

Rare Events and Risk Perception: Evidence from the Fukushima Accident

Renaud Coulomb¹ Yanos Zylberberg²

¹University of Melbourne

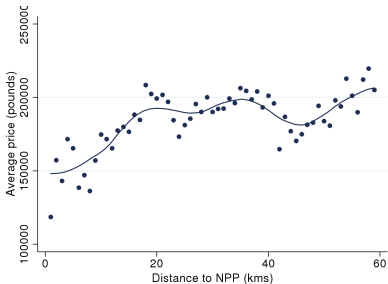
²University of Bristol

June 26th & 27th, 2016
7th AWEEE, A Toxa, Spain

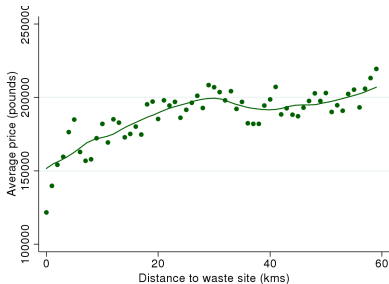
Motivation

- ▶ Heterogeneity in the valuation of extreme events and in the perception of catastrophic risks, see e.g., Slovic (1987).
- ▶ Different reactions amongst agents after the realization of an extreme event?
- ▶ How has nuclear-risk perception changed in “at-risk” areas in the wake of Fukushima disaster?
- ▶ England and Wales: households’ reaction? Political reaction?

Average transaction prices as a function of distance to nuclear plants and waste sites (Jan. 2007-Sep. 2014)



(a) Nuclear Plant.



(b) Waste site.

Research question and strategy

- ▶ We study the heterogeneity in changes in nuclear-risk perception due to the Fukushima nuclear accident (FNA).
- ▶ Hedonic approach: we identify changes in nuclear-risk beliefs using housing transactions in England and Wales.
- ▶ Difference-in-difference strategy: we compare housing markets outcomes in areas close to nuclear plants and to areas further away before/after FNA.

Main results

- ▶ Price malus of about 4% in areas close to NPPs due to Fukushima. Limited effect on the volume of transactions.
- ▶ Decrease of the value of the stock of properties nearby NPPs by 7.6 billion Pounds.

Main results

- ▶ Price malus of about 4% in areas close to NPPs due to Fukushima. Limited effect on the volume of transactions.
- ▶ Decrease of the value of the stock of properties nearby NPPs by 7.6 billion Pounds.
- ▶ Persistent effect.

Main results

- ▶ Price malus of about 4% in areas close to NPPs due to Fukushima. Limited effect on the volume of transactions.
- ▶ Decrease of the value of the stock of properties nearby NPPs by 7.6 billion Pounds.
- ▶ Persistent effect.
- ▶ Larger price decrease for the top quantiles.

Main results

- ▶ Price malus of about 4% in areas close to NPPs due to Fukushima. Limited effect on the volume of transactions.
- ▶ Decrease of the value of the stock of properties nearby NPPs by 7.6 billion Pounds.
- ▶ Persistent effect.
- ▶ Larger price decrease for the top quantiles.
- ▶ Stronger effect in deprived areas.

Main results

- ▶ Price malus of about 4% in areas close to NPPs due to Fukushima. Limited effect on the volume of transactions.
- ▶ Decrease of the value of the stock of properties nearby NPPs by 7.6 billion Pounds.
- ▶ Persistent effect.
- ▶ Larger price decrease for the top quantiles.
- ▶ Stronger effect in deprived areas.
- ▶ Stable opinion on nuclear energy despite FNA. “Not in my backyard story”?

Interpreting changes in housing prices

- ▶ FNA could impact housing markets through two major channels:

Interpreting changes in housing prices

- ▶ FNA could impact housing markets through two major channels:
 - ▶ **a risk-perception channel:** change in beliefs about nuclear risks after FNA + aversion to nuclear risk, → shift housing demand downward.

Interpreting changes in housing prices

- ▶ FNA could impact housing markets through two major channels:
 - ▶ **a risk-perception channel:** change in beliefs about nuclear risks after FNA + aversion to nuclear risk, → shift housing demand downward.

Interpreting changes in housing prices

- ▶ FNA could impact housing markets through two major channels:
 - ▶ **a risk-perception channel:** change in beliefs about nuclear risks after FNA + aversion to nuclear risk, → shift housing demand downward.
 - ▶ **a local-economy channel:** expectations about a substantial reduction of the nuclear program (deterioration of the local economy) → shift housing demand downward.

Interpreting changes in housing prices

- ▶ FNA could impact housing markets through two major channels:
 - ▶ **a risk-perception channel:** change in beliefs about nuclear risks after FNA + aversion to nuclear risk, → shift housing demand downward.
 - ▶ **a local-economy channel:** expectations about a substantial reduction of the nuclear program (deterioration of the local economy) → shift housing demand downward.
- ▶ Study of risk perception → neutralize local-economy impacts.
- ▶ We argue that our findings are explained by a strong revision of beliefs in nuclear risk.
 - ▶ Context: no threats on the continuation of UK nuclear program
 - ▶ Additional tests: the local-economy effect is negligible in UK.

Related literature

- ▶ Cost of disamenities:
 - ▶ No consensus on the overall effect of the proximity to an NPP on local housing market (Folland and Hough, 1991; Gamble and Downing, 1982; Clark et al., 1997).
 - ▶ Other disamenities, like coal-fired power plants (Blomquist, 1974; Davis, 2011), major infrastructure (Carruthers and Clark, 2010).
 - ▶ Clean-up of waste sites (Greenstone and Gallagher, 2008).

Related literature

- ▶ Cost of disamenities:
 - ▶ No consensus on the overall effect of the proximity to an NPP on local housing market (Folland and Hough, 1991; Gamble and Downing, 1982; Clark et al., 1997).
 - ▶ Other disamenities, like coal-fired power plants (Blomquist, 1974; Davis, 2011), major infrastructure (Carruthers and Clark, 2010).
 - ▶ Clean-up of waste sites (Greenstone and Gallagher, 2008).
- ▶ Industrial accidents and housing prices:
 - ▶ Bauer et al. (2013), FNA, Germany, ask prices, negative effect in NPPs areas due to NPPs phaseout.
 - ▶ Fink and Stratmann (2013), FNA, USA, postcode housing index, no effect; Boes et al. (2015), FNA, Switzerland, effect on online ask rents.
 - ▶ Zhu et al. (2015), FNA, Chinese land primary market (properties sold by local governments), short-term effect.
 - ▶ Bléhaut (2014), AZF industrial accident in France in 2001, no price effect in at-risk areas.

Fukushima nuclear accident

- ▶ A major tsunami triggered by the Great East Japan earthquake hit the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant on March 11, 2011;
- ▶ Failure of coolant systems and large radioactive leakages;
- ▶ Highest level in the classification of the International Nuclear Event Scale, (level of Chernobyl accident of 1986);

Fukushima nuclear accident

- ▶ A major tsunami triggered by the Great East Japan earthquake hit the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant on March 11, 2011;
- ▶ Failure of coolant systems and large radioactive leakages;
- ▶ Highest level in the classification of the International Nuclear Event Scale, (level of Chernobyl accident of 1986);
- ▶ The Japanese government response: a 20-km zone around the plant as a “no-go zone” (21 April 2011);

Fukushima nuclear accident

- ▶ A major tsunami triggered by the Great East Japan earthquake hit the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant on March 11, 2011;
- ▶ Failure of coolant systems and large radioactive leakages;
- ▶ Highest level in the classification of the International Nuclear Event Scale, (level of Chernobyl accident of 1986);
- ▶ The Japanese government response: a 20-km zone around the plant as a “no-go zone” (21 April 2011);
- ▶ Interrogations regarding the actual safety around nuclear power stations across the World.

The UK context

- ▶ No change in nuclear program in UK, in contrast with most other countries (e.g. Germany or Switzerland).
 - ▶ Chris Huhne, SoS for Energy and Climate Change “I see no reason why the UK should not proceed with our current policy: that nuclear should be part of the future energy mix [...]”. (Letter to Dr Mike W.Weightman, June 2011)
- ▶ Expectations about possible phase out of operational plants after FNA were nil or very short-lived.
 - ▶ No expectations about negative local economic effects – like a labor workforce outflow or a loss of local tax base.
- ▶ UK: suitable context to focus on risk perception following major industrial accident.
 - ▶ Additional tests: local-economy effect can be discarded.

Nuclear plants and waste sites in England and Wales

- ▶ 10 operational nuclear power plants (18 nuclear reactors)
 - ▶ 3 different technologies, Magnox, Advanced Gas-cooled Reactors, Pressurized Water Reactor;
 - ▶ For each site: location, site owners, capacity, connection-to-the-grid date, expected closure;

Nuclear plants and waste sites in England and Wales

- ▶ 10 operational nuclear power plants (18 nuclear reactors)
 - ▶ 3 different technologies, Magnox, Advanced Gas-cooled Reactors, Pressurized Water Reactor;
 - ▶ For each site: location, site owners, capacity, connection-to-the-grid date, expected closure;
- ▶ 35 nuclear waste sites
 - ▶ Different types of waste: High Level Wastes (one site), Intermediate Level Wastes, Low Level Wastes.
 - ▶ Important difference in waste volumes stored. 23 major sites (more than 1000m³ of ILW).
 - ▶ For each site: location, site owners, waste classification, volume, radioactivity concentration, material composition, treatment and packaging.

Housing data: two datasets

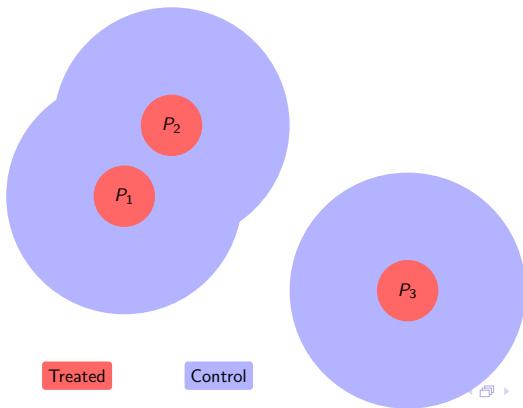
- ▶ Land Registry
 - ▶ All sales (except commercial sales) over 2006-2014 in England and Wales.
 - ▶ Properties' characteristics available: price, postcode, the type of property (e.g., terrace house, separate house, recent/old house).

Housing data: two datasets

- ▶ Land Registry
 - ▶ All sales (except commercial sales) over 2006-2014 in England and Wales.
 - ▶ Properties' characteristics available: price, postcode, the type of property (e.g., terrace house, separate house, recent/old house).
- ▶ Nationwide
 - ▶ New mortgages issued by Nationwide between 2007 and 2013.
 - ▶ Wide range of controls for the property characteristics (e.g., the construction date, the number of bedrooms, bathrooms, garages, the square meters or heating facilities).

Treated and control groups around NPPs P_1 , P_2 , and P_3 .

- ▶ Treated zone: 20 km “evacuation” zone around each NPP.
- ▶ Control zone: a 20-100 km band around any NPP or waste site but not in any evacuation zones.



Identification

- ▶ Diff-in-Diff approach:

$$p_{ozt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T_{oz} \times \mathbb{1}_{t > \tau} + \beta_2 T_o + \beta_3 \mathbf{X}_o \times t + \gamma \mathbf{X}_o + \delta_{zt} + \varepsilon_{ozt}$$

output area (o): LSOA, 400-1,200 households, < 100 km of one NPP (z), month/year (t); observations \approx 1.7 million ($LSOA * months * year$).

- ▶ p_{ozt} , either average price, volume or number of transactions (log);
- ▶ $T_{oz} = 1$ if LSOA close to site z ($distance < 20\text{km}$) and 0 if further away ($20 < distance < 100 \text{ km}$);
- ▶ X : transaction characteristics and output areas controls;
- ▶ LSOA fixed effects + allow for differential trends in LSOA around each NPP;
- ▶ δ_{zt} , NPP-specific time fixed effects;
- ▶ error term clustered at the neighbourhood level;
- ✓ Parallel trends ante-Fukushima.

Effect of Fukushima on the housing market

PANEL A: Nuclear plants			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Price	-.0379*** (.0033)	-.0241*** (.0021)	-.0325*** (.0018)
Number of transactions	.00162 (.0040)	-.0098*** (.0037)	-.0136*** (.0039)
Volume of transactions	-.0363*** (.0054)	-.0340*** (.0044)	-.0462*** (.0044)
Observations	1,754,282	1,754,282	1,577,723
Controls (housing characteristics)			Yes
LSOA fixed effects		Yes	Yes

A strong effect?

- ▶ Effect twice larger than for nuclear waste sites in England and Wales (separate regression).
- ▶ Japan: Increase in radiation dose of $1\mu\text{Sv}/\text{h}$ decreases residential land value by 3.1% (Managi and Tanaka, 2014); only 8 out of 38 municipals in Fukushima prefecture have recorded a radiation level above $1\mu\text{Sv}/\text{h}$ after the accident (June and July 2011).
- ▶ Back-of-the-envelop calculation: decrease of the value of the stock of properties nearby NPPs by 7.6 billion Pounds in England and Wales.

Persistence of the Fukushima effect

Price	(1)	(2)
Treatment (03/11-11/12)	-.0318*** (.0041)	-.0218*** (.0022)
Treatment (12/12-12/13)	-.0345*** (.0053)	-.0349*** (.0027)
Observations	1,556,208	1,399,234
Controls (housing characteristics)		Yes
LSOA fixed effects		Yes

Interpreting changes in prices as changes in risk perception

- ▶ Price decrease after FNA around nuclear waste sites (not susceptible to close down, little local economic impacts).

Interpreting changes in prices as changes in risk perception

- ▶ Price decrease after FNA around nuclear waste sites (not susceptible to close down, little local economic impacts).
- ▶ No price rebound after the NPPs life extension announced at the end of 2012.

Interpreting changes in prices as changes in risk perception

- ▶ Price decrease after FNA around nuclear waste sites (not susceptible to close down, little local economic impacts).
- ▶ No price rebound after the NPPs life extension announced at the end of 2012.
- ▶ No differential effects across areas with different shares of employment devoted to the nuclear site.

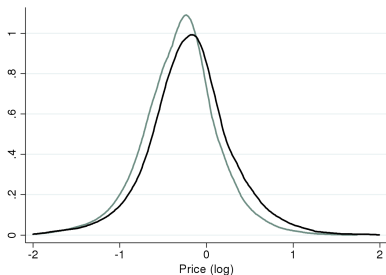
Interpreting changes in prices as changes in risk perception

- ▶ Price decrease after FNA around nuclear waste sites (not susceptible to close down, little local economic impacts).
- ▶ No price rebound after the NPPs life extension announced at the end of 2012.
- ▶ No differential effects across areas with different shares of employment devoted to the nuclear site.
- ▶ We argue that our findings are explained by a strong revision of beliefs in nuclear risk.

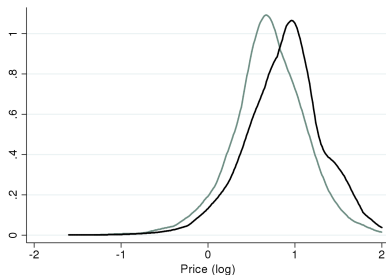
Heterogeneity: Quantile regressions

Quantiles	.10	.25	.50	.75	.90
Price	-.00925 (.0120)	-.0405*** (.0093)	-.0332*** (.0087)	-.0565*** (.0110)	-.0710*** (.0175)
Observations	158,319	158,319	158,319	158,319	158,319
Controls (housing)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Deprived areas: distributions of prices in treated (blue) and control zones (black)



(c) Before Fukushima Accident.



(d) After Fukushima Accident.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.

- ✓ Redefinition of treatment and control zones, continuous treatment.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.
- ✓ Redefinition of treatment and control zones, continuous treatment.
- ✓ Nationwide data.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.
- ✓ Redefinition of treatment and control zones, continuous treatment.
- ✓ Nationwide data.
- ✓ Placebo dates.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.
- ✓ Redefinition of treatment and control zones, continuous treatment.
- ✓ Nationwide data.
- ✓ Placebo dates.
- ✓ Downwind/upwind areas with respect to the plant.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.
- ✓ Redefinition of treatment and control zones, continuous treatment.
- ✓ Nationwide data.
- ✓ Placebo dates.
- ✓ Downwind/upwind areas with respect to the plant.
- ✓ Proxy for moving costs: possibility to move out of the at-risk area while keeping the same distance to workplace.

Robustness checks

- ✓ Differential trends along some LSOA characteristics
 - ▶ Green votes in 2010, income, employment, health, education and crime deprivation ranks, type of accommodation, occupational structure.
- ✓ Redefinition of treatment and control zones, continuous treatment.
- ✓ Nationwide data.
- ✓ Placebo dates.
- ✓ Downwind/upwind areas with respect to the plant.
- ✓ Proxy for moving costs: possibility to move out of the at-risk area while keeping the same distance to workplace. ▶ Graph

Interpretation

- ▶ Heterogeneity within and between neighbourhoods:
→ Heterogeneity across agents + neighbourhood' effects?

Interpretation

- ▶ Heterogeneity within and between neighbourhoods:
→ Heterogeneity across agents + neighbourhood' effects?
- ▶ Prices' compression within postcodes:
 - ▶ Different valuation of the underlying nuclear risk, richer agents may attribute a higher value to a safe environment.
 - ▶ Different access to information (precision of pre-disaster information on nuclear risk, capacity to process the FNA signal).

Interpretation

- ▶ Heterogeneity within and between neighbourhoods:
→ Heterogeneity across agents + neighbourhood' effects?
- ▶ Prices' compression within postcodes:
 - ▶ Different valuation of the underlying nuclear risk, richer agents may attribute a higher value to a safe environment.
 - ▶ Different access to information (precision of pre-disaster information on nuclear risk, capacity to process the FNA signal).
- ▶ Deprived areas are more responsive:
 - ▶ Spillovers in information acquisition?
 - ▶ Asymmetric reaction across neighbourhoods? Compensation for wealthy at-risk areas that could mitigate the Fukushima effect?
 - ▶ Non-linearities in valuation: a decrease of the perceived quality of a low-quality good leads to a stronger decrease in its valuation?

Next step: Political reaction

- ▶ Political power: rich areas can be compensated by local politicians for nuclear risk (e.g. more schools, lower tax)?
- ▶ June 2013: announcement that communities living close to planned nuclear plants will be compensated. Indirect compensation for people living close to existing NPPs?
- ▶ Government grants received by local authorities
- ▶ Expenditures of local authorities and local taxes (tax cuts?).
- ▶ MPs vote on nuclear and energy issues.
- ▶ Other: information' campaign made by NPPs operators.

Take-home messages

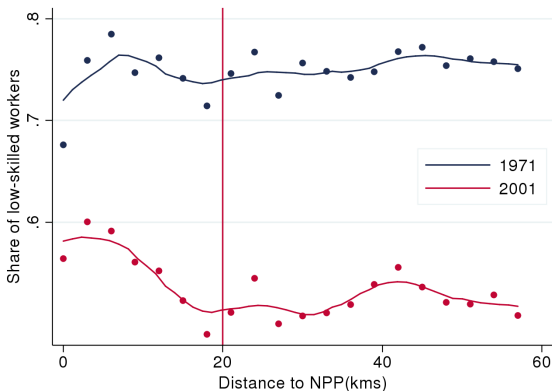
- ▶ Strong effect of Fukushima on housing prices in England and Wales nearby NPPs.
- ▶ Smaller effect for nuclear waste sites.
- ▶ Downward shift in demand driven by changes in risk perception.
- ▶ Persistent effect, small effect on the number of transactions.
- ▶ Heterogeneous effect according to plants characteristics.
- ▶ Stronger effect for expensive properties and deprived areas.
 - ▶ Rich people have higher nuclear fear, positive spillovers in efforts to obtain information?
 - ▶ Heterogeneous priors?
 - ▶ Compensation for wealthy at-risk neighbourhood proximity to NPPs after FNA?
 - ▶ Relocation costs?

Thank you for your attention

Descriptive statistics in 2010

Sample	All	$T_{np} = 1$	$T_{np} = 0$	$T_{ws} = 1$	$T_{ws} = 0$
Observations	308,326	12,064	207,493	32,440	133,247
	<u>Housing market</u>				
Volume of transactions [†]	514542.0	400105.8	541658.6	390673.9	533633.8
Average price [†]	226297.8	179361.5	238280.8	177173.9	233955.0
Number of transactions	2.169	2.157	2.167	2.146	2.173
<u>fraction of new buildings</u>	0.040	0.045	0.038	0.039	0.040
<u>fraction of flats</u>	0.158	0.089	0.187	0.096	0.167
	<u>Deprivation scores</u>				
Income rank	.533	.525	.520	.535	.534
Employment rank	.533	.470	.530	.492	.540
Barriers to housing rank	.503	.609	.472	.595	.493
	<u>Distance to nuclear facilities</u>				
Distance to plants	80.59	13.71	65.56	59.28	82.18
Distance to waste sites	52.82	13.62	53.70	12.30	56.35

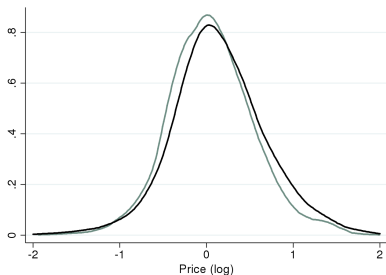
Share of low-skilled workers as a function of distance to nuclear plants and waste sites in 1971 and 2001



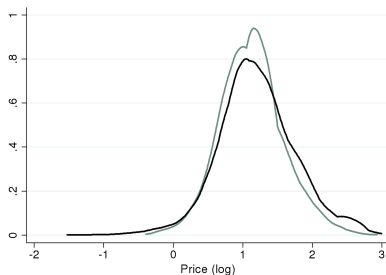
Heterogeneity: The role of NPP's characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
T × Connection	.00103*** (.00014)				
T × Expected closure		.00187*** (.00017)			
T × Number accidents			.00031 (.00143)		
T × Package (1000m ³)				-.000279*** (.000062)	
T × Share emplymt (%)					.00380*** (.00059)
Observations	1,577,723	1,577,723	1,577,723	1,577,723	1,577,723
Controls (housing)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
LSOA fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Non-deprived areas: distributions of prices in treated (blue) and control zones (black)



(e) Before Fukushima Accident.



(f) After Fukushima Accident.

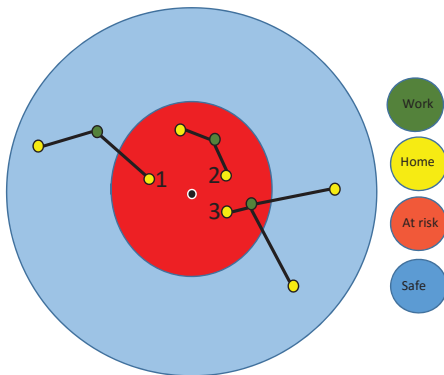
Effect of Fukushima on the housing market

PANEL B: Nuclear waste sites			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Price	-0.0180*** (.0027)	-0.0146*** (.0017)	-0.0193*** (.0016)
Number of transactions	-0.00122 (.0033)	-0.0106*** (.0030)	-0.0137*** (.0034)
Volume of transactions	-0.0192*** (.0044)	.0252*** (.0036)	.0331*** (.0039)
Observations	1,600,981	1,600,981	1,429,256
Controls (housing characteristics)			Yes
LSOA fixed effects		Yes	Yes

The role of neighbourhood characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment × Deprivation	-.0314*** (.0046)	-.0341*** (.0047)	-.0326*** (.0047)
Treatment × Rural		-.0162*** (.0046)	-.0233*** (.0045)
Treatment × Green support			-.2230 (.1882)
Observations	729,689	729,689	729,689
Controls (housing)	Yes	Yes	Yes
LSOA fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes

Proxy for moving costs/ Possibility to move out of the at-risk area while keeping the same distance to workplace.



- Bauer, Thomas K., Sebastian Braun, and Michael Kvasnicka**, “Distant Event, Local Effects? Fukushima and the German Housing Market,” *Ruhr Economic Papers* August 2013.
- Bléhaut, Marianne**, “How does a change in risk perception affect the housing market? Evidence from an industrial accident in France,” Technical Report 2014.
- Blomquist, Glenn**, “The Effect of Electric Utility Power Plant Location on Area Property Value,” *Land Economics*, 1974, 50 (1), pp. 97–100.
- Boes, Stefan, Stephan NÄ¼esch, and Kaspar WÄ¼thrich**, “Hedonic valuation of the perceived risks of nuclear power plants,” *Economics Letters*, 2015, 133, 109 – 111.
- Carruthers, John I. and David Clark**, “Valuing environmental quality: a space-based strategy,” *Journal of Regional Science*, 2010, 50 (4), 801–832.
- Clark, David E., Lisa Michelbrink, Tim Allison, and William C. Metz**, “Nuclear Power Plants and Residential Housing Prices,” *Growth and Change*, 1997, 28 (4), 496–519.
- Davis, Lucas W.**, “The Effect of Power Plants on Local Housing Values and Rents,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, November 2011, 93 (4), 1391–1402.
- Fink, Alexander and Thomas Stratmann**, “U.S. housing prices and the Fukushima nuclear accident: To update, or not to update, that is the question,” ICER Working Papers, ICER - International Centre for Economic Research June 2013.
- Folland, Sherman T. and Robbin R. Hough**, “Nuclear Power Plants and the Value of Agricultural Land,” *Land Economics*, 1991, 67 (1), 30–36.

- Gamble, Hays B. and Roger H. Downing**, “Effects of nuclear power plants on residential property values,” *Journal of Regional Science*, 1982, 22 (4), 457–478.
- Greenstone, Michael and Justin Gallagher**, “Does Hazardous Waste Matter? Evidence from the Housing Market and the Superfund Program,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 2008, 123 (3), 951–1003.
- Managi, Shunsuke and Kenta Tanaka**, “Impact of a Disaster on Land Price: Evidence from Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant Accident,” MPRA Paper 59358, University Library of Munich, Germany October 2014.
- Slovic, Paul**, “Perception of risk,” *Science*, 1987, 236 (4799), 280–285.
- Zhu, Hongjia, Yongheng Deng, Rong Zhu, and Xiaobo He**, “Fear of Nuclear Power? Evidence from Fukushima Nuclear Accident and Land Markets in China,” 2015.