

6527 **Part III Overview: Preparing for Sea-Level Rise**

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6531 For at least the last four centuries, people have been erecting permanent settlements in the
6532 coastal zone of the Mid-Atlantic without regard to the fact that the sea is rising. Because
6533 the sea has been rising slowly and only a small part of the coast was developed, the
6534 consequences have been relatively isolated and manageable. Part I of this report suggests,
6535 however, that a 2 mm/yr acceleration of sea-level rise *could* transform the character of
6536 the mid-Atlantic coast, with a large scale loss of tidal wetlands and possible
6537 disintegration barrier islands - and a 7 mm/yr acceleration *probably would* cause such a
6538 transformation, although shore protection may prevent some developed barrier islands
6539 from disintegrating and low-lying communities from being taken over by wetlands.

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6541 For the last quarter century, scientific assessments have concluded that regardless of
6542 possible policies to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, people will have to adapt to
6543 changing climate and rising sea level (NAS, 1983; Hoffman *et al.*, 1983; IPCC 1990,
6544 1996, 2001, 2007). Adaptation assessments differentiate “reactive adaptation” from
6545 “anticipatory adaptation”. (Titus, 1990; Scheraga and Grambsch, 1998; Klein *et al.*, 1999;
6546 Frankhauser *et al.*, 1999).

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6548 Part III focuses on what might be done to prepare for sea-level rise. Chapter 9 starts by
6549 asking whether preparing for sea-level rise is even necessary. In many cases, reacting

6550 later is more justifiable than preparing now, both because the rate and timing of future
6551 sea-level rise is uncertain and the additional cost of acting now can be high when the
6552 impacts are at least several decades in the future. Nevertheless, for several types of
6553 impacts, the cost of preparing now is very small compared to the cost of reacting later.

6554 Examples where preparing appears to be rationally justified include:

- 6555 • *Coastal wetland protection.* It may be possible to reserve undeveloped lands for
6556 wetland migration, but once developed, it is very difficult to make land available for
6557 wetland migration. Therefore, it is far more feasible to aid wetland migration by
6558 setting aside land before it is developed, than to require development to be removed
6559 as sea level rises.
- 6560 • *Some long-lived infrastructure.* Whether it is beneficial to design coastal
6561 infrastructure to anticipate rising sea level depends on economic analysis of the
6562 incremental cost of designing for a higher sea level now, and the retrofit cost of
6563 modifying the structure at some point in the future. Most long-lived infrastructure in
6564 the threatened areas is sufficiently sensitive to rising sea level to warrant at least an
6565 assessment of the costs and benefits of preparing for rising sea level.
- 6566 • *Floodplain management.* Insurance works best when premiums reflect actual risk.
6567 Even without considering the possibility of accelerated sea-level rise, the National
6568 Academy of Sciences and a FEMA-supported study by the Heinz Center
6569 recommended to Congress that insurance rates should reflect the changing risks
6570 resulting from coastal erosion. Rising sea level increases the potential disparity
6571 between rates and risk.

6572

6573 Chapter 10 discusses organizations that are preparing for a possible acceleration of sea-
6574 level rise. The chapter is short because few organizations responsible for managing
6575 coastal resources vulnerable to sea-level rise have modified their activities. Most of the
6576 best examples of preparing for the environmental impacts of sea-level rise are in New
6577 England, where several states have enacted policies to enable wetlands to migrate inland
6578 as sea-level rise. Ocean City (Maryland) is an example of a town considering future sea-
6579 level rise in its infrastructure planning.

6580

6581 Chapter 11 examines the institutional barriers that make it difficult to take the potential
6582 impacts of future sea-level rise into account for coastal planning. Although few studies
6583 (e.g., U.S. Congress, 1993; Barth and Titus, 1984; Titus, 1990, 1998, 2001, 2004) have
6584 discussed the challenge of institutional barriers and biases in coastal decision making,
6585 their implications for sea-level rise are relatively straightforward:

- 6586 • *Inertia and short-term thinking.* Most institutions are slow to take on new
6587 challenges, especially those that require preparing for the future rather than fixing a
6588 current problem.
- 6589 • *The interdependence of decisions* reinforces institutional inertia. In many cases,
6590 preparing for sea-level rise requires a decision as to whether a given area will
6591 ultimately be given up to the sea, protected with structures and drainage systems, or
6592 elevated as the sea rises. Until communities decide which of those three pathways
6593 they will follow in a given area, it is difficult to determine which anticipatory or
6594 initial response measures should be taken.

- 6595 • *Policies favoring protection of what is currently there.* In some cases, longstanding
6596 preferences for shore protection (as discussed in Chapter 5) discourage planning
6597 measures that foster retreat. Because retreat may require a greater lead time than
6598 shore protection, the presumption that an area will be protected may imply that
6599 planning is unnecessary. On the other hand, these policies may help accelerate the
6600 response to sea-level rise in areas where shore protection is needed.
- 6601 • *Policies Favoring Coastal Development.* One possible response to sea-level rise is to
6602 invest less in the lands likely to be threatened. However, longstanding policies that
6603 encourage coastal development are a barrier to such a response. On the other hand,
6604 increasingly dense coastal development improves the ability to raise funds required
6605 for shore protection. Therefore, policies that encourage coastal development may be
6606 an institutional bias favoring shore protection, but they are not necessarily a barrier
6607 to responding to sea-level rise.

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6655 Chapter 9. Implications for Decisions

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6661 KEY FINDINGS

- 6662 • The prospect of accelerated sea-level rise generally justifies examining the costs
6663 and benefits of taking adaptive actions. Determining whether and what specific
6664 actions are justified is difficult, due to uncertainty in the timing and magnitude of
6665 impacts, and difficulties in quantifying projected benefits and costs. Nevertheless,
6666 the literature has identified some cases where acting now is justified.
- 6667 • Key opportunities for preparing for sea-level rise include coastal wetland
6668 protection, location and elevation of coastal homes, buildings and infrastructure,
6669 and examining whether and how changing risk due to sea-level rise is reflected in
6670 flood insurance rates.
- 6671 • Incorporating sea-level rise into coastal wetlands programs can be justified
6672 because it is more effective to plan for the inland migration of tidal wetlands
6673 *before* people develop the dry lands onto which those wetlands would migrate,
6674 than afterwards. Possible tools include rolling easements, density restrictions,
6675 coastal setbacks, and vegetative buffers.
- 6676 • Long-term shoreline planning is likely to save more than it costs; the more the sea
6677 ultimately rises, the greater the value of that planning.

6678 Many decisions of everyday life in the coastal zone have little to do with the fact that the
6679 sea is rising. Some day-to-day decisions depend on *today's* water levels: Sailors, surfers,
6680 and fishermen all consult tide tables to decide when to go out. And the decision whether
6681 to evacuate during a storm may depend on how high the water is expected to rise above
6682 the normal level. The fact that the *normal* level of the sea is rising about 0.01 millimeters
6683 per day does not affect such short term decisions.

6684

6685 Sea-level rise can have an impact, however, on the outcomes of many decisions with
6686 long-term consequences. Even in some of those cases, the impacts of sea-level rise still
6687 would not warrant doing things differently today, because the impacts are far enough in
6688 the future that people will have ample time to respond in the future. For example, there is
6689 no need to anticipate sea-level rise in the construction of port facilities (NRC 1987). In
6690 other cases, the adverse impacts of sea-level rise can be substantially reduced by
6691 preparing soon.

6692

6693 The previous chapters discuss vulnerable private property and public resources threatened
6694 by sea-level rise including real estate, wetlands, and ecosystems, infrastructure (*e.g.*,
6695 roads, bridges, parks, playgrounds, industrial plants) and commercial buildings including
6696 hotels, casinos, and office buildings. The loss of habitats and ecosystems that support
6697 fishing and crabbing may result in the loss of those activities and the communities that
6698 depend on them. A continuing theme of previous chapters in this report is that some of
6699 these assets will be protected or preserved in their current locations, while others must
6700 move inland or be lost. This report examines some of the government policies that are, in

6701 effect, the current response to sea-level rise. This chapter discusses responses to sea-level
6702 rise that may be justified today.

6703

6704 This chapter describes the categories of decisions that may be sensitive, with a focus on
6705 the idea that preparing for sea-level rise is not worthwhile unless the expected present
6706 value of the benefits of preparing for sea-level rise is greater than the cost. It then
6707 examines five issues in greater detail: wetland protection, shore protection, long-lived
6708 structures, elevating homes, and floodplain management. The examples in this chapter
6709 focus on activities by governments and homeowners, rather than corporations. Most of
6710 the *available* studies have been funded by governments, with a focus either on improving
6711 government programs or providing risk communication and technical support to small
6712 property owners. Corporations engage in many of the activities discussed in this chapter;
6713 but we can not rule out the possibility that privately funded strategic assessments have
6714 identified other near-term decisions that are sensitive to sea-level rise.

6715

6716 Much of the discussion in this chapter reflects the basic assumption that decision makers,
6717 be they homeowners or corporations, have a well-defined objective for their interest in
6718 potentially vulnerable coastal resources. Where a well-defined objective can be stated,
6719 the principles of economics and risk management provide an appropriate and useful
6720 paradigm for thinking about decision making, and how decisions are affected by sea-level
6721 rise. Examples of such well-defined objectives might be maximizing return on an
6722 investment (for a homeowner) or maximizing overall social welfare (for a government).
6723 Certainly, non-economic factors may also be important in decision making - these could

6724 include emotions, perceptions, cultural values, or other difficult to characterize factors -
6725 but those factors are beyond what we can evaluate in this chapter. Specifically, in this
6726 chapter we use an economic framework to discuss how the prospect of rising sea level
6727 might alter certain decisions, such as nourishing a beach or erecting a protective
6728 structure, that are consistent with homeowners or governments pursuing a particular
6729 objective. See Box 9.1 for further details on the basic economic framework we adopt.
6730
6731 The discussion here is not directly tied to specific sea-level rise scenario, but it does
6732 consider a wide range of possible outcomes over time horizons that vary by decision from
6733 decades to centuries. As a result, the discussion implicitly acknowledges uncertainty
6734 about the future rate of sea-level rise. We also explicitly acknowledge uncertainty about
6735 the impacts of sea-level rise. The economic framework applied here, however, does not
6736 explicitly identify the extent to which decisions might be affected by sea-level rise.
6737 Instead, we reference a wide range of existing quantitative studies that are relevant to this
6738 topic.

6739 START BOX HERE

6740 **Box 9.1 Conceptual Framework for Decision Making with Sea-Level Rise**

6741 Our conceptual framework for decision-making starts with the basic assumption that homeowners or
6742 governments with an interest in coastal resources seek to maximize the value of that resource to
6743 themselves (homeowners) or to the public as a whole (governments), over a long time horizon (on the
6744 order of 50 years or more). In each year, a coastal resource provides some value to its owner. In the
6745 case of the homeowner, a coastal property might provide rental income, or it might provide "imputed
6746 rent" that the owner derives from owning the home rather than renting a similar home. The market
6747 value of a property reflects an expectation that property will generate similar income over many years.
6748 Because income today is worth more than income in the future, however, the timing of the income
6749 stream associated with a property also matters (see explanation of "discounting" in the text).

6751 The income a property provides over time, however, can be affected by risks to the property, including
6752 natural hazards. Even without sea-level rise, there are significant natural hazards that affect coastal
6753 resources - these include erosion, hurricane winds, and episodic flooding. All of these risks can cause
6754 damage - that damage can reduce the income the property produces, increase the costs of maintaining
6755

6756 the property, or both. These "baseline" risks should be taken into account in estimating the value of the
6757 property today, to the extent they are known and understood by the owner and the market of potential
6758 buyers.

6759
6760 Sea-level rise changes the risks to coastal resources; in almost all cases, it increases existing risks.
6761 Investments can be made, however, to respond to and mitigate those changes in the risk of property
6762 damage. Decisions about those investments are the main topic of this chapter.

6763
6764 In an economic framework, investing in a response that mitigates coastal hazards will only be
6765 worthwhile if the cost of the investment (incurred in the short-term) is less than net expected returns
6766 (which accrue over the long-term). It follows logically that these investments are more likely to be
6767 judged worthwhile when: 1) there is a large risk of damage that will happen soon (and it can be
6768 effectively reduced); 2) there is a small cost to effectively reduce the risk; or 3) the investment shifts
6769 the risk to future years.

6770
6771 END BOX

6772

6773 **9.1 DECISIONS WHERE PREPARING FOR SEA-LEVEL RISE IS**

6774 **WORTHWHILE**

6775 Sea-level rise justifies changing what we do today if the outcome from considering sea-
6776 level rise has an expected net benefit greater than the cost. This basic economic
6777 framework is expressed in Box 9.1: Conceptual Framework for Decision Making with
6778 Sea-Level Rise. Thus, as we consider decisions where sea-level rise justifies doing things
6779 differently, we can *exclude* from further consideration those decisions where either (a)
6780 the costs are large compared to the impacts we are considering or (b) the net benefits
6781 seem small or not necessarily positive. Few if any studies have analyzed the costs of
6782 preparing for sea-level rise. But it seems self-evident that preparing for a very small rise
6783 in sea level would not be worthwhile. Most of what we know about decisions sensitive to
6784 sea-level rise concern decisions whose consequences last decades or longer, during which
6785 time significant rise in sea level might occur. Those decisions include long-lived
6786 structures, land-use planning, and infrastructure decisions that may influence the location
6787 of development for centuries even if the structures themselves do not last a long time.

6788 For what type of decision is there likely to be a net benefit from considering sea-level
6789 rise? Most analyses of this question have focused on cases where (1) the more sea level
6790 rises, the worse the impact; (2) the impacts are mostly in the future — and uncertain
6791 because the precise impact of sea-level rise is uncertain; and (3) if we prepare now, we
6792 will reduce the eventual adverse consequences.

6793

6794 The first step is to ask whether preparing now would be better than never preparing. If so,
6795 we can then investigate whether preparing now is also better than preparing during some
6796 future year. Preparing now to avoid possible effects in the future involves two key
6797 economic principles: uncertainty and discounting.

6798

6799 *Uncertainty.* Because projections of sea-level rise and its precise effects are uncertain,
6800 preparing now involves spending today for the sake of uncertain benefits. If sea level
6801 rises less than expected, then preparing now may prove — in retrospect — to have been
6802 unnecessary. And if sea level rises more than expected, whatever we do today may prove
6803 to be too little. This possibility tends to justify waiting to prepare later, if we think that a
6804 few years hence (a) we will know more and (b) the opportunity to prepare will be lost as
6805 time goes by²⁵. To overcome this hurdle, either preparing now has to be fairly

²⁵ An extensive economic literature on decision-making and planning under uncertainty, particularly where some effects are irreversible, is applicable here. A good summary of this literature, on the topic of "quasi-option value" can be found in Freeman (2003), page 250-251. Quasi-option value arises from the value of information gained by delaying an irreversible decision (*e.g.*, to retreat). In the sea-level rise context, it applies because in the current state the costs and benefits of choosing to retreat or protect are uncertain, and we can reasonably expect that uncertainty will narrow over time, and yield a value of information, as we observe rates of sea-level rise and develop enhanced technologies for more effectively protecting or retreating. Two of the more influential works in this area include Arrow and Fisher (1974) and Fisher and Hanemann (1987); an application to climate policy decisions is Ha-Duong (1998).

6806 inexpensive, or the preparation has to be fairly “robust” (*i.e.*, work over a wide variety of
6807 outcomes). If protecting existing development is important, beach nourishment is an
6808 example of a robust way to prepare, because the sand will do some good toward
6809 offsetting shore erosion no matter how fast or slowly the sea rises.

6810

6811 *Discounting.* Discounting is a procedure by which economists determine the “present
6812 value” of something given or received at a future date (EPA, 2000, p. 33). A dollar today
6813 is preferred over a dollar in the future, even without inflation; so a future dollar must be
6814 discounted to make costs and benefits received in different years comparable. Economists
6815 agree that the appropriate way to discount is to pick an assumed annual interest rate and
6816 compound it year-by-year, just as interest compounds, and use the result to discount
6817 future dollars. The precise rate that one should use depends on who is making the
6818 decision — and there is ongoing discussion amongst economists regarding what the
6819 discount rate should be for the U.S. Government (EPA, 2000, Chapter 6).

6820

6821 Most of the decisions where preparing now has a positive net benefit appear to fall into at
6822 least one of three categories: (1) the impact of sea-level rise is large in the near-term
6823 relative to value of asset; (2) preparing now costs little compared to the magnitude of the
6824 possible impact; or (3) preparing now involves options that reallocate (or clarify) risk, for
6825 example, by establishing today that the eventual costs of sea-level rise will be borne by a
6826 property owner making a decision sensitive to sea-level rise, rather than by third parties
6827 not involved in the decision. We discuss each in turn.

6828

6829 9.1.1 Decisions that Address Large Near-term Impacts

6830 If the near-term impact of sea-level rise is large enough, preparing now may be
6831 worthwhile. Such decisions might include:

- 6832 • Beach nourishment to protect homes that are in danger of being lost if something is
6833 not done soon.
- 6834 • Enhancing vertical accretion (build-up) of wetlands that are otherwise in danger of
6835 being lost in the near term.
- 6836 • Elevating homes that are clearly below the expected flood level due to historic sea-
6837 level rise (often after they have been flooded once).
- 6838 • Fortifying dikes to the elevation necessary to protect from current floods.

6839

6840 9.1.2 Decisions Where Preparing Now Costs Little

6841 These response options can be referred to as “low regrets” and “no regrets,” depending
6842 on whether the cost is little or nothing. In such cases, the response measure makes sense
6843 even if the sea does not rise. Examples include:

- 6844 • *Setting a new home back from the sea within a given lot.* Setting a home back from
6845 the water can push the eventual damages farther into the future, lowering their
6846 expected present value. Unlike the option of not building, this approach retains almost
6847 the entire value of using the property — especially if adjacent homes are also set back
6848 so that they do not block one’s waterfront view, provided that the lot is large enough
6849 to build the same house as one would have built without the setback requirement.
- 6850 • *Building a new building with a higher floor elevation.* While elevating an existing
6851 home can be costly, building it a few feet higher may add little to the cost.

- 6852 • *Designing new coastal drainage systems with larger pipes to incorporate future sea-*
6853 *level rise.* The retrofit of rebuilding a drainage system can be substantially more
6854 expensive than including larger pipes in the initial construction (Titus *et al.*, 1987).
- 6855 • *Rebuilding roads to a higher elevation during routine reconstruction.* If a road will
6856 eventually be elevated, it is easier to do so when it is being rebuilt anyway.
- 6857 • *Designing bridges and other major facilities.* As sea level rises, clearance under
6858 bridges declines, impairing navigation. Building the bridge higher is inexpensive
6859 compared with rebuilding it.

6860

6861 **9.1.3 Options That Reallocate or Clarify Risks from Sea-Level Rise**

6862 Instead of imposing a cost today to avoid problems that may or may not come later, these
6863 approaches impose a cost later — but only if and when the problem emerges. The
6864 premise for these measures is that policies and practices encourage people to behave in a
6865 fashion that increases costs more than necessary. Changing the rules and expectations can
6866 avoid those costs. Long-term shoreline planning and rolling easements are two examples.

6867

6868 In some cases, people will logically invest more along eroding shores if they assume that
6869 the government will provide subsidized shore protection. (Box 9.2: Erosion, Shore
6870 Protection, and Coastal Property Values). The value to a buyer of that government
6871 subsidy is capitalized into higher land prices, which can further encourage increased
6872 construction. If the assumption of future government action is wrong (*i.e.*, government
6873 does not provide shore protection), then prices can decline; and in extreme cases, people
6874 can lose their homes unexpectedly. People's lives as well as their economic investments

6875 can be disrupted if the absence of shore protection does not become widely known until
6876 dunes or dikes fail and a community is destroyed. A policy that clearly enunciates that
6877 such an area will *not* be protected could lead people to strategically downscale the
6878 physical property²⁶ and avoid developing the strong emotional attachment to the sense of
6879 place at that location²⁷, in favor of those areas that actually will be protected. (Chapter 11
6880 discusses this issue further.)

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6882

6883 **Box 9.2 Erosion, Shore Protection Programs, and Property Values**

6884

6885 Do government shore protection programs increase property values and encourage coastal development?
6886 Heinz Center (2000, p. 131-134) reported that along the Atlantic Coast, a house with a remaining lifetime
6887 of 10-20 years before succumbing to erosion is worth 20 percent less than a home expected to survive 200
6888 years. Landry *et al.* (2003) also found that property values tend to be higher with wide beaches and low
6889 erosion risk. It would therefore follow that shore protection programs that widen beaches, decrease erosion
6890 risk, and lengthen a home's expected lifetime would increase property values. Nevertheless, estimates of
6891 the impact on property values are complicated by the fact that proximity to the shore increases the risk of
6892 erosion but also improves access and views of the water (Bin *et al.*, in press).

6893

6894 Empirical verification that shore protection increases development is even less. Cordes and Yezer (1998)
6895 modeled the impact on new building permit activity in coastal areas of shore protection activity in 42
6896 coastal counties, including all of the counties with developed ocean coasts in New York, New Jersey,
6897 Maryland, and Virginia. They did not find a statistically relationship between shore protection and building
6898 permits. However they did find fewer building permits in areas where both flood insurance and shore
6899 protection are unavailable. The Heinz Center (200 p. 135) estimated that federal flood insurance and other
6900 government hazards programs had increased development densities about 30 percent over what it would
6901 otherwise be.

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6903 END BOX

6904

6905 Rolling easements either reallocate or clarify the risks of sea-level rise, depending on the
6906 pre-existing property rights of a given jurisdiction (Titus 1998). A rolling easement is any
6907 arrangement under which property owners have no right or expectation of holding back

²⁶ Yohe *et al.* (1996) estimates the nationwide value of "foresight" regarding response to sea level rise at \$20 billion, based largely on the strategic depreciation that foresight makes possible.

²⁷ Carol Farbotko (2005) argues that one can view Tuvalu as either a victim losing its sense of place, or a potentially resilient culture that must adapt to sea level rise.

6908 the sea if their property is threatened. In theory, such easements can be implemented
6909 either by regulation or as a special type of conservation easement²⁸. In either case, they
6910 prevent property owners from holding back the sea but allow any other type of use and
6911 activity on the land. As the sea advances, the easement automatically moves or “rolls”
6912 landward. Because shoreline stabilization structures cannot be erected, sediment transport
6913 remains undisturbed and wetlands and other tidal habitat can migrate naturally. Similarly,
6914 there will always be dry or intertidal land for the public to walk along, preserving lateral
6915 public access to the shore.

6916

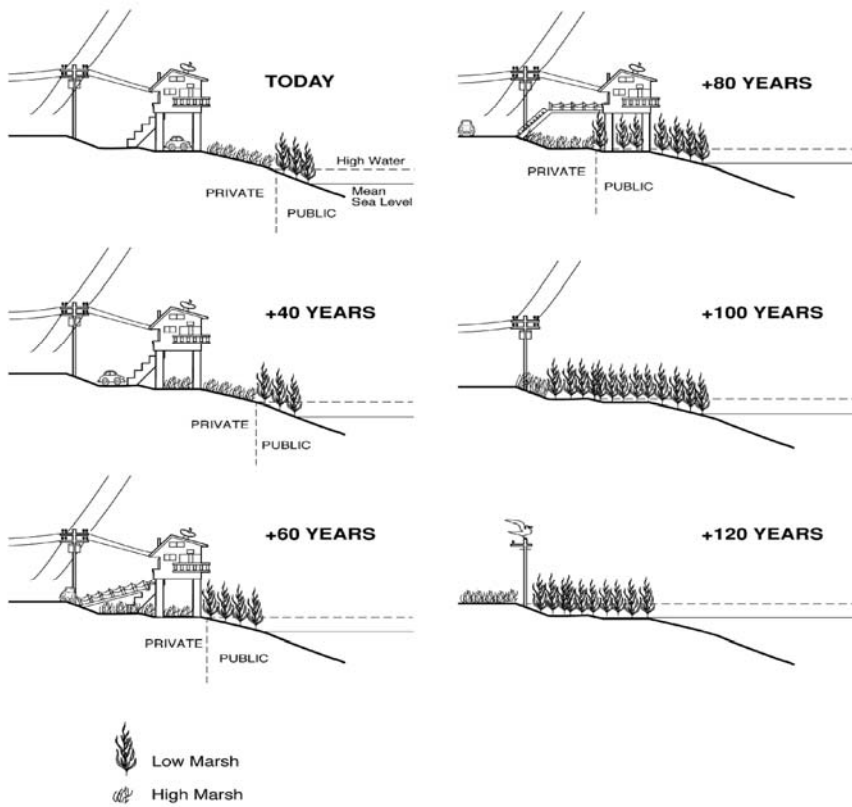
6917 Under a rolling easement, the property owner completely bears all of the risk of sea-level
6918 rise. Without a rolling easement, by contrast, along most shores property owners invest as
6919 if their real estate is sustainable, and then expend resources — or persuade governments
6920 to expend resources — to sustain the property. The overall effect of the rolling easement
6921 is that a community clearly decides to pursue retreat instead of shore protection in the
6922 future. This could also be done through a large-scale purchase of land now — but in that
6923 case there would be a large upfront cost as coastal land becomes unavailable for valuable
6924 uses.

6925 Rolling easements, by contrast, do not prevent the land from being used for the next few
6926 decades while the land remains dry. (Even if the government purchases the rolling
6927 easement, the purchase price is a simple transfer of wealth.) The landward migration from
6928 the rolling easement should have lower eventual costs than a government buyout several

²⁸ Another mechanism for allowing wetlands and beaches to migrate inland are setbacks, which prohibit development near the shore. Setbacks can often result in “takings” claims if a property is deemed undevelopable due to the setback line. By contrast, rolling easements place no restrictions on development and hence are not a taking. See, *e.g.*, Titus (1998).

6929 decades hence (Titus, 1991). Property owners can strategically depreciate their property
6930 and make other decisions consistent with the eventual abandonment of the property,
6931 efficiently responding to information on sea-level rise as it becomes available. Figure 9.1
6932 shows how a rolling easement might work over time in an area already developed when
6933 rolling easements are obtained.

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Figure 9.1 The landward migration of wetlands onto property subject to a rolling easement. A rolling easement allows construction near to the shore, but requires the property owner to recognize nature’s right-of-way to advance inland as sea level rises. In this case, the high marsh reaches the footprint of the house 40 years hence. Because the house is on pilings, it can still be occupied (assuming that it is hooked to a sewerage treatment plant — a flooded septic system would probably fail). After 60 years, the marsh has advanced enough to require the owner to park the car along the street and construct a catwalk across the front yard. After 80 years, the marsh has taken over the entire yard; moreover, the footprint of the house is now seaward of mean high water and hence on public property. At this point, additional reinvestment in the property is unlikely. Twenty years later, the particular house has been removed, although other houses on the same street may still be occupied. But eventually, the entire area returns to nature (Titus, 1998).

Let us now examine some examples of long-term planning decisions and subsequent

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reallocation of risk.

6952 9.2 PROTECTING COASTAL WETLANDS

6953 The nation's wetland programs generally result in the protection of wetlands in their
6954 current locations, but they do not explicitly consider retreating shorelines. Most tidal
6955 wetlands are likely to keep pace with the current rate of sea-level rise but could become
6956 marginal with a 2 mm/yr acceleration, and could be lost if sea-level rise accelerates by 7
6957 mm/yr (Chapter 3). The two key relationships determining future wetland area are the
6958 relationship between wetland vertical development and sea-level rise, and between the
6959 rates of seaward erosion and inland migration. If wetland vertical development keeps
6960 pace with sea-level rise, wetland area will expand if inland migration is greater than
6961 seaward erosion, remain unchanged if inland migration and seaward erosion are equal,
6962 and decline if seaward erosion is greater than inland migration. If wetland vertical
6963 development lags behind sea-level rise (*i.e.*, wetlands do not keep pace), the wetlands
6964 will eventually become submerged and deteriorate even as they migrate inland, resulting
6965 in a loss of wetland area. Thus although the dry land available for potential inland
6966 wetland migration or formation is estimated to be less than 20% of the current area of
6967 wetlands (Chapter 1), these lands could potentially become important wetland areas in
6968 the future. However, they may not be available for wetland migration and formation
6969 given current policies and land use trends (Chapter 5).

6970

6971 A continuation of the current practice of protecting almost all developed estuarine shores
6972 could reverse the accomplishments of important environmental programs. Until the
6973 middle of the 20th century, tidal wetlands were often converted to dredge-and-fill

6974 developments²⁹. By the 1970s, the aggregate result of the combination of federal and
6975 state regulations had, for all practical purposes, halted that practice. In the Mid-Atlantic,
6976 most tidal wetlands are off-limits to development. Coastal states generally prohibit the
6977 filling of low marsh, which is publicly owned in most states under the public trust
6978 doctrine (See Chapter 7).

6979

6980 A landowner who wants to fill tidal wetlands on private property must obtain a permit
6981 from the Army Corps of Engineers. 33 U.S.C. §§ 403, 409, 1344(a). These permits are
6982 generally not issued unless the activity is inherently water-related, such as a marina. 40
6983 C.F.R. § 230.10(a)(3). Even then, the owners generally must mitigate the loss of wetlands
6984 by creating or enhancing wetlands elsewhere (EPA and USACE 1990). (Activities with
6985 very small impacts on wetlands, however, often qualify for a nationwide permit.) The net
6986 effect of all these programs has been to sharply reduce the rate of coastal wetland loss
6987 (e.g., Stockton and Richardson, 1987; Hardisky and Klemas, 1983) and preserve an
6988 almost continuous strip of marshes, beaches, swamps, and mudflats along the U.S. Coast.
6989 If sea-level rise accelerates, those wetlands are likely to be lost (Reed *et al.*, 2008) unless
6990 either they are able to migrate inland or future generations use technology to ensure that
6991 wetland surfaces rise as rapidly as the sea (NRC, 2006).

²⁹ See Chapter 5 for an explanation of these developments and their vulnerability to sea level rise.

6992 Current approaches would *not* protect wetlands for future generations if sea level rises
6993 beyond the ability of wetlands to accrete — which is likely for most of the Mid-Atlantic
6994 with a 7 mm/yr acceleration, and likely for a 2mm/yr acceleration for most of
6995 Chesapeake Bay’s wetlands.
6996
6997 Existing federal statutes are designed to protect existing wetlands, but the totality of the
6998 Nation’s wetland protection program is the end result of decisions made by many actors.
6999 Federal programs discourage destruction of most *existing* coastal wetlands, but the
7000 federal government has not moved towards allowing tidal wetlands to migrate inland
7001 (Titus, 2000). The States of North Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York own
7002 the tidal wetlands below mean high water; and Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania
7003 have enough of an ownership interest under the Public Trust Doctrine to preserve them
7004 even if doing so requires landward migration (Titus, 1998). But most states give property
7005 owners a near-universal permit to protect property by preventing wetlands from
7006 migrating onto dry land. Farmers rarely erect shore protection structures, but
7007 homeowners usually do (Titus, 1998; NRC, 2006). A few coastal counties and states have
7008 decided to keep shorefront farms and forests undeveloped, (see Appendices D, E, and F)
7009 but most have not. Government agencies that hold land with conservation objectives have
7010 not decided to purchase the land or easements necessary to enable wetlands to migrate
7011 inland³⁰. Thus, in effect, the United States has decided to *save* its existing wetlands. But
7012 the net effect of all the decisions made at different levels is very likely to *eliminate*

³⁰ But see chapter 10 for discussion of private conservancies.

7013 wetlands by blocking their landward migration as a rising sea erodes their outer
7014 boundaries.
7015
7016 Not only is the long-term success of wetland protection sensitive to sea-level rise, it is
7017 also sensitive to *when* such decisions are made. The political and economic feasibility of
7018 allowing wetlands to take over a given parcel as sea level rises is much greater if
7019 appropriate policies are in place before the property is intensely developed. Many coastal
7020 lands are undeveloped today, but development continues. Deciding now that wetlands
7021 will have land available to migrate inland could protect more wetlands than delaying such
7022 a decision. In some places, such policies might discourage development in areas onto
7023 which wetlands may be able to migrate. In other areas, development could occur with the
7024 understanding that eventually land will revert to nature if sea level rises enough to
7025 submerge it. Like beach nourishment, artificial vertical build-up of tidal wetlands would
7026 not necessarily require a lead-time of several decades; but developing technologies to do
7027 so and determining whether and where they are appropriate could also take decades. To
7028 the extent that human activities³¹ interfere with natural vertical accretion (build-up),
7029 restoring natural processes before the wetlands are lost is more effective than artificially
7030 re-creating them (EPA 1995; EPA and USACE 1990; Kruczynski 1990).

7031

7032 Even though the long-term success of the Nation's effort to protect wetlands is sensitive
7033 to sea-level rise, most of the individual decisions that ultimately determine whether
7034 wetlands can migrate inland depend on factors that are not sensitive to sea-level rise. The

³¹ *E.g.*, water flow management, development that alters drainage patterns, and beach nourishment and inlet modification which thwarts barrier island overwash.

7035 desire of bayfront homeowners to keep their homes is strong; and unlikely to abate even
7036 with a significant acceleration of sea-level rise³². State governments must balance the
7037 public interest in the tidal wetlands against the well-founded expectations of coastal
7038 property owners that they will not have to yield their property. Only a handful of states
7039 — none of which are in the Mid-Atlantic — have decided in favor of the wetlands (see
7040 Chapter 10). Local government decisions regarding land use reflect many interests.
7041 Objectives such as near-term tax revenues (often by seasonal residents who make
7042 relatively few demands for services) and a reluctance to undermine the economic
7043 interests of landowners and commercial establishments are not especially sensitive to
7044 rising sea level.

7045

7046 Today's decentralized decision making process seems to protect coastal wetlands
7047 reasonably well at the current rate of sea-level rise; but it will not enable wetlands to
7048 migrate inland as sea-level rise continues or accelerates. A large-scale landward
7049 migration of coastal wetlands is very unlikely to occur in most of the Mid-Atlantic unless
7050 a conscious decision is made for such a migration by a level of government with
7051 authority to do so.

7052

7053 **9.3 SHORE PROTECTION**

7054 The case for anticipating sea-level rise as part of activities to prevent erosion and
7055 flooding has not been as strong as for wetland protection. The lead time required for
7056 shore protection is much less than for a planned retreat and wetland migration. Dikes,

³² See, e.g., Weggel *et al.* (1989), Titus *et al.* (1991), and NRC (2006) for an examination of costs and options for estuarine shore protection.

7057 seawalls, bulkheads, and revetments can each be built within a few years. Beach
7058 nourishment is an incremental periodic activity; if the sea rises more than expected, one
7059 can add more sand.
7060
7061 The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Corps) has not evaluated whether sea-level rise will
7062 ultimately require fundamental changes in shore protection, but such changes do not
7063 appear to be urgent. Since the early 1990s, the Corps' guidance to project managers has
7064 urged them to attempt to identify robust strategies: "Feasibility studies should consider
7065 which designs are most appropriate for a range of possible future rates of rise. Strategies that
7066 would be appropriate for the entire range of uncertainty should receive preference over those that
7067 would be optimal for a particular rate of rise but unsuccessful for other possible outcomes."
7068 (USACE 2000a, page e-142). So far, this guidance has not significantly altered the Corps'
7069 approach to shore protection. Nevertheless, there is some question as to whether beach
7070 nourishment would be sustainable in the future if the rate of sea-level rise accelerates. It
7071 may be technically possible to double or triple the rate at which we nourish beaches and
7072 elevate the land surfaces of barrier islands 50–100 cm to offset rising sea level in the next
7073 century. But continuing such a practice indefinitely would eventually leave back barrier
7074 bays much deeper than today (see chapter 4), with unknown consequences for the
7075 environment and the barrier islands themselves. Similarly, it may be technically possible
7076 to build a low bulkhead along mainland shores as sea level rises 50–100 cm, but it could
7077 be more challenging to build a tall dike along the same shore—blocking waterfront
7078 views, requiring continual pumping, and exposing people behind the dike to the risk of
7079 flooding should that dike fail.
7080

7081 9.4 LONG-LIVED STRUCTURES: SHOULD WE PLAN NOW OR LATER?

7082 The fact that eventually we will either hold back the sea or allow it to inundate a
7083 particular parcel of land does not, by itself, automatically imply that we must respond
7084 today. A community that will not need a dike until the sea rises 2 ft has little reason to
7085 build that dike today. Nevertheless, if the land where the dike would eventually be
7086 constructed happens to be vacant, the prospect of future sea-level rise might be a good
7087 reason to leave the land vacant. A homeowner whose house will be inundated in 30 to 50
7088 years has little reason to move the house back today, but if the opportunity arises, it might
7089 be advisable to rebuild the house on a part of the lot that would provide it with a longer
7090 life.

7091

7092 Whether we need to be concerned about long-term sea-level rise ultimately depends on
7093 the lead time of our response options and on the costs and benefits of acting now versus
7094 later. A fundamental premise of benefit-cost analysis is that resources not deployed today
7095 can be invested profitably in another activity and yield a return on investment. Most
7096 engineering responses to sea-level rise fall into that category. For a given level of
7097 protection, dikes, seawalls, beach nourishment, jacking up structures, and elevating
7098 roadways are unlikely to cost more a few decades hence than today (USACE 2000b,
7099 2007), and they can be implemented within the course of a few years. To the extent that
7100 this is our response to sea-level rise, we may not need to do it today. However, there are
7101 two exceptions.

7102

7103 The first exception might be called the “retrofit penalty” for failing to think long-term. If
7104 one is building (or rebuilding) a road or a drainage system anyway, then it may be far
7105 cheaper to design for a rise in sea level than modify it later, because in the latter case, the
7106 project needs to be built twice. For example, in a particular watershed in Charleston,
7107 South Carolina, if the sea rises one foot, the planned drainage system would fail and have
7108 to be rebuilt, but it would only cost an extra 5% to design the system today for a one-foot
7109 rise (Titus *et al.*, 1987, Table 2). The design and location of a house may be another
7110 example. If a house is designed to be moved, it can be moved; but a brick house on a slab
7111 foundation could be more problematic. Similarly, the cost of building a house 20 ft
7112 farther from the shore may be minor if the lot is large enough, whereas moving it back 20
7113 ft could be substantial (EPA, 1989).

7114

7115 The second exception concerns the incidental benefits of doing something sooner. If a
7116 dike is not needed until the sea rises 2 ft because at that point a 100-year storm would
7117 flood the streets with 4 ft of water, the community is implicitly accepting the 2 ft of water
7118 that such a storm would provide today. If a dike is built now, it would stop this smaller
7119 flood as well as protect from the larger flood that will eventually occur. This reasoning
7120 was instrumental in leading the British to build the Thames River Barrier, which protects
7121 London. Some people argued that this expensive structure was too costly given the small
7122 risk of London flooding, but rising sea level meant that such a structure would eventually
7123 have to be built. Hence, the Greater London Council decided to build it during the 1970s
7124 (Gilbert and Horner, 1984).

7125

7126 While most engineering responses can be delayed with little penalty, the same cannot be
7127 said about land use decisions. Once an area is developed, the cost of vacating it as the sea
7128 rises is much greater than that cost would have been if the area was not developed. This is
7129 not to say that eventual inundation should automatically result in placing land off-limits
7130 to development. Even if a home has to be torn down 50 to 100 years hence, it might still
7131 be worth building. In some coastal areas where demand for beach access is great, rentals
7132 may recover the cost of home construction in less than a decade. However, once an area
7133 is developed, as a practical matter, it will not be abandoned unless either the eventual
7134 abandonment was part of the original construction plan, or the owners could not afford to
7135 hold back the sea. Therefore, the only way to preserve natural shores would be to make
7136 such a decision before an area is developed. Because the coast is being developed today,
7137 a failure to deal with this issue now is, in effect, a decision to allow the loss of wetlands
7138 and bay beaches wherever development takes place.

7139

7140 Among those options that have a net benefit compared to the baseline, many can be
7141 delayed because the benefits would still accrue. Delaying action can decrease the present
7142 value of the cost of acting — and increase the likelihood that the preparation is more
7143 closely tailored to what is necessary. But it can also increase the likelihood that one does
7144 not prepare until it is too late. One way to address this dilemma is to consider the lead
7145 times associated with particular types of adaptation (IPCC, 1992; O’Callahan, 1994).

7146

7147

7148

7149 **9.5 DECISIONS BY COASTAL PROPERTY OWNERS ON ELEVATING**7150 **HOMES**

7151 People are increasingly elevating homes to reduce the risk of flooding during severe
7152 storms, and in very low areas, people also elevate their yards. The cost of elevating even
7153 a small wood-frame cottage on a block foundation is likely to be \$15,000–20,000 — and
7154 larger houses cost proportionately more. If it is necessary to drill pilings, the cost can be
7155 double because one has to move the house to the side and then move it back. If elevating
7156 the home prevents its subsequent destruction within a few decades, it will have been
7157 worthwhile. At a 5% discount rate, for example, it is worth investing 25% of the value of
7158 a structure to avoid a guaranteed loss 28 years hence. In areas where complete destruction
7159 of a home is unlikely, people sometimes elevate homes because of the lower insurance
7160 rates and to avoid the risk of water damages to walls and furniture. But the decision to
7161 elevate involves factors other than flooding as well, including better views of the water,
7162 increased storage and/or parking spaces, and greater difficulty for the elderly to enter
7163 their homes. Rising sea level can be a motivating factor to elevate a home even when one
7164 is uncertain about whether it is worth doing so, because it is likely that it will eventually
7165 be necessary (unless there is a good chance that the home will be replaced with a larger
7166 structure).

7167

7168 In cases where a new home is being constructed, or an existing home is elevated for
7169 reasons unrelated to sea-level rise, (such as a realization of the risk of flooding), rising
7170 sea level would justify raising the home to a higher level than would otherwise be the
7171 case. Elevating the home to (for example) 30 cm above the base flood elevation as part of

7172 the initial construction costs very little. The rising sea level increases the expected flood
7173 damages over the lifetime of a home. Thus, for very little marginal cost, future flood
7174 damages can be avoided by elevating the home more than would otherwise be the case.

7175

7176 **9.6 FLOODPLAIN MANAGEMENT**

7177 The decisions that are potentially sensitive to rising sea level include floodplain mapping,
7178 floodplain regulations, flood insurance rates, and the various hazard mitigation activities
7179 that often take place in the aftermath of a serious storm. Although the outcomes of all
7180 these activities are clearly sensitive to sea-level rise, analysis is not available to enable
7181 assessment of whether future sea-level rise warrants changing the way things are done
7182 today.

7183

7184 **9.6.1 Floodplain Regulations**

7185 The flood insurance program requires new (or substantially rebuilt) structures in the
7186 coastal floodplain to have the first floor above the base flood elevation (100-year flood).
7187 The program vests considerable discretion in local officials to tailor specific requirements
7188 to local conditions, or to enact regulations that are more stringent than FEMA's minimum
7189 requirements. Several communities have decided to require floor levels to be one foot (or
7190 more) above the base flood elevation. In some cases, past or future sea-level rise has been
7191 cited as one of the justifications for doing so. There is considerable variation in both the
7192 costs and benefits of designing building to accommodate future sea-level rise. If local
7193 governments believe that property owners need a nudge to optimally address sea-level
7194 rise, they can require more stringent (higher) floor elevations. A possible reason for

7195 requiring higher floor elevations is that the current structure of the program does not raise
7196 rates for existing structures even if flood risks increase over time.

7197

7198 **9.6.2 Floodplain Mapping**

7199 Requiring flood elevations above the base flood elevation can create anomalies, unless
7200 floodplain mapping also takes sea-level rise in account. Local jurisdictions have pointed
7201 this out (see Baltimore box in Appendix F). Otherwise, building in today's floodplain
7202 would have to be higher than adjacent buildings on higher ground that is outside of the
7203 floodplain today. The ability of local officials to voluntarily prepare for rising sea level is
7204 thus somewhat constrained by the lack of floodplain mapping that takes account of sea-
7205 level rise. Creation of maps that take account of sea-level rise would thus appear to be a
7206 low-regrets activity, because it would enable local officials to modify requirements where
7207 appropriate.

7208

7209 **9.6.3 Federal Flood Insurance Rates**

7210 A 1991 Report to Congress by FEMA concluded that there was little need to change the
7211 Flood Insurance Program because rates would be adjusted as sea level rises and flood
7212 maps are revised (FEMA, 1991). Other commentators have pointed out, however, that
7213 flood insurance rates respond to increased risk for new or rebuilt homes, but not existing
7214 homes.

7215

7216 Flood insurance is different than most types of insurance. Unlike automobile insurance,
7217 the flood insurance program does not adjust rates as the individual conditions of a

7218 property make it riskier. Although shoreline erosion and rising sea level increase the
7219 expected flood damages of a given home, they do not cause the rates on a given property
7220 to rise. Unless a home is substantially changed, its assumed risk is grandfathered (*e.g.*,
7221 NFIP, 2007; Heinz Center, 2000). Thus, not only do insurance rates not anticipate future
7222 sea-level rise, they do not react to the past rise. This approach, in effect, prevents
7223 property owners from feeling the “market signal” of increased risks.

7224

7225 New homes pay higher rates if new maps show risks to be increasing. And if the house is
7226 substantially enlarged, its rates will reflect the new risk. So whether or not a property
7227 owner feels the market signal of increased rates depends on the expected frequency of
7228 reconstruction compared with the time it will take for a significant increase in the risk.
7229 FEMA’s Report to Congress assumed, in effect, that reconstruction occurs rapidly
7230 compared to the rate at which risk increases; so relatively few people will have an
7231 artificially low insurance rate due to sea-level rise (FEMA, 1991).

7232

7233 Other studies have reached the opposite conclusion. The National Academy of Sciences
7234 has recommended that the Flood Insurance Program create mechanisms to ensure that
7235 insurance rates reflect the increased risks caused by coastal erosion (NAS 1990, p. 9, 91).
7236 NAS pointed out that Congress has explicitly included storm-related erosion as part of
7237 the damages covered by flood insurance (42 U.S.C. §4121), and that FEMA’s regulations
7238 (44 CFR Part 65.1) already defined special “erosion zones” (NAS 1990, p. 72). A FEMA-
7239 supported study by the Heinz Center (2000) and a theme issue in the *Journal of Coastal*

7240 *Research* (Crowell and Leatherman, 1999) also concluded that, because of existing shore
7241 erosion, there can be a substantial disparity between actual risk and insurance rates.
7242
7243 Would sea-level rise justify changing the current approach? Two possible alternatives
7244 would be to: (a) shorten the period during which rates are kept fixed so that rates can
7245 respond to risk and property owners can respond; or (b) keep the current policy of fixed
7246 rates, but instead of basing rates on the risk when the house is built — which tends to
7247 systematically underestimate the risk — base the rate on an estimate of the average risk
7248 over the lifetime of the structure, using assumed rates of sea-level rise, shore erosion, and
7249 structure lifetime. The latter approach received considerable consideration in the FEMA-
7250 supported study by the Heinz Center and the theme issue in *Journal of Coastal Research*.
7251 That analysis assumed current rates of sea-level rise. FEMA has not investigated whether
7252 accelerated sea-level rise would increase the disparity between risks and insurance rates
7253 enough to revisit that decision; nor has it investigated the option of adjusting rates to
7254 reflect changing risks. Although Congress has not provided FEMA with a mandate to act
7255 on the Heinz Center recommendations, the Government Accountability Office (2007)
7256 recently recommended that FEMA analyze the potential long-term implications of
7257 climate change for the National Flood Insurance Program. FEMA has told Congress that
7258 it intends to initiate such an analysis (Buckley 2007).

7259

7260 **9.6.4 Post Disaster Hazard Mitigation**

7261 If a coastal community is ultimately going to be abandoned to the rising sea level, a
7262 major rebuilding effort in the current location may be less useful than expending the same

7263 resources rebuilding the community on higher ground. On the other hand, if the
7264 community plans to remain in its current location despite the increasing costs of shore
7265 protection, then it is important for people to understand that commitment. Unless
7266 property owners know which path the community is following, they do not know whether
7267 to reinvest. Moreover, if the community is going to stay in its current location, owners
7268 need to know whether their land will be protected with a dike or if the street is likely to
7269 be elevated a few feet.

7270

7271 **9.7 CONCLUSIONS**

7272 The need to prepare for rising sea level depends on the length of the period of time over
7273 which the decision will continue to have consequences, how sensitive those consequences
7274 are to how much the sea rises, how rapidly the sea is expected to rise and the magnitude
7275 of uncertainty over that expectation, the decision maker's risk tolerance, and the
7276 implications of deferring a decision to prepare. Someone making a decision with
7277 outcomes over a long period of time about an activity that is sensitive to sea level may
7278 need to consider sea-level rise — especially if whatever one might do today to prepare
7279 would not be feasible later. Decisions with outcomes over a short period of time about
7280 activities that are not sensitive to sea level probably need not consider sea-level rise —
7281 especially if whatever one might do to prepare today would be just as effective if done
7282 later.

7283

7284 Instances where the existing literature provides an economic rationale for preparing for
7285 accelerated sea-level rise include:

- 7286 • *Coastal wetland protection.* Wetlands and the success of wetland-protection
7287 efforts are almost certainly sufficiently sensitive to sea-level rise to warrant
7288 examination of some changes in coastal wetland protection efforts, assuming that
7289 the objective is to ensure that most estuaries that have extensive wetlands today
7290 will continue to have tidal wetlands in the future. Coastal wetlands are sensitive to
7291 rising sea level, and many of the possible measures needed to ensure their survival
7292 as sea level rises have a very long lead time. Changes in management approaches
7293 would likely involve consideration of options at various levels of authority.
- 7294 • *Coastal infrastructure.* Whether it is beneficial to design coastal infrastructure to
7295 anticipate rising sea level depends on the ratio of the incremental cost of
7296 designing for a higher sea level now, compared with the retrofit cost of modifying
7297 the structure later. No general statement is possible, because this ratio varies and
7298 relatively few engineering assessments of the question have been published. But
7299 because the cost of analyzing this question is very small compared with the
7300 retrofit cost, it is likely that most long-lived infrastructure in the coastal zone is
7301 sufficiently sensitive to rising sea level so as to warrant an analysis of the
7302 comparative cost of designing for higher water levels now and retrofitting later.
- 7303 • *Building along the coast.* In general, the economics of coastal development alone
7304 does not currently appear to be sufficiently sensitive to sea-level rise so as to
7305 avoid construction in coastal areas. Land values are so high that development is
7306 often economic even if a home is certain to be lost within a few decades. The
7307 optimal location and elevation of new homes may be sensitive to prospects for
7308 rising sea level.

- 7309 • *Shoreline planning.* A wide array of measures for adapting to rising sea level
7310 depend on whether a given area will be elevated, protected with structures, or
7311 abandoned to the rising sea. Several studies have shown that in those cases where
7312 the shores will retreat and structures will be removed, the economic cost will be
7313 much less if people plan for that retreat. The human toll of an unplanned
7314 abandonment may be much greater than if people gradually relocate when it is
7315 convenient to do so. Conversely, people may be reluctant to invest in an area
7316 without some assurance that lands will not be lost to the sea. Therefore, long-term
7317 shoreline planning is generally justified and will save more than it costs; the more
7318 the sea ultimately rises, the greater the value of that planning.
- 7319 • *Rolling easements, density restrictions, and coastal setbacks.* Several studies have
7320 shown that in those cases where the shores will retreat and structures will be
7321 removed, the economic cost will be much less if people plan for that retreat.
7322 Along estuaries, a retreat is rarely forced by events and thus is likely to only occur
7323 if land remains lightly developed. It is very likely that options such as rolling
7324 easements, density restrictions, coastal setbacks, and vegetative buffers, would
7325 increase the ability of wetlands and beaches to migrate inland.
- 7326 • *Floodplain management: Consideration of reflecting actual risk in flood*
7327 *insurance rates.* Economists and other commentators generally agree that
7328 insurance works best when the premiums reflect the actual risk. Even without
7329 considering the possibility of accelerated sea-level rise, the National Academy of
7330 Sciences (1990) and a FEMA-supported study by the Heinz Center (2000)
7331 concluded and recommended to Congress that insurance rates should reflect the

- 7332 changing risks resulting from coastal erosion. Rising sea level increases the
7333 potential disparity between rates and risks of storm-related flooding.
7334
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- 7506
- 7507

7508 Chapter 10. Ongoing Adaptation

7509

7510 **Author:** James G. Titus, EPA

7511

7512 **KEY FINDINGS**

7513 • Most organizations are not yet taking specific measures to prepare for rising
7514 sea level. Recently, however, many public and private organizations have
7515 begun to assess possible response options.

7516 • Most of the specific measures that have been taken to prepare for accelerated
7517 sea level rise have had the purpose of reducing the long-term adverse
7518 environmental impacts of sea level rise.

7519

7520 Preparing for the consequences of rising sea level has been the exception rather than the
7521 rule in the Mid-Atlantic. Nevertheless, many coastal decision makers are now starting to
7522 consider how to respond, and seriously thinking about changing some of the things
7523 people do to prepare for a rising sea.

7524

7525 This chapter examines those cases in which organizations are consciously anticipating the
7526 effects of sea-level rise. It does not catalogue the activities undertaken for other reasons
7527 that might also be justified on the basis for rising sea level, nor does it include all the
7528 cases in which an organization has authorized a study but not yet acted upon the study.

7529

7530

7531 10.1 ADAPTATION FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PURPOSES

7532 Many organizations that manage land for environmental purposes are starting to
7533 anticipate the effects of sea-level rise. Outside the Mid-Atlantic, some environmental
7534 regulators have also begun to address this issue.

7535

7536 10.1.1 Environmental Regulators

7537 Organizations that regulate land use for environmental purposes generally have not
7538 implemented adaptation options to address the prospects of accelerated sea-level rise.
7539 Congress has given neither the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) nor the
7540 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) a mandate to modify existing wetland
7541 regulations to address rising sea level; nor have those agencies developed approaches for
7542 moving ahead without such a mandate. Outside of the Mid-Atlantic, a number of state
7543 and local governments have enacted statutes and regulations to enable wetlands to
7544 migrate inland, with the regulations in Maine, Rhode Island, and Cape Cod explicitly
7545 addressing rising sea level (Titus, 1998). But none of the eight Mid-Atlantic states have
7546 altered land use requirements to help ecosystems adjust to accelerated sea-level rise
7547 (NOAA, 2006).

7548

7549 Many restrictions on coastal development promulgated for unrelated reasons can also be
7550 justified as a response to sea-level rise. For example, Maryland's coastal land use statute
7551 limits development to one home per 20 acres in most rural areas within 300 m of the
7552 shore (see Appendix F). Although the statute was enacted in the 1980s to prevent
7553 deterioration of water quality, if a similar statute were enacted today in another state, it

7554 could be justified as part of a sea-level rise adaptation strategy. The prospect of losing
7555 natural shores as sea level rises has caused Maryland to rethink wetland regulations
7556 concerning shore protection. It has a policy preference for “living shorelines”, which is
7557 slowly making its way into the wetlands regulations, as the state tries to remove biases
7558 that favor hard structures over the soft approaches that enable wetlands and beaches to
7559 persist as sea level rises. In the aftermath of Hurricane Isabel, the State of Maryland
7560 attempted to move in that direction.

7561

7562 *Federal Land Managers*

7563 The Department of Interior has a requirement that climate change impacts be taken into
7564 account in planning and decision making. The requirement is embodied in Secretarial
7565 Order 3226 signed in 2001. Testimony to Congress in 2007 by Lynn Scarlett, Deputy
7566 Secretary of Interior, detailed the many ways the Department of Interior is dealing with
7567 climate change, from land planning to management practices to scientific studies. The
7568 National Park Service has worked with the United States Geological Survey (USGS) to
7569 examine coastal vulnerability on all of its coastal parks. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife
7570 Service is incorporating studies of climate change impacts, including sea-level rise, in
7571 their Comprehensive Conservation Plans where relevant.

7572

7573 The National Park Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service each have large coastal
7574 landholdings that could erode or become submerged as sea level rises. Neither
7575 organization has an explicit policy concerning sea-level rise, but both are starting to
7576 consider their options. The National Park Service generally favors allowing natural

7577 processes to adjust to rising sea level, which led it to move the Hatteras Lighthouse
7578 inland some 2,900 ft at a cost of \$12 million in 1999. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
7579 generally allows dry land to convert to wetlands, but it is not necessarily passive as rising
7580 sea level erodes the seaward boundary of tidal wetlands. Blackwater National Wildlife
7581 Refuge, for example, has used dredge material to rebuild wetlands on a pilot basis, and
7582 has plans to spend approximately \$500,000 to recreate 7,000 acres of marsh. Neither
7583 agency has made land purchases or easements to enable parks and refuges to migrate
7584 inland.

7585

7586 *The Nature Conservancy (TNC)*

7587 TNC is the largest private holder of conservation lands in the Mid-Atlantic. It has
7588 declared as a matter of policy that it is trying to anticipate rising sea level and climate
7589 change. Its initial focus has been to preserve ecosystems on the Pamlico-Albemarle
7590 Peninsula (TNC, 2007). Options under consideration include plugging canals to prevent
7591 subsidence-inducing saltwater intrusion, planting cypress trees where pocosins have been
7592 converted to dry land, and planting brackish marsh grasses in areas likely to be inundated.
7593 As part of that project, TNC undertook the first attempt by a private conservancy to
7594 purchase rolling easements (although none were purchased). TNC owns the majority of
7595 barrier islands along the Delmarva Peninsula, but none of the mainland shore. TNC is
7596 starting to examine whether preserving the ecosystems as sea level rises would be best
7597 facilitated by purchasing land on the mainland side as well, to ensure sediment sources
7598 for the extensive mudflats so that they might keep pace with rising sea level.

7599

7600 State conservation managers have not yet started to prepare for rising sea level (NOAA,
7601 2006). But at least one state (Maryland) is starting to refine a plan for conservation that
7602 would consider the impact of rising sea level.

7603

7604 **10.2 OTHER ADAPTATION OPTIONS BEING CONSIDERED BY FEDERAL,**
7605 **STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

7606

7607 **10.2.1 Federal Government**

7608 Federal researchers have been examining how best to adapt to sea-level rise for the last
7609 few decades, and those charged with implementing programs are also now beginning to
7610 consider implications and options. The longstanding assessment programs will enable
7611 federal agencies to respond more rapidly and reasonably if and when policy decisions are
7612 made to begin preparing for the consequences of rising sea level.

7613

7614 The Coastal Zone Management Act is a typical example. The Act encourages states to
7615 protect wetlands, minimize vulnerability to flood and erosion hazards, and improve
7616 public access to the coast. Since 1990, the Act has included sea-level rise in the list of
7617 hazards that states should address. This Congressional mandate has induced NOAA to
7618 fund state-specific studies of the implications of sea-level rise, and encouraged states to
7619 periodically designate specific staff to keep track of the issue. But it has not yet altered
7620 what people actually do along the coast. One commentator has suggested that for this
7621 statutory provision to be carried out, the federal government should consider providing
7622 guidance on possible responses to sea-level rise (Titus, 2000). Similarly, the Corps of

7623 Engineers has formally included the prospect of rising sea level for at least a decade in its
7624 planning guidance for the last decade (USACE, 2000), and staff has sometimes evaluated
7625 the implications for specific decisions (e.g. Knuuti, 2002). But the Corps' overall
7626 approach to wetland permits and shore protection has not yet shifted.

7627

7628 **10.2.2 State Government**

7629 Maryland has considered the implications of sea-level rise in some decisions over the last
7630 few decades. Rising sea level was one reason that the state gave for changing its shore
7631 protection strategy at Ocean City from groins to beach nourishment. Using NOAA funds,
7632 the state developed a preliminary strategy for dealing with sea-level rise. As part of that
7633 strategy, the state also recently obtained a complete LIDAR data set of coastal elevations.

7634

7635 Delaware officials have long considered how best to modify infrastructure as sea level
7636 rises along Delaware Bay, although they have not put together a comprehensive
7637 strategy³³. Coastal Management staff of the New Jersey Department of Environmental
7638 Protection have been guided by a long-term perspective on coastal processes, including
7639 the impacts of sea-level rise. So far, neither Delaware nor New Jersey has specifically
7640 altered their activities because of projected sea-level rise. Nevertheless, New Jersey is
7641 currently undertaking an assessment that may enable it to factor rising sea level into its
7642 strategy for preserving the Delaware Estuary³⁴.

7643

³³ CCSP 4.1 Stakeholder Report.

³⁴ CCSP SAP 4.1 Stakeholder Report (summarizing the reaction of the New Jersey Coastal Zone Management Program).

7644 A bill in the New York General Assembly would create a sea-level rise task force (Bill
7645 AO9002 2007-2008 Regular Session). Maryland has a climate change adaptation task
7646 force that is focusing on sea-level rise.

7647

7648 Outside of the Mid-Atlantic, the California Legislature is considering Bill AB 1066,
7649 which would require state agencies to consider sea-level rise in their activities.

7650

7651 **10.2.3 Local Government**

7652 A few local governments have considered the implications of rising sea level for roads,
7653 infrastructure, and floodplain management. (See text boxes in Appendices D and F.).
7654 New York City's plan for the year 2030 includes adapting to climate change. (NYC,
7655 2008; pp. 136-40). The New York City Department of Environmental Protection is
7656 looking at ways to decrease the impacts of storm surge by building flood walls to protect
7657 critical infrastructure such as waste plants, and is also examining ways to prevent the
7658 sewer system from backing up more frequently as sea level rises (Rosenzweig et al.,
7659 2006). The city has also been investigating the possible construction of a major tidal
7660 flood gate across the Verizano Narrows to protect Manhattan. (Velasquez-Manoff, 2006).

7661

7662 Outside of the Mid-Atlantic, Miami-Dade County in Florida has been studying its
7663 vulnerability to sea-level rise, including developing maps to indicate which areas are at
7664 greatest risk of inundation. The county is hardening facilities to better withstand
7665 hurricanes, monitoring the salt front, examining membrane technology for desalinating

7666 seawater, and creating a climate advisory task force to advise the county commission
7667 (Yoder, 2007).

7668

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7705 Chapter 11. Institutional Barriers

7706

7707 **Lead Author:** James G. Titus, EPA

7708

7709 KEY FINDINGS

- 7710 • Most institutions were designed without considering sea-level rise.
- 7711 • Many institutions were created to respond to a demand for hard shoreline
- 7712 structures to hold the coast in a fixed location, and have generally not shifted
- 7713 to retreat or soft shore protection (*e.g.*, beach nourishment).
- 7714 • The interdependence of decisions made by property owners and federal, state,
- 7715 and local governments creates an institutional inertia that currently impedes
- 7716 preparing for sea-level rise, as long as no decision has been made regarding
- 7717 whether particular locations will be protected or yielded to the rising sea.

7718

7719 Chapter 9 describes several categories of decisions where the risk of sea-level rise
7720 justifies doing things differently today, and Chapter 10 examined the responses people
7721 are currently making, which in most cases are very limited.

7722

7723 It takes time to respond to new problems. Most coastal institutions were designed before
7724 the 1980s. Land use planning, infrastructure, home building, property lines, wetland
7725 protection, and flood insurance all have been designed without considering the dynamic
7726 nature of the coast. There is also a general mindset that sea level and shores are stable —
7727 or should be. Even when a particular institution has been designed to account for shifting
7728 shores, people are reluctant to give up real estate to the sea. Although scientific

7729 information can quickly change what people expect, it takes longer to change what
7730 people want. Finally, a phenomenon known as “moral hazard” often prevails. Moral
7731 hazard refers to a situation in which insurance reduces someone’s incentive to prevent or
7732 decrease the risk of a disaster (Pauly 1974). Our political process tends to sympathize
7733 with those whose property is threatened, rather than allowing them to suffer the
7734 consequences of the risk they assumed when they bought the property. It can be hard to
7735 say “no” to someone whose home is threatened (Viscusi and Zeckhauser 2006).

7736

7737 This chapter explores some of the institutional barriers that discourage people and
7738 organizations from preparing for the consequences of rising sea level. This discussion has
7739 two general themes. First, examination of the institutions and decisions they make
7740 regarding sea-level rise reveals that the challenge may more appropriately be how to
7741 overcome institutional *biases* rather than *barriers*. Policies that encourage higher
7742 densities in the coastal zone, for example, may be barriers to wetland migration, but they
7743 improve the economics of shore protection. Such a policy might be viewed as creating a
7744 bias in favor of shore protection over wetland migration, but it is not really a barrier to
7745 adaptation from the perspective of a community that prefers protection anyway. A bias
7746 simply encourages one path over another; a barrier can block a particular path entirely.

7747

7748 Second, interrelationships between various decisions tend to reinforce institutional
7749 inertia. Omission of sea-level rise from a land-use plan may discourage infrastructure
7750 designers from preparing for it; a federal regulatory preference for hard structures may
7751 prevent state officials from encouraging soft structures. Although inertia has slowed

7752 current acts to respond to the risk of sea-level rise, it could just as easily help to sustain
7753 momentum toward a response once key decision makers decide which path the course of
7754 action should follow.

7755

7756 The barriers and biases examined in this chapter mostly concern governmental rather than
7757 private sector institutions. Private institutions do not always exhibit foresight—and their
7758 limitations have been an important reasons for creating government flood insurance,
7759 wetland protection, shore protection, and other government programs. But the published
7760 literature does not suggest that rising sea level would change the institutional limitations
7761 of the private sector. The duty of corporations to maximize shareholder wealth, for
7762 example, may prevent a business from altering development plans to facilitate future
7763 environmental preservation as sea level rises. But for purposes of this chapter, the duty to
7764 serve shareholders is an essential objective of the corporate institution, not a barrier that
7765 keeps corporations from fulfilling their missions. Finally, there is little literature available
7766 on private institutional barriers to preparing for sea-level rise. We do not know whether
7767 this absence implies that the private barriers are less important, or simply that private
7768 organizations keep their affairs private more than public institutions.

7769

7770 **11.1 SOME SPECIFIC INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS AND BIASES**

7771 Productive institutions are designed to accomplish a mission, and they design rules and
7772 procedures to help accomplish those objectives. These rules and procedures are
7773 inherently biased toward achieving the mission, and against anything that thwarts the

7774 mission. By coincidence more than design, they may facilitate or thwart the ability of
7775 others to achieve other missions.

7776

7777 No one has prepared an exhaustive catalogue of institutional biases in the coastal zone,
7778 but three biases have been the subject of substantial commentary: (1) shore protection
7779 versus retreat; (2) hard structures versus soft engineering solutions; and (3) coastal
7780 development versus preservation.

7781

7782 **11.1.1 Shore Protection Versus Retreat**

7783 Federal, state, local, and private institutions all have a strong bias *favoring* shore
7784 protection over retreat in developed areas. Many institutions also have a bias *against*
7785 shore protection in undeveloped areas.

7786

7787 *U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) Civil Works*. Congressional appropriations for
7788 shore protection in coastal communities generally provide funds for various engineering
7789 projects to limit erosion and flooding. The planning guidance documents for the Corps of
7790 Engineers appear to provide USACE the discretion to relocate or purchase homes if a
7791 policy of retreat is the locally preferred approach and more cost-effective than shore
7792 protection. (USACE 2000 p. 2-8). Nevertheless, the general mission of the Corps of
7793 Engineers, its history (Lockhart and Morang 2002), staff expertise, and funding
7794 preferences combine to make shore protection far more common than a retreat from the
7795 shore.

7796

7797 *State Shore Protection.* North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey
7798 all have significant state programs to support beach nourishment along the Atlantic
7799 Ocean. (See Appendices C-F). Virginia, Delaware, and New Jersey have also supported
7800 beach nourishment in residential areas along estuaries as well. Some agencies in
7801 Maryland encourage private shore protection to avoid the environmental effects of shore
7802 erosion ³⁵ (see Appendix F) and the state provides interest-free loans for up to 75% of the
7803 cost of nonstructural erosion control projects on private property (MD DNR 2008). None
7804 of these states has a program to support a retreat in developed areas.

7805

7806 *FEMA Programs.* Some aspects of the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP)
7807 encourage shore protection, while others encourage retreat. FEMA requires local
7808 governments to ensure that new homes along the ocean are built on pilings sunk far
7809 enough into the ground so as to remain standing even if the dunes and beach are largely
7810 washed out from under the house during a storm. 44 CFR 60.3(e)(4). Although beaches
7811 will often recover to some extent after storms, they frequently do not entirely come back.
7812 In the past, when homes were built less sturdily, strategic retreat from the shore often
7813 occurred after major storms (*i.e.*, people did not rebuild as far seaward as homes had been
7814 before the storm). Now, newer homes can withstand storms and instead of retreating the
7815 tendency is for emergency beach nourishment operations to protect oceanfront homes.
7816 The requirement for construction on pilings also encourages larger homes; after a
7817 significant expense for pilings, people rarely build an inexpensive cottage. Therefore,
7818 larger homes are better able to justify shore protection. A FEMA emergency assistance

³⁵ MD DNR (2006), however, favors the no-action alternative over shore protection structures.

7819 program will often fund such nourishment in areas where the beach was nourished before
7820 the storm. (FEMA 2007 p. 86-87; 44 CFR 206.226(j)) In portions of Florida that receive
7821 frequent hurricanes, these projects are a significant portion of total beach nourishment.
7822 They have not yet been a major source of funding for beach nourishment in the Mid-
7823 Atlantic.

7824

7825 Several FEMA programs are neutral or promote retreat. In the wake of Hurricane Floyd,
7826 one North Carolina county used FEMA money to elevate structures, while an adjacent
7827 county used those funds to help people relocate rather than rebuild (Appendix G.)
7828 Repetitively flooded homes have been eligible for relocation assistance under a number
7829 of programs. Because of FEMA's rate map grandfathering policy, (see Chapter 9), a
7830 statutory cap on annual rate increases, and limitations of the hazard mapping used to set
7831 flood insurance rates, some properties have rates that are substantially less than the risk.
7832 As a result, these programs assist property owners and save the flood insurance program
7833 money by decreasing claims. From 1985 until 1995, the Upton-Jones Act helped fund the
7834 relocation of homes in imminent danger from erosion (Crowell *et al.* 2007 p. 22).
7835 FEMA's Severe Repetitive Loss Program is authorized to spend \$80 million to purchase
7836 or elevate homes that have either made four separate claims or at least two claims totaling
7837 more than the value of the structure (FEMA 2008a). Several other FEMA programs
7838 provide grants for reducing flood damages, which states and communities can use for
7839 relocating residents out of the flood plain, erecting flood protection structures, or flood-
7840 proofing homes (FEMA 2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e).

7841

7842 Flood insurance rates are adjusted downward to reflect the reduced risk of flood damages,
7843 if a dike or seawall decreases flood risks during a 100-year storm. Because rates are
7844 ideally based on risk, this adjustment is not necessarily a bias toward shore protection.

7845

7846 *Wetland Protection.* The combination of federal and state regulatory programs to protect
7847 wetlands in the Mid-Atlantic strongly discourages development from advancing into the
7848 sea, by prohibiting or strongly discouraging the filling or diking of tidal wetlands for
7849 most purposes (See Chapter 9). Within the Mid-Atlantic, New York promotes the
7850 landward migration of tidal wetlands in some cases (See Appendix A); Maryland favors
7851 shore protection in some cases. The Federal government has no policy on the question of
7852 retreat versus shore protection.

7853

7854 Existing regulations do not encourage developers to create buffers that might enable
7855 wetlands to migrate inland, nor do they encourage landward migration in developed areas
7856 (Titus, 2000). In fact, the Corps of Engineers has issued a nationwide permit for
7857 bulkheads and other erosion-control structures.³⁶ Titus (2000) concluded that this permit
7858 which often ensures that wetlands will not be able to migrate inland unless the property
7859 owner does not want to control the erosion. For this and other reasons, the State of New
7860 York has said that bulkheads and erosion structures otherwise authorized under the
7861 nationwide permit will not be allowed in special management areas (which cover a large
7862 percentage of the coast) without state concurrence (See Appendix A).

³⁶ See 61 Fed. Reg. 65,873, 65,915 (Dec. 13, 1996) (reissuing Nationwide Wetland Permit 13, Bank Stabilization activities necessary for erosion prevention). *See also* Reissuance of Nationwide Permits, 72 Fed. Reg. 11,1108-09, 11183 (March 12, 2007) (reissuing Nationwide Wetland Permit 13 and explaining that construction of erosion control structures along coastal shores is authorized).

7863

7864 Federal statutes appear to discourage possible efforts by regulatory programs to
7865 encourage landward migration of wetlands. Section 10 of the Rivers and Harbors Act of
7866 1899 and Section 404 of the Clean Water Act require a permit to dredge or fill any
7867 portion of the navigable waters of the United States).³⁷ Courts have long construed this
7868 jurisdiction to include lands within the “ebb and flow of the tides,” (Gibbons v. Ogden;
7869 Zabel v. Tabb; 40 C.F.R. § 230.3(s)(1) (2000)), but it excludes lands that are dry today
7870 but would become wet if the sea rose a meter (Titus, 2000). The absence of a statutory
7871 requirement to enable wetlands to migrate inland can be a barrier to possible efforts by
7872 Federal wetlands programs to anticipate sea-level rise—especially measures involving
7873 preservation of lands that are currently inland of Federal jurisdiction.

7874

7875 In most cases, the absence of a specific policy on sea-level rise appears to have a neutral
7876 effect on whether shores are protected or retreat. An important exception concerns the
7877 stabilization of barrier islands that might otherwise migrate inland. Under natural
7878 conditions, winds and waves tend to cause beaches and marshes on the bay sides of
7879 barrier islands to slowly advance into the bay toward the mainland. Rules against filling
7880 tidal waters prevent people from artificially doing so. After a storm washes sand from the
7881 beach onto the island, local governments bulldoze the sand back onto the beach rather
7882 than putting a portion into the bay, even though that is what would happen under natural
7883 conditions. Unlike the case of wetlands migrating onto dry land, limits on Federal

³⁷ See The Clean Water Act of 1977, § 404, 33 U.S.C. § 1344; The Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899, § 10, 33 U.S.C. §§ 403, 409 (1994).

7884 jurisdiction do not prevent the Federal regulatory program from encouraging the
7885 landward migration of barrier islands.

7886

7887 *Relationship to Coastal Development.* Finally, many policies encourage or discourage
7888 coastal development, as discussed below. Even policies that subsidize relocation may
7889 indirectly encourage shore protection. Such assistance reduces the risk of an
7890 uncompensated loss of one's investment, thereby encouraging coastal construction,
7891 which in turn makes shore protection more likely.

7892

7893 **11.1.2 Shoreline Armoring Versus Living Shorelines**

7894 The combined effect of Federal and state wetland protection programs is a general
7895 preference for hard shoreline structures over soft engineering approaches to stop
7896 shoreline erosion. (Box 11.1) The Corps of Engineers has issued nationwide permits to
7897 expedite the ability of property owners to erect bulkheads and revetments.³⁸ There is no
7898 such permit for soft solutions such as rebuilding an eroded marsh or bay beach.³⁹ The
7899 bias in favor of shoreline armoring results from the fact that the statute focuses on filling
7900 navigable waterways, not the environmental impact of the shore protection. Rebuilding a
7901 beach of marsh requires more of the land below high water to be filled than building a
7902 bulkhead.

³⁸ Reissuance of Nationwide Permits, 72 Fed. Reg. 11,1108-09, 11183 ((March 12, 2007) (reissuing Nationwide Wetland Permit 13 and explaining that construction of erosion control structures along coastal shores is authorized)

³⁹ Reissuance of Nationwide Permits, 72 Fed. Reg. 11, 11183, 11185 ((March 12, 2007) (explaining that permit 13 requires fill to be minimized and that permit 27 does not allow conversion of open to water to another habitat such as beach or tidal wetlands)

7903 Until recently, state regulatory programs shared the preference for hard structures.
7904 Maryland now favors “living shorelines” instead (Chapter 10). But Federal rules can be a
7905 barrier to these state efforts. After Hurricane Isabel destroyed many shore protection
7906 structures, and people were rebuilding them on an emergency basis, Maryland wanted to
7907 make it just as easy for someone to get a permit to replace a destroyed bulkhead with a
7908 living shoreline, as to rebuild the bulkhead. But the state was unable to obtain Federal
7909 approval (Appendix F.).

7910

7911 The regulatory barrier to soft solutions appears to result more from inertia than a
7912 conscious bias in favor of hard structures. The nationwide permit program is designed to
7913 avoid the unnecessary burden of issuing a large number of specific but nearly-identical
7914 permits. For decades, many people have bulkheaded their shores, so Nationwide Permit
7915 13 was issued by the US Army Corps of Engineers in 2007 to cover bulkheads and
7916 similar structures. Because few people were rebuilding their eroding tidal wetlands, no
7917 nationwide permit for this activity has been issued. Today, as people become increasingly
7918 interested in more environmentally sensitive shore protection, they are dealing with
7919 institutions that have historically responded to requests for hard shoreline structures to
7920 hold the coast in a fixed location, and are just beginning to determine how to manage the
7921 development of soft shore protection measures.

7922

7923 BEGIN BOX 11.1:

7924 *The Existing Decision-Making Process for Shoreline Protection on Sheltered Coasts*

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- There is an incentive to install seawalls, bulkheads, and revetments on sheltered coastlines because these structures can be built landward of the Federal jurisdiction and thus avoid the need for Federal permits.
- Existing biases of many decision-makers in favor of bulkheads and revetments with limited footprints limit options that may provide more ecological benefits.
- The regulatory framework affects choices and outcomes. Regulatory factors include the length of time required for permit approval, incentives that the regulatory system creates, [and] general knowledge of the options and their consequences.
- Traditional structural erosion control techniques may appear to be the most cost-effective. However, they do not account for the cumulative impacts that result in environmental costs nor the undervaluation of the environmental benefits of the nonstructural approaches.
- There is a general lack of knowledge and experience among decision makers regarding options for shoreline erosion mitigation on sheltered coasts, especially options that retain more of the shorelines' natural features.
- The regulatory response to shoreline erosion on sheltered coasts is generally reactive rather than proactive. Most states have not developed plans for responding to erosion on sheltered shores.

Source: National Research Council, Ocean Studies Board. 2007. *Mitigating Shore Erosion Along Sheltered Coasts* p. 122-23.

END BOX

7955 **11.1.3 Coastal Development**

7956 Federal, state, local, and private institutions all have a modest bias favoring increased
7957 coastal development in developed areas. The Federal government discourages
7958 development in undeveloped areas, while state and local governments have a more
7959 neutral effect.

7960

7961 Coastal counties often favor coastal development because expensive homes with seasonal
7962 residents can substantially increase property taxes without much demand for government
7963 services. The property tax system often encourages coastal development. A small cottage
7964 on a lot that has appreciated to \$1 million can have an annual property tax bill greater
7965 than the annual rental value of the cottage.

7966

7967 Congressional appropriations for shore protection encourage coastal development along
7968 shores that are protected, by reducing the risk that the sea will reclaim their land and
7969 structures. This reduced risk increases land values and property taxes, which may
7970 encourage further development. It may also encourage increased densities in areas that
7971 are not eligible for funding. The benefit-cost formulas used to determine eligibility
7972 (USACE 2000) find greater benefits in the most densely developed areas, making
7973 increased density a possible path toward federal funding for shore protection. Keeping
7974 hazardous areas lightly developed, by contrast, is not a path for federal funding. (See *e.g.*
7975 Appendix A).

7976

7977 Several commentators have argued that the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP)
7978 encourages coastal development (*e.g.*, Tibbetts 2006; Platt 2007). Without insurance,

7979 some people would be reluctant to risk \$250,000⁴⁰ on a home that could be destroyed in a
7980 storm.⁴¹ People would tend to build farther away from the shore, and the homes would be
7981 scaled to the level of wealth the owner is willing to place at risk Insurance converts a
7982 large risk into a modest annual payment that people are willing to pay. FEMA has
7983 analyzed this question, however, and concluded that overall, the owners of coastal
7984 property vulnerable to waves and to flooding pay premiums more than enough to pay the
7985 flood damage claims; there is no overall subsidy (FEMA 2006a; FEMA 2006b, Hayes *et*
7986 *al.* 2006, Crowell *et al.* 2007). But those analyses exclude the year 2005, when
7987 Hurricanes Katrina, Rita, and Wilma required the NFIP to borrow \$20 billion from the
7988 U.S Treasury (42 USC 4016 modified by PL109-208, 2006). FEMA has not decided
7989 whether to raise flood insurance rates to completely account for the risk of another storm
7990 like Katrina (Crowell *et al.*, 2007) More broadly, the combination of flood insurance and
7991 the various post-disaster and emergency programs providing relocation assistance,
7992 mitigation (*e.g.*, home elevation), and emergency beach nourishment provide coastal
7993 construction with a federal safety net that makes coastal construction a safe investment.
7994
7995 Flood ordinances have also played a role in the creation of three-story homes where local
7996 ordinances once limited homes to two stories. Flood regulations have induced some
7997 people to build their first floor more than 8 ft above the ground (FEMA 1984, 1994,
7998 2000, 2007b). Local governments have continued to allow a second floor no matter the

⁴⁰ NFIP only covers the first \$250,000 in flood losses. 44 CFR 61.6 For homes with a construction cost greater than \$250,000, federal insurance reduces a property owner's risk, but to a lesser extent.

⁴¹ Research quantifying the impact of flood insurance on development is sparse. See Chapter 9.

7999 elevation of the first floor. Property owners often enclose the area below the first floor
8000 (e.g. FEMA 2002), creating ground-level (albeit illegal⁴² and uninsurable⁴³) living space.
8001
8002 Currently, FEMA does not adjust rates to reflect new information when flood risks
8003 increase, but rather “grandfathers” the assumed risk (NFIP, 2007). Adaptation to climate
8004 change means adjusting to the changing nature of risk. But as shore erosion and rising sea
8005 level make the property more vulnerable, rates do not rise to reflect the increased risk
8006 from erosion until the property is substantially improved (Heinz Center, 2000).
8007 Moreover, FEMA is prevented by statute from raising premiums by more than 10% per
8008 year (42 USC §4015(e)), even if premiums are substantially below the annual expected
8009 damages. Thus, the NFIP probably does provide a subsidized insurance rate for new
8010 construction along eroding shores, which would encourage people to build on such
8011 shores. Whether the NFIP will also protect policy holders from the risks of sea-level rise
8012 is less clear. Under current policy, an increase in total claims would cause an across-the-
8013 board increase in rates (Crowell *et al.* 2007). The ability of the NFIP to recover losses
8014 from Katrina through a general rate increase would be analogous to the program’s ability
8015 to adjust rates in response to accelerated sea-level rise or other consequences of changing
8016 climate.
8017
8018 The totality of these federal programs — in conjunction with sea-level rise — creates a
8019 “moral hazard.” Coastal investment is profitable but risky. If government assumes much

⁴² 44 CFR §60.3(c)(2)

⁴³ 44 CFR §61.5(a)

8020 of this risk, then the investment can be profitable without being risky — an ideal situation
8021 for investors (Loucks et al, 2006). The “moral hazard” concern is that when investors
8022 make risky decisions whose risk is partly borne by someone else, there is a chance that
8023 they will create a dangerous situation by taking on too much risk (Pauly, 1974). The
8024 government may then be called upon to take on even the risks that the private investors
8025 had supposedly assumed, because the risk of cascading losses could harm the larger
8026 economy (Kunreuther and Michel-Kerjant, 2007). Shore protection seems cost-effective
8027 and flood insurance rates seem to reflect the risk in most cases. But if sea-level rise
8028 accelerates, will taxpayers, coastal property owners, or inland flood insurance
8029 policyholders have to pay the increased costs?

8030

8031 The Coastal Barrier Resources Act (16 U.S.C. U.S.C. §3501 *et seq.*) discourages the
8032 development of designated undeveloped barrier islands and spits, by denying flood
8033 insurance, disaster assistance, federal highway funding, mortgage funding, and most
8034 other forms of federal spending to them. The increased demand for coastal property has
8035 led many of these areas to become developed anyway (GAO 1992). “Where the
8036 economic incentive for development is extremely high, the Act’s funding limitations can
8037 become irrelevant.” (USFWS 2002 p. 29.).

8038

8039 **11.2 INTERDEPENDENCE: A BARRIER OR A SUPPORT NETWORK?**

8040 Uncertainty can be a hurdle to preparing for sea-level rise. Uncertainty about sea-level
8041 rise and its precise effects is one problem, but uncertainty about what others will do can
8042 also be a barrier. For environmental stresses, a single Federal agency is charged with

8043 developing and coordinating the nation's response. The response to sea-level rise requires
8044 coordination among several agencies, including EPA (protecting the environment),
8045 USACE (shore protection), Department of Interior (managing conservation lands), and
8046 FEMA (flood hazard management). State and local governments generally have
8047 comparable agencies that work with their Federal counterparts. No single agency is in
8048 charge of developing a response to sea-level rise as it affects the missions of many
8049 agencies.

8050

8051 The decisions that these agencies and the private sector make regarding how to respond
8052 to level rise are interdependent. From the perspective of one decision maker, the fact that
8053 others have not decided on their response is a distinct barrier to preparing their own
8054 responses. One of the barriers of this type is the uncertainty whether the response to sea-
8055 level rise in a particular area will involve shoreline armoring, elevating the land, or
8056 retreat.

8057

8058 **11.2.1 Definition of Three Fundamental Pathways: Armor, Elevate, or Retreat**

8059 Long-term approaches for managing low coastal lands as the sea rises can be broadly
8060 divided into three pathways:

- 8061 • *Protect* the dry land with seawalls, dikes, and other structures, eliminating wetlands
8062 and beaches (also known as *shoreline armoring*)
- 8063 • *Elevate the land*, and perhaps the wetlands and beaches as well, enabling them to
8064 survive
- 8065 • *Retreat* by allowing the wetlands and beaches to take over land that is dry today.

8066

8067 Combinations of these three approaches are also possible. Each approach will be
8068 appropriate in some locations and inappropriate in others. Shore protection costs,
8069 property values, the environmental importance of habitat, and the feasibility of protecting
8070 shores without harming the habitat all vary by location. Deciding how much of the coast
8071 should be protected may require people to consider social priorities not easily included in
8072 a cost-benefit analysis of shore protection.

8073

8074 **11.2.2 Decisions That Cannot Be Made Until the Pathway Is Decided**

8075 Rising sea level has numerous implications for current activities. Nevertheless, in most
8076 cases, the appropriate response depends on whether and which of these three courses of
8077 action a particular community intends to follow. Six examples are summarized in Table
8078 11.1, discussed below.

8079

Table 11.1 The best way to prepare for sea-level rise depends on whether (and how) a community intends to hold back the sea.

Activity	Pathway for responding to sea-level rise		
	Shoreline armoring (e.g., dike or seawall)	Elevate land	Retreat/wetland migration
Rebuild drainage systems	Check valves, holding tanks; room for pumps	No change needed	Install larger pipes, larger rights of way for ditches
Replace septics with public sewer	Extending sewer helps improve drainage	Mounds systems; elevate septic system; extending sewer also acceptable	Extending sewer undermines policy; mounds system acceptable
Rebuild roads	Keep roads at same elevation; owners will not have to elevate lots	Rebuild road higher; motivates property owners to elevate lots	Elevate roads to facilitate evacuation
Location of roads	Shore-parallel road needed for dike maintenance	No change needed	Shore parallel road will be lost; all must have access to shore-perpendicular road
Setbacks/subdivisions	Setback from shore to leave room for dike	No change needed	Erosion-based setbacks
Easements	Easement or option to purchase land for dike	No change needed	Rolling easements to ensure that wetlands and beaches migrate

8080

8081 *Coastal Drainage Systems.* Sea-level rise slows natural drainage and the flow of water
 8082 through drain pipes that rely on gravity. If an area will not be protected from increased
 8083 inundation, then larger pipes and pumping may be necessary. If an area will be protected
 8084 with a dike, then larger pipes are less important than underground storage, check valves,
 8085 and ensuring that the system can be retrofitted to allow for pumping (Titus *et al.*, 1987).
 8086 If the land surfaces are going to be elevated, then sea-level rise will not impair drainage.
 8087

8088 *Septics and Sewer.* Rising sea level can elevate the water table to the point where septic
 8089 systems no longer function properly (U.S. EPA, 2002).⁴⁴ If areas will be protected with a

⁴⁴ . “Most current onsite wastewater system codes require minimum separation distances of at least 18 inches from the seasonally high water table or saturated zone irrespective of soil characteristics. Generally, 2- to 4-foot separation distances have proven to be adequate in removing most fecal coliforms in septic tank effluent.” U.S. EPA (2002).

8090 dike, then all the land protected must eventually be artificially drained and sewer lines
8091 further extended to facilitate drainage. On the other hand, extending sewer lines would be
8092 entirely incompatible with allowing wetlands to migrate inland, because the high capital
8093 investment tends to encourage coastal protection; a mounds-based septic system is more
8094 compatible. If a community's long-term plan is to elevate the area, then either a mounds-
8095 based system or extended public sewage will be compatible.

8096

8097 *Road Maintenance.* As the sea rises, roads flood more frequently. If a community plans
8098 to elevate land with the sea, then repaving projects should elevate the roadway
8099 accordingly. If a dike is on the horizon, then repaving projects would consciously avoid
8100 elevating the street above people's yards, lest the projects prompt people to spend excess
8101 resources on elevating their yards when doing so is not necessary in the long run.

8102

8103 As an example, Ocean City, Maryland, currently has policies in place that would be
8104 appropriate if the long-term plan was to build a dike and pumping system — but the town
8105 intends to elevate instead. Currently, the town has an ordinance that requires property
8106 owners to maintain a 2% grade so that yards drain into the street. The town has construed
8107 this rule as imposing a reciprocal responsibility on the town itself to not elevate roadways
8108 above the level where yards can drain, even if the road is low enough to flood during
8109 minor tidal surges. Thus, the lowest lot in a given area dictates how high the street can be.
8110 As sea level rises, the town will be unable to elevate its streets, unless it changes this rule.
8111 Yet public health reasons require drainage to prevent standing water in which mosquitoes

8112 breed. Therefore, the town has an interest in ensuring that all property owners gradually
8113 elevate their yards so that the streets can be elevated as the sea rises without causing
8114 public health problems. The town has developed draft rules that would require that,
8115 during any significant construction, yards be elevated enough to drain during a 10-year
8116 storm surge for the life of the project, considering projections of future sea-level rise. The
8117 draft rules also state that Ocean City's policy is for all lands to gradually be elevated as
8118 the sea rises (See Appendix E).

8119

8120 *Locations of Roads.* As the shore erodes, any home that is accessed only by a road
8121 seaward of the house could lose access before the home itself is threatened, and even
8122 homes seaward of the road might lose access if the road were washed out elsewhere. If
8123 the shore is expected to erode, it is important to ensure that all homes are accessible by
8124 shore-perpendicular roads, a fact that was recognized in the layout of early beach resorts
8125 along the New Jersey and other shores. But if a dike is likely, then a road along the shore
8126 would be useful for dike construction and maintenance. If all land is likely to be elevated,
8127 then sea-level rise may not have any significant impacts on the location of new roads.

8128

8129 *Subdivision and Setbacks.* If a dike is likely, then houses need to be set back enough from
8130 the shore to allow room for the dike and associated drainage systems. Setbacks and larger
8131 coastal lot sizes are also desirable in areas where a retreat policy is preferred, for two
8132 reasons. First, the setback provides open lands onto which wetlands and beaches can
8133 migrate inland without immediately threatening property. Second, larger lots mean lower
8134 density and hence fewer structures that would have to be moved — as well as less

8135 justification for investments in central water and sewer. By contrast, in areas where the
8136 plan is to elevate the land, sea-level rise does not alter the property available to the
8137 homeowner, and hence would have minor implication for setbacks and lot sizes.
8138
8139 *Covenants and Easements Accompanying Subdivision.* Although setbacks are the most
8140 common way to anticipate eventual dike construction and the landward migration of
8141 wetlands and beaches, a less expensive method would often be the purchase of (or
8142 regulatory conditions requiring) rolling easements, which allow development but prohibit
8143 hard structures that stop the landward migration of ecosystems. The primary advantage is
8144 that society makes the decision to allow wetlands to migrate inland long before the
8145 property is threatened, so people can plan around the assumption of migrating wetlands,
8146 whether that means leaving an area undeveloped or building structures that can be
8147 moved.
8148
8149 Local governments can also obtain easements for future dike construction. Both of these
8150 types of easements would have very low market prices in most areas, because the fair
8151 market value is equal to today's land value discounted by the rate of interest compounded
8152 over the many decades that will pass before the easement would have any effect. As with
8153 setbacks, a large area would have to be covered if wetlands are going to migrate inland, a
8154 narrow area would be required along the shore for a dike, and no easements are needed if
8155 the land will be elevated in place.
8156
8157

8158 11.2.3 Opportunities for Deciding on the Pathway

8159 Chapters 5 briefly mentions an ongoing effort to create present maps that distinguish
8160 areas where shore protection is likely from those areas where a retreat is more likely,
8161 given current policies and land use trends (See *e.g.* Titus 2004). At the local level, one
8162 must make an assumption about which land will be protected to truly understand which
8163 lands will truly become inundated (chapter 1) and how shorelines will actually change
8164 (chapter 2), which existing wetlands will be lost (chapter 3), whether wetlands will be
8165 able to migrate inland (chapter 5), and the environmental consequences (chapter 4); the
8166 population whose homes would be threatened (chapter 6) and the implications of sea-
8167 level rise for public access (chapter 7) and floodplain management. Assumptions about
8168 future shore protection are also necessary to estimate the level of resources that would be
8169 needed to fulfill people's current expectations for shore protection.

8170

8171 Improving our ability to project the impacts of sea-level rise is not the only reason for
8172 mapping expectations for future shore protection. Another use of such studies has been to
8173 initiate a dialogue about what *should* be protected, so that state and local governments
8174 can decide upon a plan of what will actually be protected. Just as the lack of a plan is a
8175 barrier to preparing for sea-level rise, the adoption of a plan would remove an important
8176 barrier and signal to many decision makers that the time has come for them to plan for
8177 sea-level rise as well.

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8181 **CHAPTER 11 REFERENCES**

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8288 **Part IV. Sensitivity to Sea-Level Rise at the Local Scale**
8289

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8291

8292 Previous chapters have provided region-wide perspectives on different effects, social
8293 impacts, and components of society's response to sea-level rise. The issue-by-issue
8294 presentation closely matches the separate professions involved in studying the effects and
8295 developing options for adapting to sea-level rise.

8296

8297 Many decisions, however, concern a specific location and require local and regional
8298 perspectives and information. Fortunately, much of the information that the previous
8299 chapters presented at the regional scale is also available at the state and local scale.

8300 Moreover, some information that is not available region-wide is available for some
8301 locations: For example, previous chapters did not look at the impacts of increased salinity
8302 on drinking water, but such information is available for the Philadelphia and New York
8303 metropolitan areas, which appear to be the primary areas where sea-level rise could harm
8304 water supplies.

8305

8306 This report does not recommend specific policies or actions in response to sea-level rise.
8307 Instead, it summarizes information on the options that are available. Impacts of sea-level
8308 rise on any specific community or local area will depend upon many factors and need to
8309 be carefully assessed as policy options and mitigation alternatives are examined.

8310 Part IV is an overview of Appendices A-G, which provide state and local information
8311 similar to chapters 1-5 and 7, as well as information on some aspects of the effects of sea-