



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

September 2, 2025

Claudia Persico, PhD  
Associate Professor  
Department of Public Administration and Policy  
School of Public Affairs, American University  
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20016-8070  
NBER and IZA

RE: Reconsideration of 2009 Endangerment Finding and Greenhouse Gas Vehicle Standards

Dear Environmental Protection Agency,

I am Dr. Claudia Persico, Associate Professor of environmental policy in the Department of Public Administration and Policy at the School of Public Affairs at American University. I can be reached at [cpersico@american.edu](mailto:cpersico@american.edu). I am an expert on how pollution affects human health and children's academic outcomes and life chances.

Air pollution emitted by cars, buses and trucks has numerous impacts on human health, as well as greenhouse gas emissions. These indirect costs and benefits are very real and it would be foolish to not consider them. For example, growing literatures in economics, public health and epidemiology have documented the contemporaneous health (Anderson and Thundilyil, 2011; Ransom and Pope, 1995; Pope and Dockery, 1999; Friedman et al., 2001; Moretti and Neidell, 2011; Schlenker and Walker, 2015) and mortality-related impacts among infants and the elderly (Anderson, 2016; Deryugina et al, 2016) of air pollution. In other words, **exposure to air pollution kills babies and the elderly**. Air pollution from traffic is linked to bronchitis (Beatty and Shimshack, 2011), diabetes (Bowe et al, 2018) and missing school (Currie et al, 2008). A growing literature also documents how in utero exposure to pollution affects health outcomes at birth such as infant mortality (Currie and Neidell, 2005; Chay and Greenstone, 2003), birth weight (Currie, Davis, Greenstone, and Walker, 2015) and the development of congenital anomalies (Currie, Greenstone, and Moretti, 2011). See also Jayachandran (2009), Currie and Walker (2011), Knittel, Miller, and Sanders (2015), Arceo-Gomez, Hanna, and Oliva (2015), and Almond and Currie (2011). Some recent research also investigates how pollution exposure during gestation affects later human capital outcomes (Almond, Edlund, and Palme, 2009; Bharadwaj, Gibson, Graff Zivin, and Neilson, 2017; Black, Bütikofer, Devereux, and Salvanes, 2013; Ferrie, Rolphe and Troeskin, Persico, Figlio and Roth, 2016; Rau et al., 2015; Sanders, 2012).

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375  
FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

For example, Heissel, Persico and Simon (2018) find that **pollution from highways affects students' academic achievement, attendance and behavioral incidents in nearby schools**. Austin, Heutel and Kreisman (2019) document how school bus emissions harm academic achievement. A few studies also document how acute, short term exposure to air pollution on testing days affects test score performance and performance in high-skilled occupations (Archsmith, Heyes, and Saberian, 2017). For example, Marcotte (2017) uses the variation in air quality on different testing days and finds that children who take tests on days on worse days for pollen and fine airborne particulate matter have worse outcomes. Similarly, Roth (2016) finds that pollution on testing days affects college students' performance in the United Kingdom, and Ebenstein and Roth (2014) find that pollution affects performance on high school exit exams in Israel. Hernstadt and Muehlegger (2015) find that crime is higher downwind of highways than on the opposite upwind side, implying that **pollution might have cognitive effects**. As Almond, Currie and Duque (2016) point out in their recent literature review, even mild health shocks in early life can lead to substantial long term negative outcomes.

Most importantly, **we do not yet know all of the costs of pollution and accompanying benefits of regulation**. Pollution is actually far more costly in lost years of life, health-related costs, human capital costs, lost wages (Borgschulte, Molitor and Zou, 2017; Isen, Rossin-Slater and Walker, 2017), lost tax revenue, and crime (see Feigenbaum and Muller, 2016; Aizer and Currie, 2017; Billings and Schnepel, 2017) than we ever guessed. This research discovers new things about the indirect benefits of regulation and costs of pollution every day.

This rule would jeopardize the progress we have made in reducing children's and the elderly's exposure to air pollution. It would also potentially contribute to global climate change, which is extremely costly. The Environmental Protection Agency should not repeal green house gas emissions standards.

I request that the following resources be read in addition to my comment:

## References

- Aizer, Anna, Janet Currie, Peter Simon, and Patrick Vivier. 2018. "Do Low Levels of Blood Lead Reduce Children's Future Test Scores?" *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 10 (1): 307–41.
- Almond, Douglas, Janet Currie, and Valentina Duque. "Childhood Circumstances and Adult Outcomes: Act II." Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, January 2017. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w23017>.
- Almond, Douglas, and Janet Currie. 2011. "Killing Me Softly: The Fetal Origins Hypothesis." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 25 (3): 153–72.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375  
FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

- Almond, Douglas, Lena Edlund, and Mårten Palme. 2009. "Chernobyl's Subclinical Legacy: Prenatal Exposure to Radioactive Fallout and School Outcomes in Sweden \*." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124 (4). Oxford University Press: 1729–72.
- Anderson, Michael L. "As the Wind Blows: The Effects of Long-Term Exposure to Air Pollution on Mortality." Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, September 2015.
- Austin, Wes, Garth Heutel, and Daniel Kreisman. 2019. "School Bus Emissions, Student Health and Academic Performance." *Economics of Education Review* 70 (June): 109–26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2019.03.002>.
- Bearer, Cynthia F. 1995. "Environmental Health Hazards: How Children Are Different from Adults." *The Future of Children* 5 (2): 11–26.
- Beatty, Timothy K.M., and Jay P. Shimshack. 2011. "School Buses, Diesel Emissions, and Respiratory Health." *Journal of Health Economics* 30 (5): 987–99.
- Bertrand, M., E. Duflo, and S. Mullainathan. 2004. "How Much Should We Trust Differences-In-Differences Estimates?" *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119 (1). Oxford University Press: 249–75.
- Bharadwaj, Prashant, Matthew Gibson, Joshua Graff Zivin, and Christopher Neilson. 2017. "Gray Matters: Fetal Pollution Exposure and Human Capital Formation." *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists* 4 (2). University of Chicago Press/Chicago, IL: 505–42.
- Black, Sandra, Aline Bütikofer, Paul Devereux, and Kjell Salvanes. 2013. "This Is Only a Test? Long-Run Impacts of Prenatal Exposure to Radioactive Fallout." NBER Working Paper 18987
- Anthony E. Boardman, David H. Greenberg, Aidan R. Vining, and David L. Weimer, Cost-Benefit Analysis: Concepts and Practice, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2011).
- Bowe, Benjamin, Yan Xie, Tingting Li, Yan Yan, Hong Xian, and Ziyad Al-Aly. "The 2016 Global and National Burden of Diabetes Mellitus Attributable to PM<sub>2.5</sub> Air Pollution." *The Lancet Planetary Health* 2, no. 7 (July 1, 2018): e301–12. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196\(18\)30140-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(18)30140-2).
- Butler, Adrienne S., and Richard E. Behrman, R. E., ed. 2007. *Preterm birth: causes, consequences, and prevention*. Washington DC: National Academies Press.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375  
FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 2009. *Fourth Report on Human Exposure to Environmental Chemicals*. Atlanta, GA: US Department of Health and Human Services Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- Chetty, Raj, John N. Friedman, and Jonah E. Rockoff. 2014. "Measuring the Impacts of Teachers I: Evaluating Bias in Teacher Value-Added Estimates." *American Economic Review* 104 (9): 2593–2632.
- Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline, and Emmanuel Saez. "Where Is the Land of Opportunity? The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 129, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 1553–1623.
- Clark, Lara P., Dylan B. Millet, and Julian D. Marshall. 2017. "Changes in Transportation-Related Air Pollution Exposures by Race-Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status: Outdoor Nitrogen Dioxide in the United States in 2000 and 2010." *Environmental Health Perspectives* 125 (9).
- Currie, Janet, Eric A. Hanushek, E. Megan Kahn, Matthew Neidell, and Steven G. Rivkin. "Does Pollution Increase School Absences?" *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 91, no. 4 (2009): 682–694.
- Currie, J., and M. Neidell. 2005. "Air Pollution and Infant Health: What Can We Learn from California's Recent Experience?" *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120 (3). Oxford University Press: 1003–30.
- Currie, Janet, Lucas Davis, Michael Greenstone, and Reed Walker. 2015. "Environmental Health Risks and Housing Values: Evidence from 1,600 Toxic Plant Openings and Closings." *American Economic Review* 105 (2): 678–709.
- Currie, Janet, Michael Greenstone, and Enrico Moretti. 2011. "Superfund Cleanups and Infant Health." *American Economic Review* 101 (3): 435–41.
- Currie, Janet, and Johannes F. Schmieder. "Fetal Exposure to Toxic Releases and Infant Health." Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, September 2008. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14352>.
- Currie, Janet, and Reed Walker. "Traffic Congestion and Infant Health: Evidence from E-ZPass." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3, no. 1 (January 2011): 65–90. <https://doi.org/10.1257/app.3.1.65>.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375  
FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

- Deryugina, Tatyana, Garth Heutel, Nolan H Miller, David Molitor, and Julian Reif. “The Mortality and Medical Costs of Air Pollution: Evidence from Changes in Wind Direction.” Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, November 2016. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w22796>.
- Ebenstein, Avraham, Victor Lavy, and Sefi Roth. 2016. “The Long-Run Economic Consequences of High-Stakes Examinations: Evidence from Transitory Variation in Pollution.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 8 (4): 36–65.
- Feigenbaum, James J., and Christopher Muller. “Lead Exposure and Violent Crime in the Early Twentieth Century.” *Explorations in Economic History* 62 (October 1, 2016): 51–86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eeh.2016.03.002>.
- Ferrie, Joseph P., Karen Rolf, and Werner Troesken. 2012. “Cognitive Disparities, Lead Plumbing, and Water Chemistry: Prior Exposure to Water-Borne Lead and Intelligence Test Scores among World War Two U.S. Army Enlistees.” *Economics & Human Biology* 10 (1). North-Holland: 98–111.
- Finkelstein, Yoram, Morri E Markowitz, and John F Rosen. 1998. “Low-Level Lead-Induced Neurotoxicity in Children: An Update on Central Nervous System Effects.” *Brain Research Reviews* 27 (2). Elsevier: 168–76.
- Grandjean, P, and PJ Landrigan. 2006. “Developmental Neurotoxicity of Industrial Chemicals.” *The Lancet* 368 (9553). Elsevier: 2167–78.
- Grandjean, Philippe, and Philip J Landrigan. 2014. “Neurobehavioural Effects of Developmental Toxicity.” *The Lancet Neurology* 13 (3). Elsevier: 330–38.
- Greenstone, Michael, Richard Hornbeck, and Enrico Moretti. 2010. “Identifying Agglomeration Spillovers: Evidence from Winners and Losers of Large Plant Openings.” *Journal of Political Economy* 118 (3). The University of Chicago Press : 536–98.
- Heissel, Jennifer A., Claudia Persico, and David Simon. 2022. “Does Pollution Drive Achievement? The Effect of Traffic Pollution on Academic Performance.” *Articles. Journal of Human Resources* 57 (3): 747–76.
- Herrnstadt, Evan, and Erich Muehlegger. “Air Pollution and Criminal Activity: Evidence from Chicago Microdata.” Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, December 2015. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w21787>.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375  
FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

- Irmis, Randall B., and Jessica H. Whiteside. "Delayed Recovery of Non-Marine Tetrapods after the End-Permian Mass Extinction Tracks Global Carbon Cycle." *Proc. R. Soc. B*, October 26, 2011, rspb20111895. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2011.1895>.
- Isen, Adam, Maya Rossin-Slater, and W. Reed Walker. 2017. "Every Breath You Take—Every Dollar You'll Make: The Long-Term Consequences of the Clean Air Act of 1970." *Journal of Political Economy* 125 (3). University of Chicago Press Chicago, IL: 848–902.
- Karner, A. A., Eisinger, D. S., & Niemeier, D. A. (2010). Near-Roadway Air Quality: Synthesizing the Findings from Real-World Data. *Environmental Science & Technology*, 44(14), 5334–5344. <https://doi.org/10.1021/es100008x>
- Kingsley, Samantha L., Melissa Eliot, Lynn Carlson, Jennifer Finn, David L. MacIntosh, Helen H. Suh, and Gregory A. Wellenius. "Proximity of US Schools to Major Roadways: A Nationwide Assessment." *Journal of Exposure Science & Environmental Epidemiology* 24, no. 3 (2014): 253–59. <https://doi.org/10.1038/jes.2014.5>.
- Marcotte, Dave E. 2017. "Something in the Air? Air Quality and Children's Educational Outcomes." *Economics of Education Review* 56 (February). Pergamon: 141–51.
- Moretti, E. and Neidell, M. (2009). Pollution, health, and avoidance behavior: Evidence from the ports of Los Angeles. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper, number 14939.
- Persico, Claudia, David Figlio, and Jeffrey Roth. 2016. "Inequality Before Birth: The Developmental Consequences of Environmental Toxicants." NBER Working Paper w22263.
- Pope, C.A., and Dockery, D.W. (2006). Health effects of fine particulate air pollution: Lines that connect. *Journal of the Air and Waste Management Association*, 54, 709-742.
- Ransom, M. and Pope, C. (1992). Elementary school absences and PM10 pollution in Utah Valley. *Environmental Research*, 58(2), 204-219.
- Rau, Tomás, Sergio Urzúa, and Loreto Reyes. 2015. "Early Exposure to Hazardous Waste and Academic Achievement: Evidence from a Case of Environmental Negligence." *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists* 2 (4). University of Chicago Press Chicago, IL: 527–63.
- Reyna, V. F., Chapman, S. B., Dougherty, M. R., & Confrey, J. E. (2012). *The adolescent brain: Learning, reasoning, and decision making*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Rice, D, S Barone, and Jr. 2000. "Critical Periods of Vulnerability for the Developing Nervous System: Evidence from Humans and Animal Models." *Environmental Health Perspectives* 108 Suppl 3 (Suppl 3). National Institute of Environmental Health Science: 511–33.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375

FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)



# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

Roth, Sefi. 2016. "The Contemporaneous Effect of Indoor Air Pollution on Cognitive Performance: Evidence from the UK I Benefited from Comments and Suggestions." Paper presented at IZA Conference on Labor Market Effects of Environmental Policies, Zurich

Sanders, Nicholas. 2011. "What Doesn't Kill You Makes You Weaker: Prenatal Pollution Exposure and Educational Outcomes." *Journal of Human Resources*. 47 (3): 826-50.

Schlenker, Wolfram, and W. Reed Walker. "Airports, Air Pollution, and Contemporaneous Health." Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, December 2011. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w17684>.

Whiteside, Jessica H., and Peter D. Ward. "Ammonoid Diversity and Disparity Track Episodes of Chaotic Carbon Cycling during the Early Mesozoic." *Geology* 39, no. 2 (February 1, 2011): 99–102. <https://doi.org/10.1130/G31401.1>.

Sincerely,

Claudia Persico  
Associate Professor  
Department of Public Administration and Policy  
School of Public Affairs  
American University and NBER

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4400 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20016-8070 202-885-2375  
FAX: 202-885-2347

[american.edu/spa/dpap](http://american.edu/spa/dpap)