EPA's Reports to Congress on the Benefits and Costs of the Clean Air Act



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CAA90 Section 812

- "comprehensive analysis of the impact of this act on the public health, economy, and environment of the united states" "consider[ing] the costs, benefits and other effects associated with compliance"
- "a default assumption of zero value shall not be assigned to [benefits] unless supported by specific data"

EPA's Conclusions

- CAA 1970-90
 - \$2 trillion annual net benefits ("best estimate")
 - No support for this estimate among economists independent of EPA
- CAA 1990 ->
 - \$83 billion annual net benefits ("central estimate")
 - Ours is first independent examination

Costs Are Understated

- Direct costs
 - SAB assumed EPA estimates were valid
 - EPA estimates include \$10k/Mg ceiling on cost of achieving O₃ standards
- Indirect costs ignored
 - ≈25-35% of direct costs
- Significant costs excluded
 - Section 181 mandatory deadlines
 - EPA estimate thus reflects *partial* compliance

Modeling Excluded Costs

- Consider linear extrapolation for cancer
 - Ignorance about risks in range of concern
 - Extrapolation from data down to zero
- Apply same method to compliance costs
 - Ignorance about costs in range of concern
 - Extrapolation from data up to compliance level of control
 - ≈\$53 billion, excluding Houston and Galveston
- Annual cost closer to \$100B than \$27B

Overvaluation of Risk Reduction

- Small actual reductions in life expectancy
 - ≈14 years *if* PM claims lives randomly
 - Random effects imply that healthy and infirm face same risk
- VSL factors used by EPA
 - Derived from cases where loss ≈ 40 life-years
 - Applied to the aged and infirm

Exaggerated Risk Reductions

- Where do benefits come from?
 - 90%: reduction in PM-induced mortality
 - 10%: other factors
- Where does PM-induced mortality come from?
 - Relative risk = 1.19 from Pope et al. (1995), comparing cities with highest and lowest PM
 - Exposure is annual median ambient outdoor PM
 - Statistical significance claim assumed valid
 - Observed association assumed to be causal

Reasons for Skepticism

- Linear extrapolation implies no thresholds
- Plausible threshold reduces risk by 2-6x
- Dubious model validity
 - Self-reported data from a convenience sample
 - Statistical significance assumes representativeness in sample
 - Specification robustness given variables
 - Omitted variables (e.g., indoor air)

A Possible Explanation for the Observed Results

- Indoor air and weather
 - Indoor/outdoor air exchange rates
 - Wind
 - Indoor/outdoor activity patterns
 - Results confounded if cities with lower average outdoor PM and mortality also have more wind
- Not tested by HEI

Revised Costs and Benefits of Clean Air Act

- Costs
 - EPA: \$27 billion/year
 - B/C ratio: 4.1
 - Revised: \$100 billion/year
 - Revised B/C ratio: 1.1
- Benefits
 - EPA: \$110 billion/year
 - 6% reduction in benefits makes NB < 0