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## Media Attention and the Toxic Releases Inventory \*

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This paper explores the relationship between the print media and toxic releases in the first wave of Toxic Releases Inventory (TRI) filings. It first studies the degree to which neighborhood characteristics like racial composition and income status associate with the number of newspaper articles written about a polluting establishment, controlling for the volume of pollution, industry and observable establishment characteristics. It follows up to study whether firms that receive media attention reduce pollution more than firms that do not. Neither a qualitative review of the articles nor regression results show any significant correlation between race or income and the likelihood of being included in media reports. A difference-in-difference approach shows a statistically significant decrease in the toxic releases of firms that received media attention compared to those that did not.

*JEL classification:* Q51, Q52, Q53, Q58.

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40           Since 1987, all U.S. manufacturing facilities with at least 10 employees and producing  
41 more than 500 lbs of each of the 320 listed chemicals, must annually report an inventory of  
42 toxic releases to the EPA. Information about these releases is then publically disseminated  
43 through the Toxic Releases Inventory (TRI). The logic of such a reporting requirement is  
44 that negative publicity imposes a cost on firms and provides incentives to reduce the  
45 production of or prevent the release of toxic chemicals. This paper studies the role of the  
46 national print media activity in generating such negative publicity. Specifically, it studies the  
47 role the media played when the TRI program was first implemented. With limited  
48 preconceived notions about the polluting behavior of facilities around the early years of TRI  
49 reporting, media responses at this time provide a rare opportunity to isolate and study the  
50 behavior of the media to new pollution news and study how firms responded to a sudden  
51 wave of media attention.

52           This paper takes two perspectives on the relationship between media attention and  
53 toxic releases. It first studies the degree to which neighborhood characteristics like racial  
54 composition and income status associate with the number of newspaper articles written  
55 about a polluting establishment, controlling for the volume of pollution, industry and  
56 observable establishment characteristics. The results will show little association between  
57 non-white neighborhoods and media reporting. The empirical analysis then uses a  
58 difference-in-difference approach to show that firms that receive media attention reduce  
59 pollution dramatically more than firms that do not. Furthermore, establishments in non-  
60 white neighborhoods are more likely to reduce pollution.

61           The results contribute to the research on “environmental justice,” the concept that  
62 environmental risks and hazards should be equitably distributed regardless of race, color or

63 income. Prior studies on environmental justice don't incorporate the media and instead  
64 typically focus directly on the behavior of and location decisions of individuals and firms  
65 (Boer et al. 1997, Wolverson 2009, Zimmerman 1993). There are a number of reasons to  
66 believe that neighborhood characteristics like income or racial composition will affect the  
67 media's decision to report on a particular polluting establishment. Choices over what to  
68 report are influenced by the preferences and worldviews of reporters, editors and the  
69 newspaper owner (Bennett 1988, Entman and Rojeck 2000, Groseclose and Milyo 2005,  
70 Wilson and Gutiérrez 1995). If reporters or editors have a liberal stand on public policy  
71 issues, they may be more likely to cover issues related to the poor and racial minorities. On  
72 the other hand, the motive of profit maximization might lead them to report less on these  
73 neighborhoods. The largest media audience in the U.S. is white and middle-class (Larson  
74 2006, Shirley 1992). Reporting about poor and minority neighborhoods may not appeal to  
75 readers. Furthermore, the costs of reporting about toxic releases in high-income  
76 neighborhoods might be lower. If higher income neighborhoods are more vocal about their  
77 disamenities (and therefore more responsive to reporters) and lower income neighborhoods  
78 attach less weight to environmental quality, it is likely that pollution in higher income  
79 neighborhoods will get more attention.

80 To the extent that media activity is associated with neighborhood characteristics, the  
81 second objective of this paper is to explore how media activity might affect toxic releases. If  
82 media attention imposes costs, firms have incentives to change their subsequent behaviors.  
83 Prior research on the TRI has explored numerous ways that the requirement to report  
84 releases affects firms, but to our knowledge no study has focused on the relationship

85 between TRI-related media attention and firm behaviors.<sup>1</sup> The difference-in-difference  
86 approach used in this study aims to provide insight into this relationship. Although the  
87 results should not be interpreted causally, they do show that firms which receive media  
88 attention behave differently from the ones that do not.

89 The remaining sections present a background of the TRI program and its association  
90 with environmental justice, the data, measures and the empirical strategies. Two sections  
91 discuss results. One identifies the association between media attention and neighborhood  
92 characteristics, and the other shows results on how the emissions behavior of firms with  
93 media attention differs from those without.

94

## 95 **1. Background**

96 The TRI program was formulated under the Emergency Planning & Community Right-  
97 To-Know Act (EPCRA) of 1986, against the backdrop of a chemical accident at Union  
98 Carbide's chemical plant in Bhopal, India in 1984. EPCRA mandates that all U.S.  
99 manufacturing facilities, with at least 10 employees and producing more than 500 lbs of each  
100 of the 320 listed chemicals, must annually report to the EPA. The EPA collects this  
101 information and catalogs it for public dissemination via its TRI database.

102 The first wave of TRI reports, which reported about pollution in 1987, was made  
103 publicly available on 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1989. Shortly thereafter, the Natural Resources Defense  
104 Council (NRDC) and the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) published two specialized  
105 reports on the top polluters in 1987 (Natural Resources Defense Council, 1989; Dean,

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<sup>1</sup> TRI appears to affect investors through the stock market (Hamilton 1995a, Khanna 1998, 1999), encourage enrollment in voluntary environmental management programs (Arora and Cason 1995, 1996; King and Lenox, 2001; Khanna 2002) and influence the location decisions of the firms (Wolverton 2009, Sadd et al. 1999, Anderton et al. 1994, Davidson and Anderton 2000). Dasgupta et al. (2006) show that environmental news and a firm's awareness of such media attention are predictors for firm performance in South Korea.

106 1989).<sup>2</sup> These publications, along with the original TRI reports, generated significant media  
107 activity including articles in major newspapers like *USA TODAY*, *The Boston Globe*, *The*  
108 *Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. Of the 326 facilities in our dataset that received  
109 some sort of media attention, 137 facilities come from the top 500 establishments reported  
110 in NWF's report identifying the "Toxic 500".

111         Reading print media stories about the first wave of TRI reports along with related  
112 articles from the same period reveals several facts that are relevant to our investigation.  
113 First, the press did express an interest in the links between pollution, citizen action groups,  
114 and socio-economic characteristics of affected populations. For example, *The New York*  
115 *Times* published a number of articles about economically disadvantaged communities  
116 affected by pollution, and about the work of grass roots activists (e.g. Suro 1989). The head  
117 of the National Wildlife Foundation contributed editorials calling for environmentalism to  
118 "embrace the poor" (Hair 1990). This interest is consistent with the emerging focus on  
119 environmental injustice (United Church of Christ 1987, United States General Accounting  
120 Office 1983). It is directly relevant to our study since facilities subject to TRI reporting  
121 requirements tend to be located in minority neighborhoods and these facilities also tend to  
122 have higher toxic releases (Wolverton 2009, Arora and Cason 1999).<sup>3</sup>

123         Second, numerous articles indicated that the TRI findings "shocked" federal officials  
124 and surprised company executives. Event studies on the impact of the TRI reports on the  
125 financial market show that publicly traded TRI firms experienced negative abnormal returns

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<sup>2</sup> The second wave of TRI reports, released in April 1990, also generated substantial print media attention. Once again, an environmental advocacy group, Citizen Action, used the data to generate a filtered list of highly polluting facilities.

<sup>3</sup> This does not mean polluting firms seek out minority neighborhoods. Most studies find that the racial composition of neighborhoods does not explain firm location decisions, but that this decision is often influenced by the income status and the political mobilization of the neighborhood (e.g. Davidson and Anderton 2000, Been and Gupta 1997, Kriesel et.al 1996, Hamilton 1995b and Gamper-Rabindran 2006).

126 on the day following the first TRI report (Hamilton 1995a). The release of data was viewed  
127 as a significant problem for several large polluting companies. The trade journal, *Chemical*  
128 *Week*, cited “non-regulatory pressures, such as local and community concerns” as driving the  
129 industry's environmental performance (Rotman 1989: p. 66). In fact, the firms with largest  
130 negative abnormal stock returns were also the ones that reduced their toxic emissions more  
131 than their industry peers (Konar and Cohen 1997).

132

## 133 **2. Data**

134 This study uses pollution data from the TRI database, socio-economic characteristics  
135 from the 1990 U.S. Population Census, media attention data from the Lexis-Nexis Academic  
136 Universe database, and company level information about the TRI establishments from the  
137 Compustat North America from Standard and Poor’s database. The TRI database contains  
138 detailed information about toxic releases of all U.S manufacturing facilities that submit toxic  
139 release reports to the TRI. There is a two-year gap between the data-reporting date and the  
140 date EPA publicly disseminates this information. The first TRI report was available on 19<sup>th</sup>  
141 June, 1989 and contained information about the toxic releases of almost 24,000 polluting  
142 facilities in 1987. The 1987 data were later removed from the TRI database, since there was  
143 a great deal of variance in how facilities measured toxic releases and because two chemicals,  
144 that were released in large quantities, were later removed from the list of toxic substances.  
145 Since a part of this study focuses on media response to reported releases (regardless of the  
146 accuracy of the underlying reports), the 1987 data is nonetheless appropriate.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> These data, while no longer of the TRI database, are still available through the EPA’s Office of Pollution Prevention and Toxics library. In the portions of this paper where we study the association between media attention and changes in toxic releases, we disregard the 1987 TRI emission figures and focus on later years.

147           Media attention data is collected from the news archives at the Lexis-Nexis Academic  
148 Universe database, using a combination of keywords for the database search: ‘Toxic Release  
149 Inventory’ or ‘worst polluters’ or ‘pollution’ or ‘Toxic 500’ or ‘National Wildlife Federation’  
150 for the time period June, 1989 to April, 1990. This search produces slightly less than 1000  
151 returns, which we read and sorted. We identified those articles that had specific information  
152 about TRI facilities. Because this study is at the facility level, articles discussing TRI only at  
153 the parent company level or at the state and county levels were dropped. This selection left  
154 73 articles which identified 350 facilities with toxic releases in 1987. Of these 326 facilities  
155 could be matched to information from the TRI database.

156           The articles from the database search contain a variety of reports on the TRI program.  
157 Given that the first TRI report was closely followed by the publication of the “*Toxic 500*” by  
158 the National Wildlife Federation (Dean, 1989) and the “*A Who’s Who of American Toxic Air  
159 Polluters*” by the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC, 1989), most of the newspaper  
160 and newswire reports made references to these reports. Table 1 provides summary  
161 statistics for the 73 articles. Most of the articles came from the wire services; the most  
162 prominent among them is States News Service, which produced a series of articles  
163 identifying top polluters in specific states and counties and reported about 97 of the TRI  
164 facilities. Among the major newspapers *USA Today*, which has a nationwide circulation,  
165 reported on 75 TRI facilities. Many of the articles released immediately following the  
166 publication of EPA data focus on identifying the largest polluters in given geographic areas  
167 (States, Counties, or Metropolitan areas). Later articles are more likely to focus on particular  
168 facilities or large emitters of specific toxic substances. Finally, 11 articles written almost a  
169 year after the release of the initial data respond to a new event: the imposition on regulatory

170 fines on companies for non-reporting of TRI emissions. Since these articles appeared to be  
171 closely based on EPA press releases, and unlikely to correspond to neighborhood  
172 characteristics, they were excluded (and not included in the counts cited above).

173         A striking fact is that none of the articles focused on, or even mentioned, the income  
174 and racial characteristics of the neighborhoods close to facilities with toxic releases.  
175 Although there is evidence that the media had interest in the connection between pollution  
176 and socio-economic characteristics, the articles we reviewed present no evidence that this  
177 link influenced reporting decisions. Table 2 describes neighborhood characteristics of zip  
178 codes with and without TRI facilities and with and without media attention. While  
179 neighborhoods with a TRI facility are clearly different – with larger nonwhite populations  
180 and higher population densities – the socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods that  
181 receive media attention are largely similar to the characteristics of neighborhoods with at  
182 least one TRI facility but no media attention. Our empirical work will support the conclusion  
183 that links between race or income and articles written in the print media, while occasionally  
184 statistically significant, are quantitatively small.

185         Data on the neighborhood characteristics of the TRI facilities are gathered from the  
186 1990 U.S Population Census at the U.S. zip code level. Merging the datasets produces over  
187 19,000 facilities in nearly 7,000 zip codes. Of these, 326 facilities (in 295 zip codes) received  
188 media attention.<sup>5</sup> We use the Compustat North America from Standard and Poor’s database  
189 to collect financial information about the TRI facilities. Even though the TRI database  
190 provides information about the parent company, there was no unique identifier common to

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<sup>5</sup> This list of facilities includes 59 for which the zip code could not be matched directly to Census data. These missing zip codes are located in the middle of a larger zip code area and typically represent locations where the U.S postal service allocates a separate zip code to a company for ease of delivering mail. In such cases we replaced the missing zip code with the zip code that envelops it.



191 the TRI files and the Compustat database to merge the datasets digitally. So the Compustat  
192 information had to be linked manually. In the portion of the paper that estimates the  
193 treatment effect of media attention on future emissions, we therefore limit our dataset to the  
194 top 500 publicly traded establishments in terms of toxic releases.<sup>6</sup> Of these, 137 received  
195 media attention in 1989.

196 Table 3 shows descriptive statistics at the facility level. The first two columns show  
197 summary statistics for the full set of TRI facilities. Since some estimations include only the  
198 top 500 facilities in terms of total releases, the third and fourth columns show summary  
199 statistics for this subset of facilities. An ALCOA facility in Port Comfort, Texas, that was  
200 unfortunate enough to be labeled the country's "biggest polluter," received the most media  
201 attention; 16 out of 73 different news articles reported about this particular facility.

202

### 203 **3. Measures and Empirical Strategy**

204 This section describes the measures of media attention, pollution, income, and race,  
205 as well as control variables. It also outlines an empirical strategy for first determining  
206 whether neighborhood characteristics affect media attention and then investigating how  
207 subsequent releases vary according to the degree that firms receive media attention.

208

#### 209 *3.1 Neighborhood Characteristics and Media Attention*

210 We estimate media attention to the  $i$ -th facility ( $M_i$ ) as a function of pollution  
211 measures ( $X_i^P$ ), industry classifications ( $X_i^I$ ), geographical region ( $X_i^R$ ), and a vector of  
212 social-economic characteristics of the facility's neighborhood ( $X_i^S$ )

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<sup>6</sup> Limiting the sample in this way is of course problematic. We conducted numerous sensitivity analyses (see Saha 2010 for details), and results are not sensitive to sample selection.

213

$$214 \quad M_i = f(X_i^P, X_i^I, X_i^R, X_i^S) + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

215

216           There is no standard measure or index for media attention, the dependent variable in

217 equation (1). We construct two different measures: the number of articles mentioning a

218 facility and a weighted total of the number of words written about a facility. The number of

219 articles attaches equal weight to all facilities. If several facilities were mentioned in one

220 article, the measure treats this as identical to an article reporting exclusively about a single

221 facility. Short articles are treated equally to longer, in depth, pieces. The weighted measure,

222 total article words, is designed to account for these limitations. If  $n$  facilities are mentioned

223 in one article with  $m$  words, then each facility is assigned a weighted measure of  $(m/n)$

224 words per facility.

225           For both choices of dependent variable, the measure will contain a large number of

226 zero counts. For the count measure of articles, we use a zero-inflated negative binomial

227 regression (Demaris 2004).<sup>7</sup> This technique assumes that the zeros are generated by two

228 different processes and a first-stage logit estimation is used to correct for the excess zeros.

229 The weighted words measure of media attention is continuous and strictly non-negative.

230 Hence, we use Tobit regression when estimating equation (1) with this dependent variable.

231           The pollution vector measures the amount of toxic wastes (in pounds) released in the

232 air, water, injected underground, released on land, and transferred offsite. Although these

233 measures are closely correlated, they are included separately (rather than as an index) since

234 media attention might be sensitive to the type of pollution. The vector also includes a

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<sup>7</sup> A Vuong likelihood ratio test for model selection on the dispersion parameter produces a test statistic significantly different from zero.

235 measure for the number of Form-R's, a reporting form used to report about a particular toxic  
 236 chemical or toxic category, proxies for risks associated with pollution. The greater the  
 237 numbers of Form-R's, the more different types of chemicals have been released.

238 The vectors for industry and region consist of the six industry measures and four  
 239 regional measures shown in Table 3. The chemical industry in particular was the subject of  
 240 media attention due to public concern about ozone-depleting chemicals. The socio-economic  
 241 characteristics vector consists of the log of income and measures for the proportion of the  
 242 population (at the zip code level) that is either Hispanic, or nonwhite but not Hispanic. The  
 243 omitted category is the percentage of non-Hispanic white residents. We test the null  
 244 hypothesis that media attention is non-discriminatory with respect to income status and  
 245 racial composition of the neighborhood. We include the logarithm of the population density  
 246 (*POPN*) as a control variable since facilities in densely populated neighborhoods might be  
 247 subject to increased reporting.

248

### 249 *3.2 Firm Responses to Media Attention*

250 Our second estimation is a difference-in-difference estimation with year effects to  
 251 isolate the degree that the facilities which received media attention decreased the quantity  
 252 of their toxic releases relative to those that did not receive attention:

253

$$254 \quad y_{it} = \alpha + \beta_2 M_i + \beta_3 \text{After}_t M_i + \sum_{j=1990}^{1995} \beta_j \text{Year}_j + X\beta + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

255

256 In equation (2), the dependent variable is the logarithm of the  $i^{\text{th}}$  facility's releases  
 257 in period  $t$ . The indicator variable, media attention,  $M_i$ , is the treatment. The post-treatment

258 years are captured by the indicator variable,  $After_t$ . This variable, along with variables  
259 identifying specific years (1990-1995), controls for factors that may affect the toxic releases  
260 of all facilities, whether or not they receive media attention. The coefficient of interest, the  
261 interaction term ( $\beta_3$ ), captures the treatment effect of media attention. The vector  $X$  is a set  
262 of control variables that includes all the controls used in equation (1) (except the pollution  
263 vector  $X_i^P$ ) plus firm characteristics that are measured at the parent company level. Firm  
264 characteristics (from the Compustat North America) include the logarithm of the average  
265 cost of goods and services which is used as a proxy for the input prices and other costs  
266 incurred by the firm, logarithm of total sales, and the logarithm of research and development  
267 expenditures per unit sales (a measure of the ability to innovative).

268 Ideally, a treatment variable is randomly assigned and that the treatment is an  
269 unexpected shock to the firms. Random assignment would ensure that other characteristics  
270 (both observed and unobserved) that affect a facility's behavior have a similar distribution  
271 for both treated and untreated facilities. An unexpected treatment ensures that the response  
272 is observed after the treatment and that the effect is not mitigated by facilities taking actions  
273 in the anticipation of receiving negative media attention.

274 It is obvious from equation (1) and table 3 that media attention is not randomly  
275 assigned. There are some features at the neighborhood and establishment level that we  
276 hypothesize to be associated with media attention. Furthermore, observable characteristics  
277 like size, the quantity of releases, and industry differ by treatment. It is likely that  
278 unobserved characteristics are also correlated to the treatment. While these issues mean  
279 that we will not interpret any statistically-significant coefficients as indicating causality, we  
280 do believe that our treatment represents a largely unexpected shock. Many of the news

281 articles in our data set quote company officials as “surprised” or “shocked” by their status as  
282 a top polluter. Event studies on the stock market reaction to the first wave of TRI reports  
283 show that reports also provided unexpected information to market participants; there was a  
284 significant drop in the stock prices of TRI companies and stockholders experienced  
285 abnormal negative returns. Hamilton (1995a) translates this average loss to \$4.1 million in  
286 stock values for TRI firms.

287

## 288 **4. Results**

### 289 *4.1 Media Response to TRI*

290 Table 4 reports the coefficient estimates along with standard errors clustered by zip  
291 code. The far left column reports coefficient estimates for the zero-inflated negative  
292 binomial model with the number of articles as the dependent variable. The far right column  
293 reports Tobit coefficients with the weighted count of words as the dependent variable. For  
294 both estimations, the variables of interest are *INCOME*, *NONWHITE* and *HISPANIC*. The  
295 results show no statistically significant difference in the likelihood that poor or minority  
296 neighborhoods receive media attention. Modest changes in the racial composition or income  
297 of a neighborhood would have little or no discernable impact on the number or length of  
298 articles written about a particular facility. Facilities located in the *NORTHEAST*, home to  
299 several major newspapers indexed by Lexis-Nexis, were more likely to be the subject of  
300 reporting. Facilities in the petroleum industry are less likely to receive media attention. The  
301 quantity of releases in nearly any form, along with the number of chemicals released by a  
302 facility, is positively associated with media attention.

303

#### 304 4.2 Media Attention and Firm Responses

305 The data used for estimating equation (2) contain 500 establishment-level  
306 observations, of which 137 received media attention. Facilities are distributed in 426 zip  
307 codes clusters, 130 of which include facilities with media attention. Figure 1 shows the  
308 average annual emissions of firms with and without media attention. The vertical line  
309 indicates the treatment year, 1989. Annual toxic releases for both types of establishments  
310 were decreasing both before and after the treatment year. Firms with media attention were  
311 more likely to be high emitters and, as a group, reduced their releases more rapidly.  
312 However, the figure reveals no distinctive change in the rate of decline in toxic releases for  
313 facilities with media attention after 1989.

314 The first column of Table 5 presents the estimates of the difference-in-difference  
315 model described by equation (2). The interaction term ( $After_t M_i$ ) measures the difference  
316 in the changes in toxic releases over time. Results show that there has been a sizeable and  
317 statistically-significant decrease in the toxic releases of facilities with media attention in the  
318 years following the first publication of the TRI report. Compared to the pre-treatment years,  
319 facilities with media attention experienced a 54% decrease in releases over and above the  
320 decrease experienced by facilities without media attention. These estimates, which are  
321 surprisingly large, clearly show that facilities with media attention behave differently from  
322 the ones that did not receive any media attention.

323 In addition to the declines in toxic releases, Table 5 shows that wealthier  
324 neighborhoods along with those that had larger non-white or Hispanic populations, had  
325 fewer toxic releases. The magnitudes of the coefficients are small, but the estimates are

326 statistically highly significant, and the results are broadly consistent with other studies on  
327 environmental justice.

328         While the results in the first column of Table 5 are intriguing, it is important to  
329 remember that a difference-in-difference approach where the treatment group is selected  
330 endogenously does not indicate causality.<sup>8</sup> Unobserved characteristics may be correlated  
331 with both the decision to report about a facility and the level of releases. For example,  
332 establishments receiving media attention may well have also been receiving the attention of  
333 regulators.<sup>9</sup> Facilities with high releases may also represent older, less efficient  
334 manufacturing plants that were due for broad improvements even without media attention.  
335 So it is quite likely that some of the link between media attention and reductions in toxic  
336 releases are related in some non-causal way.

337

#### 338 *4.21 Alternative Specifications*

339         Given the concerns about robustness and endogeneity, we explore several alternative  
340 specifications for estimating the relationship between media attention and toxic releases.  
341 None of these estimations, which are reported in the remaining columns of table 5, solve the  
342 endogeneity problem. However, they do give insight into the degree that results are robust.  
343 Overall, the alternative specifications show a consistent negative relationship between the  
344 toxic releases and media attention, controlling for the overall downward trend in releases.  
345 The results are not always statistically significant, however. Given the relatively small  
346 sample of facilities that received media attention, alternative specifications, which typically

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<sup>8</sup> We were unable to find a satisfactory instrument. See Saha 2010 for discussion of a number of potential candidates.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, a number of articles in our data cite establishments for failing to submit TRI reports. While these establishments are generally small and not among the sample of large emitters used to estimate equation 2, such reporting failures are often discovered because of regulatory attention for some other matter.

347 reduce the sample even more, produce larger and less precisely measured confidence  
348 intervals.

349         The right-hand columns of Table 5 evaluate the robustness of the results to different  
350 measures of media attention and to an alternative estimation technique. Column 2  
351 disregards as media attention any newspaper or wire articles that mention more than 5  
352 facilities; a number of articles consisted of little more than a list of “biggest polluters” by  
353 state or region. Column 3 redefines equation 2 to account for three separate treatment  
354 effects: facilities that receive attention from newspapers, facilities that receive attention  
355 from newswires, and facilities that receive attention from both. Indicator variables for each  
356 of these three treatments are individually interacted with the measure “after.” Column 4  
357 uses a matching estimator to compare facilities with media attention to otherwise similar  
358 facilities without media attention.<sup>10</sup>

359         Columns 2-4 show that results are sensitive to how media attention is measured.  
360 When we discard articles that include long lists of facilities, the magnitude of the coefficient  
361 on the interaction term drop somewhat, from -.54 to -.45. It is now significant only at the 5%  
362 level. When we distinguish by type of media attention, attention from newswires has a  
363 strongly negative correlation to the change in toxic releases, but the magnitude of the  
364 coefficient is smaller for facilities appearing in just newspapers or in both types of news  
365 sources. The fact that both of these latter two coefficients are insignificant most likely  
366 reflects the limitations of small sample (only 39 of 500 facilities received attention from just  
367 newspapers). As a final check of robustness, we use a matching estimator. This allows us to  
368 compare the facilities with media attention to otherwise similar facilities that did not get

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<sup>10</sup> The estimate in table 5 is the average treatment effect of media attention on changes in future toxic releases between 1988 and 1990 using a Logit estimator and “nearest neighbor” matching.



369 media attention. Although it is statistically insignificant, the average treatment effect, -.47, is  
370 similar in magnitude to the difference in difference estimator from column 1.

371 Overall, Table 5 allows some broad conclusions. Facilities that receive media  
372 attention diminish their releases more than facilities without media attention. The  
373 magnitude of that difference is quite large: 54% in column 1. The magnitude is sensitive,  
374 however, to exactly how media attention is measured and to the type of estimator used.  
375 Furthermore, the observable characteristics of facilities with media attention are different  
376 from those without media attention. This raises the possibility that unobserved  
377 characteristics, which are correlated with media attention, might be driving decisions about  
378 toxic releases. From the estimations, we cannot be sure that media attention *causes* firms to  
379 reduce their toxic releases

380 However, having acknowledged the limitations of a difference-in-difference approach,  
381 it is worth highlighting that the texts of the article in our database *do* often point to a causal  
382 relationship. Articles frequently include quotations by company spokespersons, who would  
383 highlight plans for reducing releases. In fact, large emitters of toxic releases, like Monsanto,  
384 Union Carbide and Dow, announced initiatives, specifically in response to the negative  
385 publicity associated with the TRI, to drastically reduce production of toxic substances  
386 (Newsweek 1989; Rotman 1989).

387

## 388 **5. Conclusion**

389 The unconventional nature of the TRI program and the success attributed to it in  
390 reducing toxic emissions over two decades have made it a popular alternative to traditional  
391 environmental regulations. Although the media have played an important role in

392 disseminating TRI-based information, economists have neglected to study the role of the  
393 media in this regulatory framework. Looking back at media attention generated at the time  
394 the program was introduced, this study investigates the role that the TRI played in  
395 generating media responses and how firms receiving media attention behaved differently  
396 from those that did not.

397         The role of the print media is particularly interesting when viewed through the prism  
398 of environmental justice, since the TRI data has shown that poor and minority  
399 neighborhoods are disproportionately exposed to toxic releases. Racial composition and  
400 income status of the neighborhood matter very little in media reporting of TRI-related  
401 pollution news. However, the results reported here show that firms with media attention  
402 reduce toxic releases more than the untreated firms. Facilities in minority neighborhoods  
403 decreased emissions more than facilities in mostly white neighborhoods. Firms with media  
404 attention also tend to reduce emissions more in densely populated neighborhoods than  
405 other firms without media attention.

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526 **Table 1: Articles Related to Toxic Release Inventory**

<b>Total Articles (excluding those focused on noncompliance)</b>	<b>73</b>
Focused on biggest polluters nationwide	15
Focused on biggest polluters in State	19
Focused in metropolitan area, county or other sub-state geographical region.	27
Without geographic focus	12
Reference to NWF or NRDC reports	51
Company spokesperson from at least one polluting facility quoted	29
Emphasis on reductions in toxic releases	3
Newspaper articles	19
Newswire articles	54
Median number of facilities cited per article	4
Median words per article	618
Articles focused on fines for noncompliance (excluded)	11

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**Table 2: Summary Statistics by Zip Code**

	Zip codes identified in 1990 US Census	Zip codes with TRI facility	Zip codes with TRI facility receiving media attention
Total number of zip codes	29,290	7,003	295
Mean (across zip codes) values for:			
Percentage of population that is nonwhite & not Hispanic	14.11	22.73	24.74
Percentage of population that is Hispanic	4.41	7.76	6.58
Median household income	\$27,274	\$27,447	\$26,370
Population density (per square mile)	3.45	8.94	5.69

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534 **Table 3: Summary Statistics by facility**

	Full Sample		Top 500 Facilities	
	Facilities not receiving media attention.	Facilities receiving media attention	Facilities not receiving media attention	Facilities receiving media attention
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,797</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>137</b>
Mentioned in 1 article		242		85
Mentioned in 2 articles		45		24
Mentioned in 3-4 articles		28		21
Mentioned in 5-6 articles		8		4
Mentioned in 7+ articles		3		3
Chemicals	3,510	111	64	73
Primary Metals	1,511	45	115	22
Paper	631	27	114	23
Petroleum	315	10	132	5
Transportation	944	21	135	2
Other manufacturing	11,886	112	125	12
Northeast	4,089	78	114	23
			112	25
Midwest	6,422	66		
South	5,480	151	60	77
West	2,806	31	125	12
Annual Sales (million \$)			10,560	14,867
Cost of Inputs (million \$)			7,412	10,279
R&D (millions \$)			341	568

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537 **Table 4: Predictors of Media Attention for 1987 Toxic Releases**  
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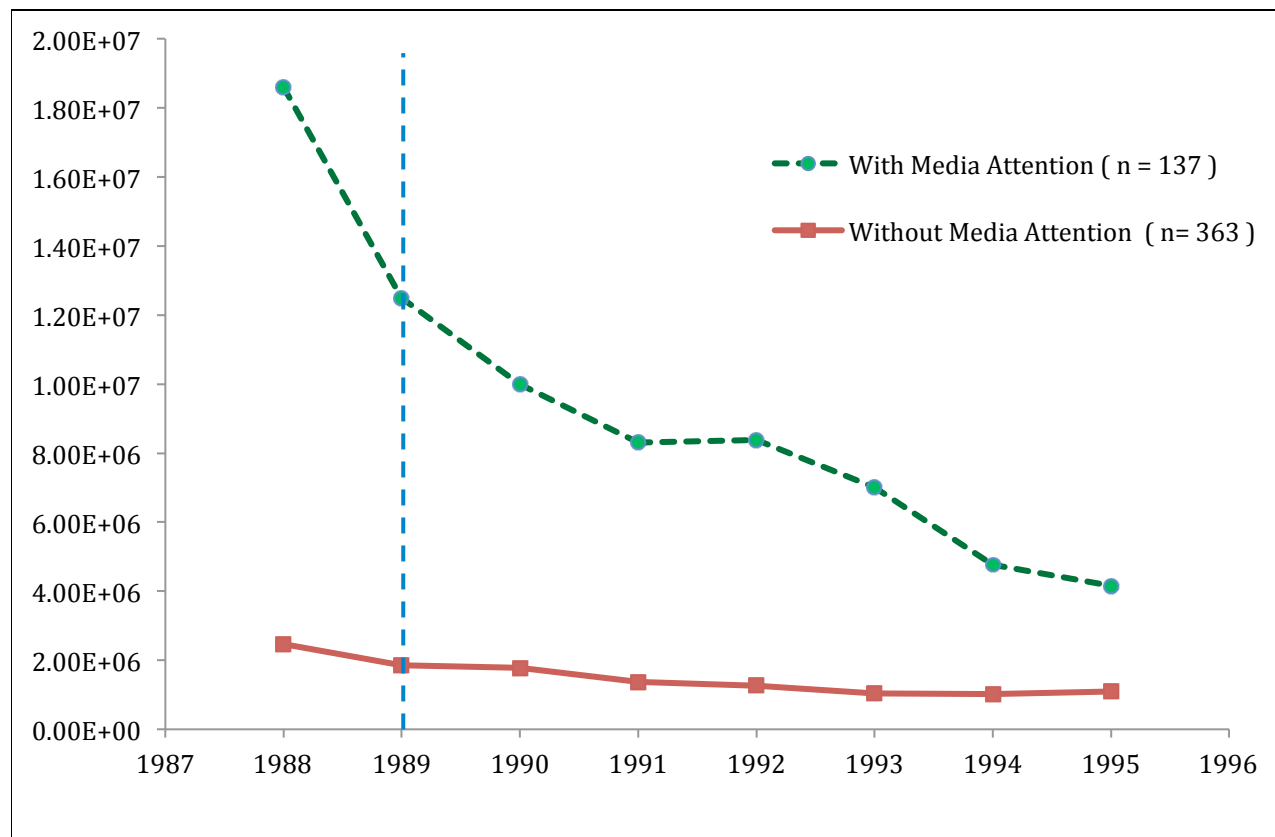
VARIABLES	<i>Articles</i>	Inflate	<i>Wwords</i>
<i>AIR</i> (in pounds)	0.0633*** (0.013)	-2.5262*** (0.559)	29.4223*** (8.097)
<i>WATER</i> (in pounds)	-0.0034** (0.001)	-0.0746** (0.033)	-0.3416 (0.358)
<i>LAND</i> (in pounds)	0.0084*** (0.002)	-0.3312** (0.149)	4.7917*** (0.652)
<i>UNDER</i> (in pounds)	0.0100*** (0.003)	-0.0872 (0.086)	2.5644*** (0.884)
<i>OFFSITE</i> (in pounds)	0.0494*** (0.013)	-0.2665*** (0.068)	24.6061*** (4.993)
<i>FORMR</i> (Number of Form-Rs)	0.0209*** (0.007)	-0.0275** (0.012)	19.1371*** (3.512)
<i>CHEMICALS</i> (Dummy Variable)	0.1012 (0.166)		25.7722 (26.142)
<i>PRIMARY METALS</i> (Dummy Variable)	0.3762* (0.204)		74.5444** (35.421)
<i>PAPER</i> (Dummy Variable)	-0.1507 (0.236)		126.182*** (38.042)
<i>PETROLEUM</i> (Dummy Variable)	-0.9964*** (0.361)		-199.4569** (95.511)
<i>TRANSPORTATION</i> (Dummy Variable)	-0.0912 (0.249)		71.4192* (37.278)
<i>POPN</i> (Logarithm of Population Density)	0.0167 (0.040)		-2.1714 (6.107)
<i>INCOME</i> (Logarithm of Median Household Income)	0.2758 (0.219)		0.7906 (32.967)
<i>HISPANIC</i> (Percentage of Total Population)	0.0022 (0.005)		-0.4266 (0.891)
<i>NONWHITE</i> (Percentage of Total Population)	0.0050 (0.003)		-0.0034 (0.491)
<i>NORTHEAST</i> (Dummy Variable)	0.4710* (0.242)		75.5536** (37.316)
<i>MIDWEST</i> (Dummy Variable)	-0.3099 (0.238)		-34.5987 (35.911)
<i>SOUTH</i> (Dummy Variable)	0.1605 (0.222)		72.7050* (39.258)

539 Columns 1 and 2 report values for a zero-inflated negative binomial with the coefficient estimates in column 1 and column 2 reporting the  
 540 estimates of the probit model to predict whether or not media attention is a certain zero. The Vuong test statistic for ZINB vs. standard  
 541 negative binomial is  $z = 9.15$ . Column 3 reports results from Tobit estimation with the number of words (weighted by the number of  
 542 facilities mentioned in each article) as the dependent variable. All estimations show robust standard errors clustered by zip code in  
 543 parentheses. There are 7,003 zip code clusters. . Total number of observations = 19,123. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$  and \*  $p < 0.1$ .



544 **Figure 1: Annual Mean Emissions of Top 500 TRI facilities by Media Attention, 1988-**  
545 **1995**

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551 **Table 5: Difference-in-Difference Estimation Results**

	1	2	3	4
<i>MEDIA ATTENTION</i>	1.790*** (0.184)	1.666*** (0.203)	--	
<i>MEDIA ATTENTION : Average Treatment Effect</i>				-0.468 (.351)
<i>NEWSWIRE</i>	--	--	1.680*** (0.224)	
<i>NEWSPAPER</i>	--	--	1.366*** (0.523)	
<i>BOTH PAPER &amp; WIRE</i>	--	--	-0.478 (0.699)	
<i>MEDIA ATTENTION * POST1989</i>	-0.540*** (0.201)	-0.454** (0.218)	--	
<i>NEWSWIRE*POST89</i>	--	--	-0.467* (0.240)	
<i>NEWSPAPER*POST89</i>	--	--	-0.197 (0.563)	
<i>BOTH*POST89</i>	--	--	-0.425 (0.752)	
<i>NONWHITE (% of Total Pop.)</i>	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.010*** (0.002)	
<i>HISPANIC (% of Total Pop.)</i>	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	
<i>MEDIAN INCOME</i>	-0.292** (0.128)	-0.271** (0.132)	-0.311** (0.131)	
<i>POP DENSITY</i>	-0.178*** (0.024)	-0.189*** (0.023)	-0.173*** (0.023)	
<i>CHEMICAL INDUSTRY</i>	0.712*** (0.117)	0.739*** (0.102)	0.712*** (0.102)	
<i>PRIMARY METALS</i>	1.053*** (0.144)	1.116*** (0.129)	1.044*** (0.129)	
<i>PAPER</i>	1.085*** (0.124)	1.080*** (0.119)	1.095*** (0.119)	
<i>PETROLEUM</i>	1.665*** (0.138)	1.664*** (0.169)	1.677*** (0.169)	
<i>TRANSPORTATION</i>	1.090*** (0.197)	1.118*** (0.285)	1.054*** (0.284)	
<i>NORTHEAST</i>	-0.765*** (0.136)	-0.777*** (0.145)	-0.768*** (0.144)	
<i>MIDWEST</i>	0.125 (0.133)	0.123 (0.126)	0.123 (0.125)	
<i>SOUTH</i>	0.372*** (0.126)	0.344*** (0.116)	0.379*** (0.115)	
<i>ANNUAL SALES (LOG)</i>	0.132*** (0.031)	0.125*** (0.031)	0.132*** (0.031)	
<i>AVG. COST OF INPUTS (LOG)</i>	0.363* (0.226)	0.308 (0.208)	0.385* (0.208)	
<i>RND INTENSITY (LOG)</i>	0.071 (0.051)	0.063 (0.055)	0.080 (0.055)	
Observations	3430	3430	3430	
R-Squared	0.22	0.21	0.22	

552 Columns 1-3 report results from difference in difference estimations, including year indicators for 1990-95. Column 1 uses  
553 the full sample of establishments. Column 2 excludes media attention for any articles mentioning more than 5 facilities.  
554 Column 3 identifies separate treatment effects by type of media. Column 4 reports the average treatment effect of media  
555 attention on changes in future toxic releases between 1988 and 1990 using a Logit estimator and "nearest neighbor"  
556 matching. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1