

INFORMED DECISIONS ON CATASTROPHE RISK

Proposal to Make Flood Insurance Affordable in Charleston County, South Carolina: Vouchers Coupled with Loans to Elevate Homes

Our study on Charleston County, South Carolina assesses the cost impacts of flood insurance if premiums were increased to risk-based prices. We then consider a program that addresses affordability concerns coupled with cost-effective risk reduction measures.

We follow these two principles for flood insurance:

- **Flood insurance premiums should be priced to accurately reflect risk.**
- **Issues of affordability should be addressed, but not by subsidizing insurance premiums.**

If premiums were risk-based, these homeowners in Charleston County's FEMA-mapped high-risk flood zones that currently receive subsidies would see their costs increase substantially.

Elevating a house by a few feet can decrease the risk-based premium by 70 to 80 percent, saving thousands of dollars annually.

However, elevating a house is very expensive.

We propose a voucher program that has two key aspects: (1) insurance premiums are based on risk; (2) vouchers are used to offset both the premium and the cost of the loan for risk mitigation.

Elevation is not feasible for all homes, notably those in historic districts.

Other actions could also be considered, such as making a higher deductible the standard option.

- Premiums reflecting risk inform individuals as to the hazardousness of the area, and encourage investment in cost-effective adaptation measures through premium reductions.
- Many low- and middle-income homeowners living in older homes in flood-prone areas are not able to afford flood insurance if premiums are priced to reflect risk.
- We determined risk-based premiums for a subset of NFIP policyholders who live in Charleston County's inland and coastal Special Flood Hazard Areas (SFHAs) who currently receive NFIP premium discounts despite their location in high risk areas.

- If premiums were risk-based, they **would increase** from their current levels by **108 percent** on average for policies in the high-risk 100-year floodplain (A zone) and by **159 percent** on average in the high risk 100-year coastal floodplain (V zone).

- Implementation of the voucher program with mitigation can reduce government expenditures by more than half over a program that does not require mitigation if the cost of elevating a house is around \$25,000 in the A zone. In the high hazard coastal V zone, cost savings can be achieved even when the cost of elevation is as high as \$75,000.
- Mitigation does not lead to reduction in the cost of the voucher if the policyholder's household income is below \$10,000.

- Other mitigation measures might also lead to lower NFIP premiums:
 - Wet flood-proofing the ground floor
 - Moving all habitable areas to the second floor in multi-story homes

Premiums reflecting risk in the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP) are primarily a function of the designated flood zone, coverage limits, and the property’s structural features such as the height of the lowest floor relative to the base flood elevation (BFE). The BFE is the estimated height of floodwaters during a 100-year flood.

If insurance premiums reflected risk, the price of flood insurance for many high-risk single-family properties in Special Flood Hazard Areas in Charleston County, South Carolina could more than double over their current subsidized premiums. Charleston County is vulnerable to both inland and hurricane flood risks so there are incentives for many homeowners to take steps to invest in cost-effective measures to reduce their risk and hence their risk-based insurance premiums.

This study seeks a resolution to the tension between risk-based premiums and affordability of flood insurance through a voucher program coupled with required mitigation, specifically, elevating the house. Elevating a house a few feet can decrease the homeowner’s risk-based premium by 70 to 80 percent, saving thousands of dollars annually.

To elevate the home, the homeowner would take a 20-year, 3% interest loan. A voucher would offset both the reduced risk-based premium and the cost of the loan to elevate the house. We assume that a household earning \$50,000 gross income per year can contribute 5 percent (\$2,500) to flood insurance. After the policyholder’s \$2,500 contribution, the voucher covers the additional costs.

We find that implementation of the voucher program can reduce government expenditures by more than half over a voucher program that does not require mitigation when the cost of elevating a house is about \$25,000 in high hazard A zones. In the coastal V zones, cost savings can be achieved even when the cost of elevation is as high as \$75,000.

To illustrate, consider a family living in the A zone with a house 1 foot below BFE where the risk-based premium is \$5,596. As shown in Table 1, at low and medium elevation costs, the annual cost (loan payment plus the flood insurance premium) is less than the voucher would have been had the homeowner not elevated the house. In fact, **if mitigation were required, no federal expenditure would be incurred** when elevation costs are low, since the loan cost and the risk-based premium would be less than \$2,500. Savings generated from risk mitigation are even greater in the V zone; even when elevation costs are high, the reduction in premium justifies the investment, as shown in Table 2.

Table 1: Voucher Costs in the A Zone without and with Elevation (U.S. Dollars)

| Insurance voucher – no mitigation | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Risk-based premium without elevation | | | 5,596 |
| Homeowner pays 5% of gross income | | | 2,500 |
| Government voucher | | | 3,096 |
| Insurance voucher – after house elevation | | | |
| | Low cost | Medium cost | High cost |
| Cost to elevate the house 2 feet | 24,635 | 50,970 | 74,756 |
| Risk-based premium after elevation | 839 | 839 | 839 |
| Annual loan payment (3% interest, 20 years) | 1,656 | 3,426 | 5,025 |
| Total annual cost | 2,495 | 4,265 | 5,864 |
| Homeowner pays | 2,495 | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Government voucher | -- | 1,765 | 3,364 |

Table 2. Voucher Costs in the V Zone without and with Elevation (U.S. Dollars)

| Insurance voucher – no mitigation | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Risk-based premium without elevation | | | 19,218 |
| Homeowner pays 5% of gross income | | | 2,500 |
| Government voucher | | | 16,718 |
| Insurance voucher – after house elevation | | | |
| | Low cost | Medium cost | High cost |
| Cost to elevate the house 2 feet | 24,635 | 50,970 | 74,756 |
| Risk-based premium after elevation | 5,304 | 5,304 | 5,304 |
| Annual loan payment (3% interest, 20 years) | 1,656 | 3,426 | 5,025 |
| Total annual cost | 6,960 | 8,730 | 10,329 |
| Homeowner pays | 2,500 | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Government voucher | 4,460 | 6,230 | 7,829 |

When a family’s income is below \$50,000, the homeowners’ proposed contribution would be less than \$2,500 and the government’s contribution would therefore increase from the above examples. In both A and V zones we find that when annual household income is below \$10,000 it is cost-effective for the government to offer a voucher without requiring the house to be elevated. For households in the \$10,000–20,000 income bracket, elevation is cost-effective for the government only when elevation cost is low. In the V zone, for incomes over \$20,000, a voucher with a mitigation loan is always financially preferable even when the elevation cost is high.

State-level Natural Disaster Programs in South Carolina

South Carolina currently has several natural disaster programs and tax incentives to assist homeowners in purchasing insurance and fortifying homes.

- South Carolina’s Omnibus Coastal Insurance Act of 2007 created the Safe Home grants program for low- and middle-income homeowners to retrofit primary residences against high-wind and hurricane damages. Families making less than 80 percent of the county median household income and with home value below \$150,000 qualify to receive up to \$5,000 in non-matching grants. Families with income above that threshold and home value less than \$300,000 are eligible for up to \$5,000 matching grant. From 2008 to 2011, the Safe Home program awarded 2,500 grants totaling \$12.1 million.
- The Residential Retrofit Tax Credit provides state income tax credits up to \$1,000 for expenses incurred when retrofitting a home against natural disasters. From 2008 to 2011, 670 Residential Retrofit Credits have been claimed totaling \$781,106.
- The South Carolina Excess Insurance Premium Tax Credit allows homeowner to claim up to \$1,250 in state income tax credit against excess premium paid on property and casualty insurances. Excess premium is defined as the portion of the premium greater than 5 percent of the taxpayer’s annual gross income. Additionally, the state offers Catastrophe Saving Accounts, which are interest-bearing accounts not subject to state income taxes if funds are used for qualified catastrophe expenses.

Source: Zhao, W., Kunreuther, H., & Czajkowski, J. (2015). Affordability of the national flood insurance program: Application to Charleston County, South Carolina. *Natural Hazards Review*, 04015020.

We thank the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency for data used in this research. This work is partially supported by the Zurich Flood Resilience Alliance, CREATE at the University of Southern California (U.S. Department of Homeland Security’s Center of Excellence), the National Science Foundation (SES-1062039/1061882) the Travelers-Wharton Partnership for Risk Management Fund, and the Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Center.



UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA
Risk Management and Decision Processes Center
The Wharton School
3730 Walnut Street
500 Jon M. Huntsman Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6340
<http://www.wharton.upenn.edu/riskcenter>

Issue Brief: Proposal to Make Flood Insurance Affordable in Charleston County, South Carolina: Vouchers Coupled with Loans to Elevate Homes

INFORMED DECISIONS ON CATASTROPHE RISKS issue briefs are published by the Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Center of the University of Pennsylvania. For additional information, contact Carol Heller, hellerc@wharton.upenn.edu or 215-898-5688.

© 2016 Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Center

About the Wharton Risk Center

Established in 1985, the **Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Center** develops and promotes effective corporate and public policies for dealing with catastrophic events including natural disasters, technological hazards, terrorism, pandemics and other crises. The Risk Center research team – over 70 faculty, fellows and doctoral students – investigate how individuals and organizations make choices under conditions of risk and uncertainty under various regulatory and market conditions, and the effectiveness of strategies such as alternative risk financing, incentive systems, insurance, regulation, and public-private collaborations at a national and international scale. The Center actively engages multiple viewpoints, including top representatives from industry, government, international organizations, interest groups and academia. More information is available at <https://riskcenter.wharton.upenn.edu>.

About the Authors

Wendy Zhao (wendy_zhao@mckinsey.com) is a graduate of the Wharton School, with a B.S. in Economics in 2014. As an undergraduate Wharton Risk Center Research Scholar, she conducted research into the affordability of the National Flood insurance Program, focusing on Charleston, South Carolina. Since graduation, she joined McKinsey & Company's Silicon Valley Office as management consultant, where she has been serving clients in technology, digital payments and telecommunications.

Howard Kunreuther (kunreuth@wharton.upenn.edu) is the James G. Dinan Professor; Professor of Decision Sciences and Business and Public Policy at the Wharton School, and co-director of the Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Center. He has a long-standing interest in ways that society can better manage low-probability, high-consequence events related to technological and natural hazards. He is a member of the National Research Council's panel on Increasing National Resilience to Hazards and Disasters and served on the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as a coordinating lead author of the IPCC's 5th Assessment Report's chapter on Integrated Risk and Uncertainty Assessment of Climate Change Response. He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and a Distinguished Fellow of the Society for Risk Analysis, receiving the Society's Distinguished Achievement Award. He is co-author of *Insurance and Behavioral Economics: Improving Decisions in the Most Misunderstood Industry* (with Mark Pauly and Stacey McMorrow).

Jeffrey Czajkowski (jczaj@wharton.upenn.edu) is the Travelers and Willis Research Network Fellow at the Wharton Risk Management Center. He holds an M.S. in Environmental and Urban Systems from Florida International University (FIU) and a Ph.D. in Economics from FIU. His primary research fields are the economics of natural hazards and environmental economics where his research has been published in leading risk, natural hazards, and environmental economics journals. Prior to his position at the Risk Center, Dr. Czajkowski was an assistant professor of economics at Austin College. Through September 2009 he was also an adjunct assistant research professor at the International Hurricane Research Center (IHRC) at Florida International University (FIU) supported by National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Florida Hurricane Alliance research grants. Prior to his graduate work in economics he worked as a research associate for Coopers & Lybrand Consulting and a vice-president for JP Morgan.