1 Did Adaptation Strategies Work? High Fatalities from Tropical Cyclones in the

- 2 North Indian Ocean and Future Vulnerability under Global Warming
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- 10 Abstract

This paper examines the fatalities from Tropical Cyclones (TC) generated in the Bay of Bengal 11 and Arabian Sea making landfall in India, Bangladesh, and neighboring countries. In these 12 locations, the number of TC fatalities, on average, far outnumbers those found in the rest of the 13 14 world. Applying Negative Binomial models, we find that TC fatalities are explained by high TC intensity, storm surge, and low income. A one unit increase in TC intensity (one hpa) on TC fatality 15 is commensurate with the effect of a one unit increase in income per capita (thousand INR). We 16 also show that income growth reduces TC fatality, in part, because it increases adoption of 17 18 information-based adaptation measures. Based on these results, future fatalities are projected based on forecasts from eight climate models and two income scenarios. A key result is the interplay 19 between future increases in cyclone intensity versus income. If hurricane intensity were to increase, 20 as predicted by three of the seven climate models, fatalities are predicted to increase dramatically 21 in the low income scenario. However, if income grows at a faster rate, hurricane fatality is 22 23 predicted to fall in all scenarios. Therefore, economic development remains an important policy variable to mitigate future impacts from global warming. 24

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26 Keywords: Tropical Cyclone, Storm Surge, North Indian Ocean, Fatality, Adaptation.

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33 1. Introduction

Tropical Cyclones in the North Indian Ocean lead the globe in deadly impacts. Since 1990, more 34 than 2,000 fatalities occur, on average, for each tropical cyclone landfall across India, Bangladesh, 35 and Thailand (IMD 2014). Individual storms have led to more than 130,000 fatalities (Guha-Sapir 36 et al. 2015). This is in a stark contrast to the TCs making landfall elsewhere in the world. In the 37 United States and Australia, where fatalities average in the dozens per storm, only a single storm 38 - Hurricane Katrina in 2005 - has caused more than 1000 lives lost since 1970. A key factor in 39 explaining these differential impacts is income. While hurricane fatalities depend, in part, on the 40 physical forces of the storm as well as adaptation measures to protect valuable assets in harm's 41 way, income level is a key driver of adaptation, as income determines the choices of adaptation 42 measures economically available for protection (Seo 2015). 43

In addition to current TC risks, climate change, due primarily to anthropogenic activities (IPCC 44 2014a), is expected impact tropical cyclones via atmospheric and oceanic warming (NCEI 2015, 45 NHC 2014, IPCC 2014b). These impacts include increased frequency of severe hurricanes in a 46 warmer world (Emanuel 2005, 2013, Elsner et al. 2008, Knutson et al. 2010, Carmargo 2013, Tory 47 et al. 2014). Given the highly nonlinear relationship between economic damages and storm 48 intensity – with damages scaling by as much as the 9th power of maximum wind speed – increasing 49 storm intensity could greatly exacerbate losses over the coming century (Pielke et al. 2008, 50 Nordhaus 2010). However, changes in hurricane activities are predicted to vary across oceans, as 51 52 are the predicted changes in economic damages (Mendelsohn et al. 2012, Emanuel 2013, Seo 53 2014). In addition, differential rates of economic development may increase a nation's ability to adapt. Therefore, conditions in the future world must be carefully studied to understand future 54 vulnerabilities under a changing world. 55

This paper analyzes current and future vulnerability to tropical cyclone fatalities, with special 56 57 attention to the role adaptation strategies made possible by income growth in the North Indian Ocean. The authors begin by examining the history of observed TCs to quantify the roles that 58 adaptation strategies, as well as TC and socioeconomic factors, play in determining the magnitude 59 of human fatalities across the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea from 1990 to 2012. An array of 60 61 Negative Binomial models are run to explain hurricane fatalities by TC intensity, income level, and other variables (Seo 2015, Bakkensen and Mendelsohn 2015). Probit models are run to explain 62 the choice of information-based adaptation measures such as TC trajectory projection methods, 63 TC surge models, and TC advisories (Seo 2015). This paper then examines changes in tropical 64 65 cyclone activities due to global warming and the consequences of such changes in the North Indian Ocean, where hurricane-related death tolls are especially high and, therefore, is the region of 66 greatest concern globally (Bakkensen and Mendelsohn 2015, Seo 2015). Future TC projections 67 under various scenarios of climatic changes are obtained from the Emanuel's work (Emanuel et al. 68 69 2008, Emanuel 2013). We simulate the changes in TC fatalities based on these TC projections

70 downscaled from seven climate models and assuming both low income and middle income

scenarios. The authors estimate how adaptation strategies can be enhanced to reduce vulnerability

72 to future hurricanes in a warmer world.

We find that TC fatalities are explained by high TC intensity, storm surge, and low income. A one 73 74 unit increase in TC intensity (one hpa) on TC fatality is commensurate with the effect of a one unit increase in income per capita (thousand INR). We also find that income growth reduces TC fatality, 75 in part, because it increases adoption of information-based adaptation measures. When examining 76 future projects, of key concern is the interplay between future increases in cyclone intensity versus 77 78 income. If hurricane intensity were to increase, as predicted by three of the seven climate models, fatalities are predicted to increase dramatically in the low income scenario. However, if income 79 grows at a faster rate, hurricane fatality is predicted to fall in all scenarios. Therefore, economic 80 development remains an important policy variable to mitigate future impacts from global warming. 81 82 The paper comprises the following sections. In the next section, we present a theory of TC fatalities. 83

The third section explains our empirical approach and data. The fourth section explains empirical results from the applications of Negative Binomial models. The fifth section analyzes determinants of adaptation through Probit models. The sixth section provides future simulations of TC fatalities based on the scientific projections of TC intensities and frequencies by the end of 21st century. We

87 conclude the paper with a summary and discussion.

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89 2. Tropical Cyclone Fatalities

90 Tropical cyclones (TC), also called hurricanes in the northern Atlantic and Eastern Pacific Oceans 91 and typhoons in the western North Pacific Ocean, are giant heat engines fueled by the flux of heat 92 from the ocean to the upper atmosphere (Seo 2015). TCs are driven by a positive feedback loop 93 whereby stronger TC winds lead to lower sea surface pressure, thereby increasing surface heat flux 94 and creating yet stronger winds. The Indian Meteorological Department classifies cyclones based 95 on wind speed when a storm is over water and air pressure when a storm is over land. A cyclone 96 is defined as a storm reaching a wind speed of at least 60 kmph (IMD, 2015c).

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Human fatality is one of the hurricane consequences most feared by affected individuals and 98 government agencies. The number of fatalities from a hurricane depends upon the severity of a 99 hurricane, commonly expressed in terms of maximum wind speeds and minimum central pressure 100 101 (Seo 2015). It also depends on vulnerability factors including population, elevation, capital assets, and income of the region struck by a hurricane (Nordhaus 2010). Hurricanes also cause a 102 temporary storm surge in the sea level. In low-lying areas of poor countries such as India and 103 Bangladesh, hurricane-caused storm surge often is a primary driver of high fatality counts 104 (Jelesnianski et al. 1992, Lin et al. 2012, IMD 2005b). 105

Growing literature exists on the relationship between TCs and climate. Emanuel first theorized the 107 relationship between elevated CO₂ concentrations, due to the greenhouse effect, and increases in 108 the destructive potential of hurricanes (Emanuel 1987). Previous research shows a clear upward 109 trend in hurricane power, as defined by the Power Dissipation Index (PDI) which is a function of 110 maximum wind speeds and frequency, in the latter half of the 20th century in the North Atlantic 111 and the western North Pacific Oceans (Emanuel, 2005, 2008). Underlying the PDI trend are 112 changes in hurricane intensity and frequency (Knutson et al. 2010). Work by Kossin et al. (2013) 113 shows that the lifetime maximum intensity of the strongest storms has increased globally, although 114 115 weakly, in the past few decades, in all oceans except the western North Pacific. Even after adjusting for potential missing storms in the historical record before the advent of satellite tracking, 116 hurricane counts show distinct multi-decadal swings over time, but no long-term trend (Vecchi 117 and Knutson 2011). Although historical data on hurricanes such as the HURDAT best-track file in 118 the United States —which form the basis of the above studies— are available from the 1850s, the 119 120 satellite era of hurricane observations began only in the 1970s (McAdie et al. 2009, Landsea et al. 2009). Hurricane data during the pre-satellite era suffer from missed observations, imprecise 121 measurements, and non-standardized recording procedures. 122 123 3. Empirical Approach 124 To model the counts of hurricane fatality, we use the Negative Binomial (NB) distribution which 125 can be derived from the Poisson distribution (Cameron and Trivedi 1986, Hilbe 2007). Assume y_i , 126 a random variable, is of the number of fatality from a hurricane *i* whose distribution is a Poisson 127 with parameter λ_i : 128 129 $y_i \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda_i)$. (1)130 131 We further assume that the parameter λ_i is a random variable with a Gamma distribution: 132 133 $\lambda_i \sim \text{Gamma}(\alpha, \beta)$. 134 (2)135 The unconditional distribution of y_i is the Negative Binomial distribution whose first two 136 137 moments are: 138 $E(y_i) = \alpha \beta$, 139 (3) $Var(y_i) = \alpha\beta + \alpha\beta^2$. 140 Substituting in $\mu_i = \alpha \beta$ and $\kappa = \frac{1}{\alpha}$, the mean and variance of fatalities becomes: 141

142
$$\begin{aligned}
E(y_i) &= \mu_i, \\
Var(y_i) &= \mu_i + \kappa \mu_i^2.
\end{aligned}$$
(4)

The NB distribution is preferable to the Poisson distribution when overdispertion exists in count data. The variance in Eq. 4 captures overdispersion in the sample and increases in a quadratic (nonlinear) function of the mean (Lambert 1992, Hilbe 2007). In contrast, the variance in the Poisson distribution is equal to the size of the mean. We test for (and find) overdispertion in our sample.

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149 The probability density function (PDF) of y_i is

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$$f(y_i) = \frac{\Gamma(y_i + \kappa^{-1})}{\Gamma(y_i + 1)\Gamma(\kappa^{-1})} \left(\frac{\kappa^{-1}}{\kappa^{-1} + \mu_i}\right)^{\kappa^{-1}} \left(\frac{\mu_i}{\kappa^{-1} + \mu_i}\right)^{y_i}, \text{ for } y_i = 0, 1, 2, \dots$$
(5)

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153 where $\kappa > 0$ is the dispersion parameter.

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Economic theory guides our understanding our hurricane fatalities, which are a function of hurricane characteristics, as well as human vulnerability and adaptation (Nordhaus 2011, Seo 2015, Bakkensen and Mendelsohn, 2015). We therefore include the following variables in our empirical fatalities model: hurricane intensity and surge (to characterize the hurricane), income and population (to characterize vulnerability), and various endogenous and exogenous adaptation measures (to characterize adaptation).

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162 We estimate our NB fatalities model using the following log link:

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164 $g(\mu_i) = \ln \mu_i = \alpha + \beta_1 MCP_i + \beta_2 INC_i + \gamma_1 SUR_i + \gamma_2 POP_i + \varphi AD_i$ (6)

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where MCP is the Minimum Central Pressure, INC is income per capita, SUR is the level of storm
surge, POP is population density, and AD is a vector of adaptation measures (Seo 2015)¹. The log
link ensures that the over-dispersed data are adequately captured in the model and the estimated
number of deaths does not become negative. The parameters are estimated using the Maximum
Likelihood method and the Newton-Raphson technique for non-linear optimization.

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Several tests of interest result from Eq. 6. First, through the estimated parameter γ_1 , we test the hypothesis that the level of storm surge is a significant cause of high fatalities from hurricanes in

¹ Previous work has shown that MCP is a better measure of the destructiveness of a storm than maximum wind speed, due in part to better accuracy in historical measurement (Gray et al. 1991, Mendelsohn et al. 2012, Seo 2014, Bakkensen and Mendelsohn, 2015).

174 low-lying tropical countries including India and Bangladesh. Second, adaptation measures, such 175 as the development of Tropical Cyclone trajectory projection methods and availability of a storm 176 surge modeling, TC advisories, and the Global Maritime Distress and Safety System (GMDSS), 177 are tested through the significance of φ (Seo 2015).

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179 Other estimated parameters are of interest. $\hat{\beta}_1$ estimates the relationship between cyclone intensity 180 and fatalities. It is interpreted as the proportional change in the mean fatality in response to one 181 unit increase in the intensity of a hurricane, i.e., minimum central pressure: 182

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$$\hat{\beta}_1 = \frac{d \ln \mu_i}{d M C P_i} = \frac{d \mu_i / \mu_i}{d M C P_i}$$
(7)

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185 Similarly, the estimated parameter $\hat{\beta}_2$ estimates the relationship between income change and 186 fatalities. It is interpreted as the proportional change in the mean fatality in response to one unit 187 increase in income per capita:

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$$\hat{\beta}_2 = \frac{d \ln \mu_i}{d \, INC_i} = \frac{d \mu_i / \mu_i}{d \, INC_i} \,. \tag{8}$$

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191 We hypothesize that a weaker (higher pressure) storm will lead to fewer fatalities ($\hat{\beta}_1 < 0$), while 192 income growth will decrease the magnitude of lives lost ($\hat{\beta}_2 < 0$).

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194 The impact of a change in hurricane intensity from MCP_0 to MCP_1 , caused by a climatic shift, on 195 the number of fatality is measured as follows:

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$$\Delta = \hat{\mu}_i (MCP_1) - \hat{\mu}_i (MCP_0).$$
(9)

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199 200 3.1 Data

We construct an original dataset on tropical cyclones generated in the North Indian Ocean—the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea—from 1990 to 2012, when detailed data on each cyclone is available from the Indian Meteorological Department (IMD 2015a, 2015b). TCs primarily make landfall in India, but also impact South Asian countries including Bangladesh, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Burma, and Pakistan. A handful of cyclones made landfall in Africa and the Middle East but are excluded from the analysis due to data limitations.

- 207 We use both best track data and annual TC reports by the IMD. The best track database contains
- data on TC location, minimum central pressure, maximum wind speeds, and other information for
- 209 each observation period throughout the lifetime of the storm. The annual TC reports describe each
- 210 TC in detail and contain information on fatalities, financial damage, landfall locations, storm surge,
- trajectory projections, TC advisory, evacuation, GMDSS, and other variables. We collect data on
- five relevant adaptation measures: availability of a surge modeling as a forecasting tool, the TC
- observation interval, availability of TC advisory, application of the Global Maritime Disaster and
 Safety System (GMDSS), and availability of TC trajectory projection with the Limited Area Model
- 214 Safety System (OK 215 (LAM).
- 216 Socio-economic data are gathered from various sources including the World Bank Development
- Indicators and the Open Government Data Platform of India (World Bank 2015, OGDPI 2015).
- 218 Income per capita and population density are available at the state level for India and at the country
- 219 level for non-Indian countries. Using a World Bank Consumer Price Index, income data are
- adjusted to real 2006 prices.

Projections of hurricane activities by the end of this century are obtained from Emanuel (Emanuel et al. 2008, Emanuel 2013). Applying downscaling methods to the CMIP3 and CMIP5 (Climate Model Inter-comparison Project) models, Emanuel predicts changes in TC frequency and intensity by the end of 21st century across global oceans. This paper relies on his predictions for the North Indian Ocean. The downscaled hurricane predictions are generated from the following seven AOGCM climate models: CCSM3, CCNRM, CSIRO, ECHAM, GFDL, MIROC, and MRI.

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228 4. What Explains Fatalities?

We begin by examining summary statistics for our dataset and then formally model the determinants of tropical cyclone fatalities. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for variables in our dataset. To examine trends over time in our data, statistics are presented for the two periods: an early period (from 1990-2001) and a late period (from 2002 to 2012). Altogether, 64 TCs made landfall in the early period and 61 TCs made landfall in the late period.

While still high, the average number of TC fatalities declined from 2,441 persons in the early period to 1,469 persons in the late period. The central minimum pressure, on the other hand, rose slightly from 986 hpa to 989 hpa, which implies a decrease in average intensity (Evan et al. 2011). Average surge level declined from 0.59 meters to 0.48 meters. These statistics tell us that the decline in the number of TC fatalities in the late period may be attributed to, *inter alia*, a decrease in TC intensity and storm surge. However, from the early period to the late period, income per capita and population density both increased.

The variable Surge Model in Table 1, an indicator variable taking the value 1 if a surge model was present, was used in all TCs in the late period, but in none of the TCs in the early period. In addition, the time between official TC observations, when TC data is collected for a given event,has decreased, averaging 5.02 hours between observations in the early period and 3.3 hours

- between observations in the later period. All late period TCs were coupled with a TC advisory, the
- Global Maritime Disaster and Safety System (GMDSS), and the TC trajectory projection with the
- Limited Area Model (LAM). Given different development dates, these technologies and systems
- 248 were not available for some TCs in the early period.

Given the observed records regarding TC characteristics, adaptation, and fatalities, we now examine the conditional relationships between fatalities and variables of interest through regression analysis. In Table 2, we present the results from our six Negative Binomial models. According to the Log-Likelihood statistics and the scaled deviances close to one, all six models are significant at the 5% level.

254 Model 1 is the most parsimonious model in which minimum central pressure, income per capita, 255 and population density are entered as explanatory variables for the explanation of TC fatality. The error terms are assumed to be independent. The dispersion parameter is 8.3, which shows that the 256 sample data are highly dispersed and the choice of the Negative Binomial model is appropriate. In 257 this model, the estimate of minimum central pressure is significant, as is that of income per capita. 258 259 The estimate for minimum pressure is -0.12, which implies that one unit decrease in minimum central pressure leads to 12% increase in the number of fatality. The estimate for income per capita 260 is -0.029, which implies that a one unit increase in income per capita (1,000 INR which is 261 approximately 17 USD) leads to 2.9% decrease in the number of fatalities. The estimate for 262 population density is positive, as expected, but not significant². 263

In India and South Asian countries, the number of death from a TC is strongly linked to the level 264 of a storm surge due to many reasons including fragile houses, low-lying areas, and lack of shelters. 265 In Model 2, we add the availability of a storm surge model and the level of surge. Data on the 266 267 height of storm surge is available for all years but is missing for a handful of small storms. As expected, the surge level is a highly significant factor with parameter estimate of about 1. A one 268 meter increase in a surge leads to a 100% increase in TC fatality. The inclusion of the surge 269 variables decreases the magnitude of the estimate of minimum central pressure. In Model 2, the 270 estimate is -0.03, which is significant. This in turn shows that the high sensitivity of fatality to 271 272 MCP is owing to a mis-specification of the model, i.e., omission of surge variables.

- In Model 3, we add a dummy variable for the TC trajectory projection by the Limited Area Model
- 274 (LAM). This is one of the first employed TC trajectory projection methods in India and continues

² This may be due to very high population densities across all regions in the study. That is, unlike Australia and the US where population density varies a great deal from one region to another, Indian coastal regions are all densely populated with little variation. In addition, it could be due to greater resilience in urban areas, relative to rural areas, such that fatalities do not scale proportionately with population.

to be used for every storm. It began to be systematically adopted in 1976. The estimated coefficientis positive, as hypothesized, but significant only at the 20% level.

In Models 4 and 5, we use the same set up as Model 2, but change the error assumption to exchangeable error terms in Model 4 and unstructured error terms in Model 5 (Seo 2015). Model 4 assumes a fixed correlation parameter while Model 5 assumes no structure in correlation parameters between the error terms. There is no theoretical ground on which we can bound an error structure, which means that the unstructured error structure in Model 5 is preferable in our modeling. Changes in the assumption of the error terms, however, do not affect the results significantly.

Adopting the specification in Model 5, we replace the surge level with an 'estimated' surge level 284 in Model 6. Since surge level is not recorded for a few TCs, as some smaller cyclones did not have 285 a recorded surge, the authors estimated the surge level using minimum central pressure, spatial 286 287 location, and other variables and used it as one of the explanatory variables. The estimate is not significant implying that additional variables, such as bathymetry and coastal elevation gradients, 288 are needed to model surge. However, the estimated coefficient of minimum central pressure returns 289 to the magnitude in Model 1, which does not include the surge variable. This implies that the surge 290 variable and the minimum central pressure are correlated to some degree (Jelesnianski et al. 1992, 291 SURGEDAT 2015). When the level of surge is not accurately measured for each of the TCs in the 292 dataset, the minimum central pressure measure of hurricane intensity is likely to absorb much of 293 the impact of a higher storm surge. 294

What are the effects of non-information based adaptation measures against storm surge including 295 bunkers and shelters built on the hurricane prone low-lying zones (Paul 2009)? The estimate of 296 the minimum central pressure in Model 2 may capture the effects of such adaptation measures. In 297 other words, the damage from a high intensity hurricane occurs because of both high speed winds 298 299 and high sea surge. Individuals and public agencies will take adaptation measures, including building and evacuating into the bunkers and shelters, which will reduce the casualties from a TC 300 due to hurricane intensity. In India and Bangladesh, a lack of shelters and bunkers as well as poor 301 housing conditions of many residents in the low-lying areas are perceived to be a primary policy 302 concern. These effects are captured in the large parameter estimate of storm surge: +100% increase 303 in hurricane fatality with an additional 1 meter increase in storm surge. On the other hand, income 304 growth provides a large reduction in hurricane fatality, given hurricane intensity and storm surge, 305 probably because higher income equips people with more sturdy housing and local communities 306 with sufficient numbers of shelters. The relationship between income growth and adaptation 307 308 innovation is an important area of future research.

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312 5. Adoption of Adaptation Measures

We now turn to specific adaptation measures employed to protect against tropical cyclone impacts. 313 We focus on information-based adaptation measures and leave physical protection options for 314 future work. Through detailed TC reports from the Indian Meteorology Department, the authors 315 recorded various adaptation measures that were used before and during TC events (IMD 2015b). 316 317 In Table 3, adoption of each of these measures is modeled using the Probit choice model (Train 2003). The five measures are: availability of a surge model, a TC trajectory projection using the 318 Limited Area Model (LAM), a TC trajectory projection using the Non-hydrostatic Meso-scale 319 Model (NMM), a TC Advisory, and the Global Maritime Distress Safety System (GMDSS). 320 During this period, all TCs were observed by satellites. 321

Adoption of adaptation options phased in over time and the technologies continued to improve 322 in accuracy after initial adoption. Storm surge models were first used in 2002 while TC advisories 323 and GMDSS began in 2001 (IMD 2015b). The NMM technology is a more recently adopted (in 324 325 2006) dynamical model. The LAM technology began to be systematically adopted in 1996. Before that, the CLIPER (Climatology and Persistence) model, a statistical model which was developed 326 in 1972 by the National Hurricane Center in the United States, was used for TC trajectory 327 328 projection (NHC 2009). These measures have been developed and adopted over time in response 329 to the society's desire to better deal with the destructiveness of tropical cyclones.

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In Table 3, adoption of each of these measures is explained by intensity, income per capita, and 331 population density (Seo 2015). According to the Wald statistics, all the models are significant at 332 the 5% level except the choice of a TC trajectory projection with LAM which is significant at the 333 334 9% level. In all five models, income per capita is significant at the 5% level. The positive estimate indicates that the adoption of these measures is more likely when a TC approaches a higher income 335 region and/or occurred in a higher income year. The parameter estimate is quite steady across the 336 five models at about +0.029. In addition, the technologies have become more sophisticated 337 338 through the establishment of regional centers and international collaborations.

Adoption of these measures by Indian agencies is a public effort to reduce the number of fatalities 339 340 caused by the hurricane. These measures improve the knowledge of local people who make 341 decisions to avoid personal catastrophes. An individual may or may not decide to evacuate to a bunker or physically protect property, given this information. However, it is not apparent in the 342 individual reports of these hurricanes whether these measures are adopted selectively only when 343 certain regions, e.g., high income regions which are approached by a hurricane. The Probit models 344 nonetheless inform us that these measures are more likely to be adopted in areas or at times when 345 346 incomes are higher.

Turning to the storm characteristics, the estimated coefficient on the intensity variable is not significant across the five adaptation measures. This implies that information-based adaptation measures are not adopted due to the intensity of a TC or specifically targeted to areas with intense storms. These measures are different from other adaptation measures such as evacuation andphysical protection, which are primarily driven by the intensity of an approaching TC.

The results from the Probit models also shed light on the results from the Negative Binomial models in Table 2. Adoption of information-based adaptation strategies, via increases in income, have reduced the number of fatalities from TCs. These results provide evidence that adaptation measures against TCs have been effective in India.

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357 6. Future Simulations

Based on the empirical results presented in the previous section, we simulate the impacts of climate change on TC fatality by the end of this century. From the six models presented in Table 2, we use the following three parameter estimates for our future projections: minimum central pressure= -0.03, income per capita= -0.029, and surge= +1.001³. These parameters are highly stable across Models 2 through 5. As there is no known scientific literature on the level of storm surge expected by the century's end in a warmer world (Jelesnianski et al. 1992, SURGEDAT 2015), be base our

future simulations on changes in three measures: Changes in TC intensity, TC frequency, and income.

As shown in Table 4, we employ sixteen future climate change scenarios detailing changes in TC intensity, TC frequency, and income per capita. The projections of the TC activities in the North Indian Ocean are drawn from Emanuel and coauthors (Emanuel et al. 2008). They base their projections on the seven AOGCM climate models under an A1B climate change scenario. The seven climate models are CCSM3, CNRM, CSIRO, ECHAM, GFDL, MIROC, and MRI. A final scenario is Emanuel's average of the seven models. For each of these scenarios, we simulate a low-income scenario and a middle-income scenario.

On average, the frequency of the TCs is predicted to decrease by 8.2% and the intensity is predicted to increase by 3.7% in the North Indian Ocean (Emanuel et al. 2008). However, a more recent study predicts a non-significant change in the hurricane frequency (Emanuel 2014). This is a major departure from the assessment by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2014a). The seven downscaled hurricane projections vary a great deal from one to another with regard to frequency prediction and intensity prediction.

- For income changes, two scenarios are used: a low income scenario and a middle income scenario.
- In the low income scenario, income per capita is predicted to grow more slowly at 2% per year. In
- the middle income scenario, the income per capita in the region is predicted to grow at 3% per
- year. At the end of 20th century, the income per capita was 17.8 thousand INR. A century of 3%

³ Alternatively, Model 6 could be used for future simulations with similar results presented in this section.

- 383 growth will lead to an income level of 324 thousand INR. These estimates are conservative, as
- India may grow at a higher growth rate than these scenarios. The Indian economy grew at about
 7% from 2005 to 2015 (World Bank 2015).

In Table 5, we simulate the changes in TC fatality by the end of 21st century assuming the sixteen 386 scenarios described above. Average fatality during the end of 20th century was 10.670 persons per 387 year. In a low income scenario, the fatality increase has a wide range: more than 100,000 additional 388 deaths per year in the MIROC scenario to a decrease of 10,670 deaths per year (total eradication 389 of cyclone fatality) in the CNRM scenario. Increases in hurricane fatalities are observed in the 390 391 MIROC, MRI, and CCSM3 scenarios due to a large increase in intensity predicted in these scenarios. A decrease in hurricane fatality occurs in the CNRM, CSIRO, ECHAM, GFDL, and the 392 Emanuel average scenarios due to both a decrease in hurricane intensity and a decrease in hurricane 393 frequency. 394

In the middle income scenario, all eight scenarios lead to a large reduction in the number of fatalities from hurricanes. Regardless of changes in hurricane characteristics, the change in income dominates the outcome.

For comparison, what would happen if the sensitivity of fatality to hurricane intensity is much larger than that on which these simulations are based, say, twice more destructive with the sensitivity parameter of -0.06? Our analysis shows that in the MIROC model, income growth of about 3.1% would be sufficient to offset the increased number of fatalities due to increased intensity, given the doubled sensitivity parameter of -0.06. Therefore, the growth of income relative to hurricane intensity will be a critical factor in the determination of future fatalities and will be an important metric for policy.

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406 7. Discussion

407 This paper examines fatalities from Tropical Cyclones generated in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea from 1990 to 2012, where the average number of TC fatalities far outnumber those 408 409 found in the United States, Australia, and the rest of the world (Seo 2015, Bakkensen and Mendelsohn 2015). The authors use Negative Binomial models to explain fatality count data by 410 minimum central pressure, level of storm surge, income, population density, and adaptation 411 412 measures. This paper finds that one unit increase in TC intensity (one millibar) has a similar impact 413 on TC fatality as one unit increase in income per capita (one thousand INR). One meter increase in storm surge is estimated to double the number of fatalities from a TC. 414

A unit of income growth reduces the TC fatality proportionally by 3%. One mechanism by which
 income reduces TC fatality is through innovation and adoption of information-based adaptation
 measures. Historical measures include TC trajectory projections by various methods, storm surge
 models, TC advisories, and a global cooperative system such as the Global Maritime Distress and

419 Safety System (GMDSS). Probit models show that adoption of these measures increases as income420 per capita grows.

Future simulations are made relying on the eight TC projections under CMIP3 and CMIP5 climate 421 models and two income scenarios. In a low-income scenario in which the income per capita is 422 predicted to grow at 2% per year, hurricane fatality is determined by how destructive hurricanes 423 would become. In the MIROC model in which hurricane intensity is predicted to increase by 20%, 424 hurricane fatality is predicted to increase by more than 100,000 persons per year. If hurricane 425 intensity were to increase moderately or even decrease, hurricane fatality is predicted to fall by a 426 427 great deal. In the middle-income scenario, hurricane fatality is predicted to fall in all scenarios regardless of changes in hurricane characteristics. 428

From a policy perspective, we synthesize our key results within the literature. First, overall 429 hurricane fatalities are very high in the North Indian Ocean compared to those in high income 430 431 regions (Bakkensen and Mendelsohn 2015). Second, the paper indicates that the high fatalities are not ascribed largely to high hurricane intensity. The parameter estimate of minimum central 432 pressures in the Indian Ocean context is -0.03, which is only one-half of the parameter estimate (-433 0.06) in Australian TCs (Seo 2015). Third, in addition to TC intensity, storm surge is highly 434 dangerous in this region due likely to poor housing structures and a lack of appropriate shelters 435 and bunkers (Paul 2009, Peduzzi et al. 2012). One additional meter of storm surge is predicted to 436 double the number of fatalities. Fourth, adaptation measures employed in this region such as a 437 surge model, TC trajectory projection, TC advisory, and GMDSS have been effective. Adoptions 438 of these strategies are largely a function of income growth. Finally, income growth and 439 440 accompanying increases in adaptation facilities and capacities will, by and large, determine the severity of hurricane fatalities in India and its neighboring regions in the future under climatic 441 changes (Seo 2015). 442

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613	Table	1: D	escriptive	Statistics
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	Early: 1990-	-2001	Late: 2002-2	2012
Variable	Mean	Standard	Mean	Standard
		Deviation		Deviation
Fatalities (N)	2441.89	17399.52	1469.95	10751.70
Minimum central pressure (hpa)	986.05	21.40	989.10	12.94
Income per capita (INR)	11099.19	11605.34	25243.66	22239.88
Population density (ppl/km ²)	518.60	327.37	558.31	514.31
ObservIation interval (hours)	5.02	1.01	3.32	0.68
Surge model (0/1)	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Surge (meters)	0.59	1.49	0.48	1.22
TC advisory (0/1)	0.02	0.13	1.00	0.00
Global Maritime Distress and Safety				
System (0/1)	0.02	0.13	1.00	0.00
Trajectory projection by Non-				
hydrostatic Meso-scale Model				
(NMM) (0/1)	0.00	0.00	0.72	0.45
Trajectory projection by Limited				
Area Model (LAM) (0/1)	0.61	0.49	1.00	0.00

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Est.	P-value	Est.	P-value	Est.	P-value
Intercept	124.213	<.0001	33.9403	<.0001	18.9908	0.0114
Minimum central						
pressure (hpa)	-0.1206	<.0001	-0.03	<.0001	-0.0159	0.04
Income per capita (1000						
INR)	-0.0292	0.0006	-0.0292	0.0012	-0.0268	0.0021
Population density	0.000	0.00	0.0004	0.04.44		0 - 100
(ppl/km ²)	0.0002	0.8269	0.0001	0.8466	0.0002	0.7639
Surge (meters)			1.0001	<.0001	1.1392	<.0001
Surge model			0.0642	0.9004	-0.3408	0.5154
Trajectory LAM					1.2	0.1839
Dispersion parameter	8.3742		7.6306		7.4726	
Likelihood Ratio (P						
value)	< 0.0001		< 0.0001		< 0.0001	
Scaled deviance						
(Value/DF)	0.9702		0.9877		0.9967	
Assumption on the error						
terms	Independe	nt	Independe	ent	Independe	nt
	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6:	Estimated
					level of su	rge
	Est.	P-value	Est.	P-value	level of suEst.	rge P-value
Intercept	Est. 33.9403	P-value <.0001	Est. 33.9403	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627	rge P-value <.0001
Intercept Minimum central	Est. 33.9403	P-value <.0001	Est. 33.9403	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627	rge P-value <.0001
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa)	Est. 33.9403 -0.03	P-value <.0001 <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03	P-value <.0001 <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000	Est. 33.9403 -0.03	P-value <.0001 <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03	P-value <.0001 <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR)	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2)	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters)	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466 <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466 <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329 0.1885
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters) Surge model	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466 <.0001 0.9004	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329 0.1885 0.5705
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters) Surge model Dispersion parameter	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466 <.0001 0.9004	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095 8.568	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329 0.1885 0.5705
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters) Surge model Dispersion parameter Likelihood Ratio (P	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306	P-value <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095 8.568	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329 0.1885 0.5705
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters) Surge model Dispersion parameter Likelihood Ratio (P value)	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001	P-value <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095 8.568 <0.0001	rge P-value <.0001
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters) Surge model Dispersion parameter Likelihood Ratio (P value) Scaled deviance	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001	P-value <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095 8.568 <0.0001	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329 0.1885 0.5705
Intercept Minimum central pressure (hpa) Income per capita (1000 INR) Population density (ppl/km^2) Surge (meters) Surge model Dispersion parameter Likelihood Ratio (P value) Scaled deviance (Value/DF)	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001 0.9877	P-value <.0001	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001 0.9877	P-value <.0001	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095 8.568 <0.0001	rge P-value <.0001
InterceptMinimumcentralpressure (hpa)Income per capita (1000INR)Populationdensity(ppl/km^2)Surge (meters)Surge modelDispersion parameterLikelihoodRatioLikelihoodRatio(Pvalue)Scaleddeviance(Value/DF)Assumption on the error	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001 0.9877	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466 <.0001 0.9004	Est. 33.9403 -0.03 -0.0292 0.0001 1.0001 0.0642 7.6306 <0.0001 0.9877 U	P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0012 0.8466 <.0001 0.9004	level of su Est. 133.5627 -0.1295 -0.0359 0.0002 -0.354 0.4095 8.568 <0.0001	rge P-value <.0001 <.0001 0.0024 0.7329 0.1885 0.5705

625 Table 2: Negative Binomial Models of Fatalities.

	Surge mod	lel	Trajectory	LAM	Trajectory	NMM
	Est.	P-value	Est.	P-value	Est.	P-value
Intercept	-3.1995	0.6343	10.2061	0.2418	2.0382	0.765
Minimum central						
pressure	0.00274	0.6886	-0.0102	0.2518	-0.00316	0.648
Income per capita (1000						
INR)	0.0295	0.0002	0.0292	0.0198	0.0264	0.0006
Population density						
(/km^2)	-0.00009	0.7916	0.000612	0.1721	0.0004	0.2599
Wald Statistic						
	14.4178	0.0024	6.512		13.0136	
			8	0.0892		0.0046
	TC advisor	ry	GMDSS			
	Est.	P-value	Est.	P-value		
Intercept	-4.0901	0.5452	-4.0901	0.5452		
Minimum central						
pressure	0.00366	0.5933	0.00366	0.5933		
Income per capita (1000						
INR)	0.0295	0.0002	0.0295	0.0002		
Population density						
(/km^2)	-0.0001	0.7745	-0.0001	0.7745		
Wald Statistic		0.0022		0.0022		
	14.5621		14.5621			

628 Table 3: Probit Models of Adaptation Strategies

641 Table 4: Future Scenarios

	TC			Middle-income
	frequency	TC intensity	Low-income scenario	scenario
	5.4 TCs per			
Current value	year	987 hpa	17.8 thousand INR	17.8 thousand INR
Future				
projections				
Emanuel				
scenario	0%	+3.7%	+111	+324
CCSM3	+6%	+13%	+111	+324
CNRM	-21%	-15%	+111	+324
CSIRO	-11%	+8%	+111	+324
ECHAM	-19%	+2%	+111	+324
GFDL	-13%	-3%	+111	+324
MIROC	-12%	+20%	+111	+324
MRI	+12%	+2%	+111	+324

	Low Income Scenario	Middle Income Scenario
Current value	10670 deaths per year	10670 deaths per year
Future projections		
Emanuel scenario	-10470	-10670
CCSM3	+8067	-10643
CNRM	-10670	-10670
CSIRO	-7060	-10670
ECHAM	-10280	-10670
GFDL	-10573	-10670
MIROC	+109858	-10472
MRI	+2438	-10670

Table 5: Projections of Fatality by the End of 21^{st} Century based on Model 1





Regression Equation: logfatal = 510.2522 - 73.41561*logbmp