

# A City on Fire: Effect of Salience on Risk Perceptions

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# Does salience affect households' environmental risk perception?

- Evidence?
  - Lab experiments (e.g., Tversky and Kahneman 1974)
  - Choice theory model with salient payoffs (Bordalo et al. 2012)
  - For households' choices?
- Does risk salience affect home purchases?
  - Important financial decision

# What we do?

- Examine wildfire risk salience on Southern California real estate prices
  - >2m observations over 16 years
- Quasi-experimental design with DiD, property fixed effects, and stringent spatial sample definitions
- Investigate which forms of risk salience trigger a behavioral response
  - A new risk zone designation
  - Exposure to damages from natural disasters

## What do we find?

- Assignment to new risk zone reduces home prices by 10.3% to 11.1%
  - Likely indicates new designation triggers greater risk salience
- Burn scar view within 2km lowers home prices by 4.2% to 5.0%, and by 1.9% to 3.2% in 3-4km
  - Strongly significant only for first year post-fire
  - Unlikely to be fully attributable to the loss of visual amenities
  - Suggests exposure to visual damages affects risk salience

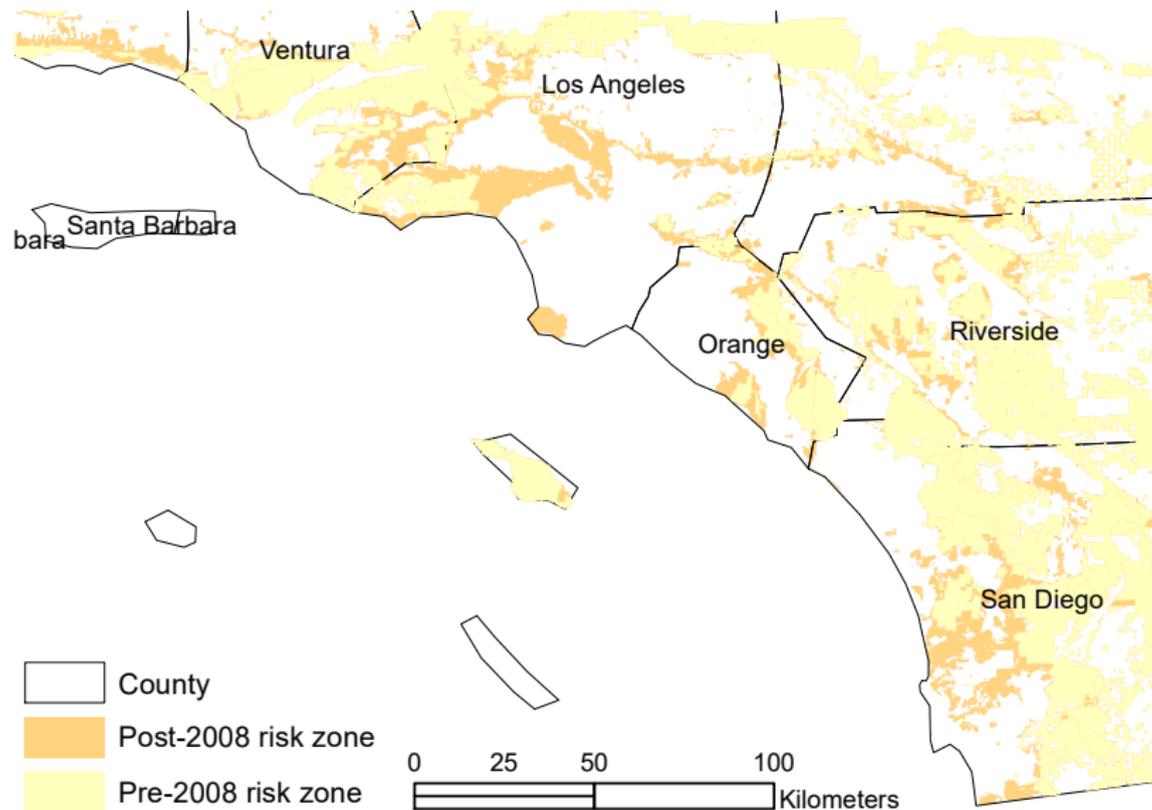
## Related literature

- Effect of risk perceptions on home prices
  - Risk correlated with amenities (e.g., Bakkensen and Barrage 2018)
  - Changes in insurance take-up, premiums, and/or coverage often vary with risk salience (e.g., Gallagher 2014)
- Effect of policy intervention on salience: updated risk maps one year after Sandy lower home prices by 5% (Gibson et al. 2018)
- Effect of damages from natural disasters on salience (McCoy and Walsh 2018; McCoy and Zhao 2018)

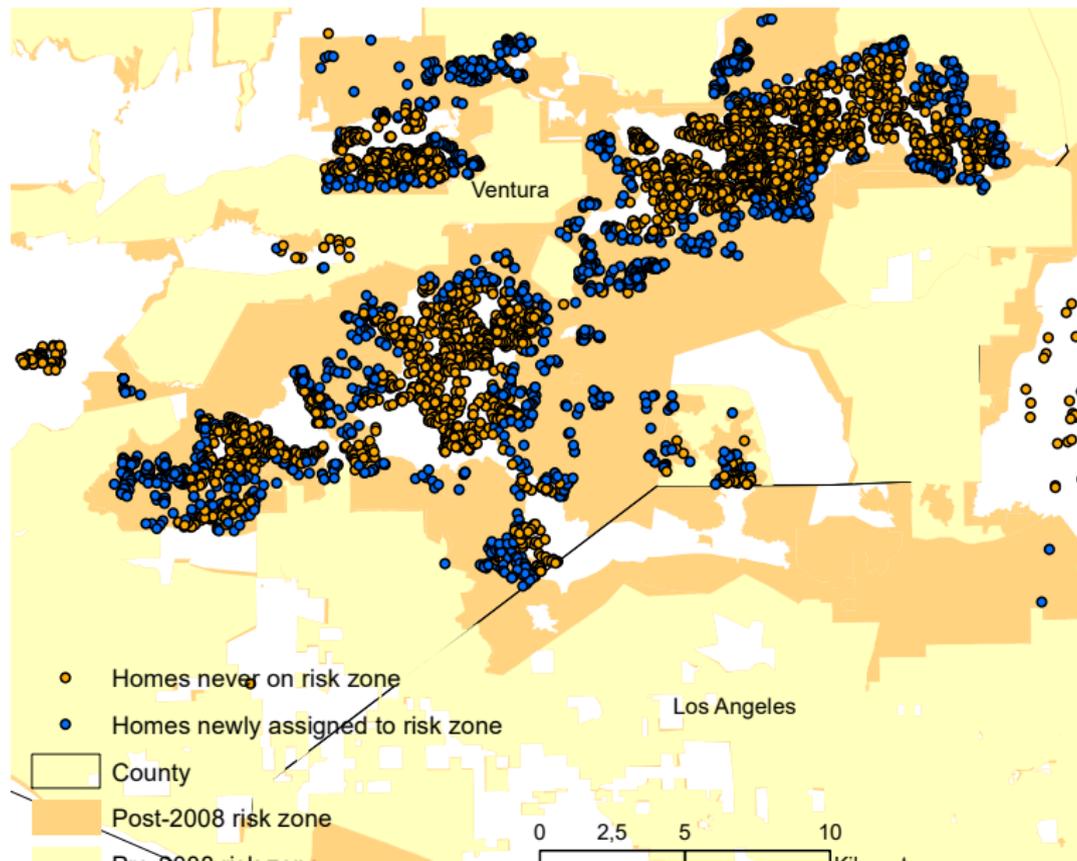
# Data

- Real estate sales transactions for LA and SD basins
  - >1million homes after data cleaning ( $\approx$  1.5 million sales; median home price: \$500k)
  - $\approx$  400k repeat sales homes (800k sales)
- Spatial data from CAL FIRE
  - Wildfire data ( $\approx$  250 fires; 50 to 270k acres; mean 6k acres)
  - Wildfire risk zones (Fire Hazard Severity Zone)
- In ArcGIS
  - Slope and elevation, distance to all burn scars, distances to nearest forest, park, main road
  - Viewshed analysis

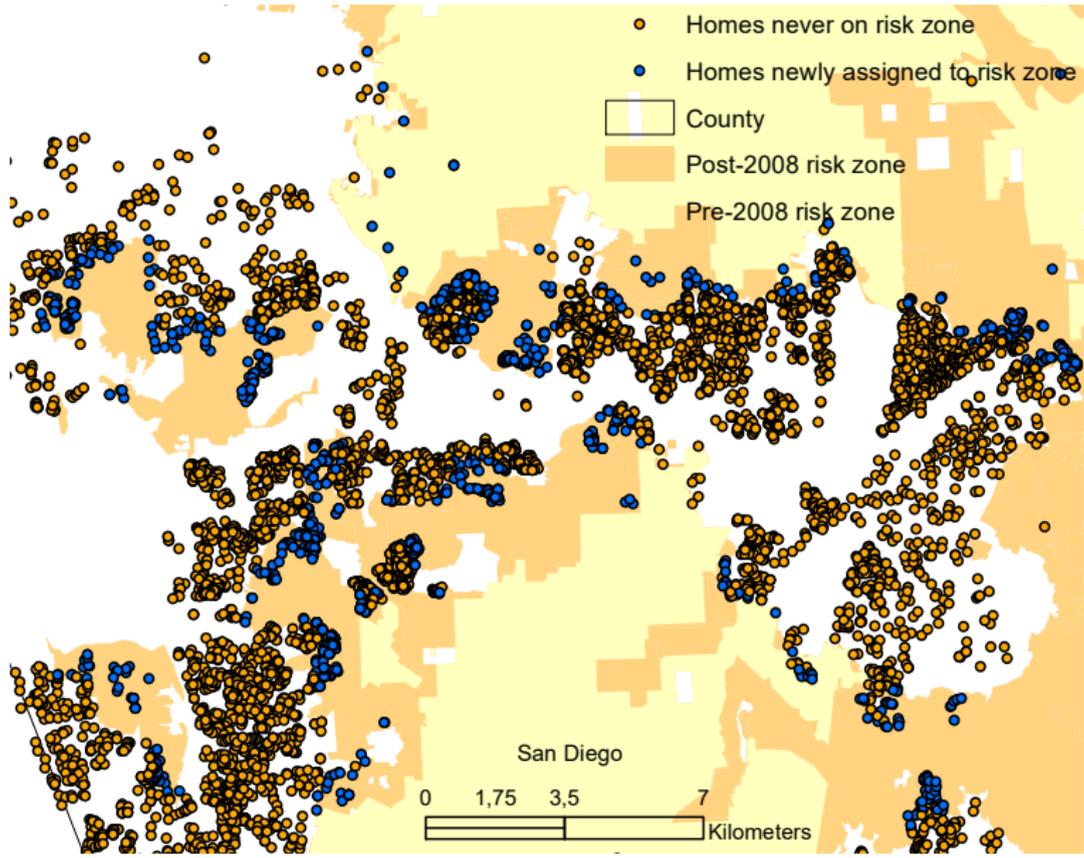
# California wildfire risk zones, incl. new designation



# Example of homes newly assigned to risk zone (treatment) and those always off risk zone (control) in Ventura County



# Example of homes newly assigned to risk zone (treatment) and those always off risk zone (control) in San Diego County

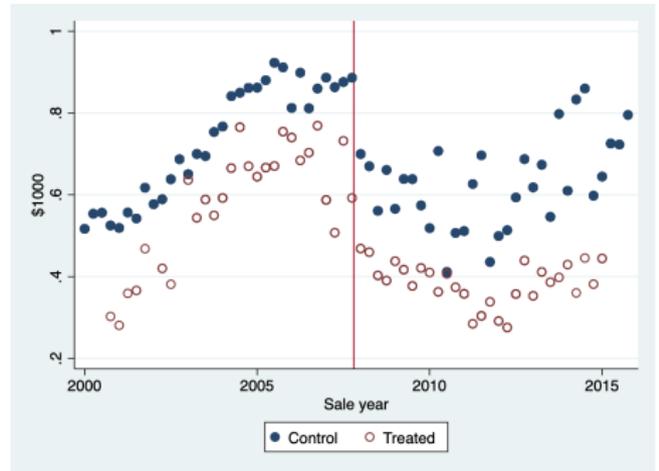
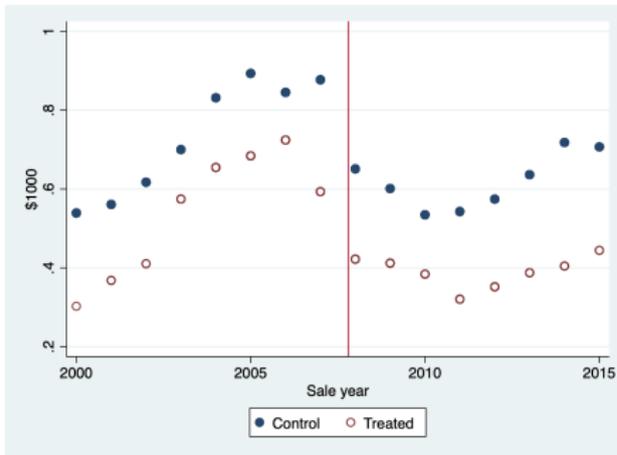


## Empirical model of the new risk zone designation on home prices

- Sample definitions: repeat sales & selling within 1km of new risk zone
- Risk zone designation *discontinuous*, but underlying risk *continuous*  
→ effect of salience and changes in insurance premiums

$$\ln p_{it} = \beta \Delta RiskZone_{it} + \gamma Post_{it} + \delta \Delta RiskZone_{it} \times Post_{it} + \lambda_i + \mu_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

Visual evidence for the common trends assumption for homes within 500m of new risk zone (qualitatively similar for 500m to 1km)



## Effect of the new risk zone designation on home prices

	Sample restrictions around the risk zone			
	0-500m		500m-1km	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$\Delta\text{RiskZone} \times \text{PostRezoning}$	-0.103*** (0.0301)	-0.111*** (0.0343)	-0.108** (0.0538)	-0.119** (0.0589)
Quadratic county trends	Yes		Yes	
Year $\times$ Quarter	Yes		Yes	
County $\times$ Year $\times$ Quarter		Yes		Yes
N	2992	2992	3010	3010
$R^2_{adj}$	0.819	0.845	0.864	0.873

Note: Each specification includes Property fixed effects. Robust clustered standard errors at the census-tract level in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## Placebo test with 'treatments' on the risk zone both pre and post new designation

	Sample restrictions around the risk zone			
	0-500m		500m-1km	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$\Delta\text{RiskZone} \times \text{PostRezoning}$	0.0139 (0.0416)	0.0119 (0.0514)	-0.0687 (0.0555)	-0.0464 (0.0724)
Quadratic county trends	Yes		Yes	
Year $\times$ Quarter	Yes		Yes	
County $\times$ Year $\times$ Quarter			Yes	Yes
N	3792	3792	3030	3030
$R^2_{adj}$	0.793	0.805	0.869	0.879

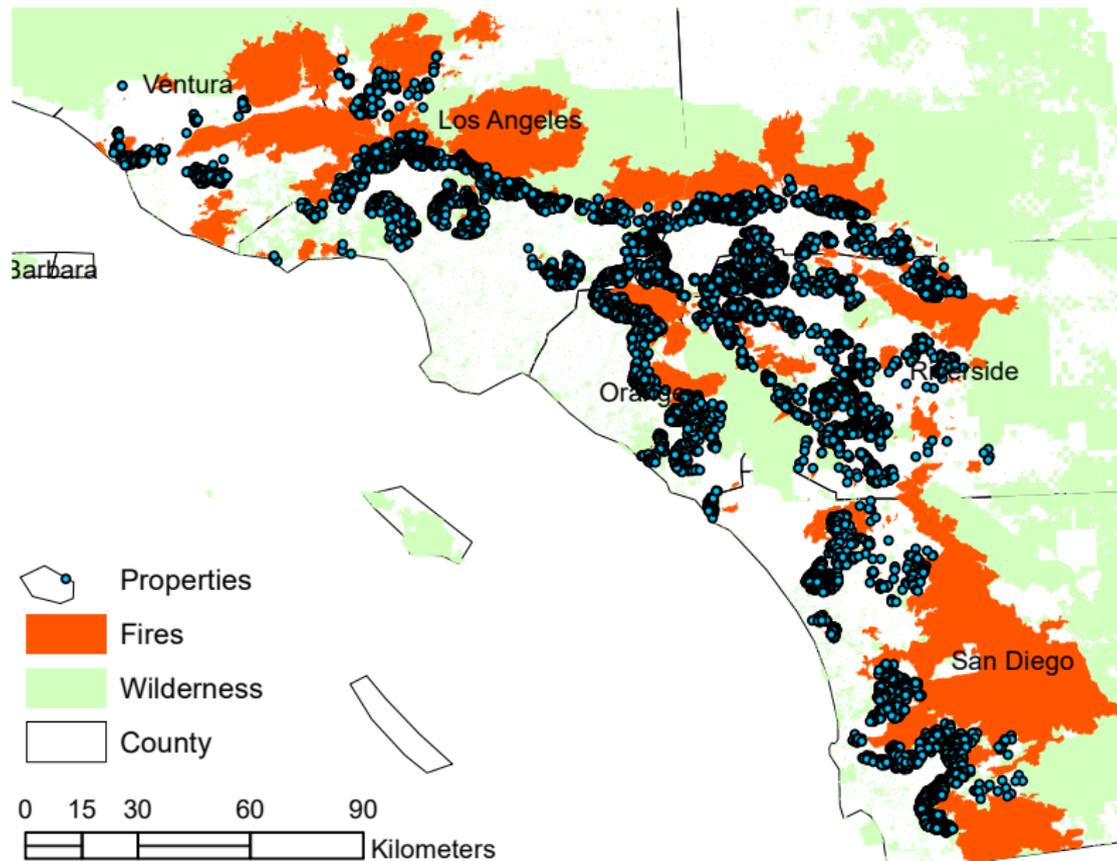
Note: Each specification includes Property fixed effects. Robust clustered standard errors at the census-tract level in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## Effect of exposure to natural disaster damages on salience

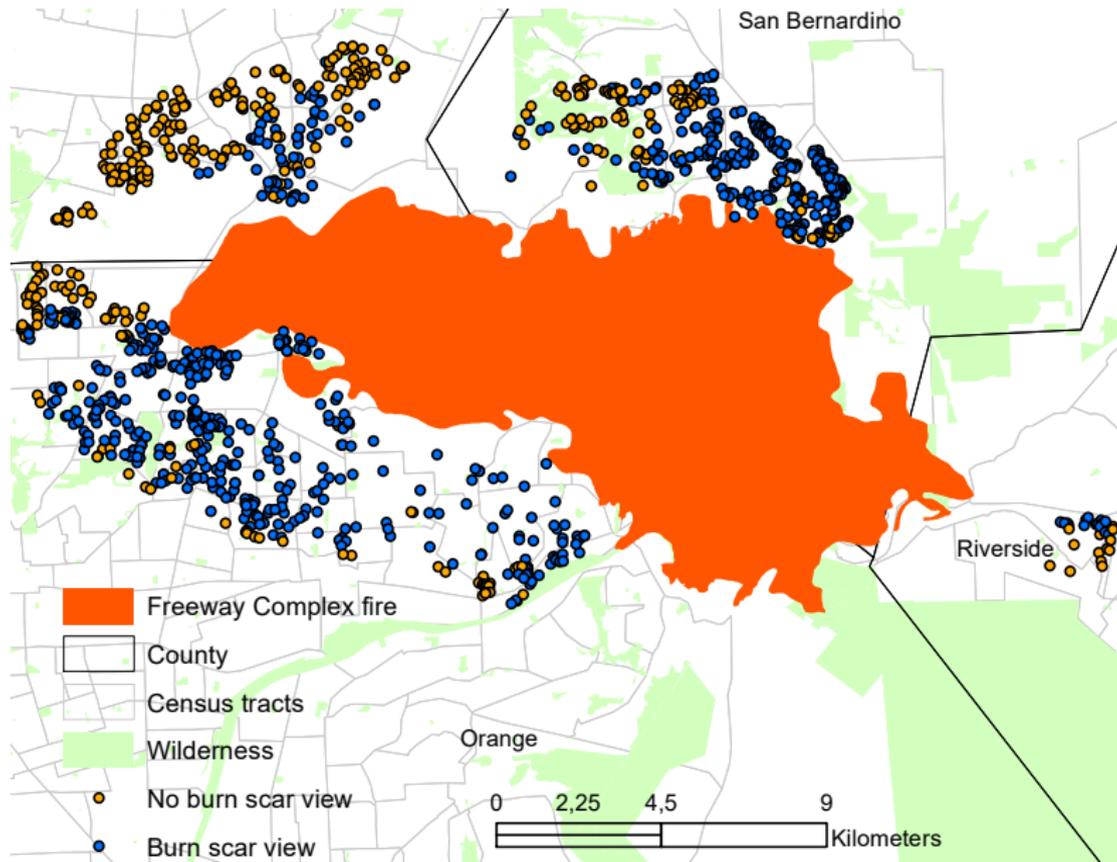


*Credit: Gettyimages*

# Wildfire perimeters with homes selling within 4km and 2 years post-fire (2000-2015)



# Example of homes with (treatment) and without burn scar view (control) – Freeway Complex Fire



## Empirical model of exposure to natural disaster damages on home prices

- Sample definitions: repeat sales & selling within 4km of burn scar and 2 years post-fire
- Identifying assumption: price change differentials across treatments and controls due to changes in risk perceptions and visual disamenity

$$\ln p_{it} = \sum_j (\beta_j \text{View}_{jit} + \gamma_j \text{View}_{jit} \times \text{Large}_{jit}) + \lambda_i + \mu_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

## Burn scar view estimates for the 0-2km and 3-4km bins

	0-2km bin		3-4km bin	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
View <sub>1</sub>	-0.0419*** (0.0145)	-0.0504*** (0.0131)	-0.0194** (0.0085)	-0.0323*** (0.0079)
View <sub>2</sub>	-0.0203 (0.0145)	-0.0216 (0.0132)	-0.0167** (0.0075)	-0.0259*** (0.0069)
View <sub>1</sub> × Large <sub>1</sub>	0.0066 (0.0184)	0.0070 (0.0174)	-0.0084 (0.0141)	-0.0083 (0.0140)
View <sub>2</sub> × Large <sub>2</sub>	0.0023 (0.0177)	-0.0090 (0.0162)	0.0098 (0.0138)	0.0043 (0.0124)
Quadratic county trends	Yes		Yes	
Year × Quarter	Yes		Yes	
County × Year × Quarter		Yes		Yes
N	10573	10573	24770	24770
R <sup>2</sup> <sub>adj</sub>	0.843	0.862	0.868	0.880

Note: Each specification includes Property fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the census-tract level in parentheses. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

# Conclusions

- Evidence suggests households' risk perception responds to risk salience
  - ① New risk zone designation has persistent effect on home prices
  - ② Temporary effect of visual cues of natural disaster damages
- Risk salience can bias households' risk perceptions
- Policy interventions may help convey risk information