Race, Government Assistance, and Recovery from Natural Disasters

Michael Jerman

University of Oregon and Oregon State University

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Introduction

- High profile natural disasters in the United States are often accompanied by accusations of racial bias of government organizations and aid workers
- Small-scale surveys and journalistic investigations suggest that minorities are more likely to be affected by natural disasters and recover more slowly
- I use high-resolution (500m²) nighttime light data to investigate the relationship between race and disaster recovery at the census tract level
- Data covers all federally declared natural disasters in the United States from 2012 to 2018

Disaster Declarations

- The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) declares "major disasters" at the county level
- FEMA assumes bureaucratic control of public and private disaster relief efforts after a declaration
- Cash grants made available to aid organizations and people directly affected by the disaster
- Little oversight or accountability of aid organizations after grants are dispersed

Motivating Example

- Households can apply directly to FEMA for cash grants
- Damage must be assessed by a FEMA investigator
- FEMA tracks applications, investigations, and grants at the zip-code level
- Regress household grants on zip-code demographics from the 2010 US Census
- Household grants are a small part of overall disaster relief efforts

Zip-Code Level Determinants of FEMA Housing Assistance

		Dependent variabl	le:
	Inspected	Damage reported	Grant received
	(1)	(2)	(3)
%Hispanic/100	0.013 (0.029)	0.069* (0.040)	-0.279*** (0.097)
%Black/100	0.011 (0.020)	0.055 (0.065)	-0.021 (0.099)
Observations R ²	22,998 0.207	22,998 0.212	14,956 0.233
Note:		*p<0.1: **p<	0.05: ***p<0.01

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All regressions include disaster fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the disaster level. All regressions include controls for female-headed households, rental properties, median age, and male population.

Data

- Census tract demographic characteristics from the 2010 US Census
- County major disaster declarations from FEMA
 - Restrict sample to large-scale disasters: Hurricanes, severe storms, floods, snow, and ice storms
- Nighttime light luminosity data from Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) onboard the Suomi National Polar-Orbiting Partnership spacecraft
 - Monthly observations aggregated to the census tract level
- Monthly observations for each census tract from April 2012 to May 2018

Summary Statistics

Statistic	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
%Black/100	0.14	0.22	0.00	1.00
%Hispanic/100	0.14	0.20	0.00	1.00
Population	4,310.61	1,994.48	102	37,452
Male population	2,119.45	1,001.27	3	26,093
Median age	38.97	7.18	12.70	82.90
%Under 18/100	0.23	0.06	0.00	0.91
%Over 65/100	0.14	0.07	0.00	0.89
%Female headed households/100	0.13	0.08	0.00	1.00
%Rental properties/100	0.34	0.22	0.00	1.00
Population density	1,637.56	3,694.24	0.01	196,409.20
Log luminosity	107.19	23.85	9.41	201.03

Note: Census tracts with population less than 100 are excluded.

Estimating Equation

$$y_{id}(t) - y_{id}(0) = \beta_1(\% Hispanic_i/100) + \beta_2(\% black_i/100) + \delta[y_{id}(0) - y_{id}(-1)] + \theta' X_i + \mu_{cd} + \varepsilon_{cd}$$

- $y_{id}(t)$: Log luminosity in tract i, t months after disaster d
- $y_{id}(0) y_{id}(-1)$: Decrease in luminosity immediately following disaster d
- X_i: Census tract level controls
- μ_{cd} : County×disaster fixed effects
- ε_{cd} : County×disaster clustered errors
- Restrict sample to census tracts in counties that have been declared a major disaster by FEMA
- Estimating the within-county effect of race on recovery



Census Tract Demographics and Disaster Recovery

	I	Dependent variab	le:
	y(3) - y(0)	y(6) - y(0)	y(12) - y(0)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
%Hispanic/100	-0.224***	-0.017	0.030***
	(0.033)	(0.017)	(0.011)
%Black/100	-0.120***	0.026	-0.036***
·	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.012)
Observations	90,891	88,519	86,069
\mathbb{R}^2	0.636	0.702	0.745
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0	.05; ***p<0.01

Census Tract Recovery by Disaster Type

		Disaster Type				
	Hurricanes	Severe Storms	Floods	Snow	Ice Storms	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
%Hispanic/100	-0.343***	0.018	-0.031	-0.059	0.667**	
	(0.038)	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.049)	(0.315)	
%Black/100	-0.196***	-0.023	0.002	0.117***	0.061	
	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.318)	
Observations R ²	39,901	24,422	17,012	4,532	4,951	
	0.386	0.754	0.651	0.861	0.551	

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Disaster Type

- Results primarily driven by hurricanes
- Minority tracts do better following snow and ice storms
- Non-random geographic distribution of hurricanes vs winter weather may be driving these results

Identification Threats

- Hispanic and black census tracts may have unobservable characteristics that are correlated with growth but are unrelated to government aid
- Structural and behavioral parameters are assumed constant across tracts within counties
 - ► Investment rates, capital intensity, productivity, migration preference, etc
- Within-county estimates cannot separately identify the effects of government aid vs structural and behavioral differences correlated with race

Border Discontinuity

 Compare census tracts in major disaster counties to neighboring census tracts in non major disaster counties:

$$y_{id}(t) - y_{id}(0) = \beta_1(\%Hispanic_i/100) + \beta_2(\%black_i/100) + \beta_3D_i^F$$

$$+ \beta_4D_i^F(\%Hispanic_i/100) + \beta_5D_i^F(\%black_i/100) +$$

$$+ \delta[y_{id}(0) - y_{id}(-1)] + \theta'X_i + \rho'D_FX_i + \mu_{cd} + \varepsilon_{cd}$$

- ullet $D_i^F=1$ if tract i is in a county declared a major disaster
- Conceptually similar to a "triple difference" estimation
- Identification assumption: Disaster declaration uncorrelated with unobserved structural parameters and disaster intensity
- Shortcoming: border tracts experience less damage from natural disasters

The Effect of Race on Disaster Recovery in Border Tracts

	Dependent variable:		
	y(3) - y(0)	y(6) - y(0)	y(12) - y(0)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
%Hispanic/100	0.358***	0.492***	0.398***
	(0.008)	(0.003)	(0.004)
%Black/100	0.063**	0.363***	0.313***
	(0.025)	(0.004)	(0.004)
FEMA tract (D_i^F)	0.595	0.635**	0.519***
	(0.632)	(0.255)	(0.188)
$D_i^F \times (\% Hispanic/100)$	-0.284**	-0.512***	-0.426***
	(0.129)	(0.081)	(0.090)
$D_i^F \times (\%Black/100)$	-0.085	-0.395***	-0.375***
	(0.124)	(0.081)	(0.067)
Observations	16,518	16,183	18,217
R^2	0.300	0.434	0.467
		<u>'</u>	<u>'</u>

Note:

p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Border Tracts

- Tracts in FEMA-declared disaster counties grow significantly faster following a natural disaster
- Marginal effect of moving from tract with no Hispanic/black population to all Hispanic/black population entirely erases the benefit (p= 0.57, 0.52)
- Tracts with 2-3 times the median Hispanic or black population show no significant benefit from being in a FEMA-declared disaster county

Discussion

- Following a natural disaster, Hispanic and black census tracts grow more slowly than white tracts within the same county
- Hispanic and black tracts in counties with a major disaster declaration do not grow faster than similar tracts in counties where no disaster was declared
- The causal mechanism cannot be identified at present
 - Results consistent with a model where state and federal investment is lower in minority areas
- Results suggest that regions with large nonwhite populations would benefit from additional focus and oversight from policymakers

The End

Thank you!

A Model of Disaster Recovery

Steady-state convergence in neoclassical growth models:

$$\ln Y(t) - \ln Y(0) = (1 - e^{-\lambda t}) \left[\ln Y(-1) - \ln Y(0) \right]$$

- ► Y(t): Output t months after a natural disaster
- ightharpoonup Y(0): Output contemporaneous with natural disaster
- Y(-1): Pre-disaster level of output (steady-state)
- ▶ $\ln Y(-1) \ln Y(0)$: Decrease in output caused by disaster
- \blacktriangleright λ : Rate of convergence
- ullet If public investment depends on demographic characteristics X, then

$$\lambda = \lambda(X)$$

• If $x \in X$ is negatively associated with public investment, then x is negatively associated with growth: $\ln Y(t) - \ln Y(0)$



Timing of Recovery

- Hispanic and black tracts recover more slowly in the short run (<3 months)
- Hispanic tracts grow faster in the long run (12 months)
- Black tracts appear worse off in long run
- Timing of public assistance may be important
- Alternative specification:

$$y_{id}(t+3) - y_{id}(t) = \beta_1(\%Hispanic_i/100) + \beta_2(\%black_i/100) + \delta[y_{id}(t) - y_{id}(-1)] + \theta'X_i + \mu_{cd} + \varepsilon_{cd}$$

Census Tract Growth Rate, Varying Time Frames

	Dependent variable:				
	y(3) - y(0)	y(6) - y(3)	y(9) - y(6)	y(12) - y(9)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
%Hispanic/100	-0.224***	0.007	0.025	0.038***	
	(0.033)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.013)	
%Black/100	-0.120***	0.047*	-0.018	-0.003	
	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.021)	(0.011)	
Observations R ²	90,891	81,897	61,623	67,551	
	0.636	0.747	0.813	0.837	

Note:

p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

