess the validity and sensitivity of our models.

- Statistical significance was determined at the 0.05 level of significance.
- Our distance and climate measures were on the logarithm scale to satisfy model assumptions, such as normality of errors, and to scale the effect of these factors and account for non-linearity.
- We used robust standard error estimation.
- We included fixed-effects for states to account for state-to-state variation.
- We assessed models that were otherwise similar to our primary model, but that excluded climate, and results were consistent. This allowed us to assess the sensitivity of our results when including Alaska and Hawaii, states that did not have weather data.
- We examined the four different definitions of peaker described in this report, and conclusions regarding race or ethnicity and population density were consistent across peaker definitions, but conclusions regarding poverty were inconsistent. In particular, models that did not factor in the plant startup time when defining a plant as a peaker resulted in a significant association with poverty, whereas only one definition of peaker that incorporated plant startup time was significant for the primary definition of poverty.
- We examined an alternative specification of race and ethnicity that separately accounted for race and ethnicity within the model. The results were consistent with our primary model and models that used alternative definitions of peaker.
- We examined an alternative specification of poverty that examined the percent of a community that was at twice the federal poverty level, and results were again inconsistent for different definitions of peakers.
- While we chose to examine race, ethnicity, and poverty, other measures of vulnerability exist, and are often correlated. Therefore, similar results might be discovered when examining other measures of vulnerability. Some of these measures—such as the ACS 5-year estimates for percent of a tract that speaks English less than “very well,” or the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) Climate and Economic Justice (CEJ) Screening Tool—have large margins of error, do not assess margins of error, or have higher rates of missingness when compared to our selected demographics. Additionally, the CEQ Screening Tool uses the census tract boundaries from 2010 because many of the data sources in that tool use the 2010 census boundaries, but those boundaries are not consistent with most recently available 2020 U.S. Census and ACS demographics. Further, the CEQ Screening Tool uses a binary classification of

communities as “disadvantaged” or “not” based on indicators of burdens, but other classifications exist. We chose to use continuous measures of the proportion of population in different race, ethnicity, and poverty groups to assess the association between communities with a range of percentages, from low or high, of their populations with these demographics, rather than using a definitive, yet subjective, classification of a community as “disadvantaged” or “not.”

Limitations. We took several steps to assess the validity and sensitivity of our models, but certain limitations remain. Importantly, our measure of distance does not include other aspects—such as stack height, wind speed, or wind direction—that play important roles in the dispersion of pollutants and potential populations exposure. In addition, although we include some variables to control for factors that could influence the findings, it is possible that other controls might be important and were not accounted for in our model. Inclusion of a state fixed-effect partially addresses this by controlling for factors that vary by state. Still, our findings of associations between distance to peakers and historically disadvantaged racial and ethnic communities does not imply any causal relationships.

Endnotes

---

[1] 2021 data was the most recent year of data available from EPA.

[2] There is no standard definition of a peaker plant. We considered several other definitions for peakers in our analysis. These included plants with: (a) a capacity factor of 10 percent or less and a nameplate capacity over 0 megawatts (total of 1495 peakers), (b) a capacity factor of 15 or less, a nameplate capacity of 10 megawatts or more, and a startup time below 60 minutes (665 peakers), and (c) a capacity factor of 15 percent or less, a nameplate capacity of at least 0 megawatts, and a startup time below 60 minutes (1175 peakers).

[3] We use the terms “historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic populations” and “historically disadvantaged communities” to include individuals who identify as African American or Black; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; Hispanic or Latino; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; and two or more races. Census tracts are small, relatively permanent statistical subdivisions of a county.

[4] Executive Order 13985 of Jan. 20, 2021, “Advancing Racial Equity and Support for Underserved Communities Through the Federal Government,” 86 Fed. Reg. 7009 (Jan. 25, 2021), charged the federal government with advancing equity for all, including communities that have long been underserved, and identifying and overcoming systemic barriers to opportunity for such communities in federal policies and programs. We chose race and ethnicity, and poverty as two dimensions of disadvantage. Both measures are components of the EPA’s Environmental Justice Screening and Mapping Tool. See appendix I for additional details.

[5] In our model, we primarily focus on peakers with a capacity factor of 15 percent or less and a nameplate capacity of greater than 10 megawatts, as previously noted. We also ran results with other definitions including plants with: (a) a capacity factor of 10 percent or less and a nameplate capacity over 0 megawatts (total of 1495 peakers), (b) a capacity factor of 15 percent or less, a nameplate capacity of 10 megawatts or more, and a startup time below 60 minutes (665 peakers), and (c) a capacity factor of 15 percent or less, a nameplate capacity of at least 0 megawatts, and a startup time below 60 minutes (1175 peakers). We found consistent results in the relationship between race/ethnicity and distance to the nearest peaker regardless of definition.

[6] The value of 40 percent corresponds to our sample average for this demographic, whereas 71 percent corresponds to one standard deviation above the sample average.

[7] References to the “federal poverty level” in this document are based on the Census Bureau’s poverty threshold, which follows the Office of Management and Budget’s Directive 14. According to the Census Bureau, it uses a set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition to detect who is in poverty. If a family’s total income is less than that family’s threshold, then that family, and every individual in it, is considered to be in poverty. In our model, we look at the percent of families in a Census tract whose income in the past 12 months is below the federal poverty level.

[8] In the case of poverty, for peakers defined as plants with a capacity factor of 15 percent or less, a nameplate capacity of 10 megawatts or more, and a startup time below 60 minutes, the association (regression coefficient) between a tract’s poverty rate and distance to peakers is insignificant at the 0.05 level.

---

[9] Our emission rate analysis focuses on fossil-fueled peakers and non-peakers with a nameplate capacity greater than 25 megawatts because that is a threshold defined in EPA regulations for continuous emission monitoring and reporting requirements, including for emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, under the state and federal Acid Rain Program. *See* 40 C.F.R. Part 75.

[10] Environmental Protection Agency, Combined Heat and Power Partnership, *Catalog of CHP Technologies*, September 2017.

[11] We conducted a literature search to identify health effects related to peakers specifically, but our literature search did not identify any such studies (e.g., studies that compare health effects based on proximity to peakers or attribution of ambient air pollution attributed to peakers). Our search strategy included conducting a systematic literature search of peer-reviewed journals as described in the section “How GAO Did This Study.” We also inquired about published studies on the health effects of peakers during our interviews with agency officials and stakeholders. Our search identified some studies of the health effects related to retirements of coal fired power plants (for example, see Joan A. Casey, Deborah Karasek, Elizabeth L. Ogburn, Dana E. Goin, Kristina Dang, Paula A. Braveman, and Rachel Morello-Frosch, “Retirements of Coal and Oil Power Plants in California: Association with Reduced Preterm Birth Among Populations Nearby,” *American Journal of Epidemiology*, vol. 187, no. 8 (2018), 1586-1594, DOI 10.1093/aje/kwy110). We did not conduct a systematic review of such articles because they are not peaker-specific, and because a low percentage of peakers are coal-fired.

[12] EPA’s Integrated Science Assessments integrate information on criteria pollutant exposures and health effects from controlled human exposure, epidemiologic, and toxicological studies to form conclusions about the causal nature of relationships between exposure and health effects. For more information, see the EPA Preamble for Integrated Science Assessments at Preamble To The Integrated Science Assessments (ISA) | ISA: Integrated Science Assessments | Environmental Assessment | US EPA (accessed 8/30/2023).

[13] Department of Health and Human Services, Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, *Toxicological Profile for Mercury: Draft for Public Comment,* CS274127-A (April 2022). Environmental Protection Agency, National Center for Environmental Assessment, *Mercury, Elemental*, Integrated Risk Information System (IRIS) CASRN 7439-97-6.

[14] The discussion in this section applies to fossil-fueled peakers as defined above–those with a capacity factor less than 15 percent and a nameplate capacity greater than 10 megawatts—as well as to fossil-fueled peakers more broadly.

[15] U.S. Energy Information Administration, US Construction Costs Dropped for Solar, Wind, and Natural Gas-fired Generators in 2021 (October 3, 2023), https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=60562.

[16] See appendix I for additional details.

[17] *See* 40 C.F.R. Part 75.