

# Evaluation of Wetland Area Gains and Losses under the US Clean Water Act

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# **Summary**

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This paper evaluates environmental outcomes at wetland conservation sites in the US.

These sites were established to **offset** impacts to wetlands in other locations and the offsetting is funded through a **market**.

Little empirical evidence on the environmental performance of offset markets despite increasing popularity across various domains (carbon, biodiversity).

# Summary

## Contribution

Methodological contribution in measuring environmental outcomes

Evaluation of how the market mechanism drives outcomes

Program-wide evaluation of statutory policy goals

## Finding

⇒ Plausible causal effect on environmental outcomes

⇒ The opportunity cost of land use explains outcome patterns

⇒ Large regional variation in achieving statutory objectives

## **Policy Background**

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**The Observer**

## Thousands march in London to urge leaders to tackle wildlife crisis

Protest features 350 environmental groups demanding more robust action on UK wildlife loss



# The Guardian

## Revealed: more than 90% of rainforest carbon offsets by biggest certifier are worthless, analysis shows

Investigation into Verra carbon standard finds most are 'phantom credits' and may worsen global heating

Public demand for nature conservation is increasing.

Offsetting, and market-based offsetting in particular, has a bad reputation.

# Wetlands provide critical environmental and economic services

Some important functions of wetlands:

- Habitat for animals and plants
- Absorbing pollutants and improving water quality
- Protecting land areas from erosion
- Reducing the impacts of floods (Taylor and Druckenmiller, AER 2022)



# Wetland mitigation banking

The 1972 US Clean Water Act mandates that impacts to wetlands must be compensated by an equivalent environmental gain.



Housing development in Naples, Florida. Image source: Joel Sartore

# Wetland mitigation banking

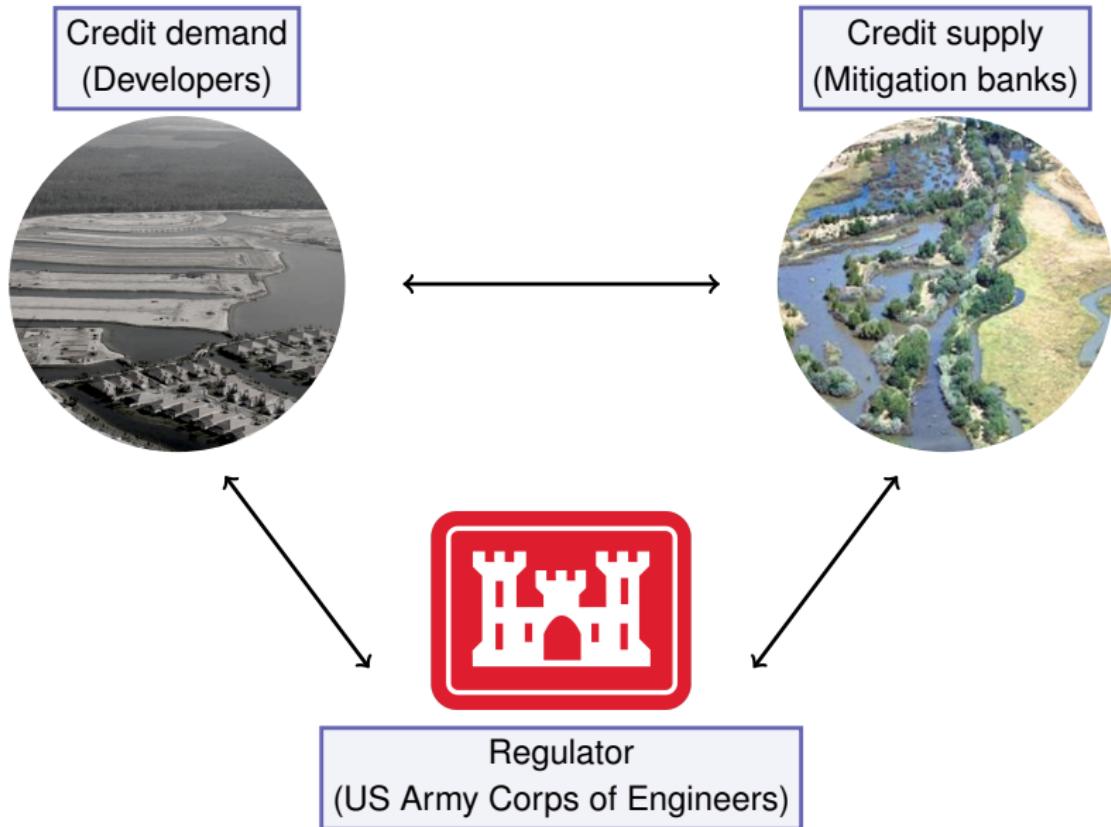
Wetland mitigation banking = A for-profit firm undertakes wetland restoration projects, receives compensation credits and sells them to a CWA permittee.

This industry collects annual revenues in excess of 3.5 billion USD



Mitigation bank in Placer County, California. Image source: US EPA

# Wetland mitigation banking



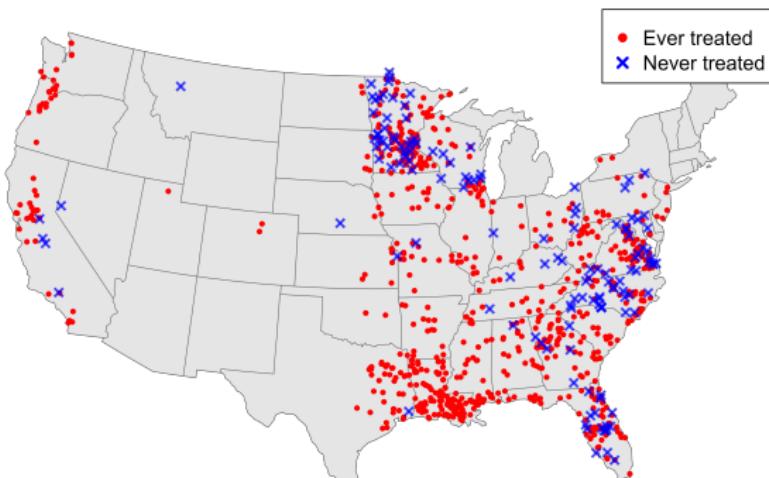
# Data

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# Data

Collected data on wetland area for

- 400 wetland mitigation banks participating in the federal scheme (ever treated)
- 141 planned mitigation banks that applied for participation but were denied (never treated)



# Data

Two complementary data sources to measure the magnitude and timing of wetland area gains:

Visual interpretation of satellite imagery



Land cover change detection data

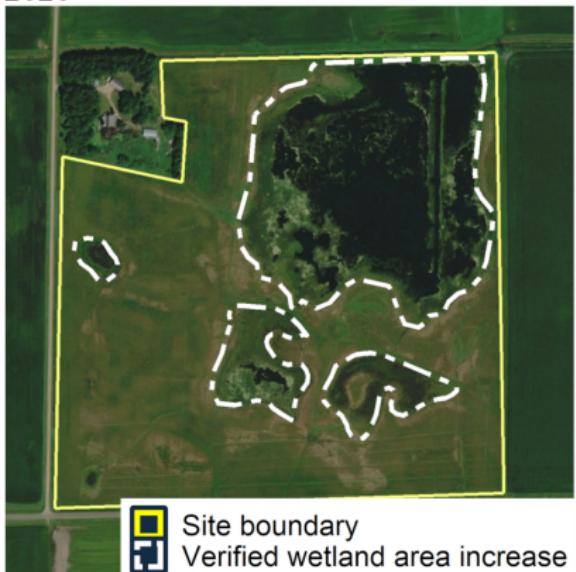


## Visual interpretation

2009



2020



Site boundary

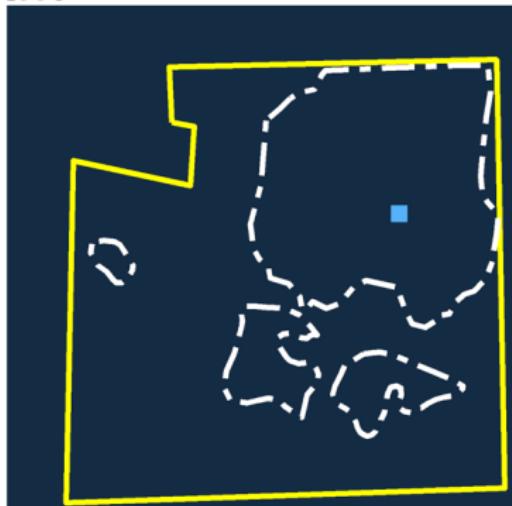


Verified wetland area increase

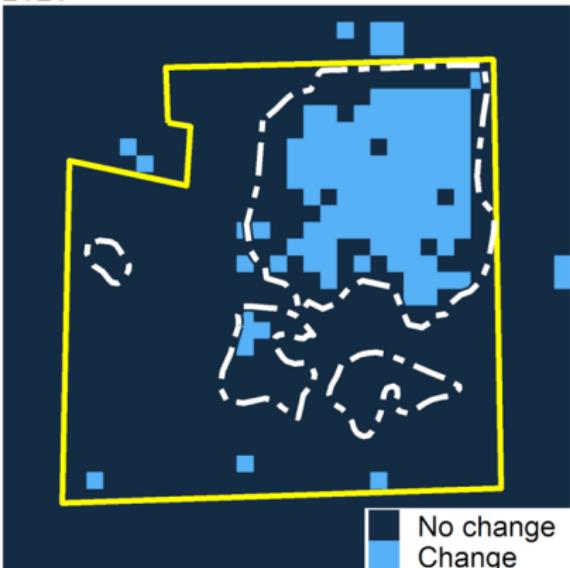
The site is situated in rural Minnesota and was established in 2013.

# Land cover change detection (SCTIME)

1995



2020

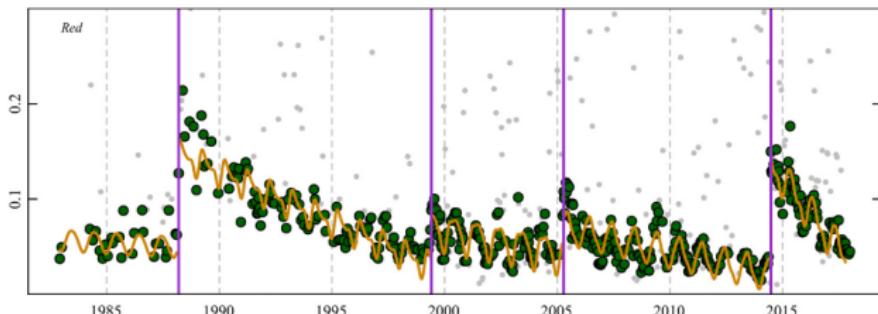


Data source: LCMAP / SCTIME (USGS)

# Land cover change detection (SCTIME)

The algorithm fits a time series model for each pixel in Landsat imagery.

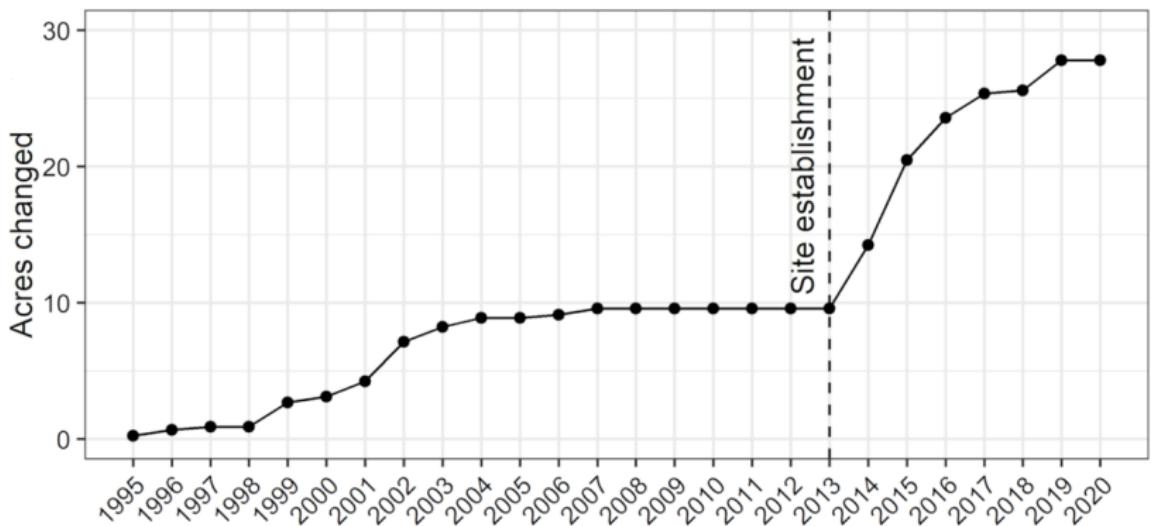
- Green dots: Surface reflectance of a single pixel (red band).
- Yellow: Fitted model
- Purple lines: Model breaks = identified land cover change



Source: Brown et al. (2020)

Agricultural land cover produces a stable surface reflectance time series.  
Conversion to wetland will be identified as a model break.

# Land cover change detection (SCTIME)



Data source: LCMAP / SCTIME (USGS)

# Empirical strategy

Long differences

$$\Delta y_i = \tau D_i + \Delta X_i \beta + \varepsilon_i$$

Dynamic difference-in-differences

$$y_{it} = \sum_{s \in S} \tau_s D_{its} + X_{it} \beta + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where

$y_{it}$  Wetland area at site  $i$  in year  $t$

$D_{its}$  Treatment indicators

$X_{it}$  Precipitation, GDP, population, agricultural land value

$\alpha_i, \gamma_t$  Site and year fixed effects

# Empirical strategy

## Control units

- (i) Not-yet-treated sites      Using sites established since 2016 as a control group and restricting the estimation sample to 1995–2015
- (ii) Candidate sites      Entered the crediting process but were withdrawn e.g. due to the opposition of local authorities or neighbouring properties

# **Results**

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# Long differences estimates

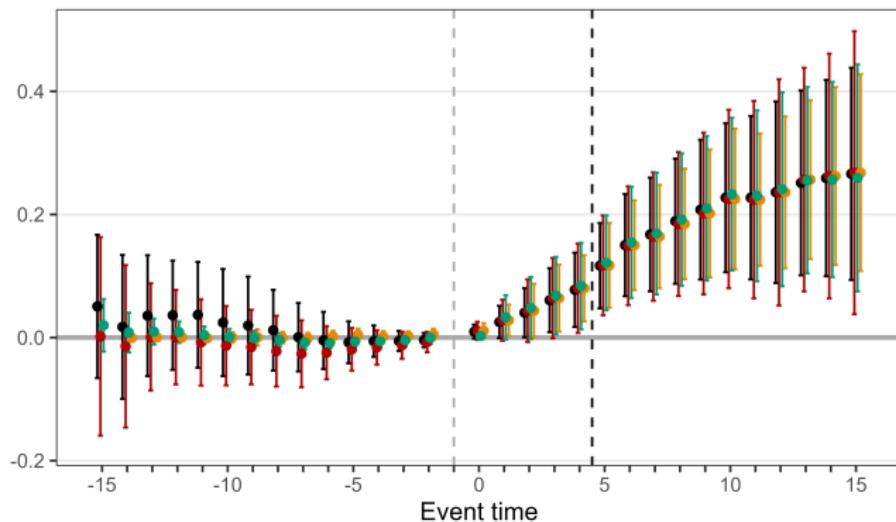
Outcome: % wetland area  
Control group: not yet treated

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated	0.23 (0.04)	0.23 (0.04)	0.20 (0.05)	0.22 (0.04)
Precipitation		0.00 (0.00)		0.00 (0.00)
Population density		0.04 (0.01)		0.05 (0.01)
GDP		-0.05 (0.03)		0.01 (0.03)
Land value		-0.04 (0.04)		-0.04 (0.04)
State FEs			✓	✓
N	400	400	400	400

Standard errors in parentheses. Clustered by state.

# Dynamic estimates

Outcome: % wetland area  
Control group: not-yet-treated sites



Estimator

● TWFE

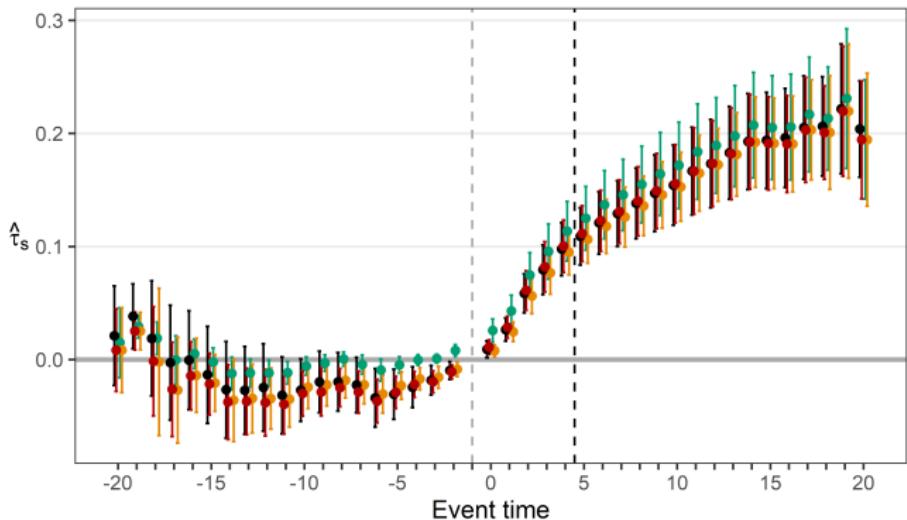
■ Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021)

▲ Sun and Abraham (2021)

◆ Gardner (2022)

# Dynamic estimates

Outcome: % wetland area  
Control group: candidate sites



## Estimator

● TWFE

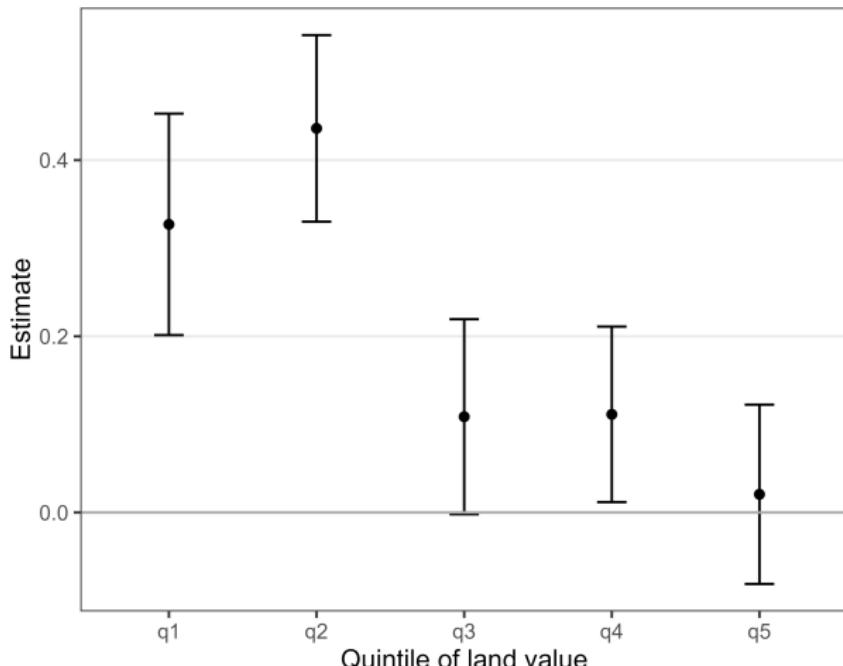
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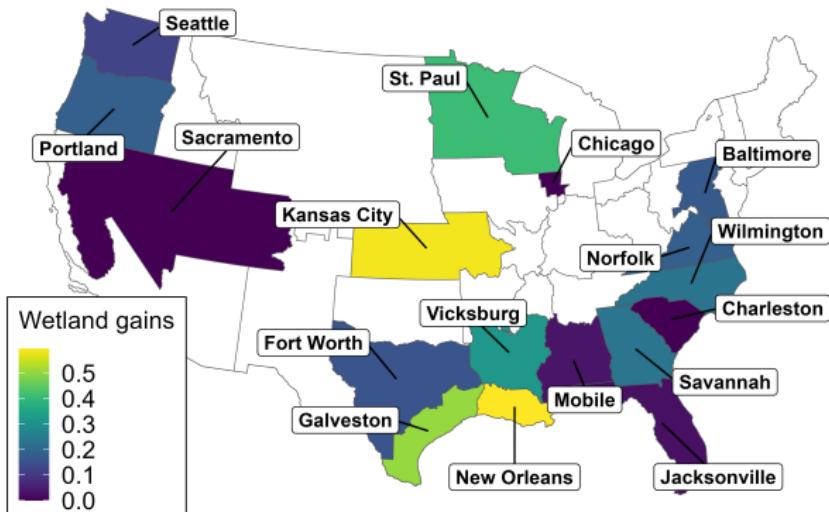
# Heterogeneity

Long differences estimates over land value at treatment year.  
High opportunity cost  $\implies$  less environmental good provision.



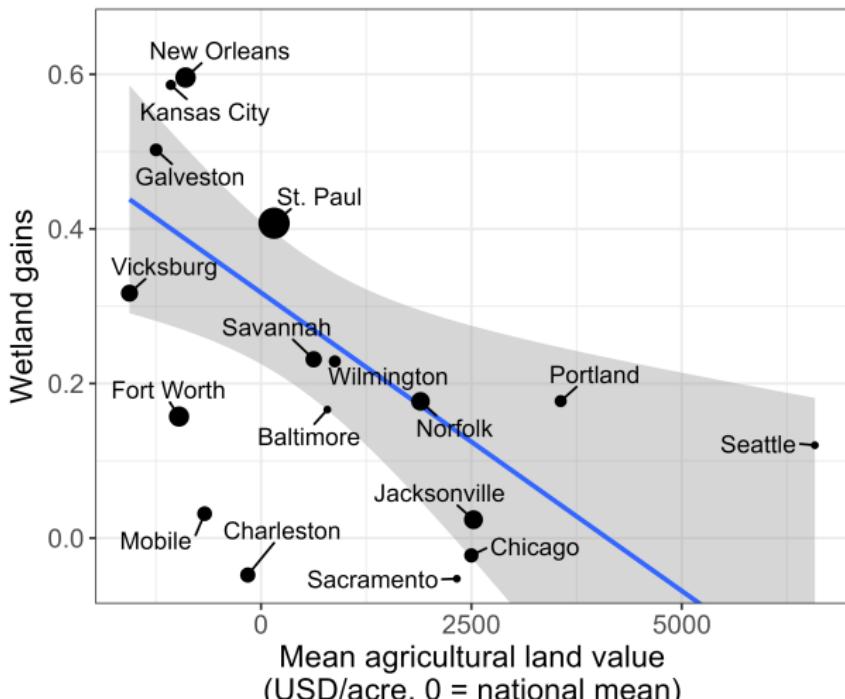
# Heterogeneity

Long differences estimates across administrative districts



# Heterogeneity

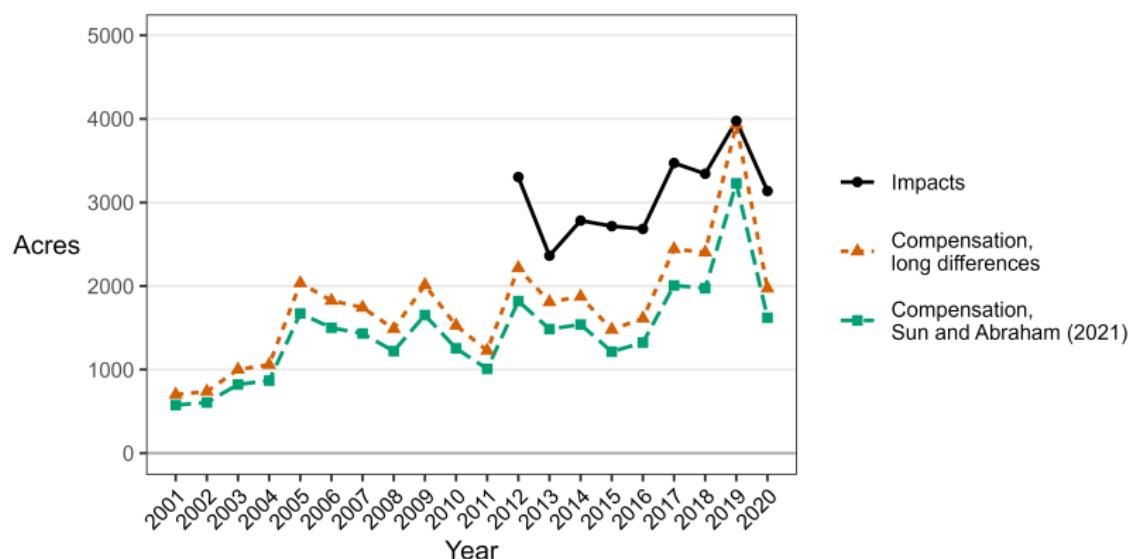
### Long differences estimates across administrative districts (size = N)



## **Discussion**

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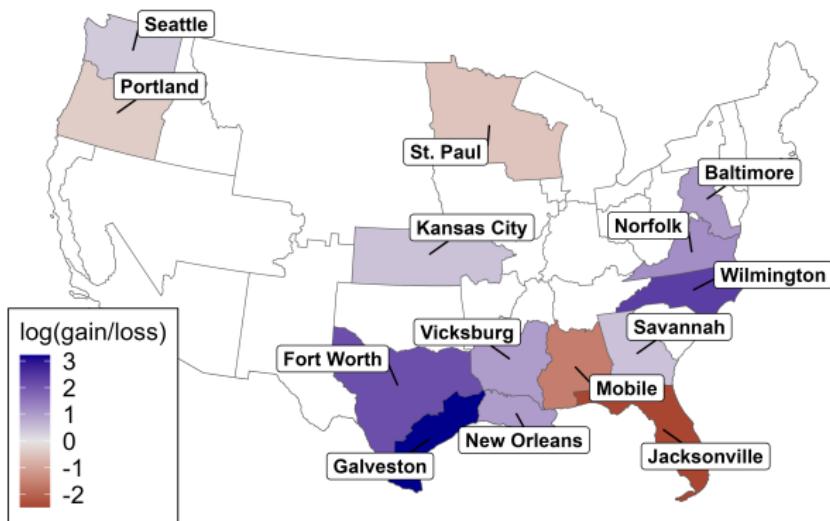
# Policy implications



*Quality gap:* The statutory **no net loss** goal is not met – unless further offset by qualitative improvements.

The net loss estimates are conservative!

# Policy implications

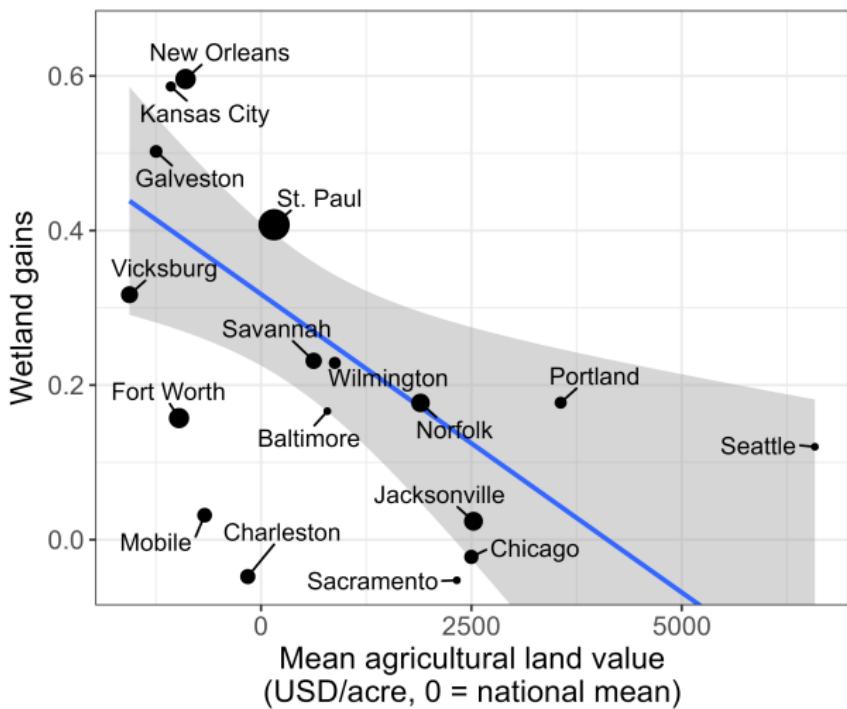


Aggregate net losses driven by four regions.

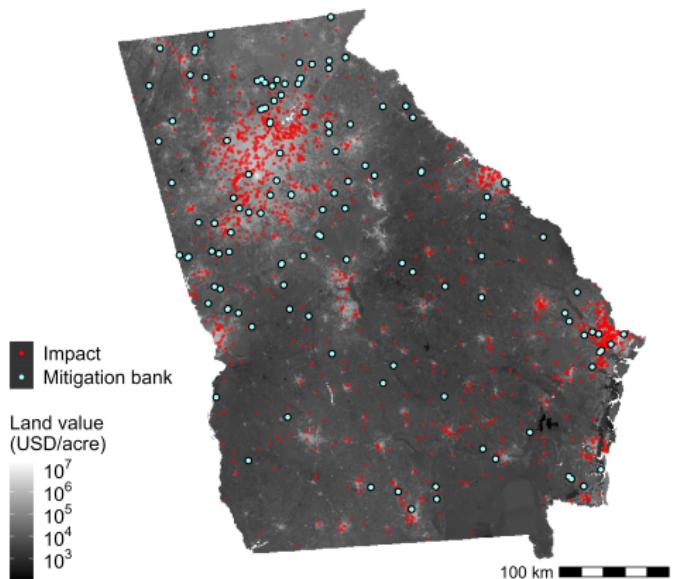
What about welfare?

# Welfare

If the benefits from wetland restoration were uniform across regions, this depicted correlation would be unproblematic.



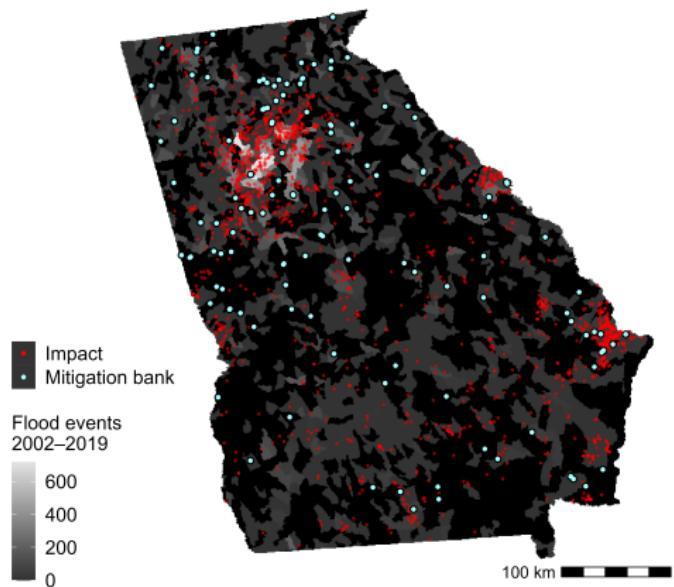
# Welfare



The cost savings from relocating wetlands through offset markets are evident.

Data source: Nolte (2020)

# Welfare



Data source: US Flood Database, Li et al. (2021)

At the same time, an acre of wetland provides more services close to urban areas than in rural areas.

Does the pricing of wetland restoration benefits in the offset market reflect this positive correlation between the benefit and the opportunity cost?

