

1 **Unusually devastating tornadoes in the United States: 1995–2016**

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## ABSTRACT

7 Previous research has identified a number of physical, socioeconomic, and  
8 demographic factors related to tornado casualty rates. However, there remains  
9 gaps in the understanding of community-level vulnerabilities to tornadoes.  
10 Here a framework for systematically identifying the most unusually devas-  
11 tating tornadoes, defined as those where the observed number of casualties  
12 far exceeds the predicted number, is provided. Results show that unusually  
13 devastating tornadoes occur anywhere tornadoes occur in the United States,  
14 but rural areas across the Southeast appear most to be most frequented. Four  
15 examples of unusually devastating tornadoes are examined in more detail.  
16 Results highlight that cities and towns impacted by unusually devastating tor-  
17 nadoes have their own socioeconomic and demographic profiles. Identifying  
18 geographic clusters of unusually devastating tornadoes builds a foundation to  
19 address community-level causes of destruction and that supports ethnographic  
20 and qualitative studies of place-based vulnerability.

## 21 **1. Introduction**

22 Tornadoes are one of the deadliest weather-related hazards in the United States. Wind energy  
23 and population density explain a large portion of the casualty rates (Ashley et al. 2014; Ashley  
24 and Strader 2016; Fricker et al. 2017a; Elsner et al. 2018), but socioeconomic and demographic  
25 factors also play a role (Bohonos and Hogan 1999; Mitchem 2003; Simmons and Sutter 2005,  
26 2008, 2009; Donner 2007; Ashley 2007; Dixon and Moore 2012; Donner et al. 2012; Lim et al.  
27 2017). For example, Simmons and Sutter (2005, 2008, 2009) find that casualties increase with  
28 an increase in the percentage of mobile homes in an area affected. Other known factors include  
29 time of day (Simmons and Sutter 2005, 2008, 2009; Ashley et al. 2008), and day of occurrence  
30 (workday or weekend) (Zahran et al. 2013).

31 Identifying the physical, socioeconomic, and demographic factors related to tornado casualty  
32 rates is critical for understanding human vulnerability to these potentially devastating events.  
33 However, there remains a gap in our knowledge around why some communities are particularly  
34 vulnerable to tornadoes. For example, the Spencer, South Dakota tornado of 30 May, 1998 resulted  
35 in six deaths and 150 injuries, which, when combined, is nearly half of the town's population.

36 In an effort to fill this knowledge gap, here a framework for systematically identifying the most  
37 unusually devastating tornadoes is provided. We begin by defining unusually devastating torna-  
38 does. This is done with the help of a statistical model for predicting per-tornado casualty rates.  
39 Next, the set of unusually devastating tornadoes since 1995 are identified by examining the differ-  
40 ence between what is predicted from the statistical model and what was observed on the ground.  
41 More specifically, after statistically controlling for the known physical and socioeconomic deter-  
42 minants of casualties, we identify what tornadoes were unusual in producing more casualties than

43 expected based on where they hit. In addition, we discuss examples of locations that were hit with  
44 unusually devastating tornadoes.

45 The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the factors related to tornado casualties that  
46 past researchers have identified as important in explaining the rates. It describes how statistical  
47 regression models have recently been used in this regard. Section 3 defines an unusually devastat-  
48 ing tornado (UDT) as one where there is a large difference between how many casualties occurred  
49 and what the statistical model predicts given the physical and demographic factors. It describes  
50 the model and data used to identify UDTs and then examines their spatial distribution. Section 4  
51 provides examples of unusually devastating tornadoes, and Section 5 summarizes the work.

## 52 **2. Factors Related to the Number of Casualties**

53 Tornadoes kill and injure around one thousand people, on average, in the United States each  
54 year. Previous research has identified physical factors that impact the rate of tornado casualties.  
55 These include the maximum damage rating (Fujita/Enhanced Fujita (F/EF) scale), the tornado  
56 damage path length, and the strength, or energy dissipation, of the tornado. For example, Ashley  
57 (2007) finds that tornadoes categorized with a high maximum damage rating (F scale) produce the  
58 vast majority of tornadoes fatalities, while Fricker et al. (2017b) find that tornadoes with a high  
59 maximum damage rating (EF scale) represent a disproportionate number of casualty-producing  
60 tornadoes relative to the total number of tornadoes. In addition, Simmons and Sutter (2005, 2008,  
61 2009) and Lim et al. (2017) find that as tornado damage path length increases, so does the num-  
62 ber of tornado casualties. Quantitatively, Fricker et al. (2017a) show that a doubling of tornado  
63 strength, represented as an estimate of energy dissipation, leads to a 33% increase in the rate of  
64 tornado casualties.

65 Previous research has also identified a number of socioeconomic and demographic factors that  
66 impact the rate of tornado casualties. These include the number of people in harm's way, the type  
67 of housing stock present (permanent or mobile), and the age and income of the population within  
68 the damage path. For instance, Simmons and Sutter (2008, 2009) and Fricker et al. (2017a) find  
69 that the number of tornado casualties increases with population density. Similarly, Simmons and  
70 Sutter (2005, 2008, 2009) find that the number of tornado casualties increases with the percentage  
71 of mobile homes within an area. This result is further supported by Ashley (2007), who notes that  
72 nearly half of all tornado fatalities between 1985–2005 occurred in mobile homes. Bohonos and  
73 Hogan (1999) posit that the number of tornado casualties may increase with age, due to the elderly  
74 being less likely to receive warning and being less mobile and more likely to have health issues  
75 (Kilijanek and Drabek 1979; Bolin and Klenow 1983; Cutter et al. 2000; Dixon and Moore 2012).

76 Additional factors such as race, poverty, education, and the number of female headed households  
77 have been linked to the rate of tornado casualties as well. Donner (2007) hypothesizes that African-  
78 Americans are likely more vulnerable to tornado casualties, in part, because they may have more  
79 difficulty understanding warning messages (Mitchem 2003). Lim et al. (2017) find that wealthier  
80 communities experience fewer tornado casualties and that female-headed households are more  
81 vulnerable to tornado casualties than two-parent households or male-headed households, both of  
82 which are consistent with previous natural hazard research (Bosworth 1999; Anbarci et al. 2005;  
83 Kahn 2005; Enarson et al. 2007).

84 Multiple regression models are used to determine what factors are important in statistically ex-  
85 plaining casualties and to quantify the effect a single factor has on casualties while controlling  
86 for the effect of other factors. For example, using county-level socioeconomic and demographic  
87 data with a straight line model for the tornado 'footprint' Simmons and Sutter (2014) predict  
88 per-tornado fatalities of events during the active 2011 season. Fricker et al. (2017a) use a more

89 detailed model for the tornado footprint and produce tornado-level estimates of energy dissipation  
90 and population with a dasymetric approach on grid-level data. They find that the rate of tornado  
91 casualties increases with population and energy dissipation and label the regression coefficients  
92 the population and energy elasticity, respectively. Masoomi and van de Lindt (2018) use a similar  
93 detailed footprint model to produce tornado-level estimates of population and housing units from  
94 Census block-level data and improve on the predictive skill of Simmons and Sutter (2014) using  
95 the maximum damage rating, path length, and the number of people within the damage path as  
96 fixed effects. More recently, Elsner et al. (2018) improve on the Fricker et al. (2017a) model by  
97 including an interaction between energy dissipation and population density. They find that the  
98 energy elasticity increases significantly with population density and that the population elasticity  
99 increases significantly with energy dissipation.

### 100 **3. Unusually Devastating Tornadoes**

#### 101 *a. Definition*

102 Knowing the physical, demographic, and environmental factors that influence casualty rates pro-  
103 vides guidance on how to communicate the risk across a broad segment of society. For example,  
104 the regression model of Elsner et al. (2018) predicts a casualty rate of 20 people (per casualty-  
105 producing tornado) for a 100 GW tornado affecting an area with a population density of 1500  
106 people per square kilometer. This predicted rate represents the average, or expected, count given  
107 specific values for the factors without regards to where the tornado occurs. However, local, place-  
108 based, factors are also usually important in mitigating or amplifying casualty rates. To locate  
109 places where local factors might be particularly important we examine the residuals from a re-

110 regression model and define an unusually devastating tornado as one where the observed number of  
111 casualties substantially exceeds the predicted rate.

112 More formally, let  $C_T$  be the observed casualty count for tornado  $T$  and  $\hat{C}_T$  be the predicted  
113 casualty rate for the same tornado from a regression model  $f$  involving known tornado-level factors  
114  $\mathbf{x}_T$  (e.g. population density, energy dissipation, number of mobile homes, etc). We then define an  
115 unusually devastating tornado as one in which the difference between  $C_T$  and  $\hat{C}_T$  is large ( $L$ ) (see  
116 Eq.1).

$$\text{UDT}_T = C_T - \hat{C}_T > L \quad (1a)$$

$$\hat{C}_T \sim f(\mathbf{x}_T), \quad (1b)$$

117  
118 In what follows we fit a regression model to the casualty counts and examine the differences  
119 between what the model predicts and what actually occurred. We are particularly interested in  
120 where the difference between the observed count and the predicted count is large.

### 121 *b. Model and data*

122 We fit a log-linear regression model to the casualty count of all casualty-producing tornadoes  
123 occurring in the United States between 1995–2016. The model is described in detail in Elsner  
124 et al. (2018) and includes energy dissipation and population density as the two most important  
125 factors that statistically explain casualties. Energy dissipation (in watts) is defined as the product  
126 of path area, air density, and the weighted sum of the velocity cubed. The summation is over  
127 the six possible damage ratings and the weights are the fractions of path area by damage rating.  
128 Velocities are set as the midpoint wind speed defined by the EF scale (Fricker et al. 2014; Fricker

129 and Elsner 2015; Fricker et al. 2017a; Elsner et al. 2018). Population density is the number of  
130 people per square kilometer within the damage path of the tornado.

131 Here the model of Elsner et al. (2018) is expanded to include the number of mobile homes within  
132 the path and the year of occurrence as additional fixed effects and month and hour of occurrence  
133 as random effects. Month and hour of occurrence are included as random effects to capture the  
134 cyclic change in energy at these respective time scales (Fig. 1). The coefficients of month and  
135 hour of occurrence are vectors of length 12 and 24, respectively. The number of mobile homes  
136 are estimated using a dasymetric method similar to the procedure used in Fricker et al. (2017b),  
137 where weighted estimates of mobile homes are made for each fraction of the tornado path and  
138 summed for the entire tornado path.

139 Formally, the model is given by

$$\begin{aligned} \ln(C) = & \ln(\beta_0) + \beta_P \ln(P) + \beta_E \ln(E) + \beta_{P \cdot E} [\ln(P) \cdot \ln(E)] + \beta_Y Y \\ & + \beta_{MH} MH + \beta_{MO}(1|MO) + \beta_{HR}(1|HR) \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

140 where  $P$  is the population density in people per square kilometer,  $E$  is energy dissipation in watts,  
141  $Y$  is the year of occurrence,  $MH$  is the estimated number of mobile homes, and  $MO$  and  $HR$  are  
142 the month and hour of occurrence, respectively.

143 Our modeling approach is similar to that of recent work that examines factors related to tornado  
144 casualties (Donner 2007; Simmons and Sutter 2008, 2011; Zahran et al. 2013; Lim et al. 2017).  
145 However, here we use tornado energy rather than EF rating or total damage as an indicator of  
146 tornado strength and we focus on factors influencing the casualty rate among those tornadoes  
147 producing at least one casualty.

148 Tornado report information is from the Storm Prediction Center's (SPC) historical tornado  
149 database, which is compiled from the National Weather Service (NWS) *Storm Data* and reviewed



150 by the National Centers for Environmental Information (NCEI) (Verbout et al. 2006). The start  
151 year for this study coincides with the period of record where maximum path width was adopted  
152 by NWS. The end year for this study is the most currently available to the authors at the time of  
153 analysis. Population and mobile home data are obtained from the United States Census Bureau  
154 and American Community Survey (ACS), which is a nationwide survey that collects and produces  
155 information on demographic, social, economic, and housing characteristics each year.

156 The Pearson correlation coefficient between the observed and predicted rate of casualties for all  
157 casualty-producing tornadoes in the study is .50, indicating a moderately good relationship. When  
158 a subset of the largest casualty-producing tornadoes—tornadoes causing 25 or more casualties—is  
159 considered, the relationship becomes stronger (Fig. 2). This suggests that the model is adequate  
160 for assessing UDTs.

### 161 *c. Where UDTs occur*

162 For the set of casualty-producing tornadoes (2198 tornadoes) over the period, the model under  
163 predicted the observed count for 491 tornadoes. Of these 491, 101 were under predicted by ten  
164 or more casualties, while 43 (90th percentile) were under predicted by 22 or more casualties. A  
165 tornado that results in an under prediction at the 90th percentile is defined here as an UDT. For  
166 example, given the storm's energy and the demographic profile in its path the 26 December, 2015  
167 Garland-Rowlett, Texas tornado has an expected casualty rate of 81. The tornado produced 478  
168 casualties, which is a difference of 397 casualties so it is categorized as an UDT. Nine of the top  
169 ten UTDs ranked by the difference in predicted and observed casualty rates (Table 1) resulted in  
170 more than 100 casualties. The Joplin, Missouri tornado of 22 May, 2011 stands out as the most  
171 UDT. Given estimates of physical and socioeconomic factors, the model predicts a casualty rate  
172 of 131 people. In fact, the tornado produced 1308 casualties—a difference of 1177 casualties.

173 Unusually devastating tornadoes can occur anywhere in the United States where a tornado im-  
174 pacts a populated area (Fig. 3). However rural areas across the Southeast appear to be where  
175 we find more unusually devastating tornadoes. Indeed, six of the top ten UDTs ranked by the  
176 difference in predicted and observed casualty rates occur in the Southeast (Arkansas, Alabama,  
177 Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina). Two of the top ten occurred in Texas, and one of the  
178 top ten occurred in both Missouri and in South Dakota.

#### 179 **4. Examples of Unusually Devastating Tornadoes**

180 Highlighting examples of unusually devastating tornadoes provides further evidence that UDTs  
181 can occur anywhere in the United States. Here four examples of unusually devastating tornadoes  
182 are investigated: (1) the 1998 Spencer, South Dakota tornado, (2) the 2015 Garland-Rowlett,  
183 Texas tornado, (3) the 2000 and 2003 Camilla, Georgia tornadoes, and (4) the 2011 Smithville,  
184 Mississippi/Shottsville, Alabama tornado. The impacted cities range from a small rural town in  
185 the northern Great Plains, to small cities and towns in the Southeast, to mid-size urban/suburban  
186 cities in the southern Great Plains. These cities have their own individual socioeconomic and  
187 demographic profiles, yet were all hit by tornadoes that caused more casualties than expected  
188 given a model for tornado casualties.

##### 189 *a. Spencer, South Dakota*

190 Spencer is a rural town in southeast South Dakota (Fig. 4). As of the 2010 Census, Spencer had  
191 a population of 154 people, including 60 households, and 47 families. The age structure of the city  
192 is 30% under the age of 18; 2% from 18 to 24, 19% from 25 to 44, 25% from 45 to 64, and 24%  
193 over the age of 65 years. The racial makeup of the city is 97% White and 1% African American.  
194 About 7% of families and 11% of the total population are below the poverty line.

195 Spencer was hit by a violent tornado (EF4) on 30 May, 1998. The tornado killed six people  
196 and injured more than one third of the city's residents. It also destroyed most of the 190 buildings  
197 in town and resulted in \$18 million in property damage. The tornado was part of a supercell  
198 thunderstorm that produced 5 tornadoes during a one hour period.

199 The 1998 Spencer, South Dakota storm started at approximately 7:35pm Eastern Standard  
200 Time (EST) southwest of Wessington Springs, South Dakota—about 60 miles west-northwest  
201 of Spencer. The storm almost immediately split into left and right moving cells with the right  
202 moving cell becoming a mid-level mesocyclone at 9:26pm EST. By 9:28pm EST, Sioux Falls  
203 radar (WSR-88D) had indicated a hook echo and well-defined rotation. From 9:23pm–9:37pm  
204 EST, the Spencer tornado tracked through farmland, within 1 mile of the town of Farmer, before  
205 striking the town of Spencer. The city of Spencer experienced violent tornado conditions from  
206 9:38pm–9:39pm EST, before the storm dissipated at 10:10pm EST.

207 *b. Garland-Rowlett, Texas*

208 Garland and Rowlett are two mid-size cities in the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex in north Texas  
209 (Fig. 4). As of the 2010 Census, Garland had a population of 226,876 people, including 75,696  
210 households and 56,272 families. The age structure of the city is 29% under the age of 18, 10%  
211 from 18 to 24, 28% from 25 to 44, 25% from 45 to 64, and 9% over the age of 65. The racial  
212 makeup of the city is 58% White, 15% African American, and 9% Asian. The median household  
213 income in the city is \$52,441, and about 11% of families and 14% of the total population are below  
214 the poverty line.

215 As of the 2010 Census, Rowlett had a population of 56,310 people, including 22,875 households,  
216 and 17,275 families. The age structure of the city is 34% under the age of 18, 6% from 18 to 24,  
217 37% from 25 to 44, 19% from 45 to 64, and 5% over the age of 65. The racial makeup of the

218 city is The racial makeup of the city is 78% White, 9% African American, and 4% Asian. The  
219 median household income in the city is \$100,872, and only about 2% of families and 3% of the  
220 total population are below the poverty line.

221 Garland and Rowlett were hit by a violent tornado (EF4) on 26 December, 2015. The tornado  
222 killed 10 and injured more than 400 people, while producing \$26 million in property damage. It  
223 was part of the north Texas tornado outbreak of 26 December, 2015 that produced 12 tornadoes,  
224 causing 13 fatalities across eight north and central Texas counties.

225 The 2015 Garland-Rowlett, Texas tornadic storm formed near Hillsboro around 7:00pm EST.  
226 The storm strengthened as it moved north-northeast through Waxahachie at 7:45pm EST, spawning  
227 two tornadoes just south of Dallas. As the storm moved north of Dallas, it again became tornadic  
228 near Sunnyvale passing through the cities of Garland and Rowlett between 8:46pm–9:02pm EST,  
229 before dissipating around McKinney at 9:30pm EST.

230 *c. Camilla, Georgia*

231 Camilla is a small city in southwest Georgia (Fig. 4). As of the 2010 Census, Camilla had a  
232 population of 5360. The age structure of Camilla is 30% under the age of 18, 11% from 18 to 24,  
233 27% from 25 to 44, 19% from 45 to 64, and 13% over the age of 65. The city's median property  
234 value is \$81,600 and 28% of all housing units in the city are low income properties. The racial  
235 makeup of the town is 70% African American and 25% White. The median household income  
236 in the town is \$22,485, and about 35% of families and 38% of the total population are below the  
237 poverty line.

238 Camilla was hit by two significant tornadoes in the early 2000s, both occurring in the early  
239 morning and both traveling through the southeast side of town. The first tornado (EF3) occurred  
240 on 13 February, 2000 and resulted in 186 casualties. According to the American Red Cross (ARC)

241 and Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 200 homes were destroyed and 250 homes  
242 were damaged resulting in \$20 million in property damage. The second tornado (EF3) occurred  
243 on 20 March, 2003 and resulted in 206 casualties. It took a similar path to the 2000 tornado and  
244 according to the ARC and FEMA destroyed 66 homes while damaging another 200.

245 The 2000 Camilla, Georgia tornado was part of the larger southwest Georgia tornado outbreak  
246 of 13–14 February, 2000. Beginning Sunday evening, and continuing into the early morning hours  
247 of Monday, the National Weather Service (NWS) Tallahassee issued 52 severe weather warnings,  
248 including 25 tornado warnings. During the outbreak, three deadly tornadoes occurred, causing 19  
249 fatalities across three Georgia counties.

250 The 2000 Camilla tornadic storm came ashore in extreme southeast Walton County, Florida at  
251 around 8:30pm EST. The storm weakened as it crossed Lake Seminole, the dividing line between  
252 Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, around 11:00pm EST, before strengthening near the boundary  
253 of Seminole County, Georgia. The storm became tornadic around 11:42pm near Branchville,  
254 remaining tornadic as it passed just south of Camilla before dissipating east-northeast of the city  
255 around 12:05am EST.

256 The 2003 Camilla, Georgia tornado was part of the larger 20 March, 2003 outbreak in northern  
257 Florida and southwestern Georgia, which included two deadly tornadoes. These two tornadoes  
258 caused six fatalities, hundreds of injuries, and a path of destruction that extended from the Florida  
259 Panhandle coast all the way into central Georgia.

260 The 2003 Camilla tornadic storm initially came ashore in extreme southwest Bay County,  
261 Florida, at approximately 2:30am EST. The cell rapidly developed circulation and may have be-  
262 come tornadic in the northern part of the county. The storm destroyed a home in Fountain, Florida  
263 around 3:07am EST before continuing across the northeastern Florida Panhandle into Jackson  
264 County, Florida where the first confirmed tornado occurred. The parent storm again became tor-

265 nadic as it crossed into Mitchell County impacting the city of Camilla at around 5:12am EST,  
266 before dissipating east-northeast of the city around 5:30am EST.

267 *d. Smithville, Mississippi/Shottsville, Alabama*

268 Smithville, Mississippi and Shottsville, Alabama are two rural towns near the northern  
269 Mississippi-Alabama border (Fig. 4). As of the 2010 Census, Smithville had a population of  
270 942 people, including 365 households. The age structure of the city is 24% under the age of 18,  
271 10% from 18 to 24, 25% from 25 to 44, 25% from 45 to 64, and 16% over the age of 65. The racial  
272 makeup of the city is 96% White and 2% Africa American. The median household income in the  
273 city is \$32,583, and about 7% of families and 11% of the total population are below the poverty  
274 line.

275 As of the 2010 Census, Shottsville was an unincorporated town in Marion County, Alabama  
276 which had not participated in any Census or other population survey. If we assume Marion County  
277 as a representative sample of Shottsville, the age structure of the town is 22% under the age of 18,  
278 8% from 18 to 24, 24% from 25 to 44, 28% from 45 to 64, and 18% over the age of 65. The racial  
279 makeup of th town is 94% White and 4% African American. The median household income in the  
280 town is \$32,769, and about 13% of families and 18% of the total population are below the poverty  
281 line.

282 Smithville and Shottsville were hit by a violent tornado (EF5) on April 27, 2011. The tornado  
283 killed 23 and injured 137 people. It was part of the Super Outbreak of 25–28 April, 2011 that  
284 produced 360 tornadoes, causing 324 fatalities and over 3100 injuries.

285 The 2011 Smithville, Mississippi/Shottsville, Alabama tornado formed a few miles west-  
286 southwest of Smithville along the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway at 3:42pm EST. The storm  
287 strengthened as it moved toward and through Smithville, reaching EF5 intensity. It continued

288 northeast across the Alabama state line into Marion County, where it weakened as it moved near  
289 the small town of Bexar. The storm again strengthened as it struck the town of Shottsville around  
290 4:00pm EST, before dissipating near Hodges at 4:23pm EST.

## 291 **5. Summary**

292 Broad-scale factors that contribute to the number of tornado casualties are well understood.  
293 These factors range from physical variables, such as wind energy and EF category (Ashley 2007;  
294 Fricker et al. 2017a), to socioeconomic and demographic variables, such as population and the  
295 number of mobile homes (Simmons and Sutter 2008, 2009). Place-based factors that contribute to  
296 the number of tornado casualties have yet to be systematically examined. For example, research  
297 committed to uncovering the shared histories—both archival and oral histories— of communities  
298 (McCreary 2018) at risk to high rates of tornado casualties does not exist. Neither does work  
299 centered around the lines of labor (e.g. labor displacements) and housing (e.g. post-reconstruction  
300 housing) that exist and potentially influence the susceptibility of these areas to large counts of  
301 tornado casualties.

302 Here a model for tornado casualties is used to define unusually devastating tornadoes and to  
303 identify where they cluster. The model builds on the work of Fricker et al. (2017a) and Elsner  
304 et al. (2018), but is similar to that of recent work that examines factors related to tornado casualties  
305 (Donner 2007; Simmons and Sutter 2008, 2011; Zahran et al. 2013; Lim et al. 2017). Given the  
306 Pearson correlation coefficient between the observed and predicted rate of casualties at .50, the  
307 model appears adequate for assessing UDTs and is useful for identifying where UDTs occur most  
308 often.

309 Adding variables to the model will certainly increase the explanatory power of the model, but it is  
310 not clear that doing so would bring us closer to answering questions about *why* some communities

311 are more prone to high tornado casualty rates. One way to attack this question is to ground future  
312 work in the communities in which unusually devastating tornadoes tend to cluster or reappear. This  
313 can be done, in part, through research using ethnographic and other qualitative methodologies  
314 (Sherman-Morris 2009; Senkbeil et al. 2012, 2013; Klockow et al. 2014; Ash 2016; Ellis et al.  
315 2018; Mason et al. 2018).

316 While unusually devastating tornadoes can occur anywhere in the United States, there appears  
317 to be a consistent presence of UDTs across rural portions of the Southeast. In fact, six of the top  
318 ten UDTs ranked by the difference in predicted and observed casualty rates occur in the Southeast  
319 (Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina), in small cities and towns not  
320 known as urban centers. Two of the top ten occurred in Texas, and one of the top ten occurred in  
321 Missouri and in South Dakota.

322 Four examples of unusually devastating tornadoes are further examined. These include (1) the  
323 1998 Spencer, South Dakota tornado, (2) the 2015 Garland-Rowlett, Texas tornado, (3) the 2000  
324 and 2003 Camilla, Georgia tornadoes, and (4) the 2011 Smithville, Mississippi/Shottsville, Al-  
325 abama tornado. The impacted cities range from a small rural town in the northern Great Plains,  
326 to small cities and towns in the Southeast, to mid-size urban/suburban cities in the southern Great  
327 Plains. These cities have their own individual socioeconomic and demographic profiles, yet are  
328 similar in that they were hit by tornadoes that caused more casualties than expected given a model  
329 for tornado casualties.

330 By identifying clusters of unusually devastating tornadoes, this research provides a foundation to  
331 address community-level causes of destruction. These factors might include the history of tornado  
332 occurrence (physical risk), the NWS county warning area, lines of labor (e.g. labor displacements),  
333 or lines of housing (e.g. history of mobile homes). Though it is unlikely that all areas impacted  
334 by UDTs have the same shortcomings in public safety or in other potential causes of vulnerability



335 (e.g. poverty rates, etc.), it is possible that some areas, particularly those communities experiencing  
336 multiple UDTs suffer from more systematic issues.

337 *Acknowledgments.* The code used to produce the tables and graphs is available at [https://](https://github.com/tfricker/Casualty-Risk-Model)  
338 [github.com/tfricker/Casualty-Risk-Model](https://github.com/tfricker/Casualty-Risk-Model).

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448 **LIST OF TABLES**

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451 TABLE 1. Top ten unusually devastating tornadoes ranked by the difference in predicted and observed casualty  
 452 rates.

| Location                         | Date (Day-Month-Year) | Observed | Predicted | Difference (Observed - Predicted) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| Joplin, MO                       | 22-05-2011            | 1308     | 131       | 1177                              |
| Garland-Rowlett, TX              | 26-12-2015            | 478      | 81        | 397                               |
| Gainesville, GA                  | 20-03-1998            | 183      | 10        | 173                               |
| Camilla, GA                      | 13-02-2000            | 186      | 20        | 166                               |
| Camilla, GA                      | 20-03-2003            | 206      | 46        | 160                               |
| Spencer, SD                      | 30-05-1998            | 156      | 22        | 134                               |
| Smithville, MS/Shottsville, AL   | 27-04-2011            | 160      | 41        | 119                               |
| Columbus County, NC              | 07-11-1995            | 122      | 3         | 119                               |
| Copeville, TX                    | 26-12-2015            | 121      | 6         | 115                               |
| Marmaduke, AR/Caruthersville, MO | 02-04-2006            | 179      | 90        | 89                                |



453 **LIST OF FIGURES**

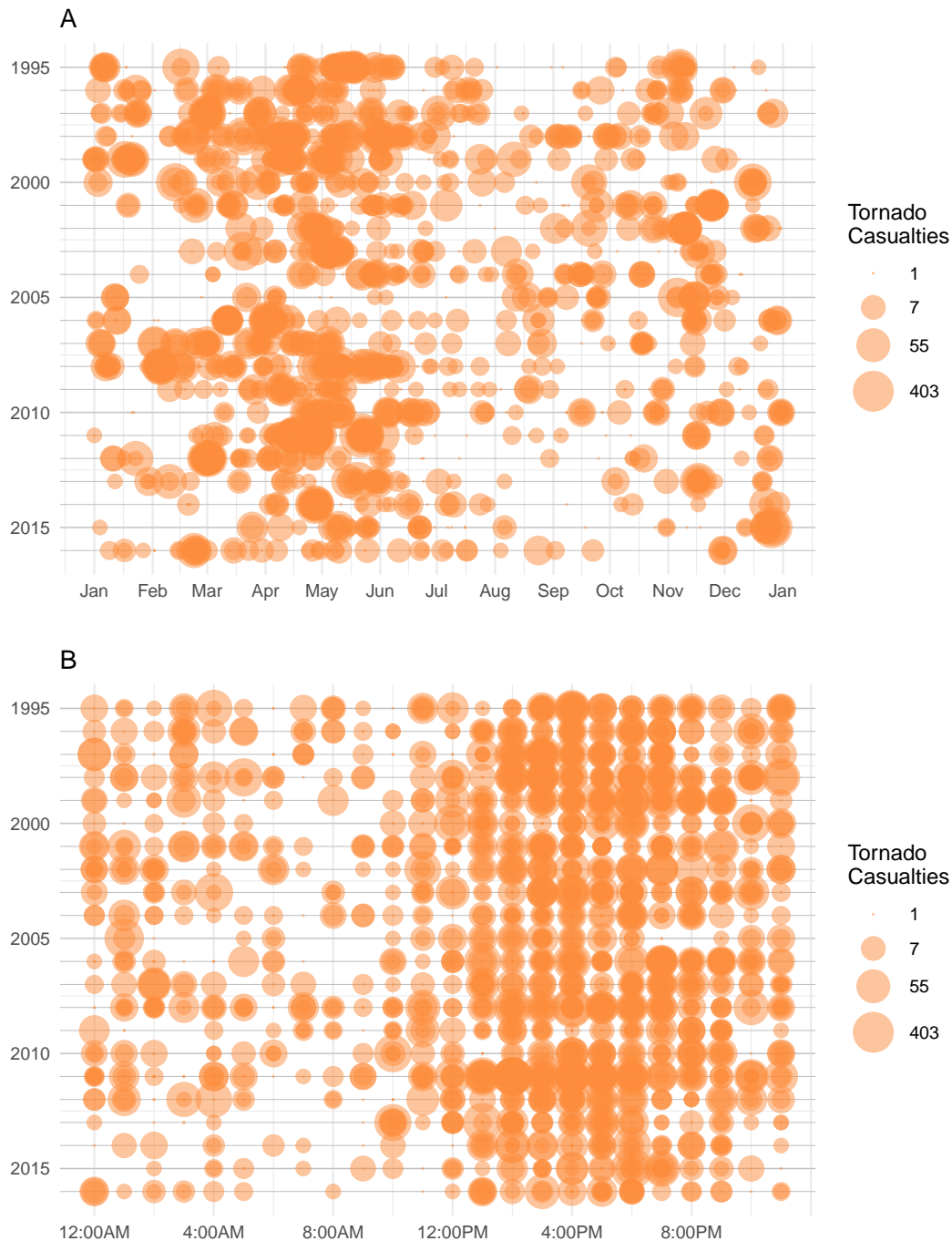
454 **Fig. 1.** The number of tornado casualties by (A) month and by (B) hour. The size of the circle is  
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456 **Fig. 2.** Predicted casualty rate versus observed casualty count. Points are shown only for tornadoes  
457 with at least 25 casualties. Values below the black line indicate tornadoes with more casu-  
458 alties than predicted using the regression model and the size of the circle is proportional to  
459 the number of underpredicted casualties. . . . . 27

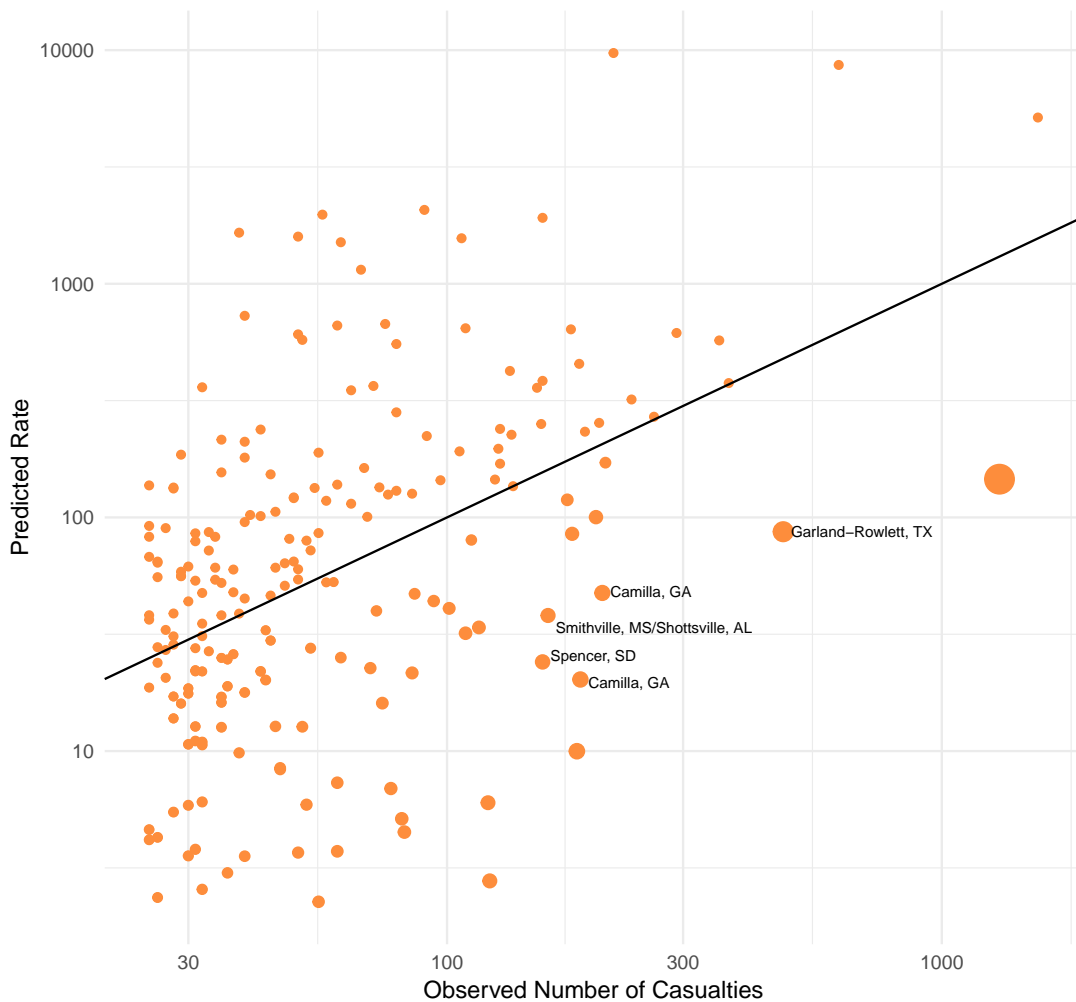
460 **Fig. 3.** Unusually devastating tornadoes. The size of the circle is proportional to the number of  
461 underpredicted casualties. . . . . 28

462 **Fig. 4.** Spencer, South Dakota, Garland-Rowlett, Texas, Camilla, Georgia, and Smithville, Missis-  
463 sippi/Shottsville, Alabama. The orange circle indicates the location of the city or town and  
464 the size of the circle is proportional to the number of underpredicted casualties (see Fig. 3). . . . 29

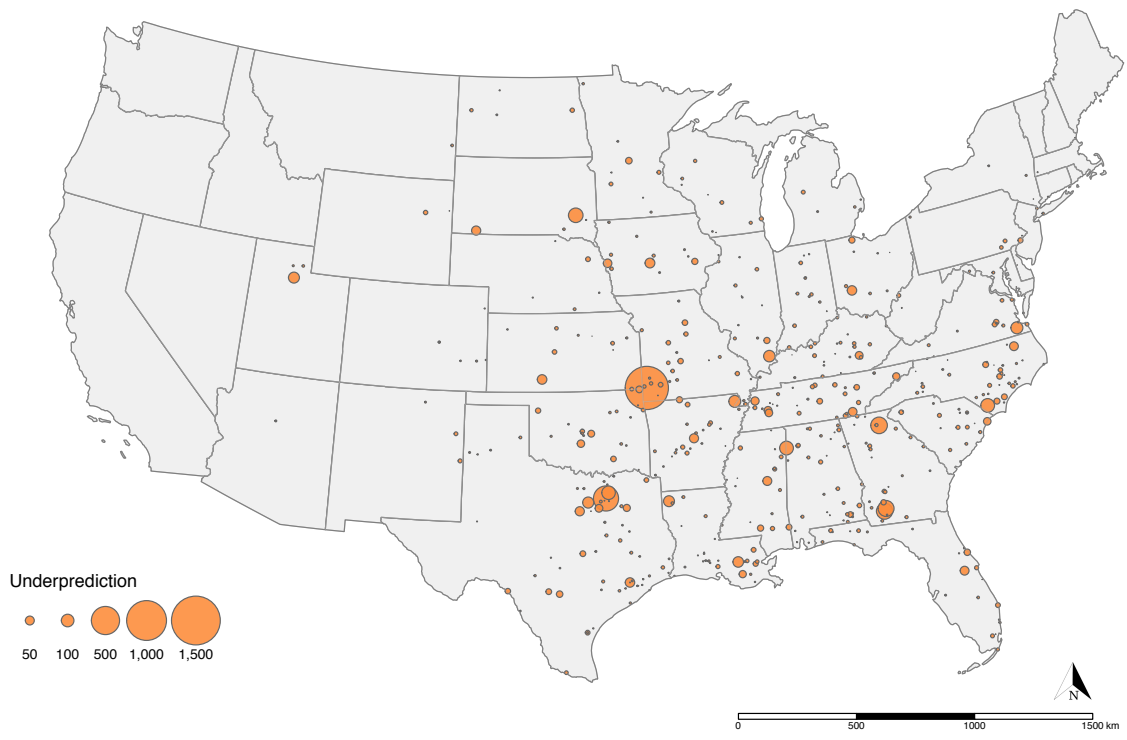
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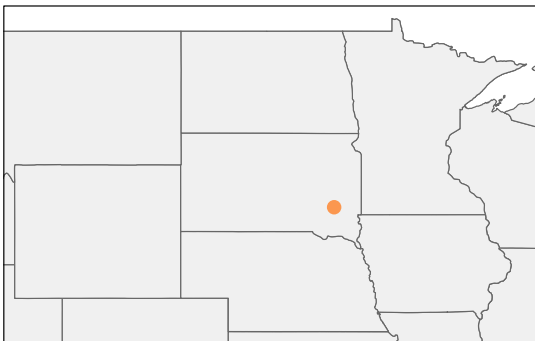


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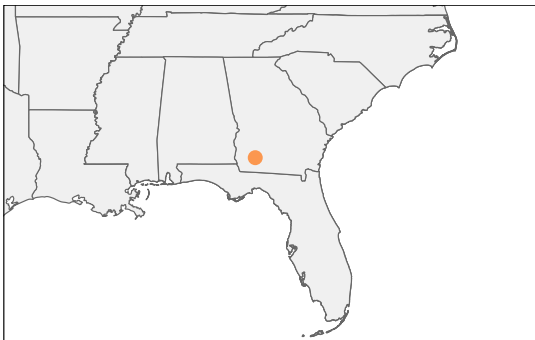
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Garland-Rowlett, TX



Camilla, GA



Smithville, MS/Shottsville, AL

