

Environmental and Development Economics

Module 3 - How does the environment affect development?

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2024-09-12

Lecture 4

How does the environment affect economic development?

Housekeeping

- ▶ Consider pitching your research idea to me during office hours
- ▶ Next week, you have TWO options for the presentation paper
- ▶ Your class presentation grade is an average of each one
- ▶ Question about revealed preference WTP lecture (Sept 19)

- ▶ **Guiding question:** how does the environment affect economic development?
- ▶ Start identifying envirodevonomics parameters
- ▶ Today's focus: health effects
- ▶ Next time: productivity and direct income effects

Recall our model of environment and development

$$MWTP_e = \frac{\lambda_e}{\lambda_y} = \frac{1}{\lambda_y} \left(\frac{\partial u}{\partial e} + \frac{\partial u}{\partial h} \frac{\partial h}{\partial e} \right) + \frac{\partial \Delta y}{\partial e} + \frac{\partial \Delta y}{\partial h} \frac{\partial h}{\partial e}$$

- ▶ Most research in environment/development economics seeks to identify $\frac{\partial h}{\partial e}$
 - ▶ At this point, $\frac{\partial h}{\partial e} > 0$ is unambiguous
 - ▶ Focus is on **magnitudes**
 - ▶ Less work on mechanisms and moderators
- ▶ What about indirect effects via productivity and health ($\frac{\partial \Delta y}{\partial h} \frac{\partial h}{\partial e}$)?
 - ▶ This is the research frontier
 - ▶ Next lecture

Existing Work to Date

- ▶ Largely from developing countries (see Janet Currie papers)
 - ▶ Review paper: “What Do We Know About Short- and Long-Term Effects of Early-Life Exposure to Pollution?” (Currie et al. 2014)
- ▶ Less in developing countries
 - ▶ Most benchmark magnitudes: Bharadwaj and Eberhard (2008); Jayachandran (2009); Chen et al. (2013); Greenstone and Hanna (2014); Arceo et al. (2016); Cesur et al. (2016); He et al. (2016); Barwick et al. (2018); Heft-Neal et al. (2018); Chang et al. (2019); Heft-Neal et al. (2019); Pullabhotla (2019); Bombardini and Li (2020); Fan et al. (2020); He et al. (2020); Adhvaryu et al. (Forthcoming); Madhok et al. (2024, Working Paper)
- ▶ Less work on non-health effects
 - ▶ See Aguilar-Gomez et al. (2022) for review
- ▶ Empirical innovations: new quasi-experiments for identifying pollution impacts
 - ▶ Thermal inversion, wind direction IV (see Oliva & Deryugina)
 - ▶ Newest technique: HYSPLIT dispersion model (NOAA)

Existing Work to Date

- ▶ Consensus that there are large negative effects in developing countries
 - ▶ Little evidence on why
- ▶ Open questions:
 - ▶ Are marginal damages higher or lower in LMICs? (Colmer et al.,2021)
 - ▶ Are differences in marginal damages because of non-linear dose-response
 - ▶ Are differences in marginal damages because of weak institutions/development?
 - ▶ Long term effects of exposure?
- ▶ Conceptual frameworks needed

Lets formalize our intuition

- ▶ Weather can harm health directly (physiological stress)
 - ▶ Or indirectly, e.g. by lowering incomes of those in weather-dependent (outdoor) jobs
- ▶ There is a market for defensive goods (e.g. medicine, AC, etc.) which $\uparrow P(\text{survival})$
- ▶ But in developing countries, credit constraints restrict consumption smoothing
- ▶ Lets incorporate this into a model and study the comparative statics
 - ▶ Goal: explain how weather affects health, considering financial constraints
 - ▶ Health is endogenously determined by consumption and health investments

Setup

- ▶ **Agents:** value consumption c_{it} and health h_{it} .
- ▶ **Objective:** Maximize lifetime utility

$$\mathbb{E}_0 \left[\sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u_i(c_{it}, h_{it}) \right]$$

- ▶ **Health Status:** Determined by health investments (q_{it}) + exogenous weather (z_{it})

$$h_{it} = h_i(\underbrace{q_{it}}_{(+)}, \underbrace{z_{it}}_{(-)})$$

Production

- ▶ c_{it} produced by $f(\cdot)$, which requires capital + labor
- ▶ Assume defensive good q_{it} traded at price P_t (numeraire)

Labor

- ▶ Agent endowed with labor a_{it} (random), sold at wage ω_t
- ▶ Labor can be affected by weather (z_{it})

$$a_{it} = a_i(z_{it})$$

- ▶ Agent can (partially) save/borrow to (partially) smooth consumption over t
- ▶ **Financial Constraints:** Savings (x_{it}) and borrowing are limited by:
 - ▶ Borrowing constraint (minimum savings): $x_{it} \geq -b_i(r_t)$
 - ▶ Saving constraint (maximum savings): $x_{it} \leq b_i(r_t)$
 - ▶ $b(\cdot)$ unrestricted s.t. agent can be unconstrained
- ▶ **Budget Constraint:** income is used for consumption and health investments:

$$x_{i,t+1} \leq r_t x_{it} + w_t a_i(z_{it}) - P_t q_{it} - c_{it}$$

Equilibrium

- ▶ All markets must clear each t , which endogenously determines prices (r_t, w_t)
 - ▶ Note P_t is exogenously set in world market
- ▶ Returns to capital/labor are functions of their aggregate
 - ▶ Capital demand: from production function $f(\cdot)$
 - ▶ Capital supply: savings transformed into capital for production
- ▶ **Market Equilibrium:** set optimal demand for labor/capital = aggregate supply
 - ▶ where $K_t = \int x_{it} di$
 - ▶ wages w_t and interest rates r_t are determined in equilibrium as:

$$w_t = w(K_t), \quad r_t = r(K_t)$$

Mechanisms relating weather to health

- ▶ **Direct health effect:** random shock z_{it} enters health directly: $h_{it} = h_i(q_{it}, z_{it})$
 - ▶ Physiological channel: extreme temperature stresses cardiovascular/respiratory system
 - ▶ Impact can depend on region, $h_i(\cdot)$
- ▶ **Indirect health effect:** through productivity $a_i(z_{it})$
 - ▶ Likely in rural areas, where ag workers are outside
- ▶ **Mitigation:** agent minimizes neg. utility shock from z_{it} by purchasing q_{it} .
 - ▶ This could also be opp cost of working inside (at lower w_{it}) to avoid outdoors
 - ▶ Effect of mitigation limited by $\frac{\partial h_i(q_{it}, z_{it})}{\partial q_{it}}$
- ▶ **Smoothing:** agent can also mitigate by reallocating resources b/w periods
 - ▶ Agents with near-binding borrowing constraints experience worse shocks

- **Object of interest:** aggregate covariance b/w health h_{it} and weather z_{it} :

$$H_t = \left| \frac{\int h_{it} z_{it}^{(T)} di}{\int h_{it} di} \right|$$

- **Rural Areas:** Consider a set of changes that:
 - \uparrow responsiveness of $a_i(z_{it})$ to z_{it}^T (more exposed to weather extremes).
 - \uparrow prices for health goods P_t above that of urban (lower market access)
 - \downarrow incomes by reducing $a_i(z_{it})$ for any z_{it}
 - Any one of these leads to increase in H_t

Prediction: rural areas will have stronger correlation b/w weather and health

Effect of Bank Access

- ▶ **Relaxing financial constraints** increases either or both of $(-b_i(r_t), b_i(r_t))$
 - ▶ Partial credit modeled as increase in $b_i(r_t)$ only (i.e. can save more)
 - ▶ Allows agents to smooth consumption; draw down savings to mitigate weather shock
 - ▶ Reduces the correlation between weather shocks z_{it} and health outcomes h_{it} .

- ▶ **Prediction:** Prediction: $H_t \downarrow$ as $b_i(r_t) \uparrow$
 - ▶ Areas with better financial access have smaller effect of z_{it} on health

Aside: Climate change versus weather

- ▶ Climate change is long term, weather is short term
- ▶ Studying impacts of weather is easier:
 - ▶ Usually use high dimensional fixed effects
 - ▶ E.g. with district and state-year FEs, exploit monthly deviations from average
- ▶ Studying impacts of climate is harder:
 - ▶ There is no good counterfactual for climate change

Deschenes et al. (2013): Weather and Death in India

- ▶ **Research question:** how do temperature shocks affect mortality?
 - ▶ How does that differ between urban/rural areas?
 - ▶ What is the role of income as an intermediary?
- ▶ **Setting:** Indian districts from 1957-2000
- ▶ **Data:** daily gridded weather + annual infant mortality
- ▶ **Design:** panel fixed effects
 - ▶ Difference-in-differences with rural bank expansion
- ▶ **Result:** 1) heat \uparrow mortality, 2) driven by rural populations, 3) credit access mitigates effect by facilitating consumption smoothing

Rural

- ▶ Yields: annual, district level output/cultivated area (27 crops) (World Bank)
- ▶ Ag price index: mean crop price weighted by value in district (World Bank)
- ▶ Ag wages: daily wage rate (World Bank)

Urban

- ▶ Manufacturing productivity: output per worker (ASI)
- ▶ Urban CPI: NSS survey
- ▶ Manufacturing wages: $\text{ASI (nominal wage / CPI)}$

Flexible specification to model effect of daily temperature:

$$Y_{dt} = \sum_{j=1}^{11} \theta_j TMEAN_{dtj} + \sum_k \delta_k 1\{RAIN_{dt} \text{ in tercile } k\} + \alpha_d + \gamma_t + \lambda_r^1 t + \lambda_r^2 t^2 + \epsilon_{dt}$$

- ▶ r is a climatic region
- ▶ $TMEAN$ is days in year t where:
 - ▶ daily mean temp $< 70^\circ$, $\geq 97^\circ$, or in the nine 3° bins in between
- ▶ θ_j 's capture non-linearities, despite having annual unit of analysis
- ▶ $RAIN$ accounts for correlation b/w temperature and rainfall

Identifying Assumptions?

Secondary Approach

- ▶ Consolidates same information
- ▶ Workhorse model nowadays because more parsimonious

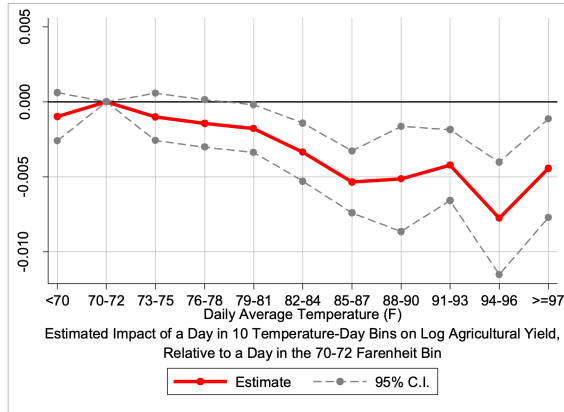
$$Y_{dt} = \beta CDD80_{dt} + \sum_{k=1}^3 \delta_k 1\{RAIN_{dt} \text{ in tercile } k\} + \alpha_d + \gamma_t + \lambda_r^1 t + \lambda_r^2 t^2 + \epsilon_{dt}$$

- ▶ where CDD80 is cumulative degree days in district that exceeded 80°. e.g. if two days over 80, one at 82 and other at 84, then CDD=2+4=6
- ▶ All bins $j < 80^\circ$ are zero
 - ▶ The three above 80° restricted to be linearly increasing in average temp
- ▶ Assumption: days when mean daily temp below 80 irrelevant for determining Y

Results: Yields

Test of indirect channel through labor productivity, $a_i(z_{it})$

Figure 3: The Effect of Daily Average Temperatures on Log Agricultural Yields.

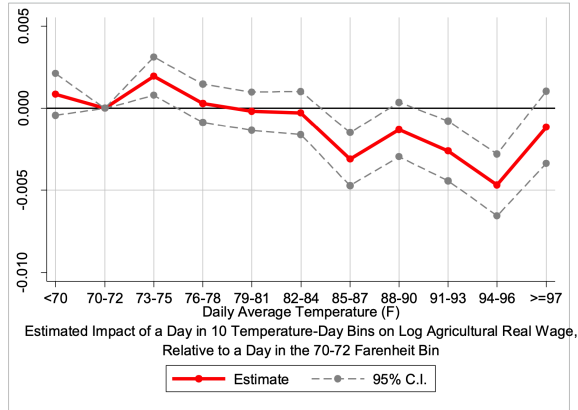


A single day with temperature over 85° reduces yields by 0.5%

Results: Wages

Test of indirect channel through $a_i(z_{it})$

Figure 4: The Effect of Daily Average Temperatures on Log Real Agricultural Wages.



A single day with temperature over 85° reduces ag wages by 0.25-0.5%

Results: Urban vs. Rural

Table 2: Weather and Incomes - Rural-Urban Differences, Exposure by Calendar Year				
Dependent Variable:	Rural		Urban	
	Log (Productivity)	Log (Real Wages)	Log (Productivity)	Log (Real Wages)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
A. Temperature (degree-days over 90F)/10	-0.0023*	-0.0023***	0.0003	0.0012
(std error)	(0.0009)	(0.0006)	(0.0033)	(0.0036)
[Effect of 1 std dev in CDD90]	[-0.023]	[-0.022]	[0.002]	[0.009]
B. Temperature (degree-days over 80F)/10	-0.0034***	-0.0026***	-0.0006	0.0006
(std error)	(0.0006)	(0.0004)	(0.0013)	(0.0013)
[Effect of 1 std dev in CDD80]	[-0.126]	[-0.098]	[-0.021]	[0.021]
C. Temperature (degree-days over 70F)/10	-0.0023***	-0.0018***	-0.0010	0.0005
(std error)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)
[Effect of 1 std dev in CDD70]	[-0.132]	[-0.101]	[-0.053]	[0.023]
Observations	8,304	8,304	512	592

► This corroborates Prediction 1 from model!

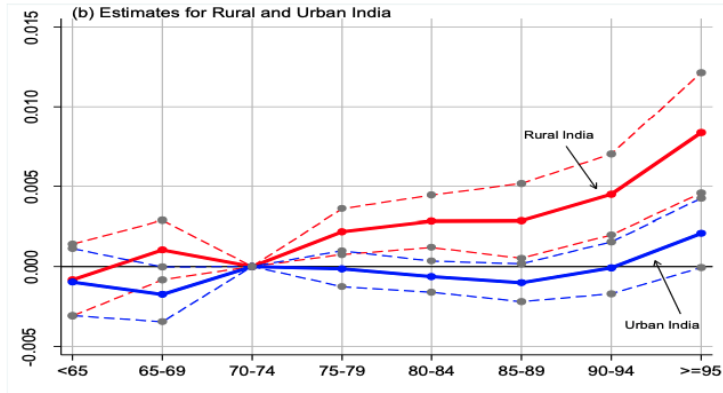
Results: by Growing Season

Table 2: Impact of Daily Temperature on All-Age Mortality in Rural and Urban India.

	Rural		Urban	
	Temperature		Temperature	
	75-89°F (1a)	>90°F (1b)	75-89°F (2a)	>90°F (2b)
A. Exposure over Calendar Year				
Impact of Temperature	0.0021**	0.0047***	0.0001	0.0012
(std error)	(0.0007)	(0.0010)	(0.0005)	(0.0008)
B. Exposure over Agricultural Calendar				
Impact of Growing Season Temperature	0.0028***	0.0067***	0.0005	0.0016
(std error)	(0.0008)	(0.0016)	(0.0006)	(0.0013)
Impact of Non-Growing Season Temperature	-0.0047*	-0.0024	-0.0032	-0.0020
(std error)	(0.0023)	(0.0023)	(0.0017)	(0.0016)
Test of equality across agricultural seasons	0.002	0.001	0.058	0.060

► This is also consistent with Prediction 1 from model!

Results: Mortality



Rural: years with more days with exceeding 87° have 0.5% higher mortality

Bank Access

- ▶ Prediction 2: bank access enables consumption smoothing
 - ▶ Relaxing borrowing/saving constraints should mute relationship
- ▶ Test: Between 1977-1990, central bank extends banking to the poor
 - ▶ Existing banked (urban) areas must open 4 branches in unbanked (rural) areas
- ▶ Method: difference in differences
 - ▶ Compare mortality in hot and cold places before and after bank access

Results: Credit Access

	Panel Estimates, Rural		2SLS, Rural		2SLS, Urban	
	Temperature		Temperature			
	75-89 °F	>90 °F	75-89 °F	>90 °F	75-89 °F	>90 °F
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
Dependent Variable is Log Annual Mortality Rate						
Main Effect of Temperature (std error)	0.0024*** (0.0009)	0.0067*** (0.0012)	0.0026*** (0.0010)	0.0121*** (0.0019)	0.0000 (0.0007)	0.0017 (0.0021)
Main Effect of Number of Bank Branches (std error)			1.0633 (0.7407)		0.1262 (0.1143)	
Temperature x Bank Branches (std error)			-0.0041* (0.0021)	-0.0216*** (0.0055)	-0.0010 (0.0006)	-0.0013 (0.0014)

- ▶ Effect of moderate and hot days on mortality is moderated by bank access
- ▶ Bank branches more than offset weather-death relationship

Takeaway: credit enables poor to withstand environmental shocks

- ▶ Aggregate data entangles ambient means and experienced exposure
- ▶ What exactly makes rural areas more vulnerable?
- ▶ How much of the weather-death effect is direct vs. indirect?
 - ▶ Empirically, we did not identify model parameters separately
- ▶ Will weather shock be enough to affect remaining lifetime income?

Way Forward

- ▶ Bank access represents anything that relaxes budget constraint
- ▶ Policy could have been subsidies on q_{it} , encouraging seasonal migration, etc.
 - ▶ Open areas for research

Back to the main question

Back to the question

- ▶ How does environmental quality affect economic development?
- ▶ Most reduced form studies identify $\frac{\partial h}{\partial e}$
- ▶ Recall, this is an input into estimating benefits (MTWP) of $\uparrow e$
 - ▶ which we need to know in order to set optimal environmental policy
 - ▶ optimal in the sense that agents decisions are first-best
- ▶ Is physical health the only thing that matters for estimating $\frac{\partial h}{\partial e}$?

Chen et al. (2024): Air Pollution and Mental Health

- ▶ **Research question:** What is the impact of air pollution on mental health?
 - ▶ Direct mechanism: oxidative stress
 - ▶ Indirect mechanism: labor productivity, income, physical activity
- ▶ **Setting:** China in 2014-2015
- ▶ **Data:** Kessler Psychological Distress Scale
 - ▶ PM2.5 from China National Environmental Monitoring Center
- ▶ **Design:** instrument pollution with thermal inversions
- ▶ **Results:** Pollution \uparrow depression
 - ▶ Mechanisms: lower exercise, worse physical health
 - ▶ Total cost = \$22.88 billion, similar to mortality costs!

Background

- ▶ Why do we care about mental health?
 - ▶ Poverty associated with life satisfaction and **stress**
 - ▶ These mechanisms affect productivity, which perpetuates poverty
 - ▶ See Haushofer and Salicath (2023); Haushofer and Fehr (2014)
- ▶ Frontier in development economics: RCTs on income and stress
 - ▶ Cash transfers ↑ subjective well-being (McGuire et al., 2022)
 - ▶ Cash transfers ↓ suicide in Indonesia (Christian et al., 2019)
 - ▶ Cash transfers ↓ depression (Haushofer and Shapiro, 2016)
- ▶ Toxicology literature: pollution ↑ oxidative stress (Calderon-Garciduenas et al., 2003; Sørensen et al., 2003; MohanKumar et al., 2008, Power et al., 2015)

- ▶ Theory of change: **pollution** → **stress** → productivity
 - ▶ Poverty correlated with pollution and stress
 - ▶ Direct effect of pollution on productivity (Graff Zivin & Niedell, 2012; California)
 - ▶ Many parts of the chain are open areas for research!

Air Pollution and Mental Health

What are the empirical challenges?

① OVB: pollution correlated with economic activity

- ▶ Richer counties more polluted
- ▶ Induces **negative** bias
- ▶ Solution: ?

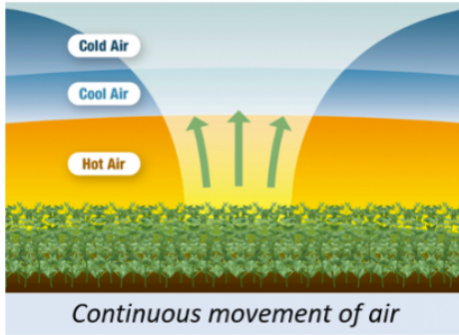
② ?

③ ?

④ ?

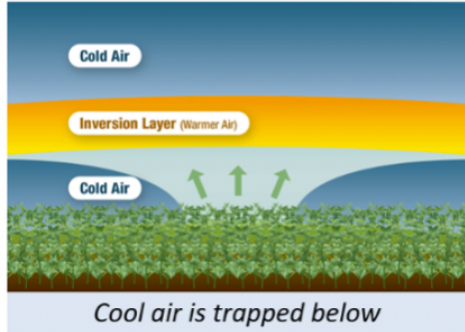
Instrumental Variable: Thermal Inversion

During a typical day



Agweb.com

With an inversion



Agweb.com

Instrumental Variable: Thermal Inversion



Instrumental Variable: Thermal Inversion

- ▶ Air is warmer near surface, becomes cooler at higher altitudes
- ▶ Thermal inversion: temperature-altitude gradient is reversed
 - ▶ Rare phenomenon
 - ▶ Depends on **random** meteorological factors
- ▶ Cool air is denser and does not rise
- ▶ Pollution becomes trapped near surface

What do you think?

- ▶ Mental health: 2014 China Family Panel Study Survey
 - ▶ 16,000 rural and 13,000 urban residents (162 counties out of 1,355)
 - ▶ Six questions about mental health on 0-24 Scale
 - ▶ Depression, nervousness, restlessness, hopelessness, effort, worthlessness
- ▶ Pollution: PM2.5
 - ▶ Webscraped
 - ▶ Validate with satellite data?
- ▶ Thermal inversion (MERRA-2 Air Temperature Layers)
 - ▶ Inversion = 1 if temperature of first layer (110m) < second layer (320m)
 - ▶ IV: number of inversions in month prior to each interview

Inversions and Pollution

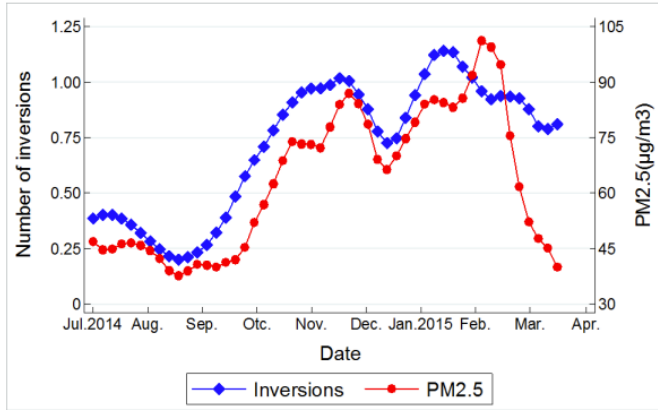


Figure 1. Time Trend of PM_{2.5} and Thermal Inversion

Do thermal inversions seem rare and random?

First Stage:

$$P_{ict} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 I_{ict} + f(W_{ict}) + \gamma_c + \sigma_t + \mu_{ict}$$

Second Stage:

$$H_{ict} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 P_{ict} + f(W_{ict}) + \gamma_c + \sigma_t + \epsilon_{ict}$$

- ▶ P_{ict} is PM2.5 in month prior to interview
- ▶ I_{ict} is instrument, number of thermal inversions in past month
- ▶ H_{ict} is total mental illness score (0-24)
- ▶ $f(W_{ict})$ are flexible weather controls
- ▶ σ_t are year-month FEs (**important!**)

Main Results: Mental Health

TABLE 1—FIRST-STAGE AND IV RESULTS

Dep. var.	First stage		Second-stage estimation			
	PM _{2.5}		K6 score		Severe mental illness	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Thermal inversions	0.2118 (0.0469)	0.2638 (0.0357)				
PM _{2.5}			0.1229 (0.0500)	0.1164 (0.0388)	0.0047 (0.0025)	0.0042 (0.0019)
Mean [SD] of dep. var.	47.7132	[18.0450]	2.9556	[3.7598]	0.0438	[0.2047]
Weather controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
KP <i>F</i> -statistics	20.36	54.56				

- ▶ 1 μ/m^3 PM_{2.5} ↑ mental illness by 0.1164 units (4% of mean; 0.4 σ)
- ▶ 1 μ/m^3 PM_{2.5} ↑ prob. of several mental illness by 0.42pp (9.5% of mean)

Main Results: Symptoms

Table 4. Effect of Air Pollution on Mental Health: By Symptom

	About how often do you feel					
	Depression (1)	Nervousness (2)	Restlessness (3)	Hopelessness (4)	Difficulty (5)	Worthlessness (6)
PM _{2.5}	0.0155** (0.0073)	0.0045 (0.0062)	0.0134*** (0.0044)	0.0150*** (0.0048)	0.0183*** (0.0055)	0.0123** (0.0049)
Observations	12,657	12,659	12,660	12,638	12,657	12,649
County <i>FE</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year-by-month <i>FE</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weather controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
KP <i>F</i> -statistic	36.17	36.19	36.20	36.11	36.15	36.09

- Not driven by any one particular symptom

Main Results: Persistence

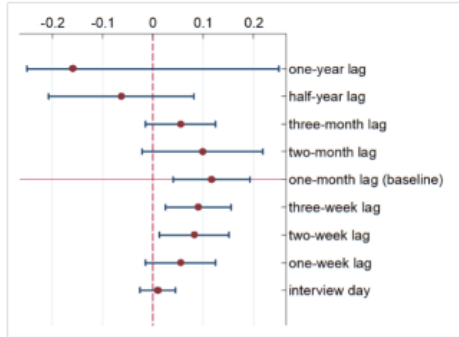


Figure A.1: Impact of PM2.5 on the K6 score

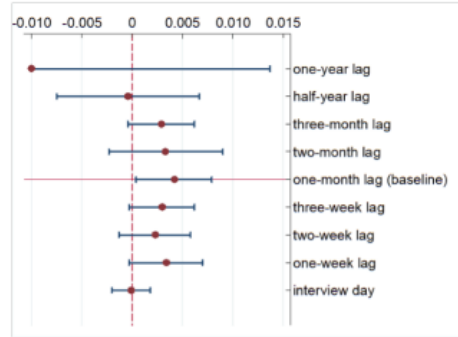


Figure A.2: Impact of PM2.5 on K6 ≥ 12

- Effect of pollution exposure on mental health dissipates over time

- Focus on indirect effects (physical health, productivity, behavior)

Table 6. Mechanism Tests

	Exercise (past 1 week)			Sickness (past 2 weeks)		Self-rated health (past 1 month)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1=yes, 0=no	times	hours	1=yes, 0=no	1-not serious, 5-very serious	1-very healthy, 5-very unhealthy
PM _{2.5}	-0.0049** (0.0022)	-0.0068* (0.0035)	-0.0448** (0.0209)	0.0020 (0.0019)	0.0089* (0.0052)	0.0092* (0.0056)
Observations	12,664	12,663	12,670	12,670	3,806	12,668
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.4670	2.4008	3.3681	0.2917	3.1140	2.9698
S.D. of Dep. Var.	0.4989	3.1324	6.4268	0.4545	1.4053	1.1816
County <i>FE</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year-by-month <i>FE</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weather controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
KP <i>F</i> -statistic	48.73	48.57	48.72	44.92	59.36	36.30

- Driven by reduction in physical exercise, not other illness
- Very small impact compared to pollution effect (0.002σ vs. 0.4σ)

Heterogeneity

	The K6 Score			
	(1) Male	(2) Female	(3) Age 16-60	(4) Age >=60
PM _{2.5}	0.0986*** (0.0268)	0.0575* (0.0342)	0.0611** (0.0298)	0.1499** (0.0599)
Observations	6,093	6,522	9,446	3,169
Mean of Dep. Var.	2.6378	3.2799	2.9504	3.0281
S.D. of Dep. Var.	3.5378	3.9405	3.5819	4.2683
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year-by-month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weather controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
KP <i>F</i> -statistic	25.14	43.22	32.11	27.20

- Why are effects larger for men?

Economic Cost? Back of the Envelope

- ▶ 1σ ↑ in PM2.5 leads to 9.5% ↑ in prob. of severe mental illness
 - ▶ About 0.095×1.4 billion = 13.3 million additional people
- ▶ Annual cost per patient of mental illness in China is \$USD 3,665 (Xu et. al 2016)
- ▶ Assume 8% of patients with mental illness get treated (Phillips et al., 2009)
- ▶ **Economic cost of mental illness:** $13.3 \times 3665 \times 0.008 \times 12 = 46.7$ billion USD
- ▶ Mortality cost of 1σ PM2.5 is \$USD 30 billion in USA (Deryugina et al., 2016)

Issues with the back of the envelope calculation?

Discussion

► productivity and direct income effects

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