

# Environmental Policy, River Pollution, and Infant Health: Evidence from Kanpur, India

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# The Basic Question

- How does environmental policy impact health in the developing world?
- Why does this matter?
  - Good policy is hard to come by
    - E.g., Greenstone and Hanna (2014)
  - Policy frequently faces opposition on economic grounds (jobs, wages)
  - Avoidance is an alternative strategy
    - E.g., Kremer, Leino, Miguel, and Zwane (2012)

>> *The mechanism matters*

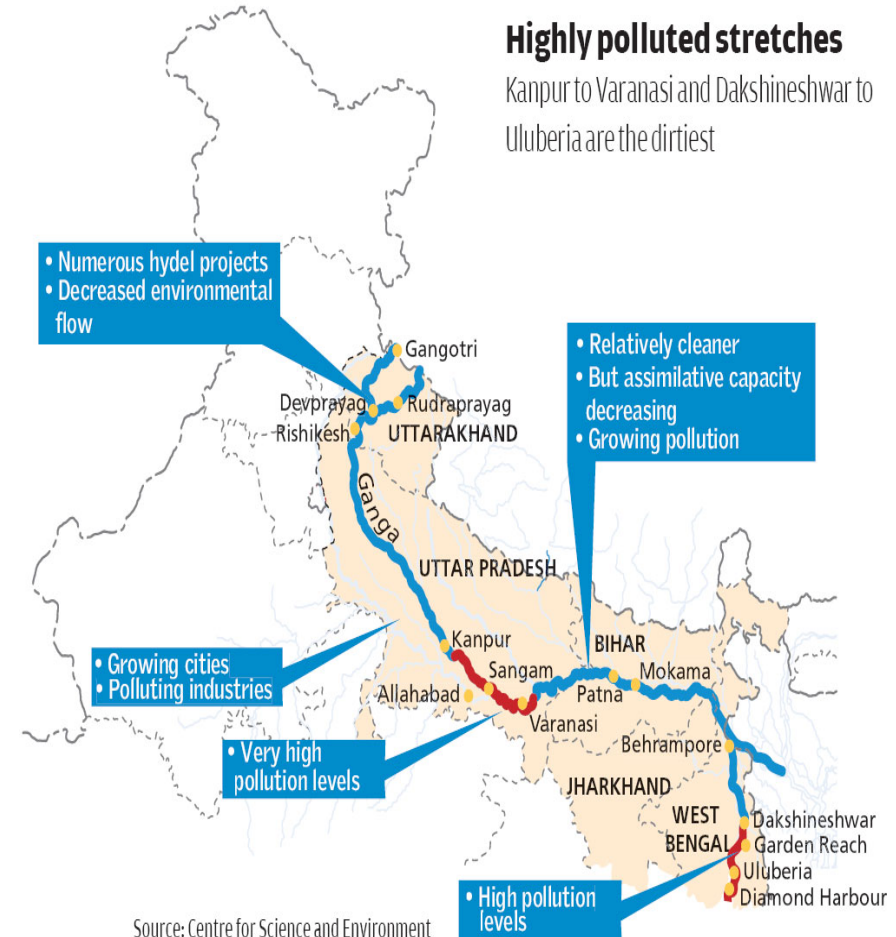
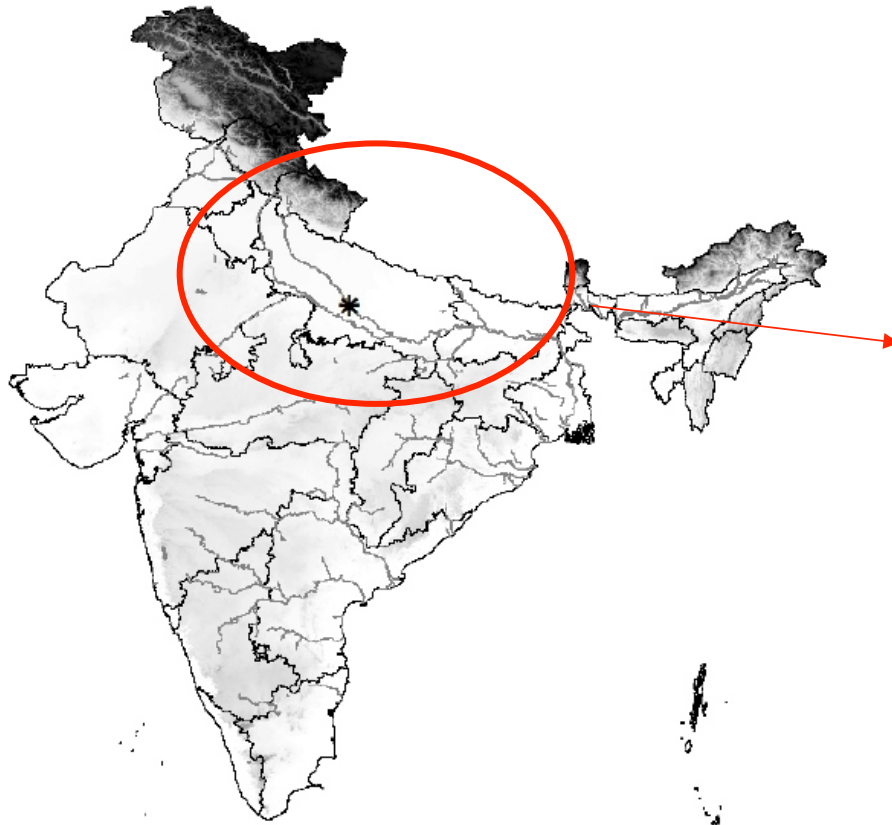
# History has many examples of the health penalties of living in high pollution settings

- Alsan and Goldin (2015): the establishment of water and sewage systems in Massachusetts can explain about 37 percent of the decline in mortality between 1880—1915
- Hanlon (2015): in 19<sup>th</sup> century England, industrial pollution explains about 33 percent of the mortality penalty of living close to factories

# Overview of this paper

- We evaluate the impact of a policy that targets industrial water pollution in Kanpur, India
  - Policy: Unprecedented judicial verdict that mandates new treatment plants, plans for pollution control and major information campaigns
  - Estimate impacts on pollution and infant mortality
- We test whether the pollution channel explains the full impact of the policy on infant mortality
  - Pollution is not the only mechanism
  - Income, education and behavior modification are also plausible

# Location of our study



# The tannery industry

- Most tanneries do the following:
  - Washing -> Liming -> Fleshing -> Tanning -> Splitting -> Finishing
- Highly polluting:
  - More than 175 polluting
  - Many chemicals highly toxic, carcinogenic and known to cause birth defects
  - Large disease burden
- In India, highly concentrated around three cities: Kolkata, Chennai and Kanpur
  - Kanpur is on the banks of the Ganges in the plains of India
  - For more than 100 years, Kanpur has been the “leather capital” of India



# We study the first ever public interest litigation

- M.C. Mehta v. Union of India, Writ Petition No. 3727, filed in 1985 against tannery owners and the Kanpur municipalities for failing to keep the river clean:
  - Supreme Court of India ruled in his favor in October 1987
    - Tanneries ordered to either set up “primary treatment plants as approved by the State Board with effect from Oct 1, 1987” or “stop business entirely”
    - Municipality required to clean sewers, expand the sewage system and treat waste
    - Ban on placing dead bodies into the river
- The policy is quasi-random wrt both pollution and mortality
  - Mr. Mehta had no connections with Kanpur
  - Selection was random

Skipping the theoretical model for now...  
We estimate three equations

1. Mortality on Kanpur Regulation (“Mortality DD”)

$$Mortality_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Policy_{it} + \alpha_2 Poll_{it} + \alpha_3 X_{it} + \eta_{it}$$

2. Pollution on Kanpur Regulation (“Pollution DD”)

$$Poll_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Policy_{it} + \beta_2 Poll_{it} + \beta_3 X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

3. Mortality on Pollution (“River IV”)

$$Mortality_{it} = \theta_0 + \theta_1 Poll_{it} + \theta_2 Policy_{it} + \theta_3 X_{it} + \mu_{it}$$



# We use over-identification tests as mechanisms tests

- If the impact is only through pollution: *Policy* → *Pollution* → *Mortality*

- Then

reduced-form impact (*Policy* → *Mortality*)

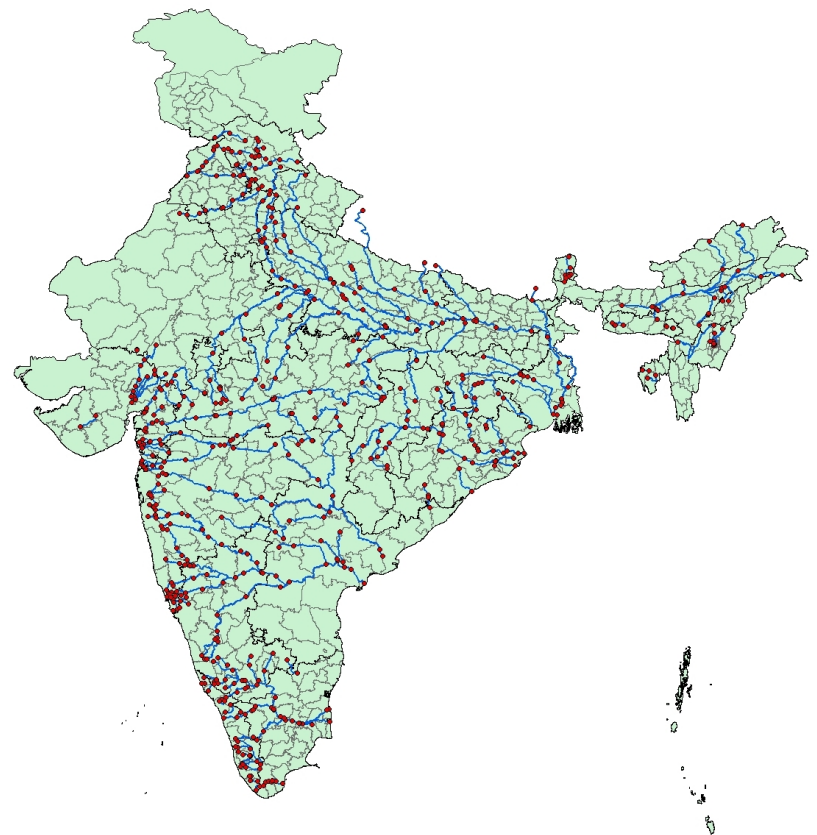
= reduced-form impact (*Policy* → *Pollution*)

\* reduced-form impact (*Pollution* → *Mortality*)

- This is equivalent to testing that *Policy*↓*it* is a valid instrument for *Pollution*.
- We thus estimate 2SLS regression models using (a) upstream pollution alone as an instrument; and (b) upstream pollution and the policy, *BOTH* as instruments
  - A Hansen (or Sargan) J-statistic assesses overidentification

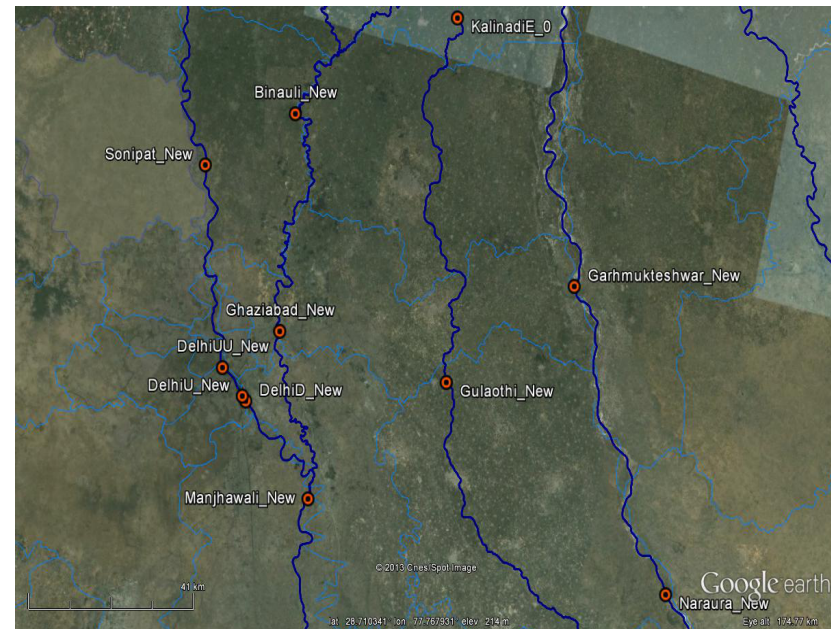
# Data

- Water pollution: Monitor-months from 1986-2004 (CPCB)
  - 470 monitors along 162 rivers → 38,789 observations
  - Latitude and longitude of monitors
  - We focus mainly on BOD
- Infant mortality: Two different samples child-months
  - DLHS-II, RCH: 264,375 births → 2.6 million observations
  - Children only identified by district, NOT town or village
- Policy:
  - Kanpur verdict (Oct 1987)



# We construct a measure of upstream pollution using the geography of river flow

- Assign to every monitor an upstream counterpart
  - Identify the river on which the monitor resides
  - Follow that river upstream until it enters a new district
  - Find the next monitor upstream:
    - If its distance from the original monitor falls within  $[X,Y]$ , assign it as the upstream monitor
    - If not, continue upstream until a monitor is found within  $[X,Y]$
    - If no monitor is found within  $[X,Y]$ , drop that monitor from the sample
    - If a river splits (due to the joining of a tributary), take the average of upstream monitors
- $X$  in  $\{0, 20, 50, 75, 100\}$
- $Y$  in  $\{200, 300\}$



# Econometric details

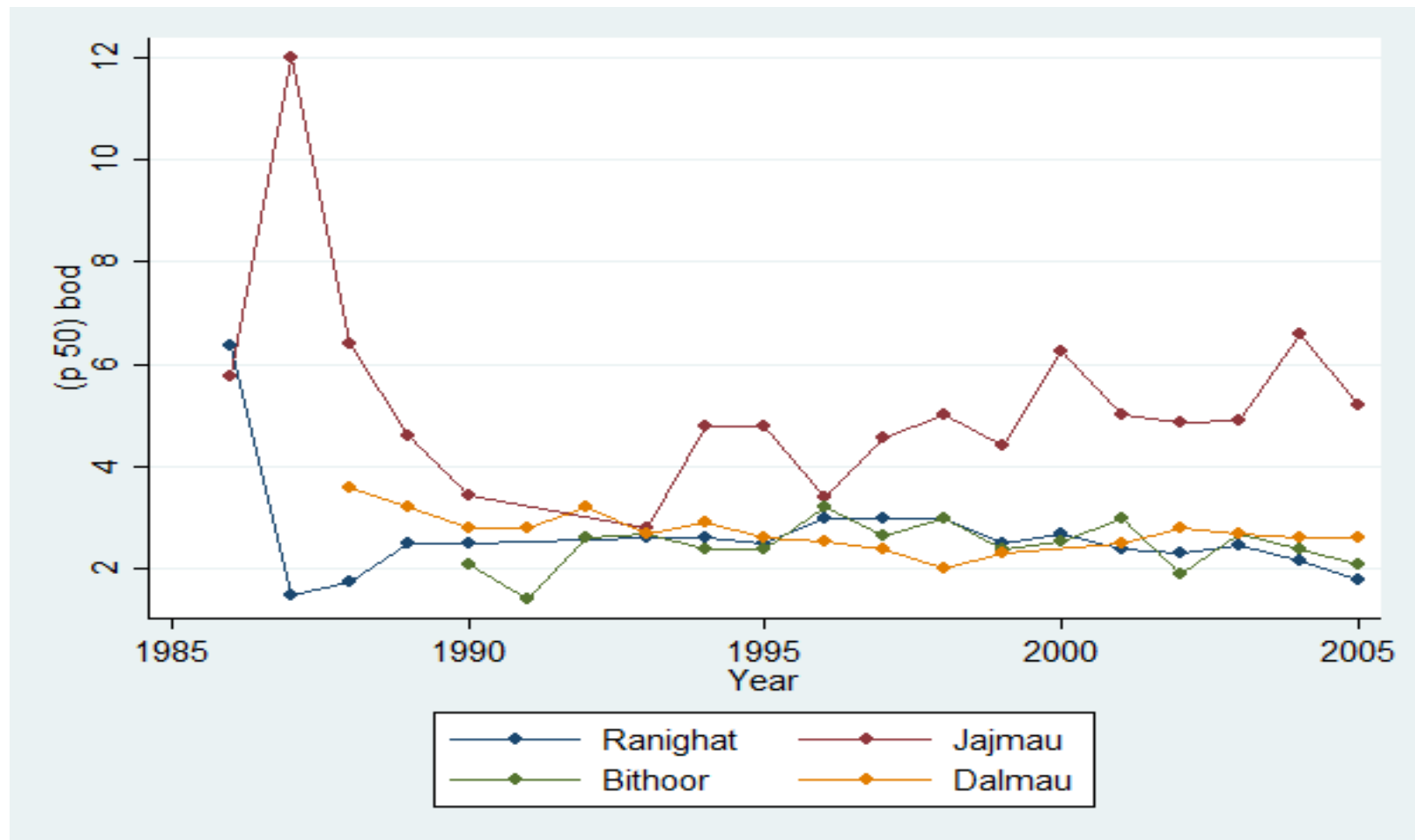
- Controls: air temperature, rainfall, distance upstream, incidence of the National River Conservation Plan, Common Effluent treatment plant capacity
- Policy impacts:

$$Y_{lit} = a + \mathbf{b}Policy_{lit} + dX_{lit} + \varphi_{lit} + \lambda_t + e_{lit}$$

$Y_{lit}$  is either infant mortality or pollution

- Mechanisms: instrumental variables
  - Pollution is the endogenous variable
  - Upstream pollution and policy are instruments

# A first glance...



# Another simple look...

| Before the Verdict                         |        |       |                         |        |                     | After the Verdict |        |                         |        |                     | Difference         |
|--|--------|-------|-------------------------|--------|---------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|
|  | Kanpur |       | Rest of the Ganga Basin |        | Difference          | Kanpur            |        | Rest of the Ganga Basin |        |                     |                    |
| Child died within the first month of birth | 136    | 0.110 | 1836                    | 0.0719 | 0.0384<br>(0.100)   | 1478              | 0.0568 | 487064                  | 0.0554 | 0.00138<br>(0.819)  | -0.037*<br>(0.019) |
| Child died within the first year of birth  | 1302   | 0.154 | 19337                   | 0.103  | 0.0502<br>(0.0879)  | 17222             | 0.0662 | 487064                  | 0.0723 | -0.00610<br>(0.353) | -0.006*<br>(0.003) |
| Female                                     | 1302   | 0.471 | 19337                   | 0.474  | -0.00273<br>(0.848) | 17222             | 0.484  | 487064                  | 0.480  | 0.00393<br>(0.310)  | 0.007<br>(0.015)   |

# Reduced form regressions show policy reduces mortality

**Table 2: Mehta vs. Union of India and infant mortality: reduced-form results**

|  | Dependent variable: Child died in first month of life (1=yes;0=no) |                     |                     |                      |                     |
|--|--|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
|  | (1)  | (2)                 | (3)                 | (4)                  | (5)                 |
| Child was born in Kanpur after 1987                          | -0.032**<br>(0.011)  | -0.037**<br>(0.011) | -0.031**<br>(0.010) | -0.042***<br>(0.005) | -0.039**<br>(0.014) |
| Child was born in a district downstream of Kanpur after 1987 |  |                     |                     |                      | -0.012<br>(0.017)   |
| Time coverage  | 1986-2005  | 1986-2000           | 1986-1995           | 1986-2005            | 1986-2005           |
| Geographic coverage  | Ganga basin only   | Ganga basin only    | Ganga basin only    | All India            | Ganga basin only    |
| R-Squared  | 0.012  | 0.013               | 0.018               | 0.009                | 0.012               |
| N  | 45183  | 30387               | 13518               | 183325               | 45183               |

Notes: All regressions include set of controls (CETP capacity, air temperature, total precipitation, and NRCP dummy), of district fixed-effects and month-year fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the district level in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent, respectively.

# Policy also lowers industrial pollution

**Table 3: Mehta vs. Union of India and its impact on river pollution**

|   | Dependent variable: pollutant |                      |                      |                      |                      |                  |                    |                      |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
|   | BOD                           | BOD                  | BOD                  | BOD                  | BOD                  | Fecal coliforms  | Calcium            | Sulphur              |
|   | (1)                           | (2)                  | (3)                  | (4)                  | (5)                  | (6)              | (7)                | (8)                  |
| Kanpur district after 1987                      | -0.431***<br>(0.053)          | -0.477***<br>(0.049) | -0.559***<br>(0.082) | -0.438***<br>(0.041) | -0.216***<br>(0.054) | 0.041<br>(0.132) | -0.116*<br>(0.050) | -0.679***<br>(0.070) |
| District is downstream of Kanpur and after 1987 |                               |                      |                      |                      | 0.293***<br>(0.057)  |                  |                    |                      |
| Time coverage                                   | 1986-2005                     | 1986-2000            | 1986-1995            |                      |                      | 1986-2005        |                    |                      |
| Geographic coverage                             |                               | Ganga basin only     |                      | All India            |                      | Ganga basin only |                    |                      |
| R-Squared                                       | 0.706                         | 0.689                | 0.732                | 0.593                | 0.710                | 0.593            | 0.614              | 0.405                |
| Number of observations                          | 2953                          | 1755                 | 997                  | 15784                | 2953                 | 2519             | 2224               | 2156                 |

Notes: All regressions include set of controls (CETP capacity, air temperature, total precipitation, and NRCP dummy), of district fixed-effects and month-year fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the district level in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent, respectively. In columns (1)-(5), the dependent variable is whether BOD levels are above 3, in column (6), the dependent variable is whether fecal coliforms exceed cutoff of 5,000, and in columns (7) and (8), the dependent variable is whether levels of calcium or sulphur are above the sample median.



In the IV regressions, we find a positive relationship between pollution and mortality

**Table 4: Mehta vs. Union of India and infant mortality: channels of impact**

|   | Dependent variable: Child died in first month of life (1:yes;0:no) |                    |                   |                     |                     |                    |                     |
|---|--|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
|   | OLS  | 2SLS: 1 instrument |                   | 2SLS: 2 instruments |                     |                    |                     |
|   | (1)  | (2)                | (3)               | (4)                 | (5)                 | (6)                | (7)                 |
| BOD > 3 (1:yes,0:no)                                | 0.004<br>(0.004)   | 0.090*<br>(0.043)  | 0.172*<br>(0.085) | 0.186*<br>(0.081)   | 0.094***<br>(0.021) | 0.112**<br>(0.042) | 0.106***<br>(0.031) |
| Child was born in Kanpur<br>after 1987 (1:yes;0:no) | -0.036**<br>(0.011)  | -0.002<br>(0.022)  | 0.036<br>(0.041)  | 0.071<br>(0.053)    |                     |                    |                     |
| Geographic coverage                                 |  |                    |                   | Ganga basin only    |                     |                    |                     |
| Sample period                                       | 1986-2005  | 1986-2005          | 1986-2000         | 1986-1995           | 1986-2005           | 1986-2000          | 1986-1996           |
| J-statistic (P-value)                               |  |                    |                   |                     | 0.929               | 0.343              | 0.213               |
| R-Squared   | 0.013  |                    |                   |                     |                     |                    |                     |
| Number of observations                              | 45183  | 45183              | 30387             | 13518               | 45183               | 30387              | 13518               |

Notes: All regressions include set of controls (CETP capacity, air temperature, total precipitation, and NRCP dummy), of district fixed-effects and month-year fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the district level in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent, respectively. Columns (2)-(5) show second-stage results of 2SLS

# Mechanisms

- Hypothesis testing gives us a “failure to reject”, which suggests that the policy has likely affected mortality only through pollution
- Other factors have had a small effect (upper bound TBA)

# Conclusions

- Identified impact of environmental policy regulation
- Assessed quantitative importance of one mechanism: lower reduction as opposed to avoidance

Extra Slides

# Summary stats of key variables

| Variable   | All districts |           |            |        |         | Kanpur District |            |            |     |         |
|--|---------------|-----------|------------|--------|---------|-----------------|------------|------------|-----|---------|
|  | Obs           | Mean      | Std. Dev.  | Min    | Max     | Obs             | Mean       | Std. Dev.  | Min | Max     |
| <b>(A) RCH Data – averaged at the district level</b>       |               |           |            |        |         |                 |            |            |     |         |
| Died within 1 month  | 142248        | 0.053     | 0.107      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.085      | 0.121      | 0   | 1       |
| Died within 1 year   | 141336        | 0.080     | 0.138      | 0      | 1       | 496             | 0.127      | 0.158      | 0   | 1       |
| Female literacy  | 142247        | 0.431     | 0.285      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.388      | 0.241      | 0   | 1       |
| Hindu  | 142248        | 0.757     | 0.299      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.824      | 0.191      | 0   | 1       |
| SC   | 142183        | 0.183     | 0.195      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.272      | 0.193      | 0   | 1       |
| ST   | 142183        | 0.162     | 0.281      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.006      | 0.029      | 0   | 0       |
| Piped water  | 142248        | 0.418     | 0.332      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.163      | 0.174      | 0   | 1       |
| Wealth Index   | 142248        | -0.065    | 0.593      | -1.080 | 2.978   | 498             | -0.088     | 0.575      | -1  | 3       |
| Rural  | 142248        | 0.688     | 0.251      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.470      | 0.322      | 0   | 1       |
| After verdict  | 142248        | 0.683     | 0.465      | 0      | 1       | 498             | 0.683      | 0.466      | 0   | 1       |
| <b>(B) Pollution data – averaged at the district level</b> |               |           |            |        |         |                 |            |            |     |         |
| bod  | 22792         | 3.858     | 7.716      | 0.1    | 105     | 155             | 3.887      | 2.256      | 1   | 14      |
| cod  | 22792         | 24.723    | 27.461     | 0.2    | 346     | 155             | 15.993     | 5.801      | 4   | 42      |
| calc   | 23597         | 74.077    | 71.558     | 1      | 940     | 176             | 78.625     | 40.263     | 22  | 216     |
| fcoli  | 17065         | 17449.220 | 96847.580  | 1      | 2100000 | 109             | 196020.300 | 325526.100 | 3   | 2100000 |
| totcoli  | 17065         | 46410.510 | 241296.500 | 1      | 6300000 | 109             | 510203.700 | 855120.100 | 230 | 4600000 |