

Weathering the Storm: The Effects of Natural Disasters on Households under Universal Insurance

Caroline Espegren^{1,2} Sigurd Galaasen¹ Emilia Garcia-Appendini^{1,3,4} Mathis Mæhlum¹

¹Norges Bank

²BI Norwegian Business School

³University of St. Gallen

⁴Swiss Finance Institute

Disclaimer: This work should not be reported as representing the views of Norges Bank.
The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Norges Bank.

July 14, 2025

Motivation and Research Question

- 💡 Increasing climate instability is a global concern
- ➔ Environmental risks and challenges to those directly exposed
- 💡 **What is the economic impact of natural disasters on households?**



This Paper



We propose a severity metric and identify natural disasters in Norway, 1993–2023

This Paper




We propose a severity metric and identify natural disasters in Norway, 1993–2023







Universal coverage for natural disasters since 1980

- Overcomes selection bias
- A good proxy for direct economic damages

This Paper

-  We propose a severity metric and identify natural disasters in Norway, 1993–2023
-  Universal coverage for natural disasters since 1980
 - Overcomes selection bias
 - A good proxy for direct economic damages
-  Comprehensive, high quality household-level data over long time period
 - Administrative, third-party reported data on income and wealth
 - Transaction-based consumption data

This Paper

-  We propose a severity metric and identify natural disasters in Norway, 1993–2023
-  Universal coverage for natural disasters since 1980
 - Overcomes selection bias
 - A good proxy for direct economic damages
-  Comprehensive, high quality household-level data over long time period
 - Administrative, third-party reported data on income and wealth
 - Transaction-based consumption data
-  We estimate the effects of natural disasters on household economic outcomes
 - Households in Norway are fully insured against direct damages
 - Enables us to isolate the *indirect* effects

Indirect Effects

- What do we mean by indirect effects?

"Indirect losses include all losses that are not provoked by the disaster itself, but by its consequences; they span over a longer period of time than the event, and they affect a larger spatial scale or different economic sectors" (World Bank, 2015)

Indirect Effects

- What do we mean by indirect effects?

"Indirect losses include all losses that are not provoked by the disaster itself, but by its consequences; they span over a longer period of time than the event, and they affect a larger spatial scale or different economic sectors" (World Bank, 2015)

- Why are indirect effects important to study?

"Why were the losses from Hurricane Katrina so much greater than anyone expected?"



Findings

- Persistent negative effects on income, labor income, debt and consumption
- Income and consumption effects are concentrated among homeowners and firm events
- Non-owners become more likely to move, while home-owners do not

Findings

- Persistent negative effects on income, labor income, debt and consumption
- Income and consumption effects are concentrated among homeowners and firm events
- Non-owners become more likely to move, while home-owners do not



What can we learn from Norway?

- Universal and full insurance
 - A valuable point of reference
 - Clean estimates of *indirect* effects of natural disasters
- Detailed and comprehensive data
 - Several outcome variables
 - Heterogenous effects

Data

- Insurance payouts due to natural damages, Finance Norway
 - Date of damage, affected municipality, compensation amount, insurance type (household vs. firm), and damage type (storm, storm surge, flood, landslide, or other)

Data

- Insurance payouts due to natural damages, Finance Norway
 - Date of damage, affected municipality, compensation amount, insurance type (household vs. firm), and damage type (storm, storm surge, flood, landslide, or other)
- Administrative records, Statistics Norway
 - Income, wealth, demographics, labor market information

Data

- Insurance payouts due to natural damages, Finance Norway
 - Date of damage, affected municipality, compensation amount, insurance type (household vs. firm), and damage type (storm, storm surge, flood, landslide, or other)
- Administrative records, Statistics Norway
 - Income, wealth, demographics, labor market information
- Electronic transaction data, Nets Branch Norway
 - Debit card and wire transfers – 80% of electronic payments
 - 24 categories and location for spending

Data

- Insurance payouts due to natural damages, Finance Norway
 - Date of damage, affected municipality, compensation amount, insurance type (household vs. firm), and damage type (storm, storm surge, flood, landslide, or other)
- Administrative records, Statistics Norway
 - Income, wealth, demographics, labor market information
- Electronic transaction data, Nets Branch Norway
 - Debit card and wire transfers – 80% of electronic payments
 - 24 categories and location for spending
- Housing Transactions, Ambita
 - Purchases and sales

Data

- Insurance payouts due to natural damages, Finance Norway
 - Date of damage, affected municipality, compensation amount, insurance type (household vs. firm), and damage type (storm, storm surge, flood, landslide, or other)
- Administrative records, Statistics Norway
 - Income, wealth, demographics, labor market information
- Electronic transaction data, Nets Branch Norway
 - Debit card and wire transfers – 80% of electronic payments
 - 24 categories and location for spending
- Housing Transactions, Ambita
 - Purchases and sales
- Qualitative information, to ensure quality of events
 - From various sources, such as The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate, Norwegian Meteorological Institute, and local newspapers

Our Severity Metric

- For each municipality m in year t :

$$damage_{m,t} = \frac{total\ insurance\ payouts_{m,t}}{total\ labor\ income_{m,t}}$$

- ✓ Enables comparison of municipalities
- ✓ Works as a deflator

Our Severity Metric

- For each municipality m in year t :

$$damage_{m,t} = \frac{total\ insurance\ payouts_{m,t}}{total\ labor\ income_{m,t}}$$

- ✓ Enables comparison of municipalities
 - ✓ Works as a deflator
- Event in municipality m in year t if:

$$T_{m,t} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } damage_{m,t} > 0.05 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

Our Severity Metric

- For each municipality m in year t :

$$damage_{m,t} = \frac{total\ insurance\ payouts_{m,t}}{total\ labor\ income_{m,t}}$$

- ✓ Enables comparison of municipalities
- ✓ Works as a deflator

- Event in municipality m in year t if:

$$T_{m,t} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } damage_{m,t} > 0.05 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

- Natural disasters are
 - ✓ Large relative to size of the local economy
 - ✓ Large compared to what is “normal”

Our Severity Metric

- For each municipality m in year t :

$$damage_{m,t} = \frac{total\ insurance\ payouts_{m,t}}{total\ labor\ income_{m,t}}$$

- ✓ Enables comparison of municipalities
- ✓ Works as a deflator

- Event in municipality m in year t if:

$$T_{m,t} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } damage_{m,t} > 0.05 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

- Natural disasters are
 - ✓ Large relative to size of the local economy
 - ✓ Large compared to what is “normal”

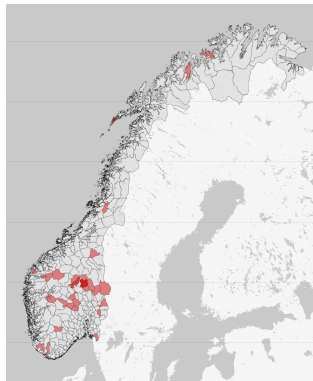


Figure. Natural Disasters in Norway at the municipality level, 38 events, 1993-2023.

Distribution of the Natural Disasters over the years

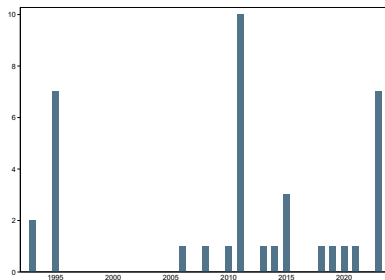


Figure. Count of Natural Disasters using our Severity Metric, 1993 – 2023

Distribution of the Natural Disasters over the years

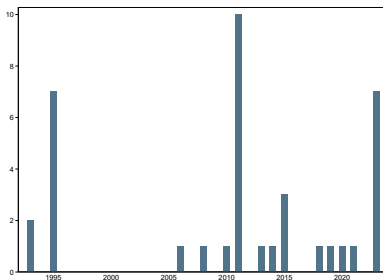


Figure. Count of Natural Disasters using our Severity Metric, 1993 – 2023

- Rising insurance payouts align with our measured increase in natural disasters
- Our sample period: 2006 – 2018

Research Design: The Set-Up

- *Treated* are households that resided in a municipality in year it was hit
- *Controls* similar households in never-hit municipalities, not in same county
- Exact and Interval-Based Matching (CEM) on:
 - (exact) home ownership, ownership of risky assets, self-employment status, children below 18, maximum education level within household
 - (interval-based) age, total consumption, household income after tax, debt level, liquid assets, and municipality population



Research Design: Diff-in-Diff

- Event-study design:

$$Y_{i,m,t} = \sum_{\substack{k=-4 \\ k \neq -1}}^3 \beta_k 1_{i,k,t} T_i + \sum_{k=-4}^3 \delta_k 1_{i,k,t} + \eta_m + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

- Matching group m : one treated household and its controls, household i , year t
- $Y_{i,m,t}$ – different outcome variables, such as income, wealth, debt, consumption, employment, housing transactions, and relocations
- T_i – treatment indicator
- $1_{i,k,t}$ – indicates k years relative to event year
- β_k – differences between treated and controls over time, relative to period -1
- δ_k – time effects that affect both treated and controls
- η_m – matching group fixed effects
- $\varepsilon_{i,t}$ – error term, clustered at matching group level

Treatment Validation

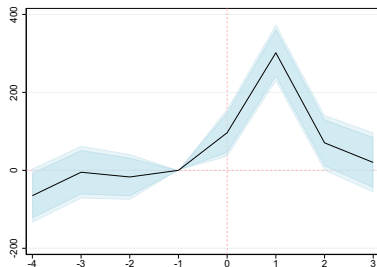


Figure. Transfers from insurance companies to households. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

- Marked increase in transfers from insurance companies to households following a natural disaster
- Treatment effectively captures affected households
- Confirmation particularly important because of treatment at municipality level

Persistent negative effects on income

- 720 USD over 4y, $\approx 20\%$ of direct damages
- ↓ Labor Income falls more, ↑ Self-Employment

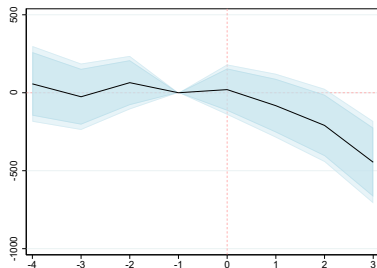


Figure. Income After Tax. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

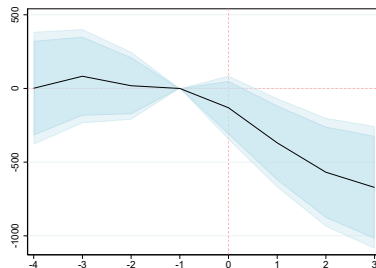


Figure. Labor Income. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

Income response strongest when firms are hardest hit

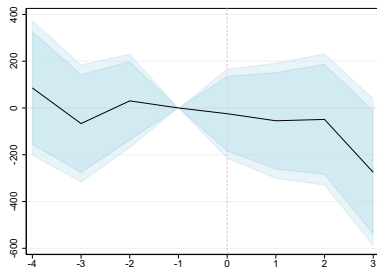


Figure. Household Damage: Income After Tax. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

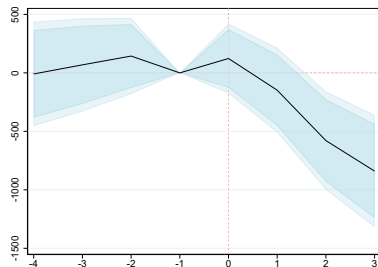


Figure. Firm Damage: Income After Tax Real USD in 2018 Prices.

...and larger unemployment effects when firms are hardest hit

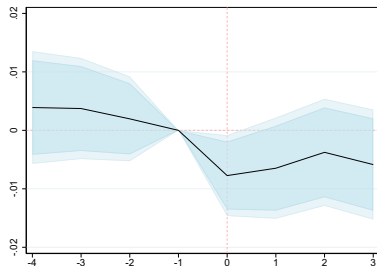


Figure. Household Damage: Unemployment. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

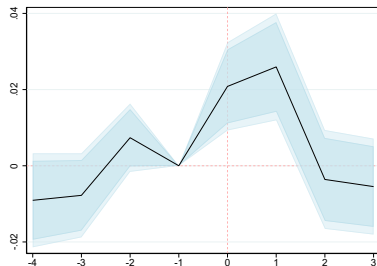


Figure. Firm Damage: Unemployment. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

Persistent negative effect on total consumption

↓ Consumption

- Includes positive direct effect for households that receive insurance payouts (reconstruction, replacement, etc.)
- Indirect consumption response is larger than income response ($\approx 2.8x$), likely due to housing market

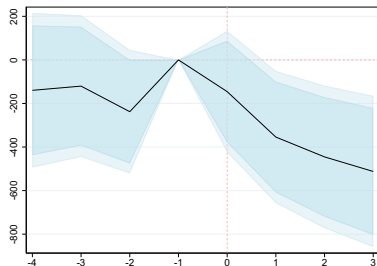


Figure. Total Consumption (**incl.** positive direct effect). Real USD in 2018 Prices.

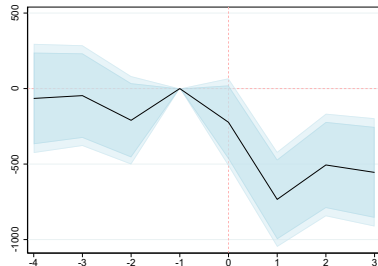


Figure. Total Consumption (**excl.** positive direct effect). Real USD in 2018 Prices.

Decrease in debt and housing purchases

↓ Debt, ↓ Housing Purchases for homeowners

- Qualitatively consistent with a stronger effect on consumption than income

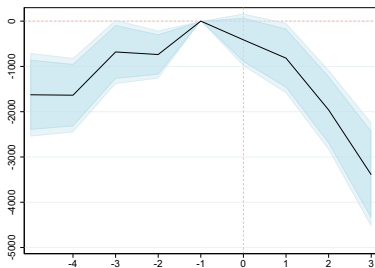


Figure. Debt. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

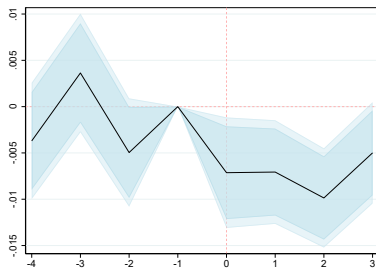


Figure. Housing Purchases. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

Non-owners more likely to move than home-owners

↑ Relocations for non-homeowners

- Lock-in effect for home-owners?

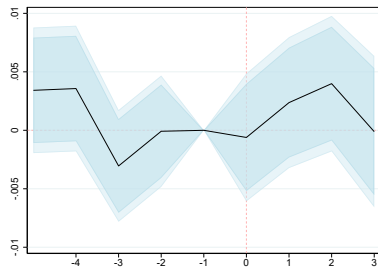


Figure. Homeowners: Moves. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

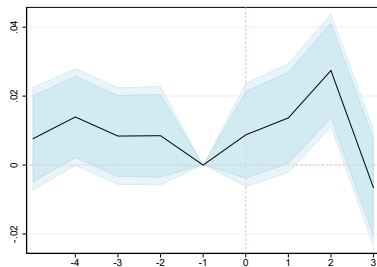


Figure. Non-owners: Moves. Real USD in 2018 Prices.

Conclusions

- Households are significantly affected by natural disasters due to broader economic repercussions
- While damages to property and other physical assets are fully compensated, coverage does not extend to reductions in labor income or declines in housing values
- Aligns with new generation of macro studies (Bilal and Känzig, 2024; Kotz et al, 2024) that report dramatically larger economic losses than earlier findings, even in developed regions like Norway
 - Even with universal insurance, in high latitudes, the indirect economic consequences are significant and overall negative