

# Week 02: Climate Adaptation



Barcelona School of Economics

Bruno Conte

08/Apr/2024

# Climate Change and Climate Adaptation: Intro

- Most of our focus have been on the **economic causes** of climate change
  - Economic → CO<sub>2</sub> emissions → higher temperatures
- Economists integrate these climate impacts into their models
  - IAM → study CO<sub>2</sub>-related policies (i.e, a **narrow dimension** of climate damage)
- Climate damages span along **many dimensions** (heatwaves, coastal flooding, ...)
  - And so do the related adaptation policies, their trade-offs, and frictions

This class: **how are we (or should be) adapting to climate damages?**

# Climate Change and Climate Adaptation: Intro

- Adaptation approach looks from a different perspective: it takes **climate change as given**
- Complementary to mitigating policies whose aim is to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions
  - Actually, synergies with mitigation is an assessment criterion (more on that later)
- Why is adaptation important?
  - Intertemporal **timespan** of mitigating policies (e.g., pathway targets?)
  - Unequal and **multidimensional** aspects of climate damages (e.g., ↓ agric. yields?)
  - **Link with UN's SDG** that are not linked to ↓ CO<sub>2</sub> (e.g., zero hunger, sustainable cities)

# Getting started: what is Climate Adaptation?

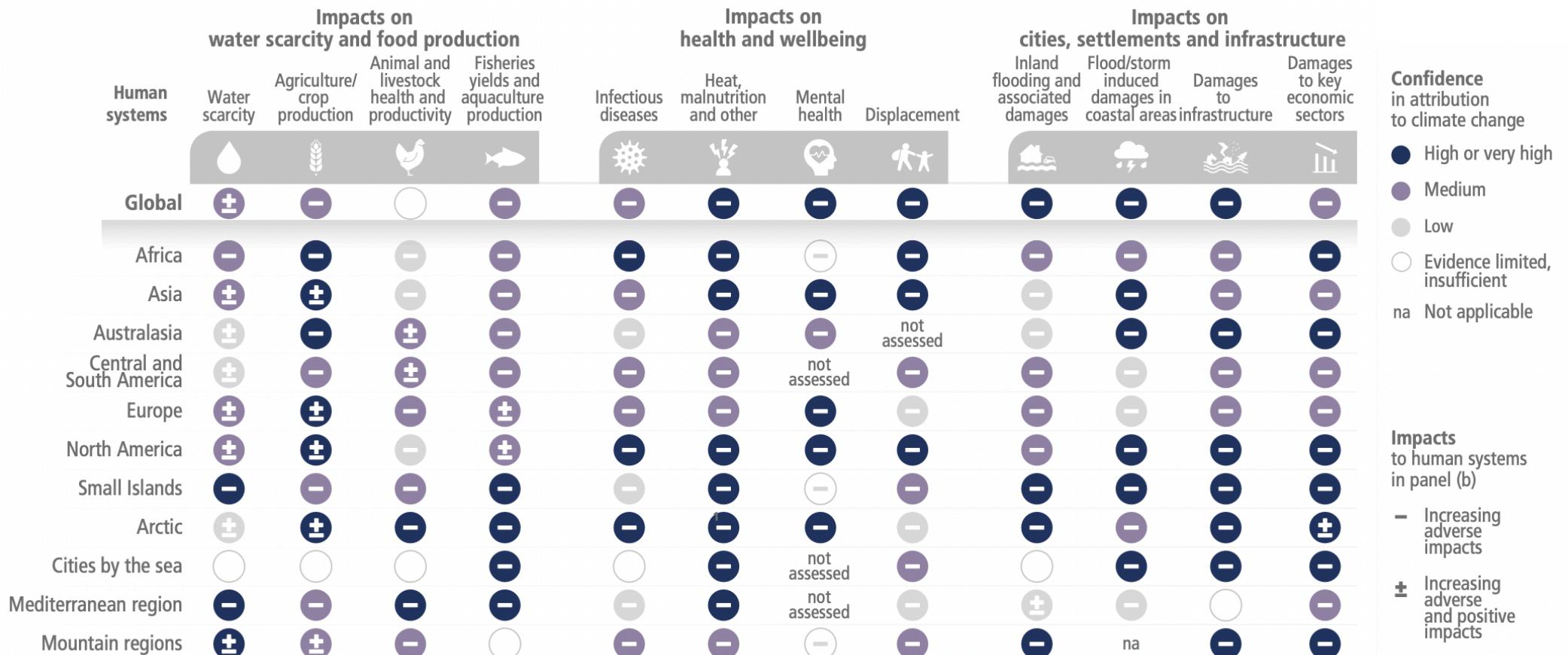
# Climate Adaptation: Standards and Definitions

Definition according to IPCC (2022):

*"Climate adaptation is the process of adjustment to actual or expected climate and its effects, in order to moderate harm or exploit beneficial opportunities"*

- Climate harms/impacts are multidimensional, and so are adaptation margins
  - A/C or green cities for extreme heat in dense urban areas
  - Improved farming techniques (irrigation, machinery, and seeds) in rural economies
  - Migration from hazardous to safer areas
- Each of these solutions generates benefits, **but potentially damages** (e.g., A/C or migration)
  - This is particularly important due to the uneven spatial patterns of climate impacts!

# Multidimensionality of climate impacts and adaptation



# Adaptation versus *Maladaptation*

Definition according to IPCC (2022):

**"Maladaptation** is an adaptation action that *increases the risk* of adverse climate-related outcomes, including [...] more inequitable outcomes or diminished welfare."

- Usually, it is a consequence of **intertemporal trade-offs**. Think of sea walls (Hsiao, 2023):
  - Short-term protection against flooding
  - Lock-ins and higher long-term vulnerability
- Often, it is a **relative concept**. Who benefits (and who does not) from adaptive actions?
- This is an important aspect to have in mind when designing (adaptive) policies!
  - Example: moral hazard following post-disaster aid (Fried, 2022)

# Some facts on Global Adaptation (Gaps)

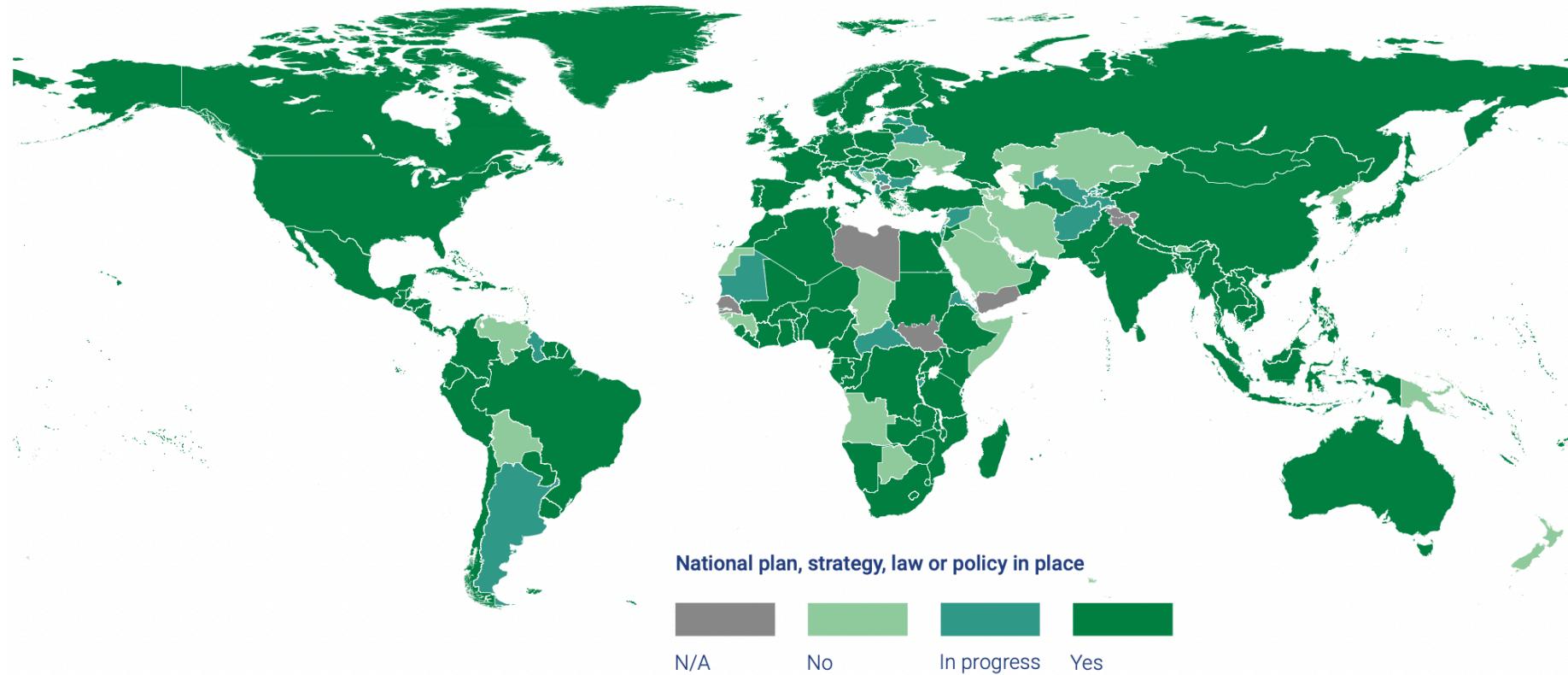
# Global Adaptation to Climate Change

UN's Convention on Climate Change (Paris Agreement, 2015):

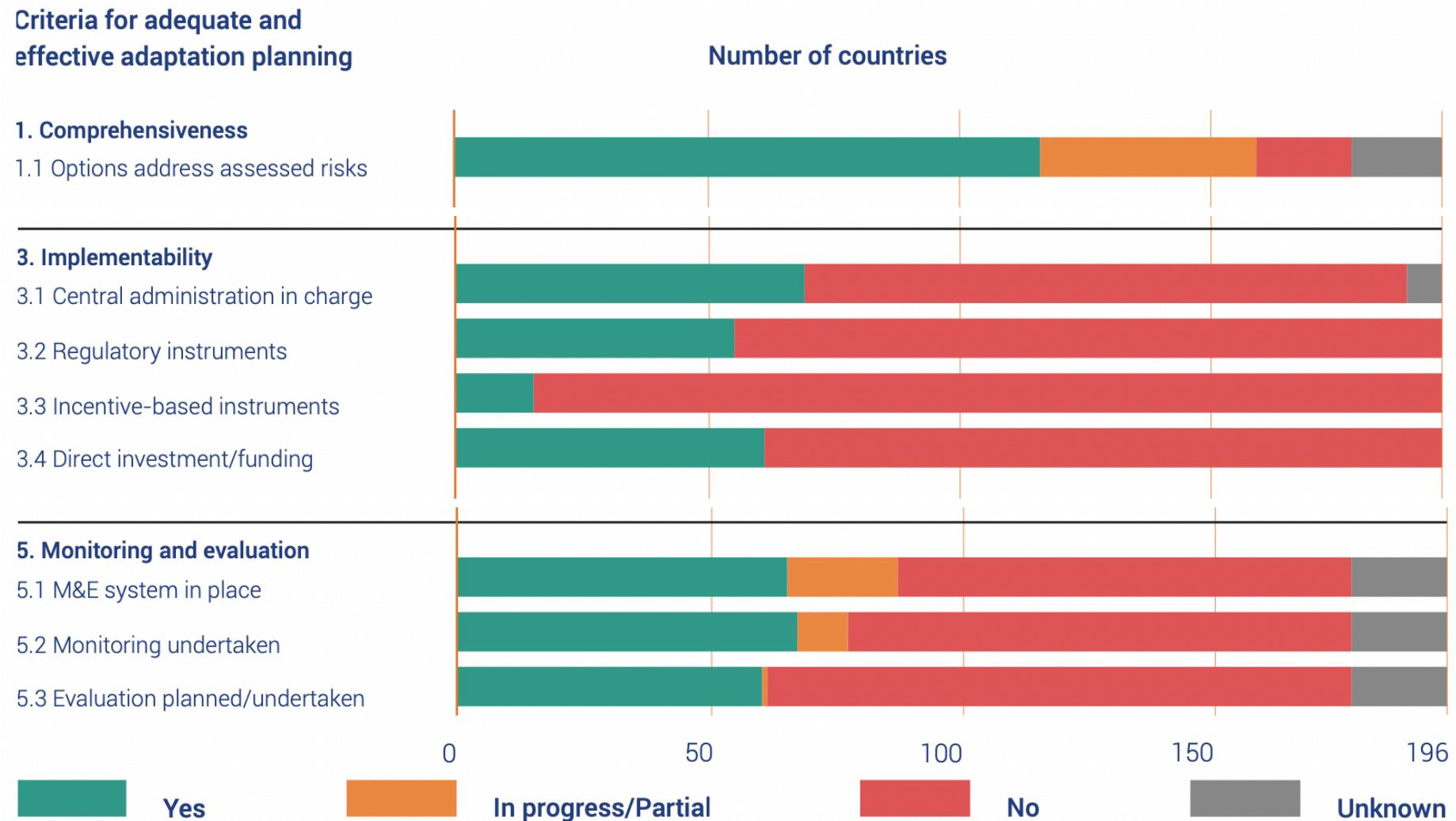
*"All countries must engage in adaptation planning processes and the implementation of actions [...]" (art. 7.9)*

- Since then, UN's Environmental Programme (UNEP) has monitored the global progress
  - Summarised in the **Adaptation Gap Reports** (AGR)
- Next: three (summarised) facts from AGR 2020 (Neufeldt et al., 2020)

# Fact 1: adaptation planning has been widely accepted...



# Fact 2: ... yet, gaps in realism, quality, and implementation



# Fact 3: limited allocated resources (finance gap) as the main obstacle

- Size of financed projects has increased over time
- However, there is a sizeable **finance gap** between developed and developing economies
- This is particularly important for policy design
  - Developing economies are the most exposed to future climate impacts



# Climate Change Adaptation in Agriculture

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Agriculture has been at the spotlight: very sensitive to weather and climate changes

- It also brought many empirical methodological advances

## Cross-sectional approach

Mendelsohn et al. (1994) proposed a "hedonic approach" for **climate effects on agriculture**

$$y_i = \alpha + \beta C_i + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i,$$

- $y_i$   $\equiv$  land prices (why?) in US county  $i$ . What is the *source of identifying variation?*
- $C_i$  long-term climate characteristics (why?);  $X_i$   $\equiv$  controls (see Dell et al., 2014)
- $\beta +$  future climate = small climate change effects in the US
- Schenkler et al. (2005) shows that **adaptation as irrigation**  $\rightarrow$  negative bias (why?)
  - Estimates for drylands alone are sizeable and robust!

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Deschenes and Greenstone (2007) proposed a **weather shock (panel) approach**

$$y_{it} = \beta C_{it} + \gamma X_{it} + \mu_i + \theta_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

- $\mu_i$  and  $\theta_t$  are county and time fixed effects, respectively, and  $t \equiv$  year
  - What is the source of *identification variation*?
  - Why does  $\beta$  capture the effect of weather (and not climate) shocks?
- This framework inspired an immense literature on climate effects (see [Kala et al., 2023](#))
- It was further extended to account for long-term (and/or general equilibrium) effects
  - Idea: use long-term (say, decadal) changes in  $C_i$
  - Why does it help accounting for adaptation?

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

This literature has also focused on (lack of) climate adaptation

- Burke and Emerick (2016): similar short- and long-term estimates = **no adaptation**

Other papers have study **specific margins** of adjustment:

- Land reallocation: switch to relatively less affected sectors (e.g., livestock, resilient crops)
  - Hornbeck (2012): no evidence of reallocation as adaptation in the US (but of migration)
  - Costinot et al. (2016): general equilibrium effects in the globalized economy
- Irrigation:
  - Crucial for shock coping in India (Fishman, 2018; Taraz, 2017)
  - Related to long-run groundwater depletion in the US (Hornbeck and Keskin, 2014)

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Other papers have studied **specific margins** of adjustment:

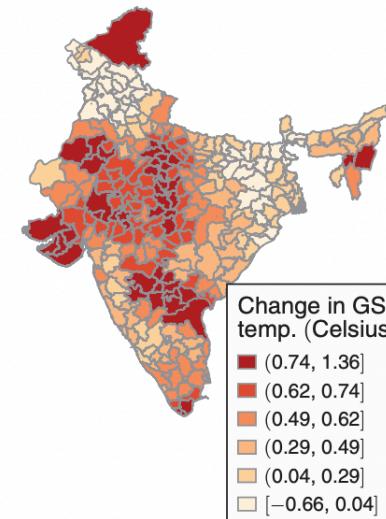
- Better practices, tech. adoption and financial products (see Kala et al., 2023, Section III)
  - Limited evidence (information frictions and insufficient credit markets)
- Migration as adaptation (idea: **last resort due to costly adaptation**; Hornbeck, 2012)
  - Deschenes and Moretti (2009): attenuated mortality effects in the US
  - Cai et al. (2016): strong effects on international migration from agricultural countries
  - Groeger and Zylberberg (2016): urban migration as risk-coping in Vietnam
  - Liu et al. (2023): more agric. employment and less urbanization in Indian districts
  - Henderson et al. (2017): urbanization increased in SSA only in manufacturing cities (and not in market cities)

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

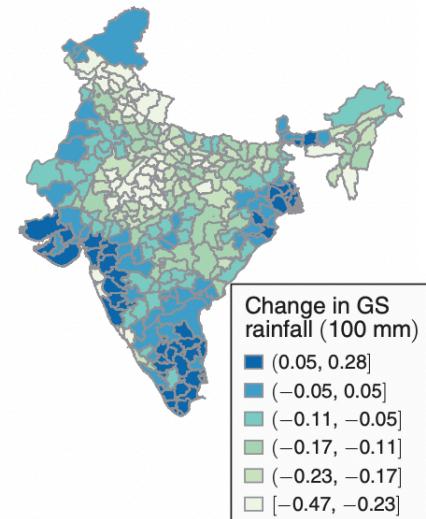
Liu et al. (2023): demand-side effects of (long-term) climate shocks

- Higher temperatures, less agric. income
  - ↓ demand for non-agricultural goods
  - Climate change → obstacle for structural change!

Panel A. Temperature



Panel B. Precipitation



# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Liu et al. (2023): demand-side effects of (long-term) climate shocks

- Higher temperatures, less agric. income
  - ↓ demand for non-agricultural goods
  - Climate change → obstacle for structural change!

$$\Delta y_i = \beta \Delta T_i + \gamma \Delta P_i + \epsilon_i$$

- $\Delta T_i \equiv$  long-term temperature changes
- $\Delta P_i \equiv$  precipitation (control)

	Ag. labor share	Nonag. worker share
	(1)	(2)
T	0.3819 (0.0995) [0.2292]	-0.1491 (0.0531) [0.0621]
P	0.3256 (0.2236) [0.4429]	0.0202 (0.1080) [0.0777]
Region fixed effects		Y
Observations	258	270

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Liu et al. (2023): demand-side effects of (long-term) climate shocks

- Higher temperatures, less agric. income
  - ↓ demand for non-agricultural goods
  - Climate change → obstacle for structural change!

Stronger effects on developed  $D_i$  districts

$$\Delta y_i = \beta \Delta T_i + \alpha D_i \times \Delta T_i + \gamma \Delta P_i + \epsilon_i$$

Vulnerable districts drive the results!

	Ag. labor share		Nonag. worker share	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel A. Road network density</i>				
T	0.322 (0.091) [0.108]	0.355 (0.099) [0.118]	-0.104 (0.055) [0.054]	-0.137 (0.058) [0.052]
T × High road density	-0.320 (0.110) [0.125]	-0.362 (0.114) [0.128]	0.094 (0.070) [0.068]	0.119 (0.068) [0.062]
Region-year trends	Y	N	Y	N
Region-year fixed effects	N	Y	N	Y
P-value of sum, cluster	0.974	0.919	0.827	0.633
P-value of sum, Conley	0.978	0.929	0.860	0.665
Observations	1,458	1,458	1,458	1,458
<i>Panel B. Bank credit per capita</i>				
T	0.288 (0.067) [0.083]	0.271 (0.070) [0.082]	-0.147 (0.054) [0.066]	-0.157 (0.048) [0.062]
T × High bank credit	-0.210 (0.109) [0.108]	-0.217 (0.110) [0.111]	0.108 (0.065) [0.072]	0.106 (0.059) [0.066]

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Henderson et al. (2017): heterogeneous effects in SSA (using a similar empirical setting)

- $\Delta$  moisture  $\rightarrow$  agricultural shock
  - Urbanization decreases, mostly in market cities
  - But less so for manufacturing and exporting cities
- What is the underlying mechanism?

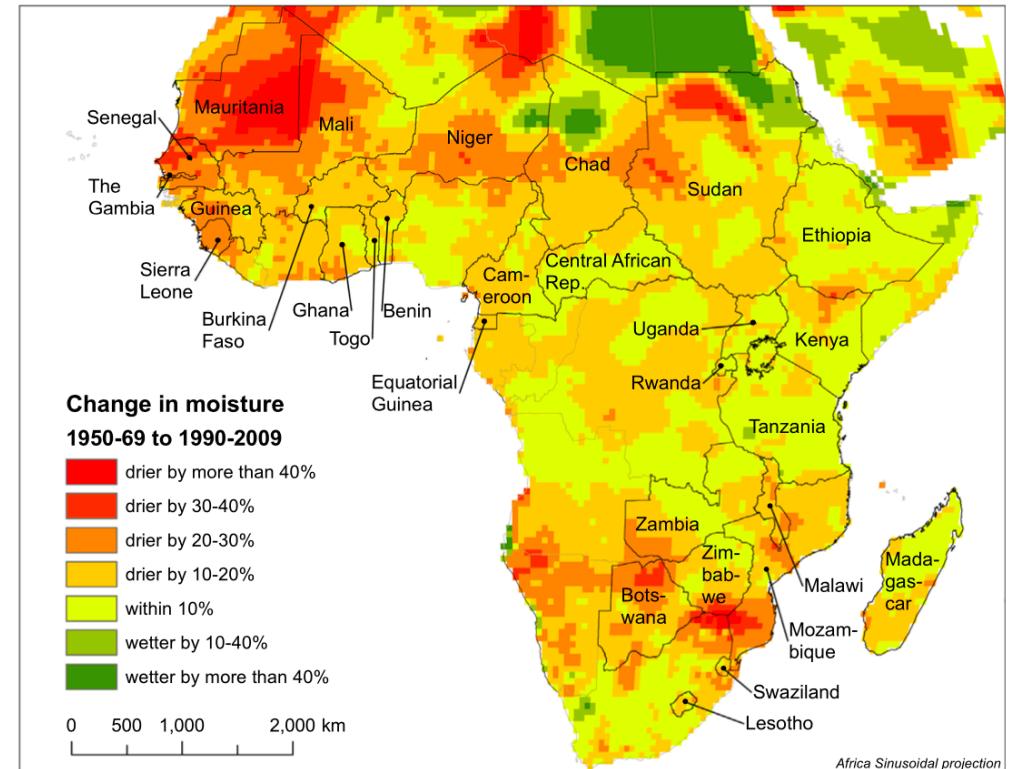


Fig. 2. Moisture in Africa 1950–69 to 1990–2009.

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Henderson et al. (2017): heterogeneous effects in SSA (using a similar empirical setting)

- $\Delta$  moisture  $\rightarrow$  agricultural shock
  - Urbanization decreases, mostly in market cities
  - But less so for manufacturing and exporting cities
- What is the underlying mechanism?

**Table 2**

Effect of moisture on urbanization: heterogeneity by industrialization.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
$\Delta$ moisture	-0.0761 (0.180)	-1.064*** (0.360)	-1.164*** (0.354)
$\Delta$ moisture $\times$ (9 - #modern industries)		0.116*** (0.0414)	
$\Delta$ moisture $\times$ (14 - #all industries)			0.0824*** (0.0263)
(9 - #modern industries)/1000		-0.51 (1.22)	
(14 - #all industries)/1000			0.131 (0.727)
Initial share urban/1000	-48.9*** (5.53)	-55.0*** (8.79)	-52.0*** (8.15)
ln(distance to coast)/1000	1.43 (1.89)	1.55 (1.87)	1.47 (1.89)

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Henderson et al. (2017): heterogeneous effects in SSA (using a similar empirical setting)

- $\Delta$  moisture  $\rightarrow$  agricultural shock
  - Urbanization decreases, mostly in market cities
  - But less so for manufacturing and exporting cities
- What is the underlying mechanism?
  - Exporting cities do not rely on agricultural income (import food)
  - Relates to structural transformation!

**Table 2**

Effect of moisture on urbanization: heterogeneity by industrialization.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
$\Delta$ moisture	-0.0761 (0.180)	-1.064*** (0.360)	-1.164*** (0.354)
$\Delta$ moisture $\times$ (9 - #modern industries)		0.116*** (0.0414)	
$\Delta$ moisture $\times$ (14 - #all industries)			0.0824*** (0.0263)
(9 - #modern industries)/1000		-0.51 (1.22)	
(14 - #all industries)/1000			0.131 (0.727)
Initial share urban/1000	-48.9*** (5.53)	-55.0*** (8.79)	-52.0*** (8.15)
ln(distance to coast)/1000	1.43 (1.89)	1.55 (1.87)	1.47 (1.89)

# Climate Effects and Adaptation in Agriculture

Henderson et al. (2017): heterogeneous effects in SSA (using a similar empirical setting)

- $\Delta$  moisture  $\rightarrow$  agricultural shock
  - Urbanization decreases, mostly in market cities
  - But less so for manufacturing and exporting cities
- What is the underlying mechanism?
  - Exporting cities do not rely on agricultural income (import food)
  - Relates to structural transformation!

Structural change as adaptation:

- Industrialization  $\rightarrow$  lower vulnerability
- Economies need to meet subsistence
  - Trade barriers  $\rightarrow$  importing food is limited (the "food problem")
- Ishan (2023): food problem exacerbates welfare losses in poor countries
  - Lower agric. productivity: more agricultural employment (why?)

# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Coastal flooding: among the **most concerning consequences** of future climate change

- Balboni (2021): ~ 300 million living in locations <5 meters
- **Adaptation**: sea walls or reallocation? What is better, and for whom?



(picture: million people in locations <2.5 meters from Conte, 2023)

# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Coastal flooding: physical **damage to immobile capital** (e.g., buildings, roads)

Tension between:

- Gradual increase of water levels
- **Intertemporal** allocation of (adaptative) investments

Moreover, **moral hazard** rising from

- High sunk costs of adaptative measures
- Existence of post-disaster aid

Who should move: capital, people, or none?

# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Coastal flooding: physical **damage to immobile capital** (e.g., buildings, roads)

Tension between:

- **Gradual increase of water levels**
- **Intertemporal** allocation of (adaptive) investments

Moreover, **moral hazard** rising from

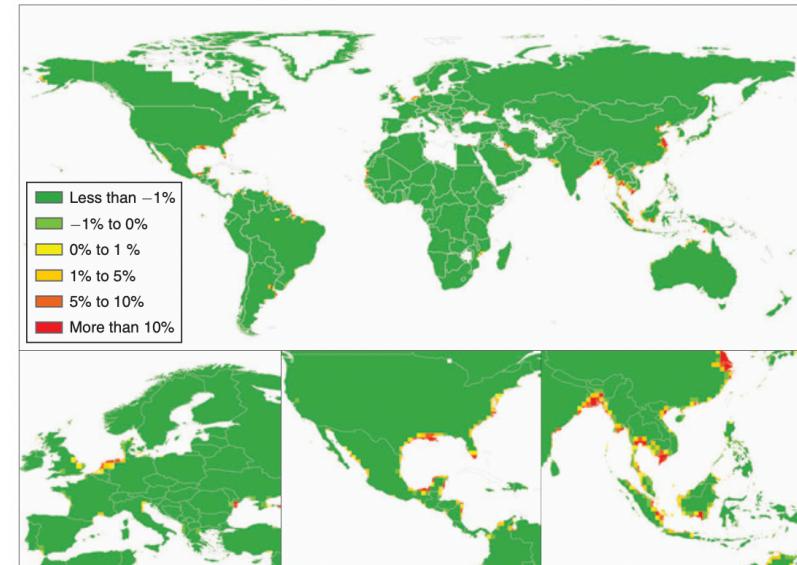
- High sunk investments
- Existence of post-disaster aid

Who should move: capital, people, or none?

Desmet et al. (2021): dynamic effects of gradual coastal flooding.

- No (gradual) **migration + investment adaptation**: ↑ losses 40 times!

Percentage loss in total cell real GDP in 2200 (RCP 4.5)  
(nonflooding scenario/mean of flooding scenarios) – 1



# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Coastal flooding: physical **damage to immobile capital** (e.g., buildings, roads)

Tension between:

- Gradual increase of water levels
- **Intertemporal allocation of (adaptative) investments**

Moreover, **moral hazard** rising from

- High sunk investments
- Existence of post-disaster aid

Who should move: capital, people, or none?

Adapting to future coastal flooding needs investment in the present

It is an **intergenerational transfer**, subj. to:

- Political constraints (why?)
- Path-dependence/lock-in

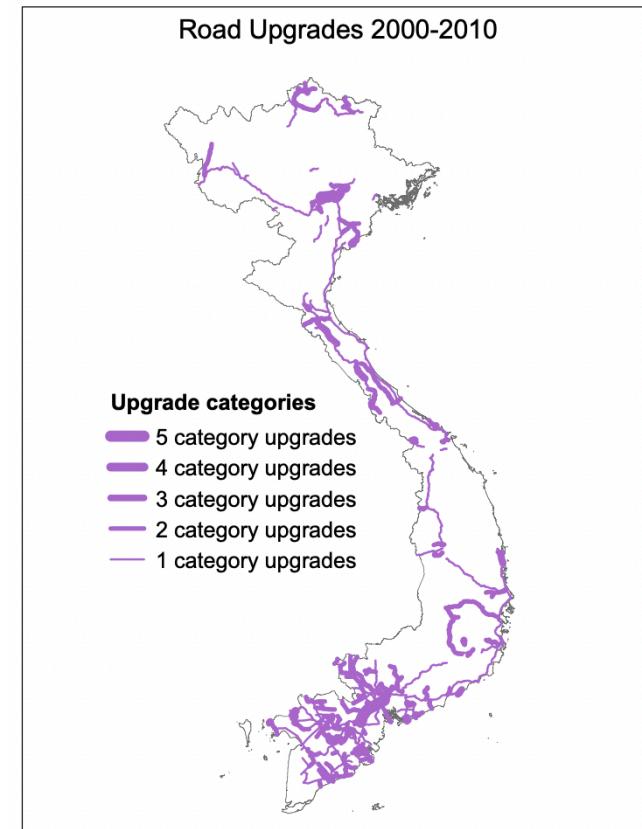
Balboni (2021) "*Infrastructure Investments and the Persistence of Coastal Cities*"

- Are transportation investments in Vietnam forward looking?

# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Balboni (2021)'s setting in Vietnam: high activity/infrastructure density in coastal regions

- Improving dense regions: high present returns



# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Balboni (2021)'s setting in Vietnam: high activity/infrastructure density in coastal regions

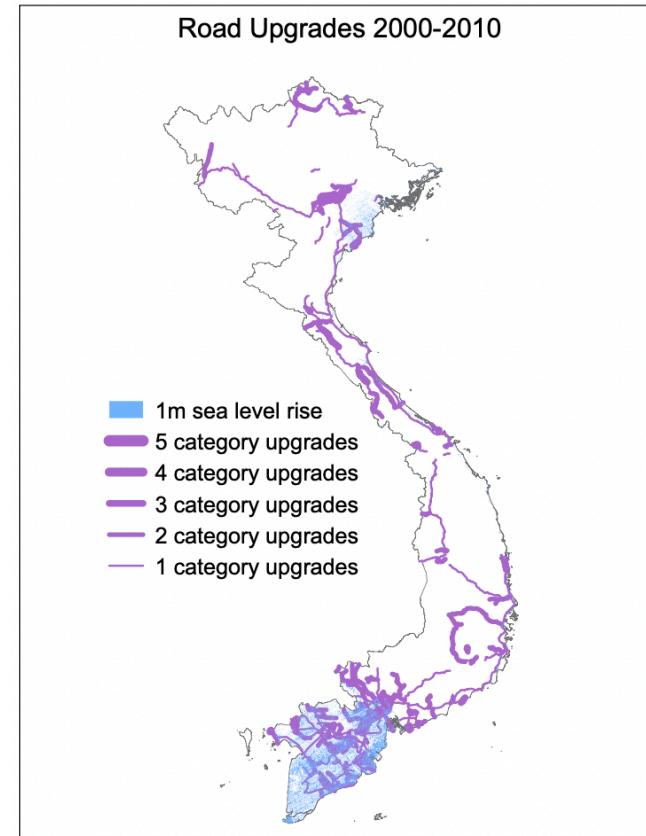
- Improving dense regions: **high present returns**
- Not as much with coastal flooding

Balboni's dynamic (gradual) framework:

- Coastal favoritism: **high long-term costs**

It squares with evidence of urban lock-in

- High urban development rates in **hazardous areas** (Kocornik et al., 2020, Ghandi et al.; 2023)



# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Coastal flooding: physical **damage to immobile capital** (e.g., buildings, roads)

Tension between:

- Gradual increase of water levels
- **Intertemporal** allocation of (adaptive) investments

Moreover, **moral hazard** rising from

- **High sunk investments**
- Existence of post-disaster aid

Who should move: capital, people, or none?

Immobile capital → moral hazard

- Sunk investment: too high to be left behind
- Real estate developers expect a sea wall

Hsiao (2023) "Sea Level Rise and Urban Adaptation in Jakarta"

- Imperfect political commitment → coastal lock-in
- Integrated approach (e.g., in-land investment) ↓ coastal demand

# Adaptation to Coastal Flooding

Coastal flooding: physical **damage to immobile capital** (e.g., buildings, roads)

Tension between:

- Gradual increase of water levels
- **Intertemporal** allocation of (adaptive) investments

Moreover, **moral hazard** rising from

- High sunk investments
- **Existence of post-disaster aid**

Who should move: capital, people, or none?

Post-disaster aid → moral hazard

- Economic agents expect to receive aid
- Aid is funded by all tax-payers, but transferred only to damaged agents

Fried (2022) "*Seawalls and Stilts: A Quantitative Macro Study of Climate Adaptation*"

- Presence of aid ↓ private adaptation
- However, subsidies for investment ↑ climate adaptation

# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change

## Accounting for Adaptation

# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change

- Climate impacts **are not exclusively economic**, but also on life quality
- Extreme temperatures are particularly important
  - Affect the likelihood of mortality
  - Older age-groups are particularly vulnerable (Deschenes and Moretti, 2009)
- Carleton et al. (2022) "*Valuing the global mortality consequences of climate change accounting for adaptation costs and benefits*"
  - Infer **age-specific** mortality-temperature relationship at global scale
  - Find an U shaped relationship: extreme temperatures matter, especially for elderly
  - Spatially heterogeneous results (e.g., northern EU benefits from less cold winters)

# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change

- For today: overview of Carleton et al. (2022)'s paper
  1. Conceptual framework: how does temperature affect mortality risk?
  2. Global estimates on age-specific, mortality-temperature (causal) relationship
- Next classes (based on overall interest):
  - Inferring adaptation costs
  - Mortality risk + benefits and costs of adaptation = \$ cost of future emissions (e.g., SCC)

# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change: Conceptual Framework

- Climate and weather: joint distribution  $\mathbf{C}$  of weather realizations  $\mathbf{c}$
- Mortality risk:  $f \equiv f(\mathbf{c}, \mathbf{b})$ , where
- $\mathbf{b} \equiv \{b_q, \dots, b_K\}$  is a composite of  $K$  choice variables that affect mortality risk (i.e., adaptation) that depends on income  $Y$

Hence, mortality risk at period  $t$  is

$$P(\text{death}|Y_t, \mathbf{C}_t) = f(\mathbf{b}(Y_t, \mathbf{C}_t), \mathbf{c}(\mathbf{C}_t))$$

And mortality effects of climate change is

$$f(\mathbf{b}(Y_t, \mathbf{C}_t), \mathbf{c}(\mathbf{C}_t)) - f(\mathbf{b}(Y_t, \mathbf{C}_{t0}), \mathbf{c}(\mathbf{C}_{t0}))$$

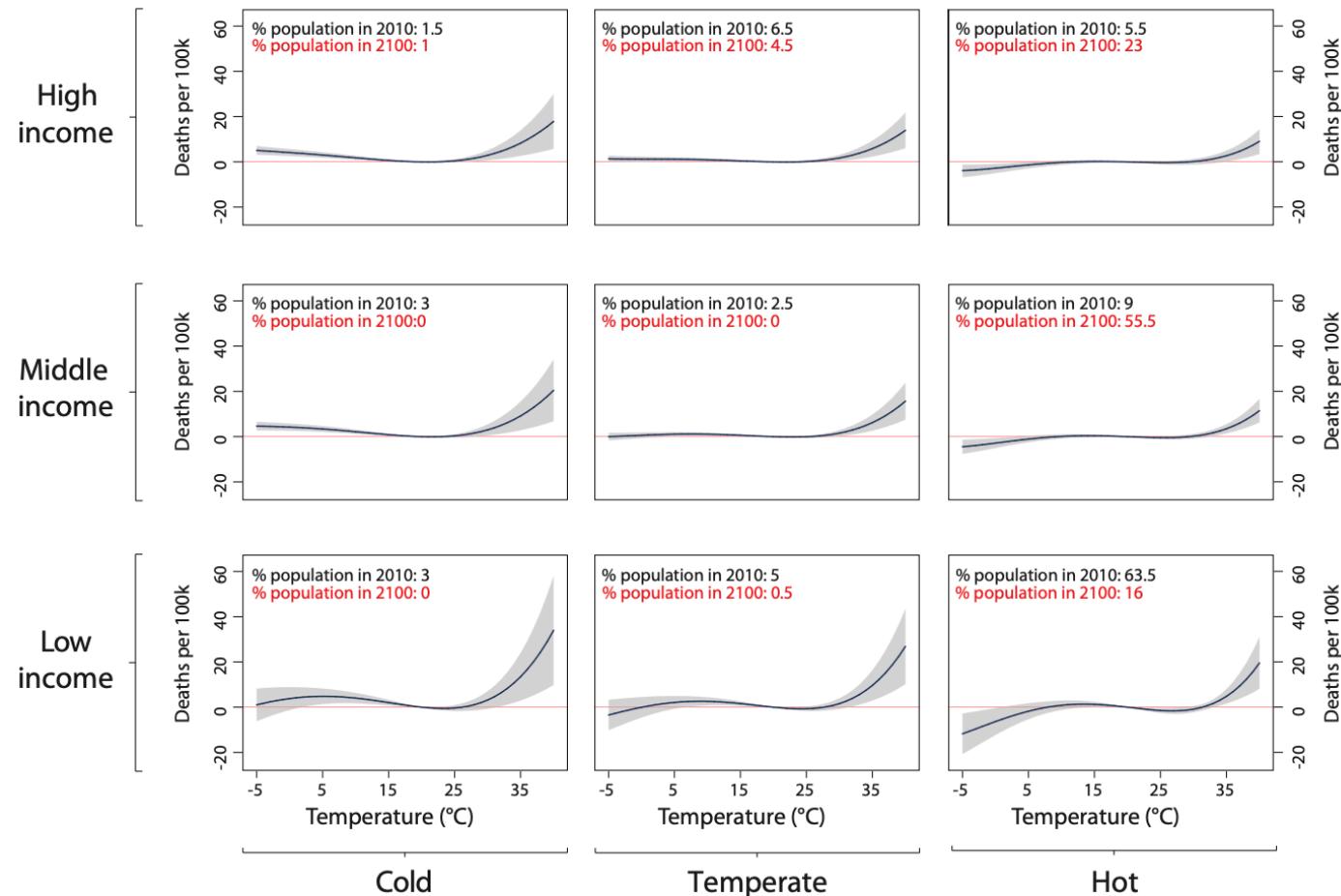
Carleton et al. (2022) estimate these (and other) effects with global data!

# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change: Data

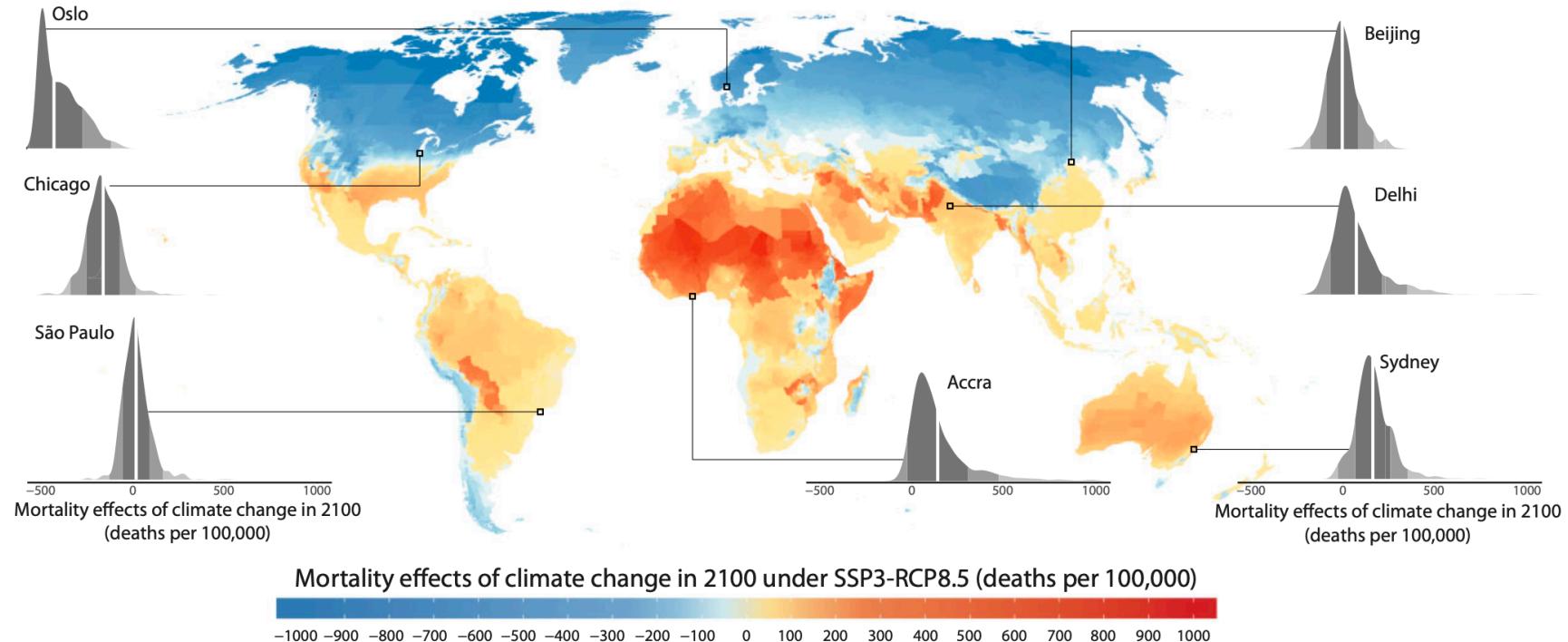
TABLE I  
HISTORICAL MORTALITY AND CLIMATE DATA

Country	N	Spatial scale <sup>c</sup>	Years	Age categories			Average annual mortality rate <sup>*a</sup>	Average covariate values <sup>*b</sup>			
					All-age	>64 yr.		Global pop. share <sup>d</sup>	GDP per capita <sup>e</sup>	Avg. daily temp. <sup>f</sup>	Annual avg. days >28°C
<i>Panel A: Mortality records</i>											
Brazil	228,762	ADM2	1997–2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	525	4,096	0.028	11,192	23.8	35.2	
Chile	14,238	ADM2	1997–2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	554	4,178	0.002	14,578	14.3	0	
China	7,488	ADM2	1991–2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	635	7,507	0.193	4,875	15.1	25.2	
EU	13,013	NUTS2 <sup>g</sup>	1990 <sup>h</sup> –2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	1,014	5,243	0.063	22,941	11.2	1.6	
France <sup>i</sup>	3,744	ADM2	1998–2010	0–19, 20–64, >64	961	3,576	0.009	31,432	11.9	0.3	
India <sup>j</sup>	12,505	ADM2	1957–2001	All ages	724	–	0.178	1,355	25.8	131.4	
Japan	5,076	ADM1	1975–2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	788	4,135	0.018	23,241	14.3	8.3	
Mexico	146,835	ADM2	1990–2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	561	4,241	0.017	16,518	19.1	24.6	
United States	401,542	ADM2	1968–2010	< 5, 5–64, >64	1,011	5,251	0.045	30,718	13	9.5	
<b>All countries</b>	<b>833,203</b>	–	–	–	<b>780</b>	<b>4,736</b>	<b>0.554</b>	<b>20,590</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>32.6</b>	

# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change: (some) Results



# Global Mortality Costs of Climate Change: Projections



**See you next class!**

# References

- Albert, Christoph; Bustos, Paula; Ponticelli, Jacopo. The effects of climate change on labor and capital reallocation. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2021.
- Balboni, C (2021), "In Harm's Way? Infrastructure Investments and the Persistence of Coastal Cities", Working Paper.
- Burke, M. and Emerick, K., 2016. Adaptation to climate change: Evidence from US agriculture. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 8(3), pp.106-140.
- Carleton, Tamma, et al. (2022) Valuing the global mortality consequences of climate change accounting for adaptation costs and benefits. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 137.4: 2037-2105.
- Cai, R., Feng, S., Oppenheimer, M. and Pytlikova, M., 2016. Climate variability and international migration: The importance of the agricultural linkage. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 79, pp.135-151.

# References

- Costinot, A., Donaldson, D. and Smith, C., 2016. Evolving comparative advantage and the impact of climate change in agricultural markets: Evidence from 1.7 million fields around the world. *Journal of Political Economy*, 124(1), pp.205-248.
- Dell, M., Jones, B.F. and Olken, B.A., 2014. What do we learn from the weather? The new climate-economy literature. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 52(3), pp.740-798.
- Deschenes, O. and Greenstone, M., 2007. The economic impacts of climate change: evidence from agricultural output and random fluctuations in weather. *American economic review*, 97(1), pp.354-385.
- Deschenes, O. and Moretti, E., 2009. Extreme weather events, mortality, and migration. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 91(4), pp.659-681.
- Desmet, K, R E Kopp, S A Kulp, D K Nagy, M Oppenheimer, E Rossi-Hansberg, and B H Strauss (2021), "Evaluating the Economic Cost of Coastal Flooding", *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 13(2): 444–486.

# References

- Fishman, R. 2018, Groundwater Depletion Limits the Scope for Adaptation to Increased Rainfall Variability in India. *Climatic Change*, 147: 195–209.
- Fried, S., 2022. Seawalls and stilts: A quantitative macro study of climate adaptation. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 89(6), pp.3303-3344.
- Groeger, A. and Zylberberg, Y., 2016. Internal labor migration as a shock coping strategy: Evidence from a typhoon. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 8(2), pp.123-153.
- Henderson, J V, A Storeygard, and U Deichmann (2017), "Has Climate Change Driven Urbanization in Africa?" *Journal of Development Economics*, 124: 60–82.
- Hornbeck, R., 2012. The enduring impact of the American Dust Bowl: Short-and long-run adjustments to environmental catastrophe. *American Economic Review*, 102(4), pp.1477-1507.
- Hornbeck, R. and Keskin, P., 2014. The historically evolving impact of the ogallala aquifer: Agricultural adaptation to groundwater and drought. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 6(1), pp.190-219.

# References

- Hsiao, A., 2023. Sea Level Rise and Urban Adaptation in Jakarta. Working paper.
- Kala, N., Balboni, C. and Bhogale, S., 2023. Climate Adaptation. *VoxDevLit*, 7, p.3.
- Liu, M, Y Shamdasani, and V Taraz (2023), "Climate Change and Labor Reallocation: Evidence From Six Decades of the Indian Census," *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 15(2): 395-423.
- Mendelsohn, R., Nordhaus, W.D. and Shaw, D., 1994. The impact of global warming on agriculture: a Ricardian analysis. *The American Economic Review*, pp.753-771.
- Nath, I (2022), "Climate Change, The Food Problem, and the Challenge of Adaptation through Sectoral Reallocation", Working Paper.
- Neufeldt, H., Christiansen, L. and Dale, T.W., 2020. Adaptation gap report 2020.

# References

- Portner, H., Roberts, D.C., Parmesan, C., Adams, H., Adelekan, I., Adler, C., Adrian, R., Aldunce, P., Ali, E., Ara, R. and Bednar-Friedl, B., 2022. *IPCC 2022: Technical Summary, Working Group II Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability*.
- Taraz, V. 2017. Adaptation to Climate Change: Historical Evidence From the Indian Monsoon. *Environment and Development Economics*, 22(5): 517–545.
- Schlenker, W., Michael Hanemann, W. and Fisher, A.C., 2005. Will US agriculture really benefit from global warming? Accounting for irrigation in the hedonic approach. *American Economic Review*, 95(1), pp.395-406.