Drowning in Unintended Consequences



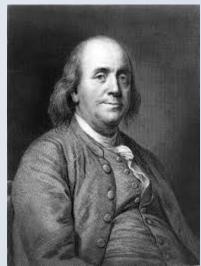
Free markets. Real solutions.

Founded in June 2012

- Nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy research organization
- Believe free markets work better than the alternatives
- Also recognize that the legislative process calls for practical responses to current problems

R Street differs from other groups in our dedication to building broad coalitions and working with a wide array of groups who share specific policy goals. This makes us uniquely capable of building support for pragmatic, free market proposals that can earn bipartisan consensus. Earliest American property insurance

- The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire
- Founded in 1752 by Benjamin Franklin
- Offered "perpetual insurance"



Early firefighting

- Boston starts first paid firefighting company after the
 Great Fire of 1679
- Most paid firefighters
 were private/for -profit
 Compensation paid by
 - insurance companies



Insurance shields



State regulated system

- Regulation of insurance companies dates to Colonial Era
- New Hampshire appoints first insurance commissioner in 1851
- Paul v Virginia (1869) rules insurance is not interstate commerce

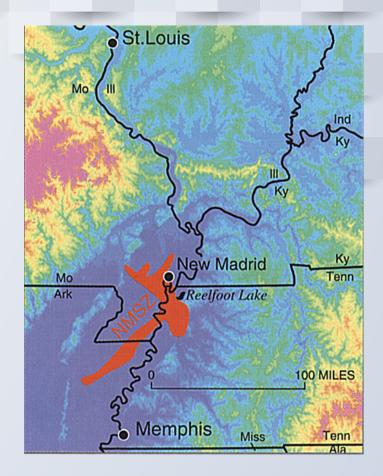
Most states on ly perm it single-line insurers

America's changing risk profile in 19th Century

- Fire was most common risk for early Americans
- Risks changed as population moved into the interior
- First windstorm insurer not formed until 1885 (Michigan Mutual Tornado, Cyclone and Windstorm Company today known as Hastings Mutual)
- Few insurers of earthquakes or hurricanes

The Great Midwest Earthquake of 1811

- 4 separate quakes, Dec 1811 to Feb 1812.
- Between 7.2 –8.2 magnitude
- Could be felt in NYC
- Mississippi River reversed
- Would be \$200B event today



Early flood insurance

- Private flood insurers emerge in the early 20 th century
- Most were small, county -based mutuals
- Flooding was defined as rising water, not storm surge
- Johnstown Flood of 1899 was a "flood"Galveston Flood of 1900 was not
- □ Wiped out by the Great Mississippi River Flood of 1927

Why did private flood insurance fail?

- Local single -line companies, agglomerations of risk
- Adverse selection those most at risk of flood are most likely to buy insurance
- Reinsurance was new; most mutuals had none
- There was little loss history; companies didn't understand the risk

What came next?



11

1933 Long Beach earthquake

- 6.4 magnitude, widespread damage across Southern California
- In response, Congress enacts legislation to provide direct assistance to citizens who suffered damage by issuing federal loans through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
- This hadn't happened in 1906 San Francisco earthquake

Post - War changes in insurance

- United States v. South -Eastern Underwriters
 Association (1944)
- McCarran -Ferguson Act (1945)
- □ First homeowners insurance policy (1950)
- □ But still, no flood insurance

Suburbanization and floods

- Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (G.I. Bill)
- American Housing Act of 1949 created Federal Housing Administration and Fannie Mae
- Federal -Aid Highway Act of 1956 created the Interstate Highway System
- In 1945, Robert Sherman invented the portable, in window air conditioner



Population of Florida

- 1900: 530,000
- □ 1940: 1.9 million (smallest state in the South)
- 1950: 2.8 million
- 1960: 5 million
- 1970: 6.8 million

Today: 21.5 million (third -largest state in the country)

Disaster Relief Act of 1950

(PL 81-875) provides "an orderly and continuing means of assistance by the Federal Government to States and local governments in carrying out their responsibilities to alleviate suffering and damage resulting from major disasters."

Precursor to FEMA.

Truman proposes national flood insurance

- In response to 1951 floods in Kansas and Missouri
- "The lack of a national system of flood disaster insurance is now a major gap in the means by which a man can make his home, his farm, or his business secure against events beyond his control."

Measure does not pass

President Eisenhower proposes national flood insurance

- Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956 passes
- Up to \$10,000 of flood insurance available to all Americans. Everyone would pay the same premium.
- In 1957, Congress refuses to appropriate any funds to Federal Flood Indemnity Administration

FFIA ceases to exist

A spate of deadly hurricanes

- □ Hazel, 1954, Carolinas, \$3.7B
- Diane, 1955, Carolinas to New England, \$8.0B
- Donna, 1960, Florida, \$8.7B
- Carla, 1961, Texas, \$3.5B
- Betsy, 1965, Florida and Louisiana, \$11.7B

Aftermath of Betsy

- Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act of 1965
- Recommended ""undertake an immediate study of alternative programs which could be established to help provide financial assistance to those suffering property losses in floods and other natural disasters, including alternative methods of Federal disaster
 insurance...."

Task Force on Federal Flood Control Policy

- Established in 1966
- Recommends creation of what would become the National Flood Insurance Program
- Estimates subsidies for high -risk properties will be needed for approximately 25 years
- Task Force Chairman Gilbert White offers a warning

Gilbert White, 1966

"A flood insurance program is a tool that should be used expertly or not at all. Correctly applied, it could promote wise use of flood plains. Incorrectly applied, it could exacerbate the whole problem of flood losses. For the Federal Government to subsidize low premium disaster insurance or provide insurance in which premiums are not proportionate to risk would be to invite economic waste of great magnitude."

National Flood Insurance Act of 1968

Goals of the Program:

- Provide financial protection for properties at risk of flood
- Prefund disaster losses

Incentivize local communities to do flood plain management

Revisions of 1973

- Creation of Flood Insurance Rate Maps
- Special Flood Hazard Areas
 - Zone V, high -risk exposed to storm surge
 - □ Zone A, high -risk not exposed to storm surge
 - Zones B is moderate risk, Zone C is minimal risk,
 Zone X is moderate or minimal risk, Zone D is
 unknown risk

Mandatory purchase requirement

- FDIC insured mortgages
- Fannie and Freddie
- Any federally secured or guaranteed mortgages, such as FHA or VA
- Not state -regulated mortgages or homes with no mortgage

How to join the NFIP

To qualify for the program, a community must:

- Require perm its for all proposed development
- Survey potentially flood-prone areas

 Ensure that any new construction or substantial improvements to existing structures be "reasonably safe from flooding."

Once you join

- All properties eligible for standard NFIP policies that offer up to \$250,000 of building coverage and \$100,000 of contents coverage for residential properties
- Up to \$500,000 each of both building coverage and contents coverage for business properties
- NFIP cannot decline or nonrenew properties in participating communities; "take all comers"

Subsidized properties

- Structures located in Zone A or Zone V that were built before the community joined the NFIP.
- To encourage participation from flood -prone communities, such policies assessed "preferred risk" rates that are only 45 percent of their true actuarial liability
 - About 1 -in -5 policies are subsidized

Grandfathered policies

- Properties built after a community joined the program can retain whatever insurance rates were associated with the designated zone at the time the structure was built.
- E.g., when an updated FIRM shows an X Zone property is now A Zone, property continues to pay X Zone rate

FEMA doesn't know how many properties are grandfathered

2017 CBO survey of Zone V properties found:

- 69 percent were grandfathered
- 29 percent were subsidized
- 13 percent were both grandfathered and subsidized



Repetitive loss properties

- Insured structures that have been paid two or more
 NFIP claims of more than \$1,000 within any 10 -year
 period. 1% of properties, but 30% of NFIP losses.
- Severe Repetitive Loss properties have four or more claims of more than \$5,000 or at least two claims that cumulatively exceed the building's value. 0.6% of properties, but 10% of NFIP losses

FEMA buyouts for SRL properties

- Hazard Mitigation Grant Program and the Flood Mitigation Assistance Program
- Between 1989 and 2019, FEMA purchased and demolished more than 43,000 flood -prone properties
- 2004 legislation would have required buyouts or mitigation for SRL properties, but never adequately
 funded

Biggert - Waters Act of 2012

- Subsidized second homes, business properties or properties that have suffered several repetitive losses would see rates increase 25% every year until actuarial rates are achieved.
- Grandfathered properties/all other subsidized properties would go up 20% per year.
 - Immediate increase on sale or lapse

Grimm - Waters Act of 2014

- □ Sale and lapse provisions were repealed
- Cap on increases for other subsidized properties was lowered to 15%.
- Existing grandfathered properties would remain the same rate
- Assessments placed on every policy to pay for changes

Private flood insurance

- Biggert -Waters clarified that private insurance satisfies mandatory purchase requirements
- In 2014, Florida became the first state to create regulatory regime for private flood
- Can be standalone or a rider or endorsement on homeowners

Why private flood has returned

- Better mapping and modeling
- Much deeper global reinsurance markets
- Greater regulatory certainty
- NFIP rates are rising, easier to compete

Problems of the NFIP

- Borrowed nearly \$40 billion from the U.S. Treasury over the past decade and a half
- Disaster spending continues to grow, with more than
 90 percent of all federally declared disasters involving floods
- Availability of cheap flood insurance has played a role
 encouraging people to build in flood -prone regions

Coastal construction

- In the 40 years after the program's creation, from 1970 to 2010, the population of U.S. coastal counties grew by 50.9 million, a 45 percent increase
- In 2010, coastal counties represented 52 percent of the nation's total population



More development in floodplains than outside them

- 15 million Americans were living in 100 -year floodplains as of 2016, a 14 percent increase from population estimates of those same U.S. Census tracts in 2000.
- In contrast, population growth in all other zones over that same period was just 13 percent.



Sea-level rise is making the problem worse

- 8 coastal states had faster development since 2010 in areas projected to be 10 -year floodplains by 2050 than in all other zones combined.
- In DE, MI, NJ and RI, development was twice as fast in 10-year floodplain. In CT, three times as fast.



100- year storms to annual storms

2019 Princeton University study finds, by end of the century, what historically were 100 -year floods are expected every 1 to 30 years in the Southeast and Gulf Coast regions and every single year in New England and the mid -Atlantic



Building in zones of annual flooding

- \$137.13 billion of existing development is expected to face annual coastal flooding by 2050, including \$9.34 billion of development built since 2010.
- In Pinellas, 85 homes built since 2010 will face annual flooding by 2050. 586 homes built since 2010 will be 2100.

Rates still too low

- Over the dozen years from 2002 to 2013, the nonpartisan Government Accountability Office estimates the program collected \$11 billion to \$17 billion less in premiums than was actuarially prudent
- CBO estimates the NFIP's average expected annual costs exceed its expected revenues by \$1.4 billion

Unsustainable debt

- The NFIP has borrowed \$40 billion from taxpayers since
 2005
- □ In 2017, \$16 billion of that was erased by Congress
- □ It still owes \$20.5 billion
- It will never repay that sum

Updating maps

- Maps need to be redrawn periodically to reflect changes in flood risk
- Drainage system capacity changes
- Ground cover changes
- Underlying risk changes, more and worse rain events, sea level rise

FEMA is way way behind

- Required to review all its maps every five years
- As of year -end 2016, only 42% of the program's maps were up -to -date
- Out of the 166 counties that produce annual average flood claims of more than \$2 million, full half representing a combined 55% of the program's risk
 use maps that are more than 5 years old

More claims outside the SFHA

- Growing proportion of claims for new construction —
 properties less than 10 years old at the time of the loss —
 are being filed in the ostensibly lower -risk B, C, D and X zones.
- While those zones accounted for 31% of claims by new construction in the 1990s, by the 2010s, it was more than 40%.

Ending NFIP for new construction

- If such a policy were in place for structures built in 1980 or later, the NFIP's total \$126 billion of inflation -adjusted claims between 1990 and 2019 would have been 13% lower.
- Would serve to discourage building in flood -prone regions and do so without laying any new burden on any existing policyholder.

Ending grandfathering for new construction

- Going forward, any new property they build will be required immediately to pay higher rates any time a map change shows it faces higher risk.
- Removing incentives to new construction would help preserve wetlands and barrier islands that serve as storm buffers

THANKS!

Any questions?

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