Restoring Responsibility and Accountability in Disaster Relief

John K. Warren
RESTORING RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN DISASTER RELIEF

JOHN K. WARREN*

INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, questions regarding the funding and responsibility for the cleanup operations of natural disasters have become increasingly salient, and will continue to have broad political, economic, and environmental implications for the foreseeable future. The considerable economic and environmental problems arising from such disasters will need to be addressed in a clear and concise manner in order to successfully mitigate their catastrophic effects on the national landscape. For Hurricane Katrina alone, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that "damage to homes, government buildings, oil refineries and businesses will total between $70 billion and $130 billion." In addition, the so-called "toxic tide" created by the synthetic mixture of everything from "household paints, deodorants, and old car

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1 See Weatherproofing the U.S.: Are We Prepared For Severe Storms?: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Env't, Tech., & Standards of the House Comm. on Sci., 107th Cong. 3 (2001) [hereinafter Weatherproofing the U.S. Hearing] ("Each year, severe weather..., causes roughly $16 billion in damages.").

2 See H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV'T, THE HIDDEN COSTS OF COASTAL HAZARDS 83, tbl. 3.8 (2000) (detailing the "natural resource and ecosystem costs of coastal hazards and disasters").


batteries to railroad tank cars, sewage treatment plants, and landfills,"5 will further complicate and intensify the already daunting task faced by state, local, and federal cleanup officials.  

Private homeowners face a significant number of obstacles in putting their lives back together, including the recent increase in the number6 and costs7 of natural disasters, decreased availability and affordability of insurance coverage,8 limited supply of federal funds available for clean-up operations, and patently obvious lack of viable alternative proposals for tackling pollution on private property. The cumbersome, ineffectual, and often counterintuitive cycle engendered by current emergency relief efforts9 creates damaging consequences for many affected communities.  

This Note first explores the increasing importance and overall significance of natural disaster cleanup operations in the United States from the perspective of private homeowners.10 Next, it delineates the economic and bureaucratic structure of modern disaster relief.11 Lastly, this Note articulates ways to improve the current system and address the salient issues that impede the implementation of successful alternatives for realizing a full and fair economic and environmental recovery for all adversely affected citizens.12  

In confronting the problems wrought by natural disasters, the political response has often been one of short-sighted emotional zeal13 rather than the cautious, rational approach needed to fashion truly effective solutions. Commentators brave enough to challenge the firmly entrenched, federally subsidized "cycle of repair and reconstruction"14 have been

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5 Id.  
6 Weatherproofing the U.S. Hearing, supra note 1, at 4 (documenting the 250% increase in the number of dangerous hurricanes between 1995 and 2000 over the number of dangerous hurricanes between 1971 and 1994).  
8 See infra Parts II-V.  
9 See infra Parts VI-VIII.  
10 See infra Part I.  
11 See infra Parts II-V.  
12 See infra Parts VI-VIII.  
13 See James O'Toole, U.S. Help For Disaster Victims Goes From Nothing to Billions, PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE, Oct. 2, 2005, http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/pp/05275/581271.stm ("Bush did not put a price tag on any of the proposed Hurricane Katrina federal relief efforts. In a subsequent news conference, he said, 'It will cost what it costs.'").  
labeled cruel and callous.\textsuperscript{15} One rational solution to this growing problem couples a firm commitment to expand and strengthen the Superfund\textsuperscript{16} with an emphasis on alternative proposals for the private or public acquisition of polluted or abandoned lands,\textsuperscript{17} such as the exercise of eminent domain (emboldened by the recent \textit{Kelo v. City of New London}\textsuperscript{18} Supreme Court decision). This approach would forge a multifaceted and highly effective resolution for tackling the nation's natural disaster-related cleanup concerns. Such a proposal, if implemented, could successfully address the problems associated with rising costs, more frequent and more intense natural disasters, limited availability of funds, and counterintuitive government programs dealing with cleanup costs on privately owned land.

I. The Importance of the Issue

A. Increasing Number and Cost of Natural Disasters

With the advent of twenty-four-hour television news networks and the increasing number and availability of internet news sources, an impartial observer may believe that natural disasters such as floods and hurricanes are simply getting more national media coverage rather than actually growing in number and severity. However, "since 1995, hurricanes have become more frequent and more intense,"\textsuperscript{19} and the 2005 hurricane season was the "most active, most destructive hurricane season on


\textsuperscript{16} See infra Part III.


record." In addition, as one might expect, with the rising number and severity of storms, more lives have been disrupted. Perhaps the most significant reason for the sustained increase in the number of people impacted by natural disasters has been the rapid degree of migration towards coastal areas. With this increased movement, the cost of cleanup operations along the nation’s coasts has also risen because the values of the coastal migrants’ property have “increased substantially” in the last few decades.

B. Detrimental Environmental Effects

In addition to the heightened physical, emotional, and economic strain besetting American communities affected by the rising number and severity of natural disasters, there has also been an increasing burden placed on the environmental landscape. Among the most common environmental problems engendered by natural disasters are “widespread distribution of persistent debris; accidental spills of fuel, sewage, industrial waste, household chemicals . . . and environmental damage associated with storm debris or material cleanup, including illegal filling of wetlands in low-lying areas and loss of landfill capacity.” Among these concerns, perhaps the most pervasive threat is the significant problem of “post storm debris management.” Post-storm environmental degradation has been even further compounded by a construction explosion on the coasts, which places additional strains on arguably underfunded federal, state, and local authorities.

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20 Editorial, Hurricane Wilma: The Last Chapter: Storm’s Power Reinforces Well-Known Lessons, MIAMI HERALD, Jan. 20, 2006, at 20A.
21 Verrengia, supra note 19 (“Globally, more than 2.5 billion people were affected by floods, earthquakes, hurricanes and other natural disasters between 1994 and 2003, a 60 percent increase over the previous two 10-year periods.”).
22 Id.
23 Id.
24 H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV’T., supra note 2, at 83.
25 Id. at 93.
27 James C. Nicholas, Paying for Growth: Solutions, in GROWTH MANAGEMENT: THE PLANNING CHALLENGE OF THE 1990s, at 203 (Jay M. Stein ed., 1993) (“The much discussed federal retrenchment together with tax and revenue limitation efforts at the state and local levels have tended to aggravate this problem.”).
C. Human Coastal Activities Are Disrupting the Natural Ability of Coastal Environments to Recover from Natural Disasters

Historically, coastal ecosystems have shown a remarkable ability to regenerate following natural disasters such as floods and hurricanes. However, the proliferation of "human development activities" interferes with the "natural processes that maintain coastal shorelines and wetlands." Consequently, it is necessary to evaluate ways in which detrimental human effects on the environmental landscape can be mitigated. In furtherance of that goal, this Note proposes bold new disincentives aimed at curbing unchecked coastal encroachment and restoring greater accountability to individuals and businesses willfully engaging in environmentally destructive activities.

II. Modern Disaster Relief Mechanisms

A. The Inadequate Federal Scheme

Although a prima facie analysis of many federal programs aimed at disaster relief appear helpful and well-intentioned, it seems that every purportedly effective federal response carries with it an offsetting counterintuitive and counterproductive legislative enactment.

1. The National Flood Insurance Program

The National Flood Insurance Program ("NFIP") has taken great strides in ensuring that citizens located in areas prone to hazardous flooding known as "V-zones" take out mandatory flood insurance policies.

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28 H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV'T, supra note 2, at 121.
29 Id. at 120. See also BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 40 (contrasting the erosion rates of well-developed coastlines with "natural coastlines without buildings and infrastructure").
30 Id. at 94 ("Developers and real estate interests often take a 'head in the sand' attitude and are reluctant to face the reality that the beaches are retreating, that development disrupts the natural dynamics, or that the density of developments often exceeds the carrying capacity with respect to natural resources and processes.").
31 See H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV'T, supra note 2, at 19 (detailing how federal insurance, tax, and regulatory policies continue to encourage proliferation of unwise development in hazardous coastal areas).
32 See BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 46.
and comply with a variety of federal housing regulations. However, the required coverage for these individuals is the least of (1) the “maximum amount of NFIP flood insurance coverage available,” (2) the outstanding balance on all mortgages on a homeowner’s coastal real property, or (3) the “value of the property minus the land.” Accordingly, since the maximum amount of coverage available is $250,000 for physical structures and $100,000 for personal property, one can see how the NFIP policies would be unable to cover all costs of recovery, particularly environmental clean-up costs, which receive little attention in NFIP explanatory literature.

Another problem with the National Flood Insurance Program is that, in an attempt to cut premiums and thus achieve affordability, rates have been reduced “in some states,” meaning that “one cannot expect insurance to be used effectively as a policy tool for encouraging adoption of mitigation measures.” In other words, the relatively low cost of premiums on high-risk policies has not served as a deterrent to continued growth initiatives, a problem which this Note addresses by proposing an alternative taxation solution to rectify the lack of disincentives to such unchecked growth.

While the National Flood Insurance Program was intended to be mandatory for citizens in high-risk coastal areas, its coverage and applicability in disaster prone areas is not as widespread as one would imagine. For example, “the Federal government, through its ‘National Flood Insurance Program,’ insured 30 percent to 40 percent of the single-family dwellings in the region” affected by Hurricane Katrina. Thus, because a large number of individual homeowners were uninsured privately or publicly prior to Hurricane Katrina, they remain ill-prepared to deal with the considerable economic, much less environmental, problems currently besetting their land. Furthermore, the northern Gulf of Mexico region

35 Id.
37 Christopher City, Note, Duty and Disaster: Holding Local Governments Liable for Permitting Uses in High-Hazard Areas, 78 N.C. L. Rev. 1535, 1538-39 (2000) (“[T]here are costs to reconstruction—in terms of . . . natural resources . . . that far exceed any private or public insurance reimbursement.”).
38 H. John Heinz III Ctr. For Sci., Econ. & The Env’t, supra note 2, at xxxi.
39 Rikoon, supra note 8.
40 For a detailed discussion of environmental problems, such as “toxic tide,” associated with Hurricane Katrina, see Knickerbocker & Jonsson, supra note 4.
is not an insulated microcosm, but rather a reflection of the current situation for many homeowners along the coastal seabords of the United States.\footnote{David M. Bush et al., Living on the Edge of the Gulf: The West Florida and Alabama Coast 283 (2001) [hereinafter Bush et al., Edge of the Gulf], (“Currently the percentage of communities and homeowners that participate in the NFIP is low.”). There is, however, promising news on the horizon. See Ben Evans, Sales of Federal Flood Insurance Rise, Washingtonpost.com, Jan. 5, 2007, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/05/AR2007010501361.html (discussing a roughly thirteen percent increase in the number of federal flood insurance policies purchased from November 2005 to November 2006).}

An additional problem with the National Flood Insurance Program is that, when faced with a highly-publicized natural disaster the size of Hurricane Katrina, the program fails to adhere to its underlying equitable principle that those who knowingly and willingly live in high-risk areas, particularly those who refuse to insure their property, should absorb the primary cost of cleanup operations.\footnote{Bush et al., Edge of the Gulf, supra note 41, at 283. See also Peter Whoriskey, New Orleans Repeats Mistakes as it Rebuilds, Wash. Post, Jan. 4, 2007, at A1, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/03/AR2007010301593_pf.html (“[W]hile new federal guidelines call for raising houses to reduce the damage of future floods, most returning homeowners [in New Orleans] do not have to comply or are finding ways around the costly requirement.”).}

This problem was highlighted recently during the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, when slow federal response and intense public criticism\footnote{See Gary Young, Criticism of Bush Mounts as More than 10,000 Feared Dead, Guardian (United Kingdom), Sept. 3, 2005, http://www.guardian.co.uk/katrina/story/0,16441,1562005,00.html.} precipitated President Bush’s bestowal of seemingly carte blanche authority on the federal government to rebuild the city of New Orleans.\footnote{OToole, supra note 13.}

Such vast authority is implied by the President’s statement that the cleanup effort will simply “cost what it costs.”\footnote{Id.}

Because of the dangers posed by such a sweeping grant of power, this Note proposes the development of a trip-wire mechanism to ensure that federal relief programs will adhere to their underlying equitable underpinnings, even in the face of short-sighted public opposition under the guise of compassion.\footnote{City, supra note 37, at 1537 (“[E]fforts to impose emergency costs on the victims themselves remain unpopular.”).} Similarly, such a mechanism could counter efforts by politicians to buy their way out of trouble and deflate public criticism by unwisely directing unlimited resources towards federal programs of
questionable efficiency and effectiveness. This Note incorporates such a policy into its final proposal.

2. Additional Taxation and Regulatory Schemes

Like the National Flood Insurance Program, a variety of other federal initiatives, although well-intentioned, have led to equally counterproductive and antithetical results. For example, the “1982 Coastal Barrier Resources Act (“CBRA”) acknowledged that flood insurance and other federal benefits may serve to stimulate growth in hazardous coastal areas.” These initiatives range from loan programs managed by the Small Business Administration, which subsidize rebuilding efforts in tumultuous coastal areas like outlying barrier islands, to generous tax incentives for coastal real estate development. Although some of these policies have been acknowledged as “unwise” by the federal government, which claims to want to “place financial risk associated with development on those who live on or invest in the coastal barriers,” many counterintuitive initiatives remain intact. Despite criticism from many groups seeking to “break the [publicly subsidized] build-destroy-rebuild cycle,” the government has yet to fashion a “comprehensive, consistent national policy on the problem of coastal hazards.”

B. Private Insurance Remedies

Like the public sector, the private insurance industry is also actively involved in damage assessment, rebuilding, and remuneration following natural disasters. While private insurance may alleviate some of the problems associated with the increasing number and costs of natural disasters on the nation’s coasts, the industry is inadequately positioned to tackle the entire issue by itself. For example, only $40 billion

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48 H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV’T, supra note 2, at 19.
49 Id.
51 Id. at 217. See also H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV’T, supra note 2, at xxvii (proposing an “intensive, intergovernmental research effort . . . to identify federal, state, and local public policies that . . . promote growth . . . that increase[s] the vulnerability of communities to coastal disasters”).
52 H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. AND THE ENV’T, supra note 2, at 11.
53 For a discussion of the proportion of Hurricane Katrina cleanup costs covered by private
of the estimated $70 to $130 billion cost of Katrina will be covered by private insurance. In addition, some Katrina insurers "are practicing a technique known as 'slow rolling,' procrastinating in making payments in hopes that claimants grow tired, desolate and more likely to accept what is offered." Compounding this bleak situation is the fact that "most people in the affected area did not have flood insurance because it was not available through private insurance companies." As a combined result of these factors, more private homeowners are turning to state, local, and federal officials for help in both the immediate and long-term cleanup process. Yet many government programs, including the Superfund (which will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections), typically have considerable bureaucratic and budgetary constraints.

Another pervasive problem with private insurance in the context of natural disasters is that many homeowners' policies specifically exclude or severely limit coverage for losses associated with pollution. Consequently, a comprehensive public initiative is needed to fill the void left by private insurance in responding to the environmental problems wrought by natural disasters. This Note describes such an innovative, equitable solution.

Even though the private insurance industry largely restricts its coverage over such efforts as environmental cleanup operations, in a 1998 press release, Consumers Union documented a concerted effort by the industry to lobby the federal government to "step in to provide financial assistance" in "the wake of billions of dollars of losses from hurricanes and

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54 Katie Fairbank & Jennifer LaFleur, Katrina Survivors Face Next Task: Dealing with Insurance Company, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, Nov. 13, 2005. There is, however, some promising news for embattled homeowners as evidenced by the recent litigation. See State Farm Liable in Katrina Case (Jan. 11, 2007), http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/16579242/ ("A jury . . . awarded $2.5 million in punitive damages to a couple who sued State Farm Fire & Casualty Co. for denying their claim after Hurricane Katrina, a decision that could benefit hundreds of other homeowners challenging insurers for refusing to cover billions of dollars in storm damage.").

55 Rikoon, supra note 8.

56 Bruce Yandle, Superfund and Risky Risk Reduction, in CUTTING GREEN TAPE: TOXIC POLLUTANTS, ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION AND THE LAW 34 (Richard L. Stroup & Roger E. Meiners eds., 2000) ("Through 1991, the [Environmental Protection Agency] had used $4.4 billion, some 48 percent of Superfund appropriations, to cover administrative costs.").

earthquakes." Despite these potentially large government settlements and bailouts, the industry has at the same time been taking steps to decrease its overall coverage and liability by "dropping or refusing to renew policies . . . withdraw[ing] from higher risk areas, and [shifting] . . . all or a portion of their liability to consumers and taxpayers." In the following sections, this Note explores how the current disaster relief system, including private disaster insurance, has created a costly, ineffective, and thoroughly untenable situation for individual landowners seeking both economic relief and environmental cleanup assistance.

III. THE SUPERFUND: A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

A. CERCLA: An Overview

In 1980, Congress passed the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act ("CERCLA"), which is now "commonly known as Superfund." The Environmental Protection Agency ("EPA") touts the measure as helping to clean the "nation's hazardous waste sites." The Superfund is a government "trust fund, financed by taxes, . . . which is used to cover the response costs of government." Despite its numerous successes and well-defined environmental standards, because it is a trust fund, the program has limited financial resources and is thus unable to adequately respond to all environmental disasters falling within its purview. Indeed, "the EPA's ultimate fear is that using [Superfund] dollars liberally without corresponding reimbursement will deplete its resources leaving the environment and the

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60 Id.
64 See, e.g., 42 U.S.C. § 9621.
public's interest in it without protection." The significant problem of the undercapitalization of the Superfund has been well documented, and until the situation changes, the majority of hazardous waste sites will be left "as is" because their sheer numbers outstrip the EPA's financial ability to clean them up.

B. Obstacles to Relief Under the Superfund

As a consequence of the program's budgetary constraints, the Superfund is more likely to deal with imminent, large-scale pollution threats such as toxic waste dumps, brownfields, and widespread industrial pollution. As such, it is unlikely to address the cleanup of "toxic tide" from the relatively small property claims of adversely affected individuals in New Orleans. For this reason, many commentators have noted that the Superfund simply does not "adequately resolve the issue of natural resource damages on private property."

One of the many reasons for the creation of the Superfund was to provide private parties with a mechanism through which they could recover cleanup costs incurred as a result of the actions of an industrial polluter. Considering the fact that much of the environmental damage stemming from Hurricane Katrina and other natural disasters was wrought by commercial pollution from oil and chemical producers, it would be useful for private homeowners to utilize the Superfund as a means to recoup some of their cleanup costs from these corporate polluters. However, even if such homeowners are able to meet the require-

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66 Feldman, supra note 17, at 320.
67 Reitze, supra note 65, at 368.
69 Knickerbocker & Jonsson, supra note 4.
71 Id.
ments for recovery, the Fund is often ineffective due to the overriding bankruptcy protections afforded to many businesses found liable through the Act. Indeed, "as a result of the high costs, many of those found liable under CERCLA are forced into bankruptcy for relief" which "frustrates the goals of the act."

In addition to bankruptcy, some corporations and individuals may wish to abandon or transfer their interests to those willing and able to take on the considerable task of environmental cleanup following a natural disaster. However, "[t]o the extent that a person continues to own or use land there is a continuing obligation to comply with environmental laws, and a person may not be permitted to transfer or legally abandon the site." Thus, environmental groups seeking to acquire polluted land may be thwarted in their efforts due to the numerous statutory obstacles embedded in Superfund legislation.

Furthermore, many corporations and private individuals may seek the protections of the infamous "act of God" provision of CERCLA in order to escape potential liability for environmental cleanup. This exception protects polluters only if the environmental damage "results solely from a grave natural disaster and if that grave natural disaster is wholly unanticipated." Consequently, "grave natural disasters which could not be anticipated in the design, location, or operation of the facility... by reason of historic, geographic, or climatic circumstances or phenomena would be outside the scope of the owner's or operator's responsibility." Although this seems like a straightforward definition, there are a variety of stringent requirements and bureaucratic obstacles for claiming an "act of God" defense. Indeed, its usage and application has been significantly limited to date, and any "contributory causation by human acts or omissions not covered by another CERCLA defense would vitiate an act of God defense.

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75 Id. at 424-25.
76 See generally Feldman, supra note 17.
77 Id. at 564.
80 Id. at 564.
Not surprisingly, this defense has seldom been invoked.\textsuperscript{82} As a result of its limited usage yet sweeping grant of immunity, the government, corporations, and private individuals spend vast amounts of time and money waging court battles to either restrict or expand its usage, causing significant delays in environmental cleanup operations\textsuperscript{83} to the detriment of all citizens.

In fact, the Superfund is currently plagued by both a bloated bureaucracy\textsuperscript{84} and frequent, "costly litigation induced by Superfund’s rule of liability" that "decreases the supply of cleanup activity."\textsuperscript{85} Consequently, the "act of God" and bankruptcy protections exasperate the government’s efforts not only by causing costly delays, but more importantly, by putting the entire burden of cleanup costs on an arguably overtaxed electorate and undercapitalized federal environmental and emergency agencies. To ameliorate this situation, courts must construe the "act of God" defense narrowly so as to discourage litigators from invoking it except in truly unforeseeable cases.

IV. BEYOND THE SUPERFUND: OTHER SYSTEMIC CONSIDERATIONS

A. Federal Disaster Relief

With the Disaster Relief Act of 1974,\textsuperscript{86} Congress began implementing standardized procedures for providing federal relief to citizens affected by natural disasters. Currently, federal aid following a natural disaster "may include housing for up to 18 months, low-interest loans for uninsured property losses, and dollar grants for those unable to repay loans. Homeowners can qualify for up to $200,000 for home repairs and $40,000 for replacement of personal property."\textsuperscript{87} When one considers that "[t]he U.S. national average purchase price for a single-family home reached

\textsuperscript{83} Yandle, \textit{supra} note 57, at 46 (describing the problems associated with the overly-litigious nature of the Superfund scheme).
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Id.} at 34 (detailing the proportion of Superfund expenditures used to "cover administrative costs").
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Id.} at 46.
$264,540 in October 2004" and "[a]verage U.S. home prices increased 12.50 percent from the first quarter of 2004 through the first quarter of 2005," these figures pale in comparison to the actual cost of homeowners' post-disaster reconstruction efforts. Furthermore, the primary thrust of the federal grant programs are to provide economic relief for rebuilding and repairing damaged structures in the short term. The statutes give little attention to environmental cleanup efforts, and it is unjust to force homeowners to ration what few dollars have been made available among safety, physical health, economic livelihood, and environmental restoration.

In addition to the financial limitations of federal disaster relief programs, many recent federal efforts are beset by extreme bureaucratic inefficiency and fiscal mismanagement. Nearly three months after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita ravaged the Gulf region, "only about 5,000 of the 225,000 possible [National Flood Insurance Program] claims [had] been settled." In addition, federal authorities have proven themselves ineffective in helping individuals pursue remedies via private insurance, which further exacerbates the budgetary constraints of private homeowners who must then resort to costly legal countermeasures in order to secure funding. Consequently, critics of federal disaster relief efforts have commented that "individual disaster aid programs work with varying degrees of effectiveness and generally low degrees of efficiency."

In addition, federal relief efforts continue to be plagued by a severe lack of funding, even for purportedly self-sustaining programs like the National Flood Insurance Program. In a recent report released by the Government Accountability Office ("GAO"), U.S. Comptroller General

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89 Press Release, Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight, U.S. House Prices Continue to Rise Rapidly (June 1, 2005), http://www.ofheo.gov/media/pdf/1q05hpi.pdf.
90 NORDSTROM, supra note 50, at 223 ("Politicians respond readily to emergency actions that focus on repair but quickly lose their interest in support for long-term projects.").
91 Sar, supra note 47, at 145.
92 O'Toole, supra note 13 ("Post disaster spending in recent decades has been notorious for abuse and waste.").
93 Fairbank & LaFleur, supra note 55. See also Disaster Mitigation and Cost Reduction Act of 1999, H.R. REP No. 106-40 (1999) (discussing funding available for home repairs and money available to individuals through federal grant and loan programs).
94 Fairbank & LaFleur, supra note 55.
96 Sar, supra note 47, at 145.
David M. Walker remarked that the NFIP "is essentially bankrupt" and that "FEMA officials estimate that Hurricanes Katrina and Rita will result in flood insurance claims of about $23 billion, far surpassing the total amount of claims paid in the entire history of the [program] through 2004." Furthermore, in a sign of things to come, FEMA's ability to borrow from the U.S. Treasury was recently increased "from $1.5 billion prior to the 2004 hurricane season to $18.5 billion through fiscal year 2008."

B. Eminent Domain

With the recent Supreme Court decision of *Kelo v. City of New London*, state, local, and federal officials will have an easier time exercising eminent domain in order to correct the considerable economic and environmental blight which frequently accompanies natural disasters. In fact, this newly conferred authority recently manifested itself in a recovery proposal outlined by government officials in New Orleans that included a "federally funded forced buyout of homes in neighborhoods deemed unlivable."

In addition, the federal government increasingly can rely on the authority granted by the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act to purchase damaged real property with qualified government buyouts as prescribed under the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act, which pertains to persons displaced by natural disasters.

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Further, government entities have begun to preemptively exercise their eminent domain power as a “flood hazard mitigation technique” designed to lessen the potential risk of flood damage even before a natural disaster strikes. Lastly, the Upton-Jones Amendment to the National Flood Insurance Program stresses relocation instead of continual reconstruction by authorizing the use of “up to 40% of the [NFIP-insured] value” of homes covered by the program for relocating the “threatened house rather than paying a larger amount to help rebuild it, only to see the rebuilt house destroyed in a subsequent storm, and paying to rebuild again . . . and again.”

While many of these federal initiatives are a step in the right direction and should be encouraged accordingly, as this Note will explore in the following sections, greater government involvement in disaster relief frequently precipitates a wide array of new challenges.

V. WHERE THE COST SHOULD LIE: APPORTIONING LIABILITY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTERS

A. The Expanding Role of the Federal Government

As evidenced by the preceding sections, a variety of factors have prompted the noticeable shift towards federally-subsidized disaster relief. Among these factors are the decreasing role of the private insurance industry in disaster relief, the expanding role of the federal government in apportioning money to adversely affected citizens, and the increasing willingness of government officials to exercise powers of eminent domain to correct environmental problems stemming from natural disasters. On the one hand, it must be noted that even this expanding influence has often been inadequate to meet the needs of many ill-equipped
homeowners in their cleanup efforts, and thus an argument could be made that greater government involvement should be encouraged. On the other hand, one must inquire whether the nearly insurmountable economic and environmental damage stemming from natural disasters is a result of the increasing willingness for the federal government to rescue individuals engaging in riskier, more environmentally harmful development practices.

B. Moral Hazard Engendered by Government Action

The alleged shift towards a publicly subsidized natural disaster relief effort has drawn mounting criticism. In his article on the subject, Daniel D. Barnhizer argues that “current government responses to flooding . . . promote and maintain unwise development in coastal floodplains.” Barnhizer articulates in great detail how “government entities continue to expend hundreds of millions of dollars annually to repair repeated and foreseeable damage to unwise and unsustainable private development.” This issue of “moral hazard” is troublesome in many ways. First and foremost, it causes private developers to engage in riskier development projects with the knowledge that they will be able to rely on large government subsidies and bailouts to recoup their investments in the event of a devastating natural disaster. In essence, such developers are exploiting the overwhelming empathy and generosity which normally accompanies a natural disaster of the size and scope of Hurricane Katrina for personal gain, inevitably increasing “taxpayer exposure to

110 See Walker, supra note 70, at 426.
111 See BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 4 (“We are contributing to a giant welfare system in which high-risk development is encouraged and then rewarded when disaster strikes!”).
112 O'Toole, supra note 13 (discussing the issue of “moral hazard,” a phenomenon “whereby generosity promotes risk, by increasing the expectations of local residents . . . about the future federal response . . . the danger is . . . people will rebuild in dangerous areas with the expectation that the federal government’s deep pockets will bail them out”).
113 See NORDSTROM, supra note 50, at 217 (detailing how various groups have expressed a desire to “end public subsidies to private development in hazard areas and break the build-destroy-rebuild cycle”).
114 Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 296.
115 Id.
116 O'Toole, supra note 13.
117 Id.
118 H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV'T, supra note 2, at 2 (“[D]epending upon their insurance coverage and eligibility for federal assistance of various types, victims can transfer much of the economic consequences of disaster damage to other levels of society.”).
fund this cycle of repair and reconstruction, and placing unnecessary strains on vulnerable environmental areas and important public emergency response capabilities.

C. State and Local Environmental Enforcement Schemes

Some commentators have argued that the federalization of disaster relief, particularly in the environmental arena, is a disturbing trend, and greater authority for setting and enforcing environmental standards should be delegated to the state and local level. However, such critics largely ignore the problems of "uneven state [regulatory] performance," negative externalities resulting from a lack of uniform state and local environmental commitments, and the increasing political complexity of environmental regulation. This section examines each issue in turn.

Currently, states exercise tremendous freedom in setting and enforcing environmental policy. "States collectively issue more than 90 percent of all environmental permits, complete more than 75 percent of all environmental enforcement actions, and rely on the federal government for only 20 percent of their total funding." However, with greater autonomy comes growing regulatory disparity. Coastal environmental "state programs vary widely in the absence of national ... standards," and even when mandatory federal standards are in place, states are frequently lax in their overall enforcement. Moreover, there is little

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119 Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 342.
120 See generally David Schoenbrod, Why States, Not EPA, Should Set Pollution Standards, in ENVIRONMENTAL FEDERALISM 266 (Terry L. Anderson & Peter J. Hill eds., 1997). See also Whoriskey, supra note 42 (quoting Donald E. Powell, Federal Coordinator of Gulf Coast Rebuilding, as stating, "[f]ederal tax dollars should not be used to rebuild in places that repeatedly flood or are damaged due to Mother Nature—in New Orleans or elsewhere").
123 See generally Donald F. Kettl, Introduction to ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE 1, 10 (Donald F. Kettl ed., 2002) (chronicling the complex state task of balancing "the intricate interrelationships of companies, interest groups, [and] cross-media pollution problems").
124 Rabe, supra note 121, at 35.
125 Id. at 34.
126 NORDSTROM, supra note 50, at 194.
127 Rabe, supra note 121, at 43 ("In 1998 a two-year examination of state enforcement and inspection practices by the EPA inspector general resulted in a scathing assessment of basic environmental implementation in a number of states ... major violations of federal
indication that states with a relatively low commitment to regulatory enforcement are improving.\textsuperscript{128}

Such wide-ranging state environmental approaches require the federal government to be at the forefront of the regulatory effort to achieve a sensible, rational disaster relief policy capable of realizing full and fair economic and environmental recovery. Furthermore, it is only fair that we develop a federal approach since every American taxpayer is affected by coastal natural disasters, "even those far removed from the shore."\textsuperscript{129}

Like the states, local governments also have wide-ranging environmental regulatory enforcement schemes and varied success rates.\textsuperscript{130} One of the major reasons for such disparities is competition for the booming economic development on the coasts.\textsuperscript{131} Economic growth has become essential for the continued stability and vitality of local governments, leading some critics to comment that "[t]he very essence of a locality is its operation as a growth machine."\textsuperscript{132} Consequently, cities and municipalities, in an effort to best the competition, may be more willing to approve unwise construction proposals in order to secure a continual stream of economic growth,\textsuperscript{133} thereby endangering coastal ecosystems and exponentially increasing negative environmental externalities in neighboring areas.\textsuperscript{134}

The tendency for state and local officials to compete for economic growth may lead to their easily becoming beholden to special interests.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{128} Id. at 42.
\textsuperscript{129} BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 3.
\textsuperscript{131} International Year of the Ocean, supra note 26.
\textsuperscript{132} KENT E. PORTNEY, TAKING SUSTAINABLE CITIES SERIOUSLY 103 (2003) (citing Harvey Molotch, The City as Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place, 82 AM. J. OF SOC. 309 (1976)). See also BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 168 (describing the view of some politicians that continued economic development is the nation’s "manifest destiny").
\textsuperscript{133} PORTNEY, supra note 132, at 101 ("Not all cities have the luxury of being able to choose what kinds of economic development they will accept, and indeed the 'beggars can't be choosers' mentality is alive and well in many U.S. cities.").
\textsuperscript{134} Bollens, supra note 122, at 144 ("Fragmentation of growth management efforts encourages policymakers in one locality to ignore the harmful effects of their local decisions (such as environmental degradation or increased traffic congestion) felt by individuals outside their borders.").
\textsuperscript{135} Kettl, supra note 123.
As such, branches of the federal government, particularly administrative agencies like the EPA, are in a better position to implement significant, lasting reform intended to safeguard coastal environments as well as ensure “smart growth”136 along the nation’s shores.

D. Cultivating a Measured Political Response and Mobilizing a Disconnected American Electorate

While a federally-mandated initiative to curb unchecked coastal development and reform taxpayer-funded disaster relief appears to be the most effective solution, it remains necessary to identify and elaborate upon existing policies at the federal level. First, while U.S. presidents have been declaring federal disaster areas with greater frequency,137 leading to skyrocketing federal spending,138 these expenditures have been aimed primarily at short-term rebuilding projects rather than truly sustainable solutions.139 As indicated by President Bush’s carte blanche attitude towards rebuilding New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina,140 it is easier for politicians at the national level to perpetuate the oft-criticized “cycle of repair and reconstruction”141 than examine its underlying causes. Even initiatives aimed at restoring accountability and personal responsibility, such as the self-sustaining and “mandatory”142 aspects of programs like the National Flood Insurance Program, are not immune from the turbulent political forces brought on by great natural disasters. In fact, “[p]erhaps the greatest shortcoming of the NFIP is that the policy of ‘no federal assistance’ to the uninsured is frequently circumvented under political pressure in the poststorm relief/reconstruction period, undercutting the intent of the law and increasing the cost of disaster relief.”143 Consequently, it is imperative that we remove such decisions from politicians, who are too easily manipulated by tempestuous impulses and political machinations. This Note proposes a built-in taxation scheme, outlined in

136 PORTNEY, supra note 132, at 104.
138 Id.
139 NORDSTROM, supra note 50, at 223-24.
140 See O'Toole, supra note 13.
141 Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 342.
142 Nothing Could Dampen the Joy of Home Ownership—Or Could it?, supra note 33 (“Flood Insurance may be required by law.”).
143 BUSH ET AL., EDGE OF THE GULF, supra note 41, at 283.
the next section, to be levied against all high-risk development in vulnerable coastal areas, known as “v-zones.” This taxation scheme will serve as a means of distancing short-term political considerations from the federal disaster response. In so doing, the scheme will effectively restore some semblance of personal responsibility in the allocation of cleanup costs related to natural disasters.

Politicians deserve much of the blame for the untenable nature of federal disaster relief, but taxpayers themselves are surprisingly complicit in the current scheme. Indeed, “[t]axpayers readily finance disaster rescue and recovery costs, and efforts to impose emergency costs on the victims themselves remain unpopular.” This Note contends, however, that the reason for the apparent willingness of taxpayers to fund federal disaster relief efforts stems from a significant disconnect between the electorate and the general spending mechanism through which the government funds disaster relief. Although no study yet corroborates this claim, the average taxpayer is more likely to be inundated with images of suffering and destruction wrought by natural disasters than he or she is to become acquainted with the underlying systemic factors that exacerbate the level of destruction. Taxpayers’ feelings of outrage, compassion, and empathy help to rationalize the expenditure of large, abstract sums of federal money to help victims of natural disasters, even though taxpayers should instead be directing their ire at those knowingly taking advantage of the “public subsidies to private development in hazard areas.”

Compounding this problem is the alleged decline in the public’s trust in government and general feelings of alienation from the political process. Furthermore, because this issue involves a variety of complex environmental issues, the public’s distrust and alienation may be particularly heightened due to “difficulties of data access” and “data interpretation,” leading to a situation wherein “citizens face obvious challenges in assimilating expertise sufficient to participate meaningfully in technical

144 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 46.
145 City, supra note 37, at 1538.
146 See generally O’Toole, supra note 13 (describing the moral hazard problem associated with unchecked coastal development).
147 NORDSTROM, supra note 50, at 217.
As such, it is imperative that any effective solution concentrate less on the dizzying intricacies of "v-zones," "erosion rates," "externalities," and "the moral hazard problem," and more on ensuring that the public truly understands that the "cycle of repair and reconstruction," wrought by unwise coastal development will affect every citizen's environment and checkbook directly. A clearly articulated strategy coupled with a simple taxation scheme and equitable regulatory mechanism will result in the realization, finally, that of the underlying principle of existing environmental law: "polluter pays."

VI. CONFRONTING THE ISSUE

A. Introduction

As the preceding sections have demonstrated, the United States faces a momentous challenge in both cultivating a measured political response and changing the average American taxpayer's perspective on disaster relief. As Theodore Steinberg, a Professor of History at Case Western Reserve University, argues, the predominant view in this country is that natural disasters are simply "unpredictable acts of God." Even so, Steinberg contends that "we need to overcome [this] collective denial"

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149 Christopher H. Foreman, Jr., Civic Sustainability of Reform, in ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE 162 (Donald F. Kettl ed., 2002).
150 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 46.
152 Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 341.
153 O'Toole, supra note 13.
154 Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 342.
155 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 94 ("Eroding beaches, removed dunes, disappearing forest cover, beach nourishment projects, and failing seawalls are examples of community problems that all individual property owners pay for, whether or not their property is directly involved.").
156 Id. at 3 ("Every federal taxpayer (even those far removed from the shore) also contributes through underwriting disaster assistance, the national flood insurance program, loans to communities to build . . . and the list of 'donuts for disaster victims' goes on.").
158 O'Toole, supra note 13.
about natural disaster and we need to budget for it and prepare for it.”

To do so, the government should take steps to strengthen existing laws as well as support innovative state and local policies.

First, the federal government must strictly enforce the provisions of the National Flood Insurance Program, particularly those which make the Program mandatory. Furthermore, federal authorities should consider adopting proposals calling for the denial of “flood insurance and federal disaster assistance to current property owners located in coastal high-hazard areas whose housing and buildings do not meet the standard for new construction.” Strictly enforcing these existing standards and taking a firmer stance against unchecked development must be the first steps in any successful federal effort.

Second, the federal government should do more to encourage the adoption of state and local environmental policies aimed at “smart growth.” For example, “a number of communities have been imposing additional charges on developers” known as “impact fees.” However, these fees are typically earmarked for projects such as “roads, schools, and parks, that are directly associated with the new development,” and not problems such as erosion and post-disaster environmental cleanup costs that are exacerbated by such growth. To supplement these existing federal, state, and local measures, the government needs a strategy that effectively addresses the ultimate issue.

To begin, it is important to truly get back to the basics with an examination of what a “natural disaster” or “act of God” should mean in the context of federal disaster relief. As citizens, we too often let our emotion, empathy, and propensity for compassion and generosity cloud necessary thoughtful analysis, which engenders a desire to simply throw money at a problem without first addressing underlying systemic concerns.

Modern courts have defined “acts of God” as “grave natural disasters which could not be anticipated in the design, location, or operation

159 Id.
160 Nothing Could Dampen the Joy of Home Ownership - Or Could it?, supra note 33.
161 BUSH ET AL., EDGE OF THE GULF, supra note 41, at 282-83.
162 PORTNEY, supra note 132, at 104.
163 Marc T. Smith, Evolution and Conflict in Growth Management, in GROWTH MANAGEMENT: THE PLANNING CHALLENGE OF THE 1990s, supra note 27, at 49. See also Nicholas, supra note 27, at 208.
165 See O'Toole, supra note 13.
of the facility." Although often used in a variety of contexts, the term "act of God" encompasses the idea of true unforeseeability, which thereby negates the owner's responsibility for the adverse consequences of the disaster. Former Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert had the courage to question the wisdom of spending billions in taxpayer funded money to rebuild New Orleans, "a city that's 7 feet under sea level." He eventually recanted the statement after facing a tremendous amount of backlash from the national media and the public. While the timing of his statement may have caused him to appear insensitive, the underlying logic of his words should not have been discounted so quickly. The "historic, geographic, or climatic circumstances" of a location must once again become the central focus of a well-reasoned approach to the proper apportionment of liability for the cleanup costs associated with natural disasters. With this definition in mind, real estate developers who engage in reckless construction projects should not be able to ignore the long-term effects of their actions simply by claiming that economic and environmental damage wrought by their activities is an "act of God."

B. Strengthening the Superfund

Strictly construing the definition of an "act of God" to exclude the reasonably foreseeable and preventable economic and environmental consequences of overzealous construction in low-lying floodplains may permit the government to reapportion some of the rising costs of disaster

167 See Skandia Ins. Co. v. Star Shipping AS, 173 F. Supp. 2d 1228, 1239 (D. Ala. 2001) (defining an act of God as "any accident, due directly and exclusively to natural causes without human intervention, which by no amount of foresight, pains, or care, reasonably to have been expected could have been prevented").
168 See Sabine Towing, 666 F.2d at 564; see generally Superfund Liability Defenses, Exemptions and Protections, supra note 78.
170 See generally Babington, supra note 15.
171 Sabine Towing, 666 F.2d at 564.
172 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 94.
173 FED. EMERGENCY MGMT. AGENCY, THIS IS FEMA: A LOOK AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PRIMARY DISASTER RESPONSE AND RECOVERY RESOURCE (2004) [hereinafter THIS IS FEMA] ("FEMA also maps the nation's floodplains to identify flood hazards and works with state and local officials to minimize flood risks.").
relief to developers who willfully and recklessly engage in such conduct. Such an outcome could also help discourage development in environmentally sensitive areas and relieve the onerous and unjust burden currently assigned to American taxpayers. The Superfund itself already provides a useful mechanism through which such a goal may be realized.

First, the legislative intent behind the Superfund scheme is that the liable parties under the act are “those that are responsible for the contamination at a given site . . . the ‘polluter pays’ principle.” Clearly, developers who engage in risky coastal construction projects and the buyers who willingly finance such initiatives would fit under such a definition. Second, there is already a clearly defined standard of liability under the Act, in which “the cost of restoring an injured natural resource to its pre-injury state [is] the measure of damages to be awarded in cases brought under CERCLA.” Last, the overall scope of “natural resources” protected under the Act is also clearly and “broadly defined.” As such, by bringing the destructive effects of high-risk coastal development under the Superfund umbrella, the federal government does not need to enact sweeping new legislation and wait for the judiciary to interpret each provision before liability can be imposed.

In addition, perhaps the most appealing feature of the Superfund is its emphasis on the court system to further private environmental recovery efforts. Accordingly, environmental groups and concerned taxpayers alike should be encouraged to use the Superfund system in the wake of natural disasters in order to force private developers to bear a larger share of the considerable costs associated with environmental cleanup efforts. Further, adversely affected private homeowners could also use the Act as a means of supplementing federal disaster aid for the

174 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 94 (describing the willful blindness of “developers and real estate interests” in regard to the environmental repercussions of their ongoing activities).
175 Id. at 3.
176 Superfund Hearing, supra note 157, at 59.
177 Raymond J. Kopp & Kerry Smith, Introduction to VALUING NATURAL ASSETS 8 (Raymond J. Kopp & Kerry Smith eds., 1993).
178 KEVIN M. WARD & JOHN W. DUFFIELD, NATURAL RESOURCE DAMAGES: LAW AND ECONOMICS 101 (1994) (“The term natural resources is . . . broadly defined by CERCLA as 'land, fish, wildlife, biota, air, water, ground water, drinking water supplies, and other such resources belonging to, managed by, held in trust by, appertaining to, or otherwise controlled by the United States . . . [or] any State or local government.’”).
179 See Superfund Cost Recovery, supra note 72.
environmental cleanup of private lands precipitated by unwise or overzealous development. In this manner, homeowners can remedy the destructive effects of such occurrences as Hurricane Katrina’s toxic tide and manmade coastal erosion.

The overall goal of expanding the scope of Superfund to include more environmentally sensitive areas in coastal regions is to both engender a migratory shift away from development in such vulnerable areas and to increase private accountability for reasonably foreseeable disasters set in motion by unfettered development. This plan requires a limit to the “act of God” exception to truly unforeseeable events with a more literal reading of the term “natural disaster.” A multi-faceted effort would lessen the overall size and scope of the economic and environmental disasters, and similarly reduce the strain on the federal coffers, which would enable the federal government to address the more pressing needs of individuals affected by unforeseeable disasters. In other words, this restriction would provide a built-in mechanism for separating truly needy, innocent landowners from those who recklessly invited misfortune upon themselves.

VII. IMPLEMENTING AN EQUITABLE TAXATION SCHEME

A. Providing Adequate Capitalization for the Superfund

Now that this Note has explained the need to expand the Superfund’s scope to include risky coastal development activities, it becomes necessary to develop a means to fund such a broad expansion. The current CERCLA funding scheme has resulted in a situation in which “most hazardous waste sites are unlikely to be cleaned up by the EPA because the number of sites in need of cleanup simply exceeds the EPA’s resources.” Consequently, it would be unreasonable to expect that Congress would expand the scope of the Superfund to include more coastal developments in environmentally-sensitive areas without a commensurate increase in funding. As such, this Note proposes the implementation of a national sales tax on developments located in high risk coastal area flood zones (as defined by the Federal Emergency Management Agency as “V zones”).

180 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 94.
181 See Knickerbocker & Jonsson, supra note 4.
182 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 40.
183 Reitze, supra note 65, at 368.
that are built in such a manner as is almost certain to result in considerable economic and environmental damage in the event of a strong hurricane or great flood. Not only would such a tax structure provide additional capitalization for the Superfund, but it would also promote more cautious development in coastal areas and greater responsibility for cleanup operations, thus accomplishing many of the same goals inherent in existing Superfund legislation.

B. The Importance of an Incentive Based Taxation Scheme

To encourage more cautious development, legislation must link the offending activity directly to the tax. Currently, funding for CERCLA comes “from a series of taxes, especially on crude oil and petrochemicals.” However, “[t]here is no direct relationship between the creation of waste sites and the taxing structure of Superfund.” Consequently, CERCLA lacks built-in disincentives to curb the offending activity.

Scores of economists have written about the microeconomic effects of such built-in disincentives in businesses’ strategic decisions. Specifically, these disincentives impose economic costs on firms, leading to an “internalization of the externality,” wherein, for example, “the social costs of hazardous substance discharge and oil spills [are] taken into account in the firm’s decision making.” As such, just as corporate polluters must take into account such costs in terms of fines and taxes, so too should risky coastal developers take into account the rising economic

“[c]oastal areas with a 1% or greater chance of flooding and an additional hazard associated with storm waves. These areas have a 26% chance of flooding over the life of a 30-year mortgage”.

185 Kopp & Smith, supra note 177, at 28-29 (“In all parts of Superfund . . . Congress intended to [fashion] a powerful protective and compensatory mechanism based on a broad theory of cost internalization, primarily to give the costs of rectification back to the parties who benefitted, but also to provide a disincentive to future harmful conduct.”).


187 Id. See also Yandle, supra note 57, at 33 (arguing that CERCLA “taxes, like the income taxes paid by ordinary citizens, have nothing whatsoever to do with the behavior that creates the Superfund site”).

188 A. Myrick Freeman III, Economics, Incentives, and Environmental Policy, in ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY 212 (Norman J. Vig & Michael E. Kraft eds., 2003) (“The pollution tax (or charge) strategy has long appealed to economists because it provides a sure and graduated incentive to firms by making pollution itself a cost of production.”).

189 WARD & DUFFIELD, supra note 178, at 242.
cost in the form of a proposed national sales tax on further development in high-risk areas and they would pass such costs to the ultimate purchasers themselves rather than the average U.S. taxpayer.

C. Examples of Incentive Based Approaches in Other Contexts

A taxation scheme tied directly to the offending conduct is not a novel development in government regulation. Known as a "Pigouvian tax," this mechanism is "[a] standard solution" whereby a tax is levied at a "tax rate equal to the cost imposed by the external diseconomy." Accordingly, this Note proposes the creation of a bipartisan, Congressionally-appointed panel of economists to collectively determine the proper rate of taxation for high-risk coastal development so as to accomplish the stated Superfund goal of restoring the costs of this development to the parties responsible for its unchecked proliferation while at the same time providing a stronger deterrent to such unfettered growth.

Similar taxation schemes have proven successful in a variety of regulatory contexts. For instance, in Singapore, the government has implemented a series of taxes on commuters in order to "reduce urban motor vehicle congestion," thereby linking these fees directly to the offending conduct so as to apportion responsibility for the problem on drivers themselves. Similarly, "[m]any states have become increasingly reliant on emissions or waste fees to provide both an economic disincentive to environmental degradation and a source of funds for program management." Likewise, as discussed supra, some local governments have implemented a series of "impact fees" tied directly to growth, but have not gone as far as this Note's proposal in addressing the environmental impact of high-risk coastal development. Further, even if some local governments were to successfully address the problem in a similar fashion, there is still the need for a uniform, national solution due to the overwhelming tendency of state and local environmental standards to "vary widely."

190 Id. at 226.
191 Kopp & Smith, supra note 177, at 28-29.
192 WARD & DUFFIELD, supra note 178, at 228.
193 Rabe, supra note 121, at 39.
194 Smith, supra note 163, at 49.
195 NORDSTROM, supra note 50, at 194.
D. The Last Step: Identifying Countervailing Programs

To successfully implement this Note's equitable taxation scheme, legislators must heed the advice of a great number of commentators who have called for the initiation of an "intensive, intergovernmental research effort . . . to identify federal, state, and local public policies that directly or indirectly promote growth and development that increase the vulnerability of communities to coastal disasters." If the government were to overlook such policies, the disincentives built into the new scheme could lose their effectiveness because counterbalancing incentive programs elsewhere could mitigate the desired punitive effect. Additionally, it would be wise to identify any entrenched interests, such as the construction industry, that will likely engage in increased lobbying efforts in an attempt to preserve the current publicly-subsidized "cycle of repair and reconstruction."
Greater efforts must be made to assist those individuals who are adversely affected by natural disasters through no fault of their own.

The continuing theme of this Note is that a measured approach by the government should not be devoid of all references to personal responsibility. Just as this Note's proposed Superfund expansion is aimed at returning some semblance of responsibility based upon common tort notions of reasonableness and foreseeability, so too should federal law be aimed at fairly apportioning disaster-related cleanup costs. California can be regarded as one of the leaders in such an effort, as it has sought to impose a reasonable care standard of liability in landslide and surface water cases.

A variety of other salient issues arise with the realization that the Superfund cannot extend to every situation involving natural disasters. While CERCLA has been known to restrict a landowner's right to abandon or transfer an interest in polluted land, the common law has traditionally favored the free transferability and alienability of real property. "Many courts refused to impose restrictions on a trustee's right to abandon property, regardless of the level of environmental contamination present at such property." Abandonment thus provides a significant obstacle to the successful realization of a full and fair environmental cleanup effort. While the goal should be to inevitably restore a certain level of personal responsibility in cleanup efforts, we must be wary of neglecting those with legitimate needs sustained through little or no fault of their own. The objective is to find a balance between exacerbating the moral hazard problem associated with the reckless, unfettered development of environmentally-sensitive coastal regions and cutting off important sources of relief to the detriment of private homeowners, local communities, and the nation at large.

See, e.g., Poll: Katrina Response Inadequate (Sept. 8, 2005), http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/09/08/opinion/polls/main824591.shtml. See also Whoriskey, supra note 42 ("Raising a house can cost upwards of $50,000 . . . The federal government offers grants of as much as $30,000 for repairs, but in many cases more is required.").


See Reitze, supra note 65, at 425.

See, e.g., Armstrong v. Douglass, 89 Tenn. 219, 222 (1890) ("The law favors free alienation of property and abhors perpetuities.").

Harvey R. Miller et al., Issues Affecting Secured Creditors Regarding Environmental Matters in Bankruptcy Cases, in DEALING WITH SECURED CLAIMS AND STRUCTURED FINANCIAL PRODUCTS IN BANKRUPTCY CASES 309 (2002).

See O'Toole, supra note 13.
large. Luckily, courts typically restrict abandonment in cases where there is "imminent and identifiable" environmental harm[,] and have not allowed violations of state environmental laws to be a barrier to abandonment where no immediate health risk was presented by the abandonment." This balanced, measured approach to the delicate issue of abandonment thus appears to be a good compromise.

With this in mind, the government should be prepared in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina for a greater number of private homeowners and businesses to abandon polluted property due to a severe lack of the economic means to properly address the problem. Consequently, the government should encourage the efforts of environmental groups, who have the capital to engender a positive transformation, to acquire polluted land, even to the point of exercising eminent domain and encouraging relocation in situations where no other alternatives present themselves. In addition, the government should use all available means at their disposal, such as the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), while simultaneously recognizing the strengths and weaknesses of each measure. The "RCRA focuses only on active and future facilities and does not address abandoned or historical sites." With a coordinated, consistent, and measured effort, the government can effectively deal with the impending crisis.

CONCLUSION

The current federal measures aimed at tackling the detrimental effects of natural disasters in the United States have created a network of patchwork solutions that, although well-intentioned, are sometimes

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208 BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 94 ("Eroding beaches, removed dunes, disappearing forest cover, beach nourishment projects, and failing seawalls are examples of community problems that all individual property owners pay for, whether or not their property is directly involved.").
209 Id. at 335.
210 Rikoon, supra note 8.
211 For an in depth discussion of such efforts by environmental groups, see Feldman, supra note 17, at 320.
212 See generally Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 351 (discussing government "flood hazard mitigation technique[s]").
213 BUSH ET AL., EDGE OF THE GULF, supra note 41, at 283.
inefficient,\textsuperscript{215} wasteful,\textsuperscript{216} and even counterproductive.\textsuperscript{217} Too often the political response has been characterized by emotional zeal rather than a cautious, rational, and detached approach that is necessary for the creation of lasting and truly effective solutions. Even more troubling is the fact that those commentators brave enough to challenge the firmly established federally subsidized "cycle of repair and reconstruction,"\textsuperscript{218} have been met with disdain and contempt at their perceived lack of compassion.\textsuperscript{219}

To combat the moral hazard problem\textsuperscript{220} arising from such a system, it is necessary to forge a thoughtful balance between compassion and reason in an attempt to both tackle the problem of federally insuring reckless coastal development\textsuperscript{221} and still legitimately help those individuals beset by truly unforeseeable natural disasters.

The first way in which such a balance can be attained is to expand the current Superfund system to cover overzealous coastal construction projects that not only put the lives and property of an increasing number\textsuperscript{222} of citizens at risk, but also endanger large environmentally-sensitive areas.\textsuperscript{223} But the Superfund is already overextended and undercapitalized, and it is likely that private land in residential neighborhoods will be overlooked without an increase in both the scope and funding of the program. This increase in scope can be realized by reevaluating the term "natural disaster" and restricting the "act of God" defense embedded in the legislation to cover only those events associated with wholly natural disasters that are truly unforeseeable. In so doing, this change will ensure that heretofore unchecked developers can no longer take a "head in the sand" attitude\textsuperscript{224} towards unwise coastal development.

Likewise, the greater funding needs of the program could be met through a national sales tax on coastal developments in certain areas specifically enumerated by the EPA,\textsuperscript{225} such as those in floodplains and other environmentally sensitive or inherently dangerous areas across

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{215} Sar, supra note 47, at 145.
\item\textsuperscript{216} O'Toole, supra note 13 (discussing problems of "abuse and waste" in recent disaster relief efforts).
\item\textsuperscript{217} \textit{See generally} Bush et al., \textit{Rules of the Sea}, supra note 9, at 4.
\item\textsuperscript{218} Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 342.
\item\textsuperscript{219} \textit{See generally} Weatherproofing the U.S. Hearing, supra note 1.
\item\textsuperscript{220} O'Toole, supra note 13.
\item\textsuperscript{221} \textit{See generally} Bush et al., \textit{Rules of the Sea}, supra note 9, at 4.
\item\textsuperscript{222} Verrengia, supra note 19.
\item\textsuperscript{223} Bush et al., \textit{Rules of the Sea}, supra note 9, at 94.
\item\textsuperscript{224} \textit{Id.}
\item\textsuperscript{225} \textit{See} \textit{This is FEMA}, supra note 173.
\end{enumerate}
the country.\textsuperscript{226} The new taxation scheme should be implemented by a bi-
partisan, Congressionally-appointed panel of economists whose task will be to collectively determine the proper rate of taxation for high-risk coastal development so as to be consistent with the overall goals and founding principles that underlie the existing Superfund scheme.\textsuperscript{227} The new fee, a standard "Pigouvian tax,"\textsuperscript{228} will be directly tied to the offending conduct in order to restore some semblance of accountability and personal responsibility for the problems associated with unchecked coastal development.

The proposed scheme will be supplemented with a firm national commitment to enforce existing environmental laws such as the mandatory provisions of the NFIP, as well as greater federal support for innovative state and local environmental initiatives. This measured political response will be bolstered by greater public awareness campaigns regarding the "cycle of repair and reconstruction,"\textsuperscript{229} and a comprehensive federal research effort to identify and eliminate government policies that might hinder the overall effectiveness of the proposed tax scheme.\textsuperscript{230}

A multifaceted approach could mitigate the problems associated with rising costs, more frequent and more intense natural disasters, and limited availability of funds and government programs to deal with environmental clean-up costs. The strengthening of the Superfund, coupled with alternative proposals such as the exercise of eminent domain for the private\textsuperscript{231} or public\textsuperscript{232} acquisition of polluted or abandoned lands, could create a comprehensive, highly effective solution to tackling the nation's growing natural disaster-related cleanup concerns.

\textsuperscript{226} See BUSH ET AL., RULES OF THE SEA, supra note 9, at 46.
\textsuperscript{227} Kopp & Smith, supra note 177, at 28-29.
\textsuperscript{228} WARD & DUFFIELD, supra note 178, at 226.
\textsuperscript{229} Barnhizer, supra note 14, at 342.
\textsuperscript{230} H. JOHN HEINZ III CTR. FOR SCI., ECON. & THE ENV'T, supra note 2, at xxvii (proposing such a comprehensive federal effort).
\textsuperscript{231} For an in depth discussion of such efforts by environmental groups, see Feldman, supra note 17, at 320.
\textsuperscript{232} Cobb, supra note 100.