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RESIDUAL MARKET PROPERTY PLANS: FROM MARKETS OF LAST RESORT TO MARKETS OF FIRST CHOICE

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THE CHANGING RESIDUAL PROPERTY MARKET

INTRODUCTION

Six years since Hurricane Katrina and with no major hurricane making U.S. landfall in 2009 or 2010, the assumption might be that the residual property market in hurricane-exposed states would have reduced significantly in size and regained its financial equilibrium.

However, this year's report by the Insurance Information Institute (I.I.I.), like the reports of the last four years, records the ongoing growth in the exposure base of the residual market property insurers along with the still-precarious financial condition of some plans.

The ongoing growth in the residual property market comes at a critical juncture for private U.S. property insurers and the global property catastrophe reinsurance market. The first-half of 2011 has seen record catastrophe activity with severe tornadoes and other event resulting in an estimated $17 billion in insured losses through June 30 in the U.S. alone. Outside the U.S., insurers and reinsurers have sustained approximately $60 billion in losses from major catastrophes in the 18 months ending June 30, 2011, chiefly due to major earthquakes in Japan, New Zealand and Chile.

As a result, U.S. property insurers and global reinsurers are more focused than ever on catastrophe loss management—especially given that 2011 is expected be another active Atlantic hurricane season. Insured catastrophe losses in the U.S. already exceed the $13.6 billion paid out in 2010. [1]

I.I.I.'s latest analysis adds to what is now a well-documented body of research among industry experts and government agencies that many state-run residual property insurers have morphed from markets of last resort to become major insurance providers in their states. [2]

Annual growth in U.S. residual market exposures averages close to 18 percent, according to the Insurance Research Council (IRC). [3] The latest data shows that the total exposure value and number of policies in the residual property market are on the rise. It is important to recognize that because most of these plans do not charge rates that reflect the true cost of risk, demand for the coverage they provide remains high.

As long as the plans continue to grow, state finances will remain under threat and ultimately taxpayers, many of whom live nowhere near the coast, will continue to face the prospect of increased assessments in the years ahead.

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[1] *In Wake of Natural Disasters Insurers Brace for Big Losses*, by Christine Hauser, New York Times, June 1, 2011.

[2] *State Beach and Windstorm Plans*, Insurance Research Council, October, 2010; GAO 10-568R, Natural Catastrophe Insurance Coverage, Government Accountability Office (GAO), October, 2010.

[3] Ibid.

OVERVIEW

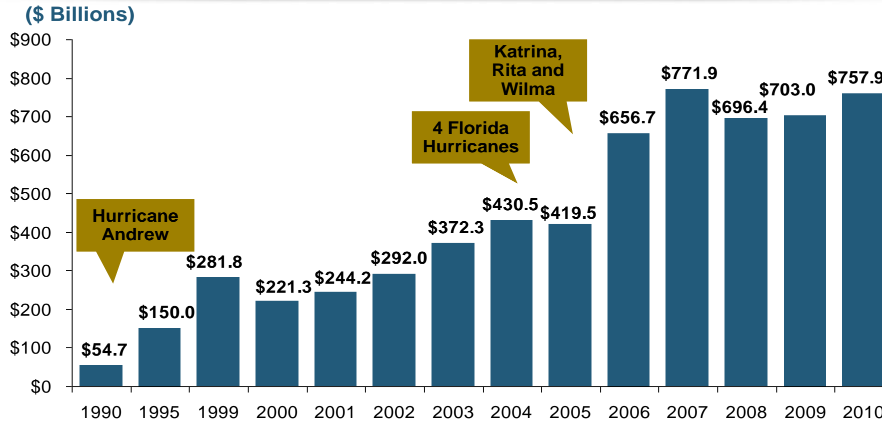
A myriad of different programs in place across the United States provide insurance to high risk policyholders who may have difficulty obtaining coverage from the standard market. So called residual, shared or involuntary market programs make basic insurance coverage more readily available.

Today, property insurance from the residual market is provided by Fair Access to Insurance Requirements (FAIR) Plans, Beach and Windstorm Plans, and two state-run insurance companies in Florida and Louisiana: Florida Citizens Property Insurance Company (CPIC) and Louisiana Citizens Property Insurance Corporation (Louisiana Citizens). Established in the late 1960s to ensure the continued provision of insurance in urban areas, FAIR Plans often provide property insurance in both urban and coastal areas, while Beach and Windstorm Plans cover predominantly wind-only risks in designated coastal areas. Hybrid plans like Florida and Louisiana's CPIC, provide property insurance throughout those states. It is important to note that in addition to windstorm risk, these plans routinely cover a range of other exposures, such as vandalism and fire. In addition to these residual property plans, a number of federal legislative proposals regarding the financing of natural catastrophes are under consideration. A detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, but a summary of the various proposals is available in Appendix 1.

In the course of the last four decades these FAIR and Beach Plans have experienced explosive growth both in terms of policy count and exposure value. Further, in the 21-year period from 1990 to 2010—a period characterized by major catastrophes such as Hurricane Andrew and Hurricane Katrina—that growth has accelerated. Total policies in force (both habitational and commercial) in the nation's FAIR and Beach and Windstorm Plans combined practically tripled from 931,550 in 1990 to 2.8 million in 2010 – a record high. Total exposure to loss in the plans surged from $54.7 billion in 1990 to $757.9 billion in 2010—an increase of 1,286 percent (Fig. 1 and 2).

Fig. 1

U.S. Residual Market Exposure to Loss ($ Billions)



In the 21-year period between 1990 and 2010, total exposure to loss in the residual market (FAIR & Beach/Windstorm) Plans has surged from $54.7 billion in 1990 to $757.9 billion in 2010.

Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute (I.I.I.).

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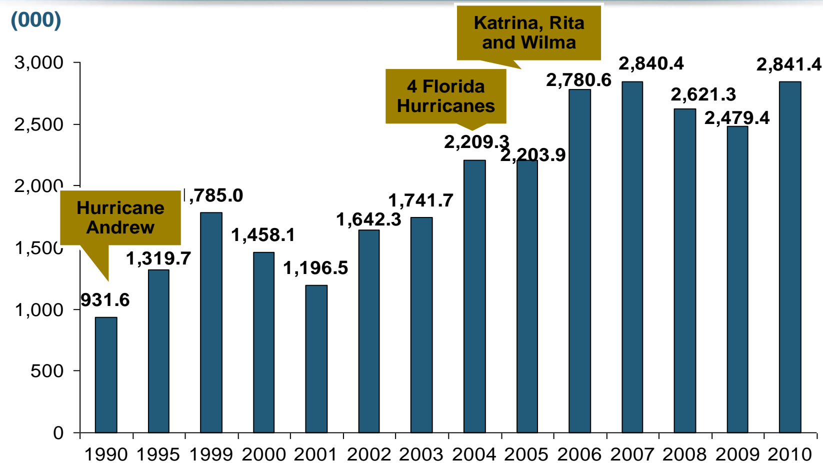
Fig. 2

U.S. Residual Market: Total Policies In-Force (1990-2010) (000)



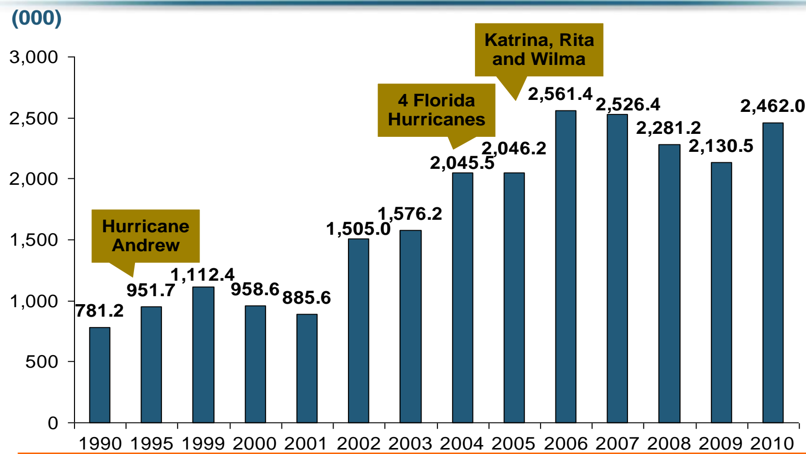
In the 21-year period between 1990 and 2010, the total number of policies in-force in the residual market (FAIR & Beach/Windstorm) Plans has more than tripled.

Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

The nation's FAIR plans account for by far the majority of policies and exposure in the overall residual property market. For example, total policies in force (both habitational and commercial) in the FAIR Plans more than tripled from 781,188 in 1990 to 2.5 million in 2010 (Fig.3).

Fig. 3

U.S. FAIR Plans: Total Policies In-Force (1990-2010) (000)



In the 21-year period between 1990 and 2010, the total number of policies in-force in the nation's FAIR Plans tripled.

Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

During the same 21-year period, total exposure to loss in the FAIR Plans also surged more than 15-fold from $40.2 billion in 1990 to $662.6 billion in 2010 (Fig. 4). Similarly, total exposure to loss in the Beach and Windstorm Plans surged by 557 percent from $14.5 billion in 1990 to $95.2 billion in 2010 (Fig. 5).

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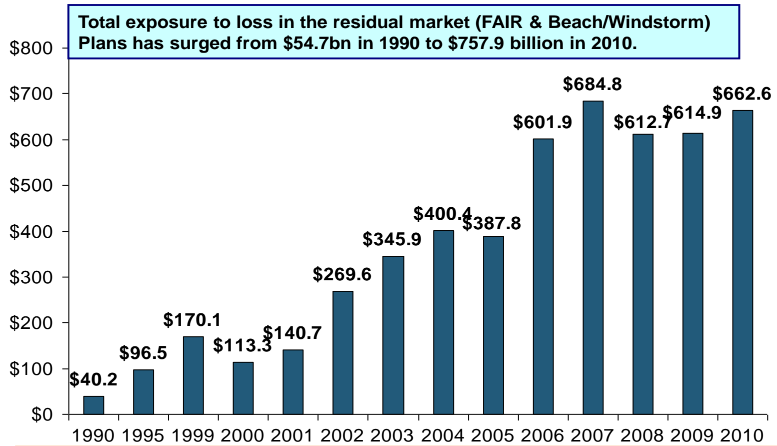
Fig. 4

U.S. FAIR Plans Exposure to Loss (Billions of Dollars)

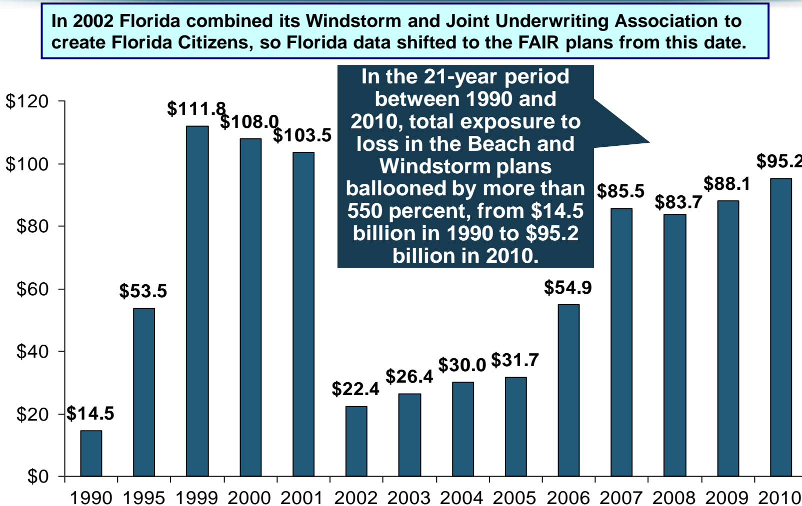


In the 21-year period between 1990 and 2010, total exposure to loss in the FAIR Plans has surged by a massive 1,548 percent from $40.2 billion in 1990 to $662.6 billion in 2010.

Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

Fig. 5

U.S. Beach and Windstorm Plans Exposure to Loss (Billions of Dollars)



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

While a number of factors have contributed to the overall growth of the plans in the course of the last 21 years, it is clear that in some states such plans have shifted away from their original purpose as predominantly urban property insurers. As a result, many have evolved from their traditional role as markets of last resort into much larger insurance providers, in some cases even becoming the largest property insurer in a state.

After the record hurricane seasons of 2004 and 2005 and amid predictions of increased storm activity over the next 15 to 20 years, this shift of high risk exposure away from the private insurance market is placing an enormous burden on these plans. Arguably many of the plans have become home for the most highly exposed, wind-only risks—in other words the least attractive types of business. In some cases, this has left plans with huge concentrations of risk. Consequently, it is not surprising that many of the plans experience severe financial difficulties in certain years (see section on financial results).

In 2010, the latest year for which complete data is available, the FAIR Plans reported an aggregate operating gain of $894.8 million, an increase of 24 percent from the $719.4 million in 2009. The 2010 operating result was also an improvement on the $532.7 million operating gain reported in 2008, but lower than the $1.9 billion operating gain reported in 2007 and the $3.6 billion operating gain reported in 2006. The five consecutive years of gains followed successive operating losses of $1.9 billion in 2005 and $1.5 billion in 2004 (Fig. 6). The turnaround in fortunes in recent years can be attributed to the less active hurricane seasons, after the record hurricane losses experienced in 2005 and 2004.

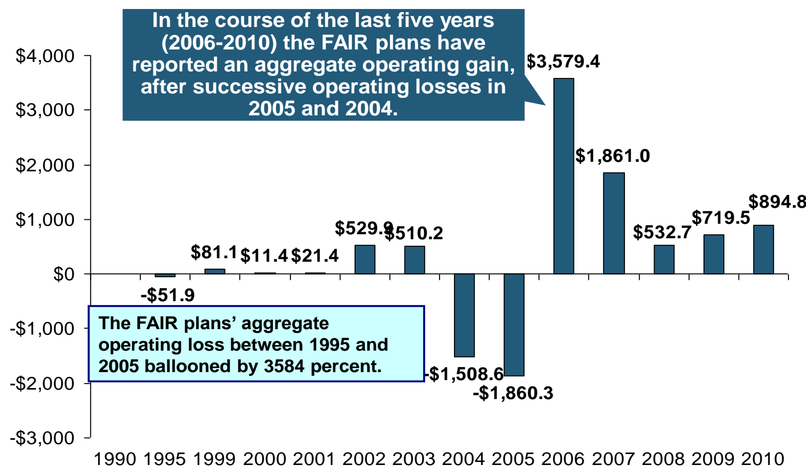
Florida Citizens, by far the largest plan by policy count, reported an operating gain of $793.4 million in 2010, following gains of $786.8 million in 2009, $585.6 million in 2008, $1.7 billion in 2007 and $3.5 billion in 2006, and compared with an operating deficit of $2 billion in 2005. Amid the credit crunch and current sustained economic downturn Florida Citizen’s financial situation became highly unstable due to a variety of factors. It is important to note that the figures for 2005-2007 exclude the results of Louisiana Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, a plan severely impacted by losses arising from Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the third largest of all the FAIR/Beach plans by number of policies in 2004. In 2010, Louisiana Citizens reported an operating gain of $47 million, compared with an operating gain of $58.5 million in 2009, and an operating loss of $22.5 million in 2008.

Of the 31 FAIR plans for which data are available, 28 have incurred at least one operating deficit since 1999. Of the six Beach and Windstorm plans for which data are available, all have sustained at least one underwriting loss since 1999. In the decade from 1995 to 2005, the FAIR Plans saw a more than 30-fold ballooning of their aggregate operating loss. If Louisiana Citizens’ reported 2005 operating deficit of $954 million is included, the FAIR Plans’ 2005 deficit rises to a

staggering $2.8 billion—a more than 50-fold increase in the aggregate deficit over the course of the decade.[4]

Fig. 6

FAIR Plan Operating Gains/Losses 1990-2010 (Millions of Dollars)



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute.

Such frequent volatility in the financial results of the plans raises key questions not just about heightened risk in coastal areas and coastal development, but about rate adequacy. The funding that underpins the plans is in many cases not adequate to offset the rising coastal exposures. Benign hurricane seasons, while welcome reprieves, do not provide a solution for this situation as experts predict that hurricane losses will only continue to grow in the long term. The large volume of insurance being provided under the plans also has serious implications for the private property insurance market and state fiscal policy.

GROWTH IN SIZE AND POPULATION

The FAIR and Beach and Windstorm Plans have experienced explosive growth in the course of the last two decades. However, the number of policies in force and exposure to loss in each plan can rise or fall from one year to the next due to legislative and regulatory developments—in addition to actual catastrophic loss activity.

[4] *Citizens finishes report*, by Ted Griggs, Baton Rouge Advocate, April 11, 2008.

A July 2010 study by the Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that between 2005 and 2009 the plans in Mississippi, Texas and Florida showed the largest percentage growth in terms of exposure and number of policyholders.

According to Property Insurance Plans Service Office (PIPSO), total exposure to loss in the residual market (FAIR and Beach/Windstorm plans) rose from $419.5 billion in 2005 to $757.9 billion in 2010 -- an increase of 81 percent -- and since 1990 exposure to loss in the plans has surged by 1,286 percent.

While total exposure to loss in the FAIR plans peaked in 2007 at $684.8 billion and then declined in 2008 and 2009, in 2010 exposure to loss in the FAIR plans rose to $662.6 billion, just 3 percent off its 2007 peak.

Meanwhile the FAIR plans had a total policy count of 2.5 million in 2010, comprising some 2.4 million habitational policies and 83,243 commercial policies (Table 1). The total number of policies in force in the FAIR plans appears to be on the rise and closing in on its 2006 peak of 2.6 million.

Florida Citizens, a plan that accounts for the vast majority (70 percent) of the total FAIR plans' exposure to loss, had seen its exposure to loss decline to $421.9 billion in 2008 and by year-end 2009 to around $406 billion. But in 2010, this pattern reversed and Florida Citizen's exposure to loss rose again to $460.7 billion, approaching its 2007 peak of $485.1 billion.

Florida Citizens also accounts for 61 percent of the total FAIR plans policy count. Of the 2.5 million total policies (habitational and commercial) insured by the FAIR Plans in 2010, some 1.5 million were in Florida Citizens, up from 1.2 million in 2009 and compared to 1.4 million total policies in force in 2008.

As predicted in last year's paper, the return to higher policy counts came after two Florida insurers were declared insolvent in 2010 and as a number of national companies reduced their exposure to Florida windstorm risk, leaving some high risk policyholders looking for coverage (see later section on Florida Citizens).

The decline in exposure and policies for Florida Citizens in 2009 had been due to increased takeout activity and a decline in new business written. The collapse in home and condominium construction throughout the state due to the subprime mortgage and credit crisis and ensuing recession was also a significant factor in the decline in new business.

As well as rising policies and exposure in 2011, premiums written by Florida Citizens are on the rise again. Direct premiums written rose to $2.6 billion in 2010, up from $2.2 billion in 2009. Between 2007 and 2008, direct premiums written by Florida Citizens had declined by nearly $1 billion (from $3.7 billion in 2007 to $2.8 billion in 2008).

After Florida, Massachusetts has the next largest number of policies, with 215,570 or 9 percent of total FAIR plan policies (Table 3). The Texas Beach and Windstorm plan (Texas Windstorm Insurance Association) insured 265,970 total policies in 2010, making it one of the largest Beach and Windstorm Plans.

Table 1

INSURANCE PROVIDED BY FAIR PLANS, FISCAL YEARS 2001-2010 (1)

	Number of			
Year	Habitational policies	Commercial policies	Exposure (2) ($000)	Direct written premiums ($000)
2001	912,829	36,748	$143,459,479	$438,241
2002	1,422,990	81,887	269,566,059	1,202,010
2003	1,510,665	65,532	345,909,146	1,770,353
2004	1,907,337	138,163	400,413,034	2,164,546
2005	1,928,292	117,942	387,780,124	2,234,493
2006	2,389,299	172,070	601,859,916	4,063,324
2007	2,412,252	114,053	684,829,667	4,431,381
2008	2,190,189	90,876	612,749,753	3,727,311
2009	2,043,969	86,575	614,905,551	3,038,712
2010	2,378,736	83,243	662,633,180	3,448,576

(1) Data after 2001 include Florida's Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, which includes FAIR and Beach Plans; data after 2002 includes the Texas FAIR Plan; data for 2004, 2005 and premiums written after 2007 include Louisiana's Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, which includes FAIR and Beach Plans.
(2) Exposure is the estimate of the aggregate value of all insurance in force in all FAIR Plans in all lines (except liability, where applicable, and crime) for 12 months ending September through December.

Source: Property Insurance Plans Service Office (PIPSO).

In the Beach and Windstorm Plans, as in the FAIR plans, the policy count varies significantly from year to year due to the shifting size and nature of some of the Plans, described below. In 2002, Florida combined its Windstorm and Joint Underwriting Association to create Florida Citizens, so these policies were counted under the FAIR Plans from that date.

PIPSO data shows that between 2005 and 2010, the number of policies in the Beach and Windstorm Plans as a whole increased by 141 percent from 157,708 in 2005 to 379,467 in 2010 as the Plans continued to experience burgeoning growth.

Total exposure to loss under the Beach and Windstorm Plans, as under the FAIR Plans, has ballooned by more than 550 percent from $14.5 billion in 1990 to $95.2 billion in 2010, demonstrating the rising values at stake (Fig. 6) (Table 2).

Between 2005 and 2010, the Beach and Windstorm Plans reporting results to PIPSO have shown acceleration in exposure growth rates. During this period, total exposure to loss in the Mississippi Beach Plan increased by 275 percent, in the Texas Beach Plan by 190 percent and in the South Carolina Beach Plan by 165 percent.

Table 2

INSURANCE PROVIDED BY BEACH AND WINDSTORM PLANS, FISCAL YEAR 2010 (1)

State	Number of			
	Habitational policies	Commercial policies	Exposure (2) ($000)	Direct written premiums ($000)
Alabama	18,734	131	$3,298,904	$37,769
Mississippi	44,992	1,554	7,024,228	79,082
South Carolina	46,900	1,186	17,444,426	97,127
Texas	247,972	17,998	67,452,437	385,550
Total	**358,598**	**20,869**	**$95,219,995**	**$599,528**

(1) Does not include the North Carolina Beach Plan; the Florida and Louisiana Beach Plans merged with their FAIR Plans.
(2) Exposure is the estimate of the aggregate value of all insurance in force in each state's Beach and Windstorm Plan in all lines (except liability, where applicable, and crime) for 12 months ending September through December.

Source: Property Insurance Plans Service Office (PIPSO).

While certain coastal states have also shown particularly rapid growth in terms of policy count in recent years, in 2008 and 2009 policy counts did flatten out in some states such as Florida and Louisiana, as depopulation plans took effect and as new construction slowed due to a deteriorating economy and credit crunch. Under these plans state-run insurers can transfer policies back to private insurers, subject to regulatory approval.

For example, Florida Citizens' total policies in force amounted to 1.2 million at year-end 2009, down 14 percent from 1.4 million at year-end 2008, and down 20 percent from 1.5 million in 2007. However, latest data indicate that policies and exposure have risen again as depopulation activity has slowed. Florida Citizens had some 1.5 million policies in-force at the end of 2010 and at May 31, 2011, total policies remained at 1.4 million.

After completing a fourth round of depopulation, Louisiana Citizens was reported to have 118,836 policies in-force as of December 31, 2010. This compares with 165,000 policies in-force at June 1, 2008, prior to the removal of around 40 percent of its policies by private insurers, and a policy count of 125,000 pre-Hurricane Katrina. The depopulation of LA Citizens is the result of an incentive

program created by the legislature in 2007 to increase the availability of property insurance and to decrease the business written through LA Citizens.

Table 3

INSURANCE PROVIDED BY FAIR PLANS BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 2010 (1)

	Number of			
State	Habitational policies	Commercial policies	Exposure (2) ($000)	Direct written premiums ($000)
California	135,023	6,796	$41,276,819	$65,304
Connecticut	3,178	152	594,327	3,476
Delaware	2,054	92	289,691	628
Florida (3)	1,446,892	56,852	460,703,299	2,604,265
Georgia	24,592	1,748	3,393,587	20,139
Illinois	6,185	114	543,708	5,543
Indiana	1,780	55	156,122	1,405
Iowa	811	38	57,515	539
Kansas	10,229	185	530,543	4,792
Kentucky	10,550	606	NA	5,738
Louisiana (3)	154,897	6,101	23,923,775	209,946
Massachusetts	214,991	579	77,597,516	283,010
Michigan	32,461	598	3,795,954	34,021
Minnesota	6,872	5	643,595	5,216
Mississippi	11,096	(4)	643,264	7,156
Missouri	5,089	233	275,006	2,526
New Jersey	22,057	758	3,016,107	11,755
New Mexico	11,597	270	NA	3,511
New York	54,255	4,695	14,219,672	35,735
Ohio	35,338	669	7,163,529	22,374
Oregon	2,674	106	196,554	1,055
Pennsylvania	25,138	1,695	1,767,885	8,843
Rhode Island	17,530	134	4,121,242	21,206
Texas	110,593	(4)	14,246,998	73,924
Virginia	29,239	590	3,429,181	15,901
Washington	32	36	18,446	154
West Virginia	668	79	28,845	414
Wisconsin	2,915	57	NA	NA
Total	**2,378,736**	**83,243**	**$662,633,180**	**$3,448,576**

(1) Does not include the FAIR Plans of Arkansas, Hawaii, Maryland, North Carolina and the District of Columbia.
(2) Exposure is the estimate of the aggregate value of all insurance in force in all FAIR Plans in all lines (except liability, where applicable, and crime) for 12 months ending September through December.
(3) Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, which combined the FAIR and Beach Plans.

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(4) The Mississippi and Texas FAIR Plans do not offer a commercial policy.

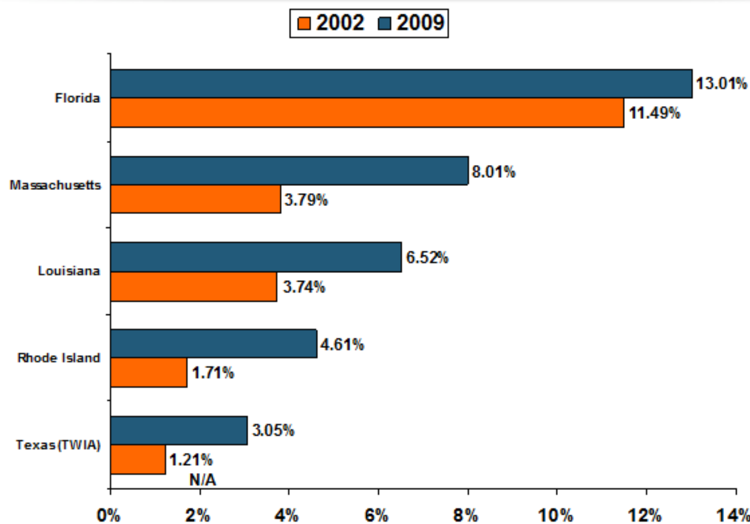
NA=Data not available.

Source: Property Insurance Plans Service Office (PIPSO).

It should be noted that in terms of the percentage of premium in the residual market, there are few states where the involuntary market represents more than 1 percent of total property premium. However, for several states, a significant percentage of the property insurance market is in the involuntary market (Fig. 7).

Florida and Massachusetts are two notable examples. For example, in Florida around 13.0 percent of property premium was in the involuntary market in 2009, while in Massachusetts, 8.0 percent of the market was in the involuntary market in 2009. Louisiana is another state that has experienced rapid growth in its residual market, with 6.5 percent of property premium in the involuntary market in 2009, compared with just 3.7 percent in 2002. Rhode Island's residual market also accounts for close to 5 percent of its property market.

Fig. 7



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

Reasons Behind Explosive Growth

There are a number of factors that have contributed to such rapid growth in the plans. One key factor is the changing shape and size of the various residual market mechanisms in a number of states. While in the past there was a clear delineation

between coastal and urban plans with coastal properties insured under Beach and Windstorm Plans, and urban properties under FAIR Plans, increasingly these distinctions are blurring. FAIR Plans are acting as an insurer of last resort for residents who live in shoreline communities in states that do not have a Beach and Windstorm Plan, such as New York State. Beach and Windstorm Plans in some states are being merged with FAIR Plans or joint underwriting associations as in Florida and Louisiana, or are administering new FAIR Plans as in Texas. As a result, it is difficult to make a direct comparison of the number of properties insured under any plan with numbers from earlier years. What is clear, however, is that the rapid growth in the FAIR Plans is due in part to these mergers.

Another factor fueling the increase is the rise in coastal properties. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the population in coastline counties has grown steadily in recent decades, increasing by 40 million, or 84 percent, between 1960 and 2008 (Table 4).

Table 4.

TOP TEN STATES, BY POPULATION CHANGE IN COASTAL COUNTIES, 1960-2008

	Total change			Percent change	
Rank	State	By change in number	Rank	State	By percent change
1	California	12,907,103	1	Florida	262%
2	Florida	10,035,878	2	Alaska	226
3	Texas	3,566,531	3	New Hampshire	200
4	Washington	2,465,351	4	Texas	155
5	Virginia	1,725,133	5	Washington	138
6	New York	1,623,672	6	Virginia	130
7	New Jersey	1,189,466	7	South Carolina	118
8	Maryland	885,309	8	North Carolina	106
9	Massachusetts	817,703	9	California	105
10	Hawaii	655,426	10	Hawaii	104

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census of Population and Housing: 1960 to 2000; Population Estimates Program: 2008.

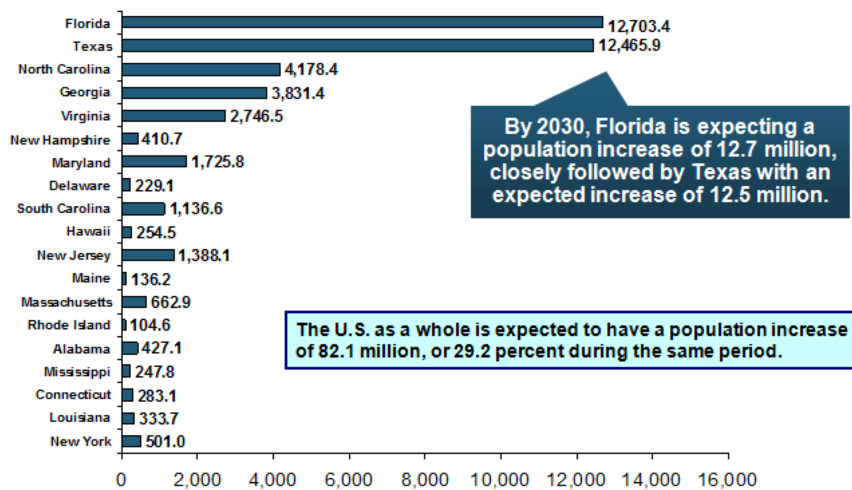
The Atlantic coast, the Gulf of Mexico and the Hawaiian Islands are home to the U.S. counties most vulnerable to hurricanes. Census data shows these hurricane-prone counties account for nearly two-thirds of the nation's coastal population and are home to four of the nation's top 10 most populous counties.

Other Census data shows the population in hurricane exposed states will increase by 43.8 million, or 36.3 percent between 2000 and 2030, accounting for 53 percent

of the increase in the population for the entire United States. Florida, already the most hurricane vulnerable state in the country, will lead the way with an expected population increase of 12.7 million or 79.5 percent by 2030 (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8

Population Growth Projections for Hurricane Exposed States (2000 to 2030) (000)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, accessed at http://www.census.gov/population/projections/PressTab1.xls

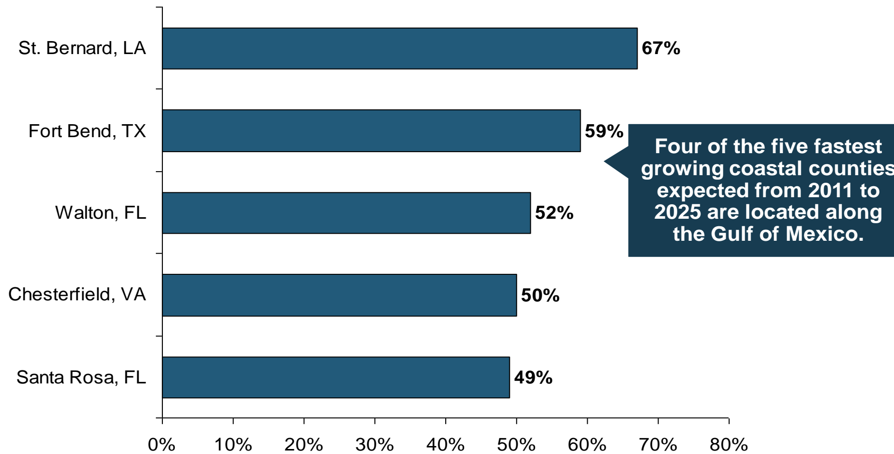
According to the latest National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) state of the coast report, in 2011, 53 percent of the nation's total population—a projected 165.9 million people—lives in coastal counties (including those that abut the Great Lakes).[5]

Between 1970 and 2011, the population of U.S. coastal counties grew by 54.4 million people, or 47 percent, NOAA states. It projects that four of the five fastest growing counties between 2011 and 2025 will be located along the Gulf of Mexico and one, Chesterfield, Virginia, is within commuting distance of Richmond, VA. The county expected to show the greatest percent change from 2011 to 2025 is St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana, home to the major suburbs of New Orleans (Fig. 9).

[5] National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), *State of the Coast*, Woods & Poole and NOAA 2010, http://stateofthecoast.noaa.gov/population/welcome.html

Fig. 9

Leading Coastal Counties In Projected Population Change, 2011-2025

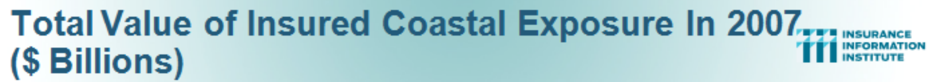


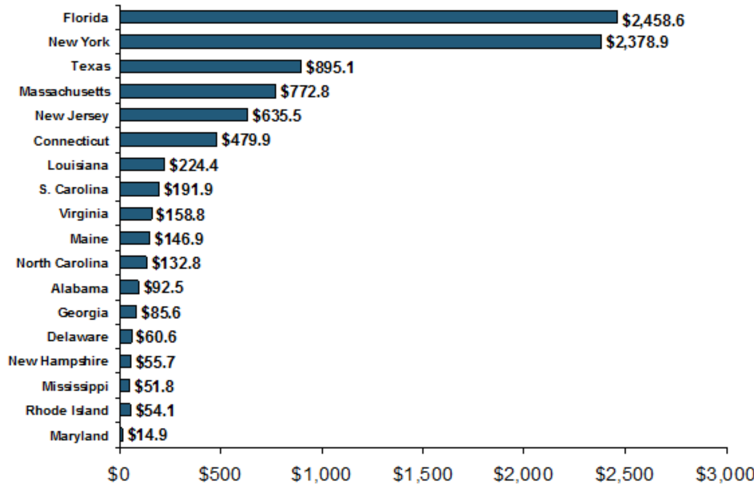
Source: NOAA State of the Coast, Woods & Poole and NOAA, 2010.

Exposure to windstorms and high property values combine to make Florida the state with the highest potential for losses and New York City and Long Island the second highest. An updated study by AIR Worldwide puts the value of insured coastal property in hurricane prone states—states bordering on the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico—at $8.9 trillion in 2007, up 24 percent from $7.2 trillion in 2004.[6] In Florida alone the value of residential and commercial coastal property is $2.5 trillion (Fig. 10). This represents 79 percent of the state's total insured property values (Fig. 11). In New York it is $2.4 trillion, representing 62 percent of the total. In terms of insured residential coastal exposures, Florida, New York and Texas are the top three states on the list (Fig. 12). However, the value of New York's commercial coastal property, at $1.7 trillion, is higher than that of any other state on the list (Fig. 13). Other states where insured coastal property values exceed 50 percent of the state's total are Connecticut, Maine and Massachusetts.

[6] AIR Worldwide, The Coastline at Risk, 2008 Update to the Estimated Insured Value of U.S. Coastal Properties, and The Coastline at Risk, September 2005.

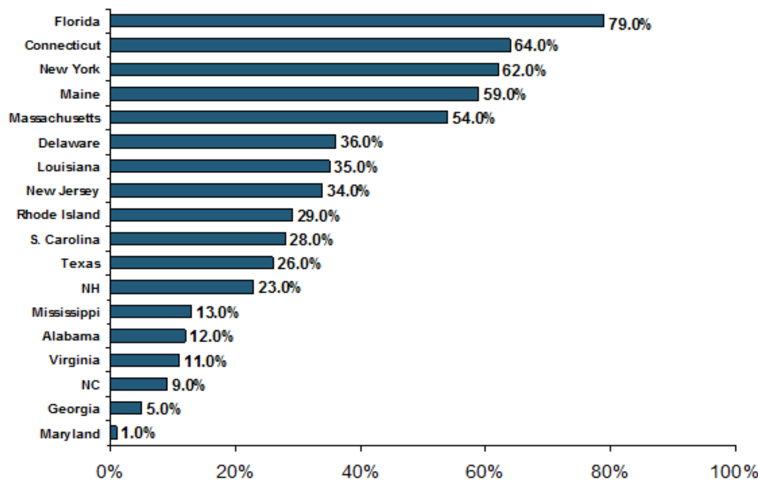
Fig. 10





Source: AIR Worldwide

Fig. 11



Source: AIR Worldwide

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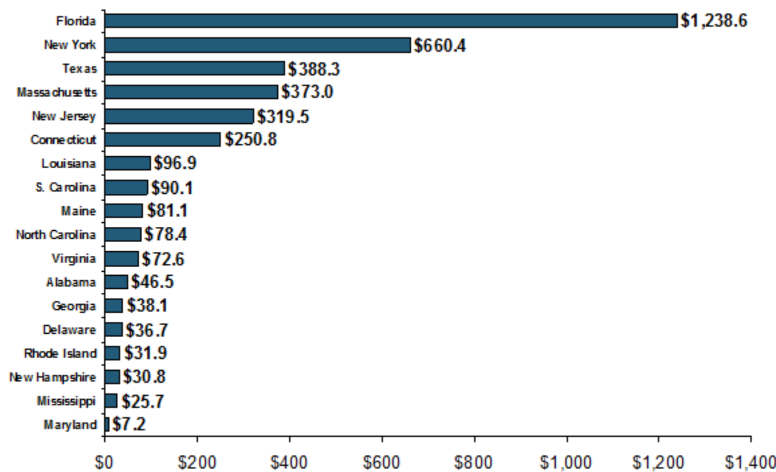
Fig. 12

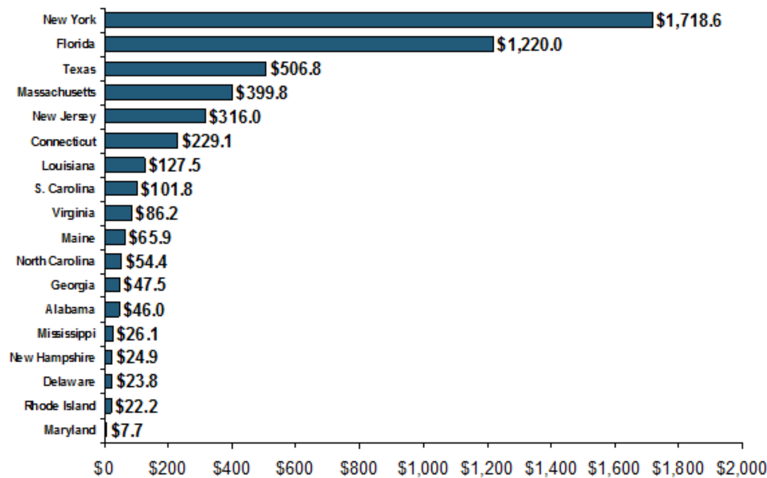
Value of Insured Residential Coastal Exposure In 2007 ($ Billions)



Source: AIR Worldwide

Fig. 13

Value Of Insured Commercial Coastal Exposure 2007 ($ Billions)



Source: AIR Worldwide

Even in states where the value of insured coastal property values represents a relatively small percentage of total insured property values it does not mean that the residual markets are not experiencing rapid growth. For example, North Carolina ranks 11th on AIR's list with $132.8 billion in insured coastal exposure, representing just 9 percent of the state's total insured values. Yet as of March 31, 2011, North Carolina's beach and windstorm plan, the North Carolina Insurance Underwriting Association (no longer a PIPSO member), reported a total of 183,646 policies, up from 119,810 policies reported at the end of 2005. Total exposure to loss under the plan also increased from $43.3 billion in 2005 to $69.3 billion at March 31, 2011 – an increase of 60 percent.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD SUBSIDIZED INSURANCE FOR COASTAL DWELLERS

Evidence also shows that the growth in residual market mechanisms may be due in part to the implicit support of residents of coastal communities. According to the Insurance Research Council (IRC), geographic proximity to the coast plays a major role in influencing opinions about the fairness of policyholder and taxpayer property insurance subsidies for natural disasters.[7] The IRC found that those living in non-coastal areas are more likely to disapprove of taxpayer and policyholder subsidies of insurance costs for those living in high risk areas. Some 63 percent of those from interior counties and non-coastal states believe policyholder subsidies for wind damage coverage in coastal areas are unfair, compared to half of those from coastal counties (Fig. 14). Similarly, when asked about taxpayer-subsidized insurance for natural disasters, such as the National Flood Insurance Program, 59 percent of those from interior counties and 61 percent from non-coastal states found these to be unfair, compared to just 51 percent of those in coastal counties (Fig. 15).

[7] Insurance Research Council (IRC), Public Attitude Monitor (PAM) 2006, Issue 2, October 2006.

Fig. 14

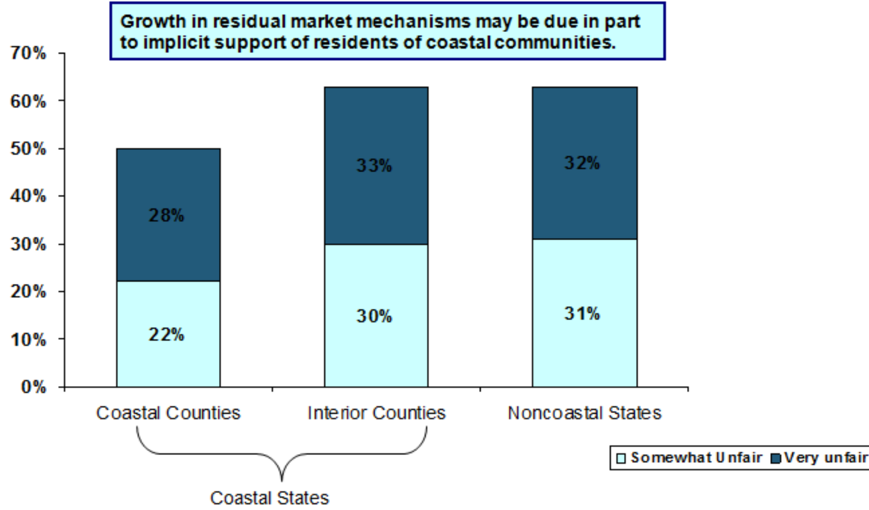
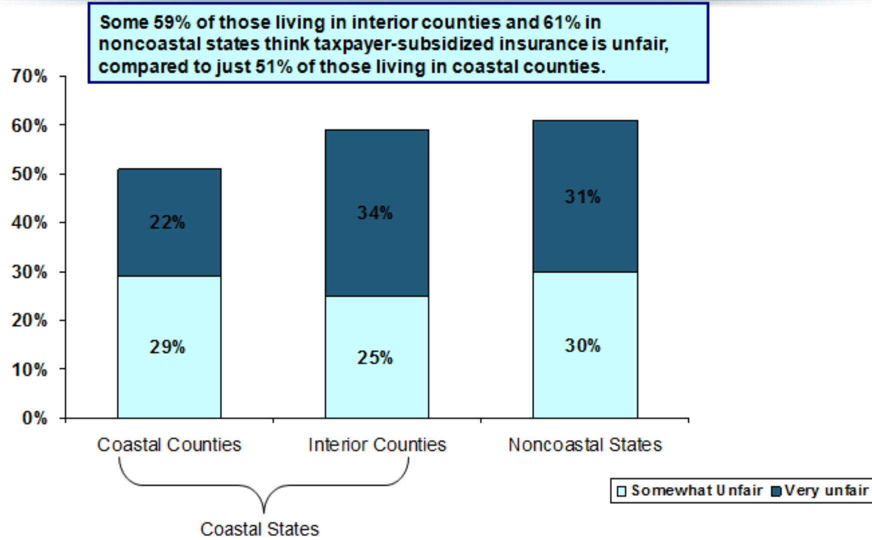


Fig. 15



Availability and affordability of property insurance in the voluntary market also has an impact on the rate of growth of the FAIR and Beach and Windstorm Plans. Applicants rejected by the voluntary market may apply to the residual market where acceptance is usually contingent upon proof of inability to obtain coverage in the voluntary market, with some pools requiring evidence of rejection from two or three companies. Therefore, the inability of insurers to be able to charge a rate commensurate with the risk to be assumed (due to regulatory suppression of rates) is a major factor in their decision to reject an applicant in the voluntary market. In addition, the concentration of property risks in coastal areas means insurers are unable to diversify and spread their portfolio, and that can lead to a reduction or even withdrawal of voluntary capacity in certain markets. For example, in early 2009 a leading Florida property insurer announced plans to withdraw from that state. Such a situation inevitably will increase the volume of property policies being written by the residual market mechanisms.

FINANCIAL RESULTS

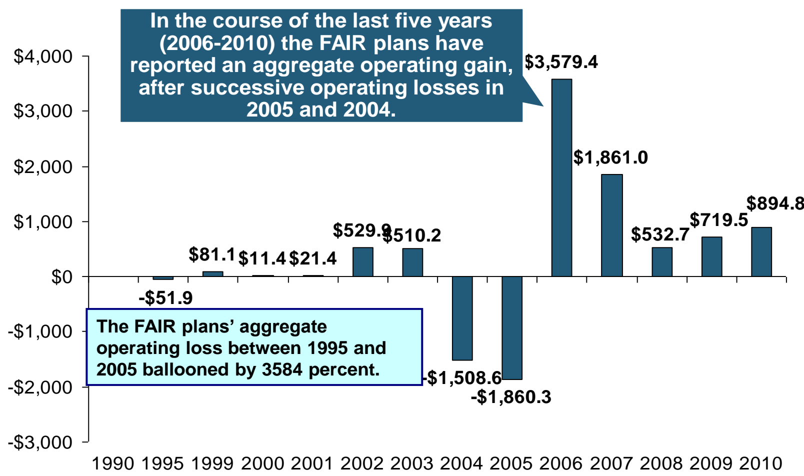
Today, many residual property market plans have shifted away from their original mission as insurers of urban properties into major providers of insurance in high-risk coastal areas. It is important to recognize that many operate at deficits, or from slim positions of surplus, even in years with little or no catastrophe losses. A variety of factors are at play here, including the fact that state plans may be prohibited from charging a rate that is commensurate with the risk being assumed.

Rates charged by state plans are controlled by state regulators and legislators and are therefore vulnerable to political manipulation. The tendency of regulators and/or legislatures to suppress rates in the private sector is a major contributing factor to a pull-back by private insurers in many coastal areas, which leads directly to more property owners seeking coverage through the state's residual market facility, often at rates that are inadequate.

As noted earlier, in 2010 the FAIR Plans reported an aggregate operating gain of $894.8 million, an increase of 24 percent from the $719.4 million in 2009. The 2010 operating result was also an improvement on the $532.7 million operating gain reported in 2008, but lower than the $1.9 billion operating gain reported in 2007 and the $3.6 billion operating gain reported in 2006 (Fig. 16). The five consecutive years of gains followed successive operating losses of $1.9 billion in 2005 and $1.5 billion in 2004. The turnaround in fortunes in recent years is due largely to the relatively benign hurricane seasons, after the record hurricane losses of 2005 and 2004.

It is important to note that the figures for 2005-2007 exclude the results of Louisiana Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, a plan severely impacted by losses arising from Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the third largest of all the FAIR/Beach plans by number of policies in 2004. In 2010, Louisiana Citizens reported an operating gain of $47 million, compared with an operating gain of $58.5 million in 2009, and an operating loss of $22.5 million in 2008.

Fig. 16



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute.

In the decade from 1995 to 2005, the FAIR Plans saw a more than 30-fold ballooning of their aggregate operating loss. If Louisiana Citizens' reported 2005 operating deficit of $954 million is included, the FAIR Plans' 2005 deficit rises to a staggering $2.8 billion—a more than 50-fold increase in the aggregate deficit over the course of the decade.

In 2005, by far the largest deficit—$1.77 billion—was reported by Florida's FAIR Plan, Citizens Property Insurance Corporation. Both Florida and Louisiana's 2005 deficits resulted in the levying of assessments on virtually all residential property owners in their states.[8] Insufficient rates, inadequate cash reserves and insufficient or nonexistent reinsurance have contributed to the problems in Florida, Louisiana and other states.

The financial results of the Beach and Windstorm Plans show a similar trend. The results of these Plans are illustrative of the fact that in years of low hurricane activity operating margins are slim, and in years of high hurricane activity, losses mount. The Insurance Research Council (IRC) reports that as rate inadequacy has continued to increase, the demand for coverage from Beach and Windstorm Plans has grown relative to the total statewide property insurance market. As a result,

[8] Florida's Citzens can assess even property owners that are not its own insureds; people who live on the coast and people who have filed no claims.

some plans face increasing risk of insolvency, and the potential for large assessments on insurance in noncoastal areas is increased.[9]

If their claims-paying capacity is exhausted in a particular year, FAIR and Beach and Windstorm Plans have a number of capital-raising options available to them:

- ***Levy of assessments*:** When losses exceed claims-paying capacity in a given year, FAIR and Beach and Windstorm plans are required by state law to assess participating insurers. Assessments typically are based on an individual insurer's market share in the state. In many states insurers are allowed to recoup these assessments by imposing a rate surcharge on policyholders. In some states like Florida, the assessment is a percentage of premium and is passed through directly to consumers.
- ***Issuance of bonds*:** Plans also have the ability to finance losses and raise additional capacity via the issuance of bonds. In the wake of the 2004 and 2005 hurricane seasons, a number of plans went ahead with post-event bond issues. Pre-event bond issues may also be completed by some plans for funding future hurricane seasons. The cost of issuing bonds may be passed onto policyholders via assessments and surcharges. In recent years, plans have become increasingly dependent on the issuance of debt.
- ***Reinsurance or capital markets*:** Many plans also buy reinsurance or access the capital markets, providing them with additional layers of catastrophic coverage and ability to fund losses. While costs can be high, reinsurance is playing an increasingly important role in the financing of mega-catastrophes. For example, private reinsurers paid an estimated 45 percent of 2005 hurricane losses. More recently, certain plans have chosen to reduce or eliminate the coverage they purchase from private reinsurers, effectively "rolling the dice" when it comes to bearing these catastrophic risks.[10]

In addition to assessments and debt, increasingly plans are being bailed out by a diversion of tax revenues from state coffers. Certain plan funding mechanisms may also expose state funds to excess hurricane losses. For example, losses from Hurricanes Dolly and Ike in 2008 left the Texas general revenue fund exposed after the Texas Windstorm Insurance Association's funds were depleted (see later section on Texas). In an effort to offset the 2005 deficit of Florida Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, state legislators provided for a $715 million appropriation of state general revenue dollars to the fund. Similarly, in December 2006 the Louisiana legislature passed a law creating a state income tax credit for policyholders facing assessments from Louisiana Citizens. Diversion of state and federal funds to the Mississippi Windstorm Underwriting Association (MWUA) also followed the passage of reforms by the state legislature in 2009 and 2007 (see later section on Mississippi).

[9] *State Beach and Windstorm Plans*, Insurance Research Council, October, 2010.
[10] *States Shed Reinsurance and 'Run Naked' Through Storm Risks*, by Evan Lehmann of ClimateWire, New York Times, August 17, 2009.

These subsidies effectively shift the cost of assessments from the plan's policyholders to policyholders and taxpayers across the state or country. [11] Such temporary political salves for policyholders in coastal areas are hardly a long-term solution to the financial distress in which some of the residual market plans find themselves. At the same time, they dilute the message of risk that actuarially sound premiums send to coastal dwellers. The effect is to encourage and enable even more vulnerable coastal development, further increasing residual market exposure and increasing the burden on taxpayers.

PRICING TO RISK

All insurers must file rates and forms with the state insurance regulator and residual market plans are not exempt from this requirement. However, each state has different rate-setting rules and individual plans write different types of risks, so the exact parameters vary from state to state. In general, residual market mechanisms have been designed to work as a complement to, rather than in competition with, the private market. Therefore, historically the rates charged by the residual plans have been higher than those in the voluntary market. The idea has been to charge a risk-based premium that is commensurate with the specific type of business being written.

Today, a number of state legislatures have eliminated the requirement for the rates charged by residual market plans to be noncompetitive with the private market. This means that private insurers face an uphill battle when trying to compete on price. A July 2010 report by the Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that most state-run natural catastrophe plans charge rates that are not actuarially sound and do not accurately reflect the risk of loss.[12] State natural catastrophe programs in Alabama, California, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, New Jersey, South Carolina and Texas were reviewed for the report. According to GAO, six of the 10 plans studied charged rates that did not fully reflect the risk of loss, potentially discouraging private market involvement and mitigation efforts by property owners.

As noted earlier, the availability and affordability of property insurance in the voluntary market has a direct impact on the rate of growth of the FAIR and Beach and Windstorm Plans. Post-2004 and 2005, property insurance market conditions changed rapidly, and a number of private insurers and residual market plans in hurricane zones came under considerable financial strain. Recent record catastrophe years may have amplified the problems, but even before 2004 and 2005, it was clear that many of the residual market plans had not lived up to their original objectives. The current financial positions of the most at-risk markets reflect the growing problems exacerbated by the confluence of rising catastrophe losses, burgeoning exposure values and policy counts, and inadequate financial resources. Legislative and political meddling in a number of states has also created

[11] *Surcharges Help State Insurance Plans Control Rates*, by Thomas Frank, USA Today, September 22, 2010.
[12] GAO-10-568R – Natural Catastrophe Insurance Coverage, July 2010.

operating rules and conditions that assure that the rates charged by these plans are not actuarially sound or that their capital base is inadequate.

The state of Florida is a good example. Since Florida Citizens was created in 2002, its policy count has surged from 658,085 policies in 2002 to 1.4 million policies as of May 31, 2011. Total exposure to loss under Citizens has also grown, from $154.6 billion in 2002 to $460.7 billion in 2010.

Florida Citizens remains the largest property insurer in the state. A bill (SB 1714) that would have restored Citizens to an insurer of last resort, allowing it to increase rates significantly and lower the value of homes eligible for Citizens coverage, stalled in the Senate in May 2011 (see later section on Florida Citizens). As a result, concerns remain about potential losses should one or more major hurricanes hit the state. In light of these developments and in preparation for the start of hurricane season, the Citizens board voted to issue up to $900 million in bonds and purchase up to $500 million in reinsurance in the private market.

Insurance regulators are granting Citizens a higher rate increase than requested for 2011, due to a huge rise in sinkhole claims. Even with these expected increases, rates will still not be actuarially sound. A comprehensive property insurance reform measure (SB 408) enacted in May 2011 is expected to significantly reduce the cost of sinkhole claims.

A depopulation plan created by Florida's legislature was designed to reduce the number of policies in Citizens, encouraging new or existing private insurers to take on policies covered by Citizens. In 2009, some 149,645 policies moved back to the private market. However, depopulation activity slowed in 2010.

When Citizens incurs a deficit following a storm, it is required to impose assessments on insurers doing business in the state that are then passed on to their policyholders in the form of a surcharge. Following legislative reforms enacted in 2007 the base for assessments to pay for Citizens deficits expanded from property insurance to auto, liability and other lines of insurance, with the exception of medical malpractice and workers compensation, thus placing the burden of paying for the next big storm on all Floridians, even those with no exposure at all to hurricane losses.

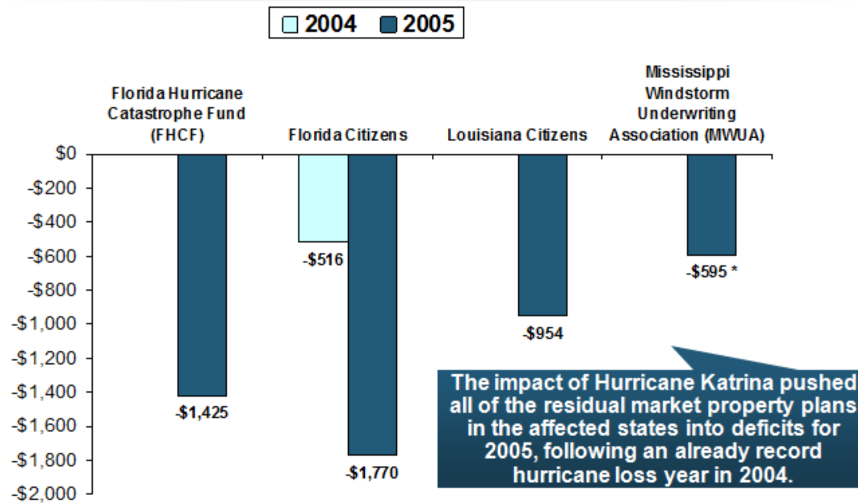
IMPACT ON THE VOLUNTARY INSURANCE MARKET

When the losses of FAIR Plans and Beach and Windstorm Plans exceed their claims-paying capacity in a given year, the plans impose an assessment on every participating insurer, typically based on their homeowners or property insurance market share in a state. In many states, insurers may then recoup this amount from policyholders when their homeowners policies come up for renewal. The plans may also buy reinsurance. This means that people far away from the coast and property owners who may have never filed a claim are called upon to subsidize coastal insurance rates.

In 2005, the extent of losses from Hurricane Katrina pushed all the residual market plans in the affected states into deficit (Fig. 17). This followed the record hurricane losses of 2004, when Florida Citizens also reported a deficit. As a result the plans were required to assess participating insurers in order to remain solvent. While the assessment formulas vary from state to state, the record losses created substantial financial strains on private insurance companies in some Gulf coast states. This led a number of companies to file a class action lawsuit against the Mississippi Windstorm Underwriting Association (MWUA) board of directors, claiming that the Pool did not buy adequate and reasonable reinsurance, which led to the excessive assessments.[13] Over time it is likely that private insurers operating in high-risk states will have to make additional adjustments to account for their increasing exposure to the residual market. Going forward, it will be critical for private insurers to better understand their risks to the residual market.

Fig. 17

Residual Market Plan Estimated Deficits 2004/2005 (Millions of Dollars)



* MWUA est. deficit for 2005 comprises $545m in assessments plus $50m in Federal Aid.
Source: Insurance Information Institute

Another important consideration is that as private insurers pull back from writing business in coastal areas, a significant share of premium is being ceded to the residual market. This means that private insurers, while reducing their exposure to catastrophic loss, are missing out on significant growth opportunities in certain states.

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[13] Case 1:06-cv-00954-LTS-RHW; United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi Southern Division; Filed 09/15/06.

In 2010, the property/casualty industry recorded sluggish premium growth of 0.9 percent – the first gain on an annual basis since 2006. It followed three consecutive years of negative premium growth (-3.7 percent in 2009, -1.3 percent in 2008 and -0.6 percent in 2007).

While this is a result of a combination of different factors, one reason is the leakage of premium to residual market mechanisms. This has the ultimate effect of reducing options in the private marketplace, another negative for insurance buyers.

CONCLUSION

While residual market property plans fulfill a key role by ensuring that policyholders can obtain insurance coverage, their exponential growth in the course of the last two decades has key implications for insurers and insurance buyers going forward.

In particular, there are a number of public policy considerations that will need to be addressed as insurers, regulators and legislators seek a long-term solution to managing and funding catastrophic risks in future. Some of those public policy impacts are as follows:

- As residual market plans go from markets of last resort to markets of first or only choice in certain states, a significant amount of property insurance premium is exiting the private marketplace (both the admitted and non-admitted insurance market). This reduces growth opportunities for carriers and choice for policyholders.

- When premiums charged are not commensurate with the risks assumed in highly vulnerable coastal and other areas, this can lead to increased development, unwise land-use policies and buildings that are not sufficiently well-constructed to withstand the exposures.

- When, due to political and/or regulatory constraints, insurers are unable to charge a premium commensurate with the risk they assume in coastal areas, this distorts the true cost of insurance coverage. This has two key public policy implications:

    - Firstly, rate and underwriting restrictions on property insurers can result in a situation where high-risk property owners actually pay lower premiums, while low-risk property owners pay artificially higher premiums. This leads to unfair cross-subsidization among risk classes and discourages mitigation.

    - Ultimately policyholders in both coastal and non-coastal areas pay the price of inadequate premiums in the form of additional payments, such as assessments and taxes following federal/state bailouts, which

are passed on to them. Even policyholders of unrelated risks, such as auto and liability, have to pay assessments too.

- In contrast to the private market, state-run insurers concentrate risks on the state itself—on its property owners, businessowners and even its drivers—and, ultimately, the state's taxpayers. While private insurance transfers and spreads risk ensuring that sufficient funds will be available in the event of a loss, state-run schemes act rather as a conduit to pass along their cost to other insurance buyers, even those who have never filed a claim, live nowhere near the coast and in some cases have no property exposure at all.

II. HOW FAIR AND BEACH AND WINDSTORM PLANS OPERATE

FAIR Plans and Beach and Windstorm Plans are run by state insurance regulators in conjunction with private insurers and basically operate as pools (an association of organizations or individuals that combine resources to economically finance recovery from accidental losses). The pool acts as a single insuring entity, and premiums, losses and expenses are shared among pool members (i.e. insurers) in agreed-upon amounts.

Each state has enacted its own legislation in response to local market needs, so there is considerable variation in the types of coverage provided and the methods of operation among the 35 jurisdictions with FAIR Plans. The state government does not typically provide financial support for these plans though exceptions do occur. Plans may also float debt and benefit from the state's credit rating, which is ultimately linked to its authority to tax. In addition, each state has a guaranty fund in place to pay the claims of failed insurers. Guaranty funds are supported by assessments on solvent insurers doing business in the state. Some FAIR Plans employ their own staff to handle underwriting, processing and even claim adjustment, while others contract with specific insurers to act as servicing carriers. These insurers, for a percentage of premium, perform underwriting, policyholder service and claim settlement functions.

In all states except California, residents in any part of the state can apply for insurance through the FAIR Plan as long as they meet Plan criteria. In California, applicants for fire coverage must live in areas specifically designated by the insurance commissioner. These include not only urban communities and some entire counties but also certain areas that are prone to brush fires.

Underwriting Criteria

A property owner unable to obtain property insurance in the voluntary insurance market may apply to the state's FAIR Plan through a licensed agent or broker. To be eligible for FAIR Plan coverage, the insured must have the property inspected.

Only property that meets the FAIR Plan's inspection criteria will be insured in the program. Owners of properties failing to meet basic levels of safety, typically older houses and commercial establishments, may be required to make improvements as a condition for obtaining insurance.

Such improvements may include upgrading the electrical wiring, heating and plumbing and ensuring that the roof is sound, for example. Where deficiencies are not remedied, FAIR Plan administrators may deny insurance as long as hazards are unrelated to the neighborhood location or to hazardous environmental conditions beyond the applicant's control, such as being located adjacent to a fireworks factory.

Under most FAIR Plans, the following types of exposures are considered uninsurable:

- Vacant property

- Property poorly maintained
- Property subject to unacceptable physical hazards, such as storage of flammable materials
- Property in violation of law or public policy, such as a "condemned building" (one that is considered unfit for human habitation)
- In some states, property not built in accordance with building and safety codes

EIGHT INDIVIDUAL STATE PLANS

1. FLORIDA CITIZENS PROPERTY INSURANCE CORPORATION (CPIC)

OVERVIEW

Since its establishment in 2002, after the state passed legislation combining two separate high risk insurance pools, known as the Florida Windstorm Underwriting Association and the Florida Residential Property & Casualty Joint Underwriting Association, Citizens Property Insurance Corporation (CPIC) has experienced exponential growth. As a result Florida Citizens has evolved from a market of last resort, becoming the state's largest property insurer in 2006.

According to PIPSO data, of the 2.5 million total policies (habitational and commercial) insured by the FAIR plans across the U.S. in 2010, 1.5 million or 61 percent were in Florida Citizens. This compares with the 658,085 policies or 44 percent insured by Florida Citizens in 2002. As of May 31, 2011, Citizens had 285,410 high risk policies in force (those that were in the old windstorm pool). The CPIC also had about 902,265 personal/residential policies in force, and about 7,022 commercial/residential policies. Total policies in force in Florida Citizens stood at 1.4 million at May 31, 2011.

Meanwhile, Florida Citizens also accounts for the vast majority (70 percent) of the total FAIR plans exposure to loss. In 2010, Florida Citizen's exposure to loss rose again to $460.7 billion, approaching its 2007 peak of $485.1 billion (Fig. 18). Florida Citizens had seen its exposure to loss decline to $421.9 billion in 2008 and by year-end 2009 to around $406 billion, due to increased takeout activity and a decline in new business written.

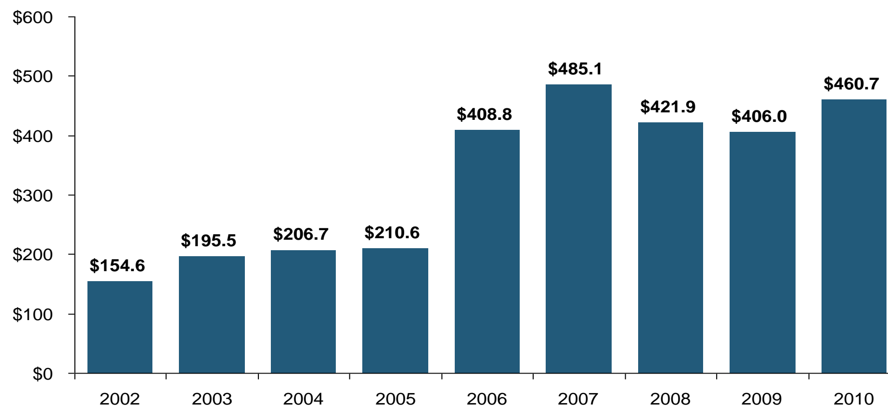
The return to rising exposure and policy counts in 2010 came after two Florida insurers were declared insolvent and as a number of national companies reduced their exposure to Florida windstorm risk, leaving some high risk policyholders looking for coverage. In addition, regulators relaxed a requirement that insurers taking over policies under Citizens depopulation plans retain them for a three-year period.

Direct premiums written by Florida Citizens rose to $2.6 billion in 2010, up from $2.2 billion in 2009. Between 2007 and 2008, direct premiums written by Florida Citizens declined by nearly $1 billion (from $3.7 billion in 2007 to $2.8 billion in 2008). The collapse in home and condominium construction throughout the state

due to the subprime mortgage and credit crisis and ensuing recession had been a significant factor in the decline in new business.

Fig. 18

Florida Citizens Exposure to Loss ($ Billions)



Since its creation in 2002, total exposure to loss in Florida Citizens has increased by 163 percent, from $154.6 billion to $460.7 billion in 2010.

Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute (I.I.I.).

Citizens is a state-regulated association and historically has provided property insurance where it is not available from the regular market. It has tax-exempt status and provides insurance to homeowners, commercial residential properties and a limited number of commercial businesses in coastal high-risk areas and others who are unable to obtain coverage in the private insurance market.

A depopulation plan created by Florida's legislature was designed to reduce the number of policies in Citizens, encouraging new or existing private insurers to take on policies covered by Citizens. Depopulation activity has decreased from record levels seen in 2008/2007. In 2009, some 149,645 policies moved back to the private market, but in the first three quarters of 2010, only 32,278 policies had been returned.

From 2003 to 2006, approximately 500,000 Citizens policyholders were returned to the private market. In addition, Citizens reduced its exposure by $100 billion. However, the insolvency of major insurance group, the Poe Insurance Companies after the hurricanes of 2004 and 2005, added thousands of policies to Citizens at a time when many other insurers were cutting back on policy renewals in coastal areas.

Legislative Developments

Legislation (SB 1714) that would have restored Citizens to an insurer of last resort, allowing it to increase rates significantly and lowering the value of homes eligible for Citizens coverage, stalled in the Senate in May 2011.

Insurance regulators are granting Citizens a higher rate increase than requested for 2011, due to the huge rise in sinkhole claims. Even with these expected increases, rates will still not be actuarially sound. A comprehensive property insurance reform measure (SB 408) enacted in May 2011 is expected to significantly reduce the cost of sinkhole claims, and includes the following:

- Increases the minimum surplus requirements for residential property insurers to $15 million.
- Requires windstorm and hurricane claims to be brought within three years and sinkhole loss claims to be brought within two years.
- Revises what constitutes a sinkhole loss.

Major legislative reforms enacted in 2009 (HB 1495) were widely regarded as a step in the right direction for the state's property insurance market after legislation passed in 2007 and 2008 had significantly expanded the overall role of the state as an insurer and reinsurer of Florida homes.

Among other things, the 2009 reforms allowed Citizens to increase rates by up to 10 percent per year until rates are actuarially sound.

A rate deregulation bill (HB 1171) was also passed by the Florida legislature in 2009. The bill, which was subsequently vetoed by Governor Crist, would have allowed certain insurers to use rates in excess of the otherwise applicable filed rate.

Claims-Paying Capacity

When Citizens losses exceed its claims-paying capacity, it is required to impose assessments on insurers doing business in the state that are then passed on to their policyholders in the form of a surcharge. Following the legislative reforms enacted in 2007 the base for assessments to pay for Citizens deficits expanded from property insurance to auto, liability and other lines of insurance, with the exception of medical malpractice and workers compensation, thus placing the burden of paying for the next big storm on all Floridians, even those with no exposure at all to hurricane losses.

Citizens also has the ability to finance loss payments by issuing tax-exempt bonds that carry low interest rates, piggy-backing on the state of Florida's strong credit rating. The credit crisis that began in mid-2007 raised serious concerns about Citizen's ability to raise significant sums in the bond markets should a major

hurricane strike. However, since then there has been a gradual improvement in credit markets and bonding capacity.

Given the lack of progress on the legislative front and in preparation for the start of the 2011 hurricane season, the Citizens board voted to issue up to $900 million in bonds and purchase up to $500 million in reinsurance in the private market.

Citizens' ability to pay claims is partly dependent on the state-run reinsurance fund – the Florida Hurricane Catastrophe Fund (the Cat Fund) – which reimburses Citizens a stated percentage of hurricane losses once a retention level is reached. However, in the event of a major storm the Cat Fund's ability to pay claims may also be impacted.

Citizens was hit hard by 2005 and 2004's hurricane seasons, suffering record hurricane damage claims and incurring a deficit in both years. As a result of losses related to Hurricanes Dennis, Katrina and Wilma, Citizens reported an operating deficit of just over $2 billion in 2005. This followed an operating deficit of $1.6 billion in 2004, after Citizens incurred around $2.4 billion in losses from nearly 120,000 hurricane damage claims, of which $1.8 billion came from its high-risk windstorm account.

To offset Citizens' 2005 deficit legislation (SB 1980) passed in May 2006 provided for a $715 million appropriation of state general revenue dollars to the fund. This reduced the regular assessment on policyholders from 11 percent to 2 percent. A further 10 percent emergency assessment to pay off the remainder of the deficit was spread over a 10-year period (1.4 percent annually until 2017).

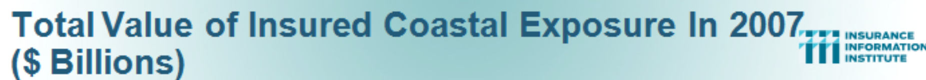
2. LOUISIANA CITIZENS PROPERTY INSURANCE CORPORATION

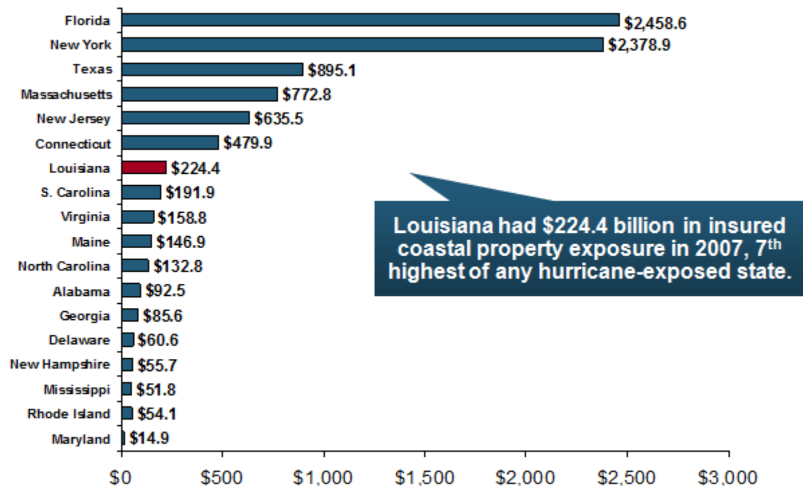
OVERVIEW

Louisiana Citizens Property Insurance Corporation (Louisiana Citizens) was created by the legislature in 2003 to oversee the state's Coastal and FAIR (Fair Access to Insurance Requirements) Plans. This state-run entity acts as a market of last resort for residential and commercial property insurance in Louisiana. For coverage purposes, the Louisiana Citizens FAIR Plan and the Louisiana Citizens Coastal Plan operate as separate programs under Louisiana Citizens.

Louisiana ranks seventh highest on the AIR Worldwide coastal exposure list with $224.4 billion in insured coastal exposure in 2007, representing 35 percent of the state's total insured values (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19





Source: AIR Worldwide

Louisiana Citizens is the state's third largest homeowners insurer in 2009, according to data from the National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC). Due to a lack of available data in the years post-Hurricane Katrina, Lousiana Citizens exposure growth has been difficult to establish. However, based on PIPSO data, Citizens exposure went from $22.7 billion in 2004, to $28.4 billion in 2009 – an increase of 25 percent. However, from 2009 to 2010, Citizens exposure to loss declined by 16 percent to $23.9 billion.

By law, Citizens rates are non-competitive with private insurers and must be at least 10 percent above the private market. A new law (Senate Bill 130), that took effect August 2009, revised LA Citizens rate structure and ensured that the plan remains the insurer of last resort by requiring the 10 percent surcharge be added to the highest rates charged by private insurers that write at least 2 percent of policies in a given parish. New companies that have not reached the 2 percent market threshold must have sold at least 25 homeowners policies in the previous year to be included in the rate structure.

In 2007, Louisiana Citizens set out to reduce its policy count to below its pre-Hurricane Katrina policy total of 125,000. After completing a fourth round of depopulation, Louisiana Citizens was reported to have 118,836 policies in-force as of December 31, 2010, compared to 130,498 at December 31, 2009. This compares with 165,000 policies in-force at June 1, 2008, prior to the removal of around 40 percent of its policies by private insurers. The depopulation of LA Citizens is the

result of an incentive program created by the legislature in 2007 to increase the availability of property insurance and to decrease the business written through LA Citizens (see below).

Hurricane Katrina produced severe losses for Louisiana Citizens when the Category 4 storm struck the state in late August 2005. The FAIR Plan was left with a $954 million deficit for 2005, after incurring estimated hurricane losses of up to $850 million. Louisiana Citizens issued $978 million in revenue bonds to help fund the shortfall. Emergency assessments to pay off those bonds began in 2007 and will continue into 2025.

The Coastal Plan offers coverage in Zone 5, south of the Intercoastal Waterway, the most hurricane-vulnerable area. The Fair Plan offers coverage in the rest of the state. Louisiana Citizens provides coverage statewide. It offers coverage up to $750,000 for residential properties.

Legislative Developments

New legislation (H.B. 952) passed in June 2010 relaxed take-out policy rules under which an insurer assumes policies from LA Citizens. Under H.B. 952, insurers participating in the depopulation program can remove fewer policies than in the original program and select the ones they want.

The original takeout program had required insurers to assume bundles of 500 policies to eliminate cherry-picking. In addition, the program now requires companies to prove that they have the capacity to take on new policies. The state insurance department is required to create at least one round of take-out offers each year.

Major legislation passed in 2009 revised Citizens' rate structure and limits the exposure of policyholders to one named storm deductible per hurricane season:

- Senate Bill 130 revised Citizens rate structure and ensures that the plan remains non-competitive with the private market by requiring its rates to be 10 percent higher than either: the actuarially sound rate; or the highest rates charged by private insurers with at least a 2 percent market share in a parish; or the rates of companies that have sold at least 25 homeowners policies in the previous year. The bill also required Citizens to charge rates by zip code, rather than by parish.
- House Bill 333 applied a single named storm deductible per hurricane season. If multiple named storms occur in one year, the full amount of the named storm, hurricane, wind and hail deductible can be applied only once.

Legislation passed in 2007 was designed to make the state of Louisiana more attractive to insurers and to help property owners deal with increased insurance cost, by allowing Louisiana Citizens to solicit bids from private insurers to take over its policies. The state also provided financial incentives to new insurers entering

the homeowners market on the condition that 25 percent or more of their new business consists of policies taken over from Citizens.

In a special session in December 2006, state legislators passed a law taking $56 million from a state emergency fund to reimburse policyholders who had been assessed to pay for Citizens' losses. At the same time, a law was approved that created a state income tax credit for policyholders facing assessments from Louisiana Citizens.

Claims-Paying Capacity

In the normal course of business, Louisiana Citizens utilizes its cash to pay claims, liquidating investments as necessary to meet demands. The Plan also buys reinsurance to supplement its claims-paying capacity in the event of a catastrophe. The amount of reinsurance purchased and the structure of the program may vary year to year.

Louisiana Citizens is one of the residual market property plans that does purchase reinsurance, providing a total of $500 million in coverage. Under its reinsurance program, in the event of a catastrophe Louisiana Citizens would pay the first $100 million of losses. After that reinsurance would cover 95 percent of the next $400 million in losses. [14]

In the event of a deficit in either the FAIR or Coastal Plan, Louisiana Citizens has the ability to assess its member insurers to an amount up to 10 percent of industry premium for the assessable lines of business. Insurers may then choose to recoup that amount from their policyholders over the course of the next year. Policyholders may, in turn, claim that amount as a credit against their Louisiana state income taxes.

If the plan year deficit exceeds the amount that can be recovered via regular assessments, Louisiana Citizens may fund the remainder by issuing revenue assessment bonds in the capital markets. It then declares emergency assessments each year to provide debt service on the bonds until they are retired. Insurers writing assessable lines must surcharge their policyholders in the percentage established annually by Louisiana Citizens. As in the case of regular assessments, policyholders may claim amounts paid as a credit against state income taxes.

3. MISSISSIPPI FAIR PLANS

OVERVIEW

Mississippi has two residual market plans that act as a market of last resort for residential and commercial property insurance in the state. The Mississippi Windstorm Underwriting Association (MWUA) was established by the legislature

[14] *State Beach and Windstorm Plans*, Insurance Research Council, October, 2010.

in 1987 to provide an adequate market for windstorm and hail insurance in the coastal areas of Mississippi. The Mississippi Residential Property Insurance Underwriting Association (MRPIUA) was established by the legislature in 2003 to provide an adequate market for residential property insurance in both rural and other areas of the state. It was formed by expanding the state's former Mississippi Rural Risk Underwriting Association to offer coverage across the entire state.
All insurers writing property insurance on a direct basis in Mississippi are required to be members of the associations.

MWUA and MRPIUA are funded by the premiums from the insurance issued by the plans and assessments made against the member companies to cover any shortfall between revenues and exposure. The plans may also buy reinsurance. The member companies are assessed based on a percentage of their total written property premiums. Insurers doing business in Mississippi are now able to recoup the assessment amount by surcharging their policyholders, following legislative reform approved by the state legislature in March 2007.

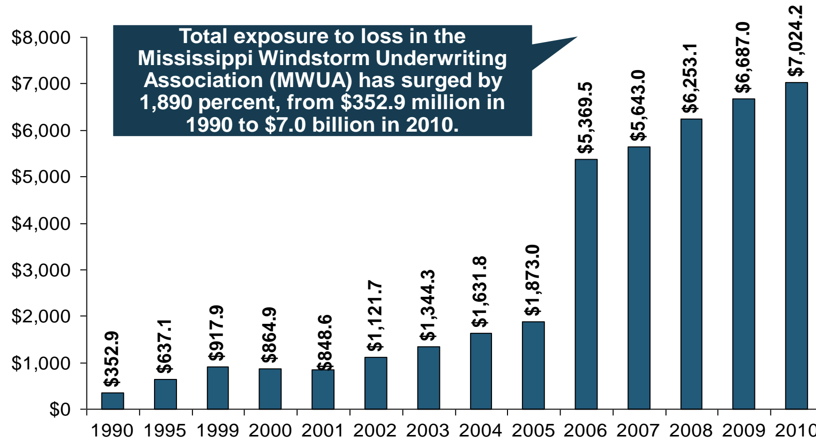
MWUA provides windstorm and hail coverage only in the coastal counties of George, Hancock, Harrison, Jackson, Pearl River and Stone. Coverage is available up to $1,000,000 for one- to four-family dwellings and $250,000 for contents. MWUA policies contain a hurricane deductible of 2 percent of the insured value of the home. The hurricane deductible is triggered by windstorm losses resulting from a named storm as declared by the National Hurricane Center of the National Weather Service and remains in effect until a tropical storm warning is over.

Mississippi ranks 16th on AIR Worldwide's coastal exposure list with $51.8 billion in insured coastal exposure, of which about 50 percent is residential and 50 percent is commercial. Mississippi's insured coastal exposure represents just 13 percent of the state's total insured values.

At year-end 2010, MWUA had a total of 46,546 policies in-force for a total exposure value of $7.0 billion. Total exposure to loss has surged by 1,890 percent from $352.9 million in 1990 to $7.0 billion as of December 31, 2010. (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20

Mississippi Windstorm Plan: Exposure to Loss (Millions of Dollars)



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

MRPIUA provides fire and extended coverage throughout the state. However, properties located in the three lower coastal counties of Mississippi (Hancock, Harrison and Jackson counties) cannot obtain wind and hail coverage through MRPIUA. Coverage for these perils is available through MWUA. Coverage limits under MRPIUA are up to $200,000 for buildings and $75,000 for contents. MRPIUA policies contain a standard deductible of $500 for all perils. At the end of 2010, MRPIUA had a total of 11,096 policies in-force for a total exposure value of $643.3 million.

Insurers that write new wind and hail insurance policies in coastal areas in Mississippi may now be granted credits against the payment of state insurance premium taxes following passage of the 2007 legislative package.

In addition, policyholders statewide can be surcharged directly if the MWUA has to issue bonds or repay loans or assess insurers for pool deficits. MWUA assessed its member companies around $545 million for Hurricane Katrina claims, after reinsurance.

Since July 2009, the MWUA has been offering discounts of up to 25 percent to policyholders who improve the hurricane resistance of their homes. This is another step toward the state's goal of encouraging development along the coast.

Legislative Developments
In May 2010, Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour vetoed a portion of House Bill 1642 that would have allocated an additional $20 million from the state's hurricane disaster contingency fund to the MWUA to subsidize the purchase of reinsurance for another year. The contingency fund exists to repay the federal government for spending $400 million in hazard mitigation expenses in southern Mississippi.

Legislation in 2007 (HB1500) created the "Mississippi Windstorm Underwriting Association Reinsurance Assistance Fund" whereby the state provides a portion of the revenue received from state insurance premium taxes (up to $20 million a year) over a four-year period to help the MWUA pay its reinsurance premiums. It also allowed a one-time $80 million diversion of federal and state funds to the MWUA to boost the pool's reserves for windstorm damage claims. The infusion of funds is designed to protect policyholders against rate increases.

4. TEXAS WINDSTORM INSURANCE ASSOCIATION (TWIA)

OVERVIEW
Hurricane Celia, which struck the Texas coast on August 3, 1970, was one of the most damaging hurricanes in the state's history, causing an estimated $310 million in insured losses in 1970 dollars ($1.55 billion in 2005 dollars). Following the extensive damage caused by the hurricane, many insurers decided to stop writing business in the state's exposed coastal communities. As a result, the state stepped in and created the Texas Catastrophe Property Insurance Association (now called the Texas Windstorm Insurance Association) in 1971.

The Texas Windstorm Insurance Association (TWIA) provides wind and hail coverage for Texas Gulf coast property owners in the event of catastrophic loss. It is the state's insurer of last resort for wind and hail coverage in 14 coastal counties and parts of Harris County, as follows: Aransas, Brazoria, Calhoun, Cameron, Chambers, Galveston, Harris County (partial), Jefferson, Kennedy, Kleberg, Matagorda, Nueces, Refugio, San Patricio and Willacy.[15]

How It Operates
All companies licensed to write property insurance in Texas are required to be members of TWIA. Their percentage participation is based on their company's statewide sales versus sales within TWIA's territory. TWIA is governed by a nine member board of directors comprised of five insurance company representatives, two agent representatives and two consumer representatives. The board meets on a quarterly basis.

[15] Part of Harris County—When located inside Houston city limits and east of highway 146, the following portions of Harris County are also included: LaPorte, Morgan's Point, Pasadena, Seabrook, Shore Acres.

Coverage for both residential and commercial property owners is available under TWIA. In addition, the Association also provides coverage for miscellaneous items, such as signs, fences, swimming pools, and flagpoles.

Effective January 1, 2011, residential and commercial policyholders can purchase TWIA coverage up to the following statutory limits:

- Residential—Dwelling Building and Contents: $1.77 million
- Apartment, Condo, Townhouse—Contents Only: $374,000
- Mobile Home—Building and Contents: $84,000
- Commercial—Commercial Building and Contents: $4.42 million

TWIA Growth in Policies and Exposure
Increasing development together with a reduction by some insurers of the number of coastal policies they will issue has led to dramatic growth in TWIA's exposure to loss and policy count in the course of the last decade, even as the number of structures insured by TWIA decreased significantly after Hurricane Ike.

According to TWIA figures, as of May 31, 2011, TWIA insured 243,934 residential and commercial policyholders. This represents a marginal increase of 0.5 percent since January 1, 2011, and an increase of 230 percent since 2001.

TWIA's exposure to loss for buildings and contents had grown to $67.8 billion by May 31, 2011, up from $67.4 billion at January 1, 2011 (Fig. 21). TWIA total exposure had reached $74.4 billion (including additional living expense (ALE) and business interruption) by May 31, 2011 (Fig. 22).

Under state law, insurance rate increases are capped at 10 percent each year unless the Insurance Department determines that a higher increase is necessary due to catastrophic events.

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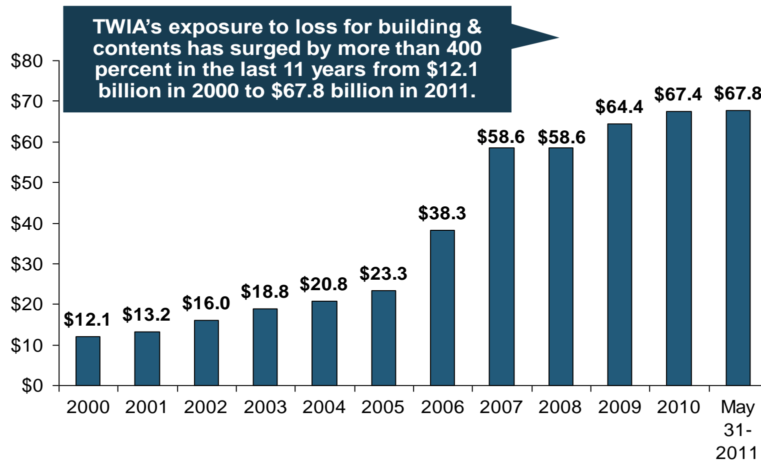
Fig. 21

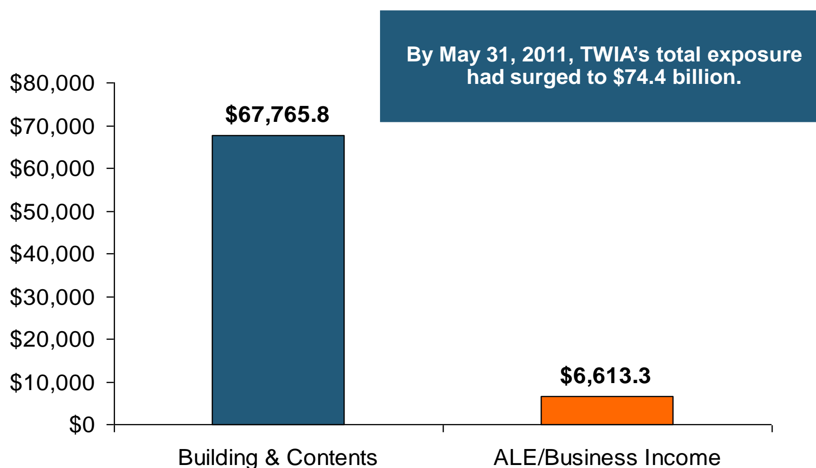
Texas Windstorm Insurance Association (TWIA): Exposure to Loss (Building & Contents Only) ($ Billions)



Source: TWIA at 05/31/11, Texas Department of Insurance, Southwestern Insurance Information Services (SIIS)

Fig. 22

Texas Windstorm Insurance Association (TWIA) Total Exposure to Loss (Millions of Dollars)



Source: TWIA at 05/31/11, Texas Department of Insurance

Claims-Paying Capacity

After the 2008 hurricane season, TWIA funds were depleted after paying losses from Hurricanes Ike and Dolly. TWIA later faced thousands of lawsuits amid claims that it had delayed or denied payments without explanation in the aftermath of Hurricane Ike.

Solutions were sought to reform TWIA and its funding mechanism and to avoid compromising the state's general revenue fund in the event of another major hurricane making landfall in Texas.

New legislation (House Bill 4409), passed in June 2009, made major reforms to the TWIA funding and claims-paying structure, making up to $2.5 billion available to fund hurricane losses.

HB 4409 clarified that TWIA is intended to serve as a residual market insurer of last resort. It established a more rational plan for the growth of TWIA reserves and premiums and eliminated the unlimited assessments on insurers. The legislation also moved TWIA towards a more actuarially-sound rating system.

While the new structure did not call for TWIA to purchase reinsurance, in 2011 TWIA did purchase a $636 million reinsurance policy to ensure funding is in place in the event of a major hurricane. Insurers can also purchase reinsurance to cover their individual exposures.

In 2011, after a series of poor administrative decisions came to light, TWIA management was replaced and new reform legislation (House Bill 272) was introduced. H.B. 272 contained key provisions to enhance TWIA's governance and administration but eventually died in regular session.

Another TWIA reform package (House Bill 3) was then introduced and is currently under consideration in a special legislative session. H.B. 3 enhances TWIA oversight and places limits on lawsuits against TWIA. It would also change the name of TWIA to the Texas Coastal Insurance Plan. The bill passed the House in mid-June is now being considered by the Senate.

Claims-Paying Capacity

Under the new financial structure established in 2009, TWIA makes available up to $2.5 billion to fund losses via the issuance of post-event bonds (Fig. 23). First, TWIA premium and cash on hand, available reserves of TWIA and the Catastrophe Reserve Trust Fund (CRTF) would be used.

Losses in excess of this amount would be funded by utilizing up to $1 billion in Class One public securities or other financial instruments to be paid from TWIA premium. The next layer would tap up to $1 billion in Class Two public securities to be repaid in no more than 10 years. Some 70 percent of these costs will be funded by a premium surcharge on all property/casualty insurance policies (except federal flood, workers compensation, medical malpractice) in the 14 coastal counties.

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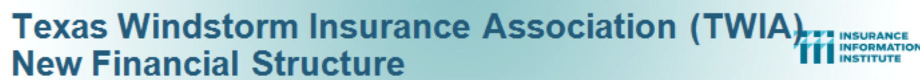
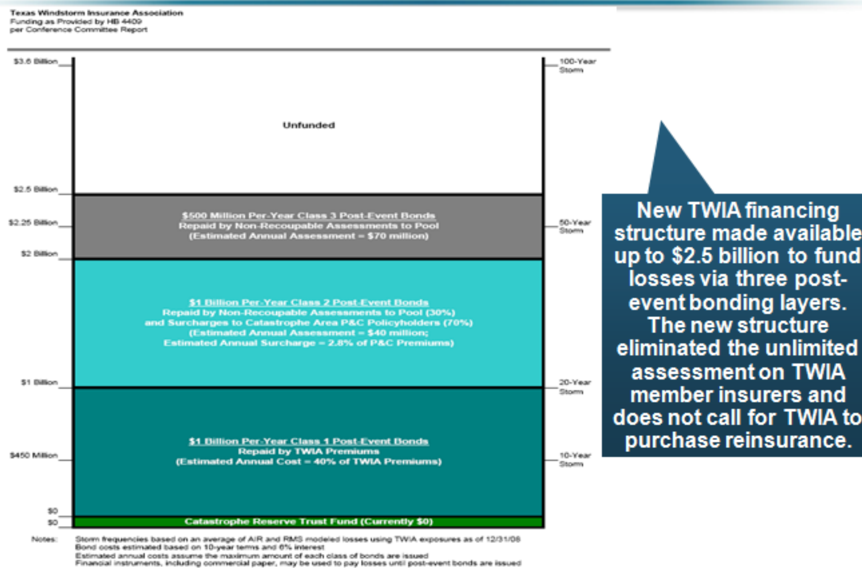
TWIA member insurers would be assessed 30 percent without a recoupment provision or premium tax credit. There is then another bonding layer where up to $500 million in public securities could be utilized that would be repaid via non-recoupable assessments on TWIA member insurers.

For the 2011 hurricane season, TWIA has also purchased $636 million in reinsurance protection to cover losses that exceed the $1.6 billion in funds estimated to available from the association's Catastrophe Reserve Trust Fund and bonds.

Fig. 23





Source: Southwestern Insurance Information Institute (SIIS)

TWIA Assessment History (Prior to Enactment of HB 4409)

Prior to the 2009 legislative reforms, a substantial component of TWIA funding was its ability to assess its member insurers for losses. Assessments for losses were based on an individual insurer's share of the overall Texas market. In the event of a major storm an unlimited assessment of member insurers would be utilized after initial TWIA assessment layers, reserves, surplus and reinsurance were exhausted. These unlimited assessments were recoverable through premium tax credits, potentially compromising the state's general revenue fund.

A $100 million assessment of member insurers was made after Hurricane Dolly hit in July 2008 causing major damage in Cameron and Willacy counties. Member insurers were then assessed $430 million to pay for excess losses resulting from

Hurricane Ike which struck the Texas coast in September 2008 causing major damage in Brazoria, Chambers, Galveston, Harris, Jefferson and Matagorda counties. Some $230 million of this assessment was subject to premium tax credits based on the previous statutory funding structure.

A $100 million assessment of member insurers was also made in 2005 after Hurricane Rita struck the upper Texas coast causing major damage in Jefferson, Chambers and Galveston counties. Hurricane Alicia, which struck Galveston Island in 1983, also led to a $157 million assessment, of which some $57 million was subject to premium tax credits based on the funding structure at the time.

5. MASSACHUSETTS PROPERTY INSURANCE UNDERWRITING ASSOCIATION (MPIUA)

The Massachusetts Property Insurance Underwriting Association (MPIUA) was formed by the Massachusetts legislature after passage by Congress of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. This legislation made federal riot reinsurance available to those states that instituted such property insurance pools.

All companies writing basic property insurance in Massachusetts are required to participate in the plan with losses shared among member companies on a premium volume basis. The plan uses a windstorm/hail deductible for any type of wind damage. Coverage for both residential and commercial property owners is available under the MPIUA. The plan offers policies under the homeowners, dwelling fire and commercial property forms. The maximum limits of liability under each program are $1 million for a single building/at any one location and $1.5 million for multiple interests/building and contents coverage.

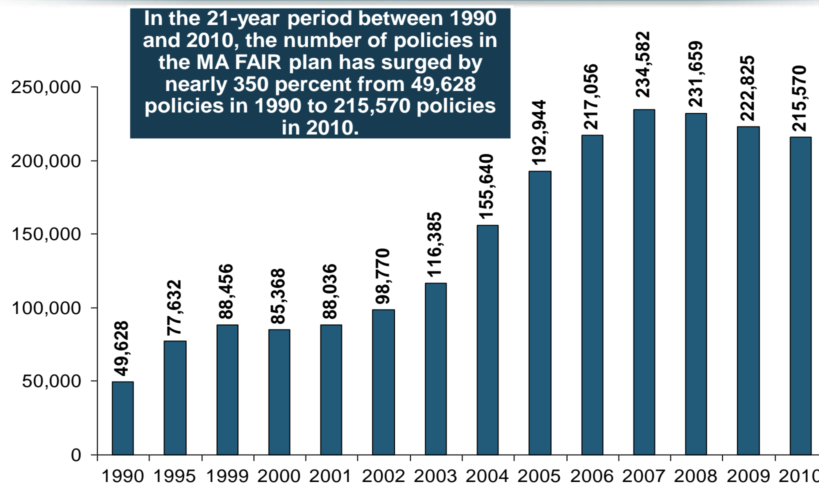
Like other Eastern seaboard states, Massachusetts is experiencing rapid coastal growth. The combination of its exposure to windstorms and high property values makes it a state with significant potential for losses. An updated 2008 study by AIR Worldwide puts the value of insured coastal property (residential and commercial) in Massachusetts at $772.8 billion, ranking it fourth behind Florida, New York and Texas. This represents 54 percent of the state's total insured property values. AIR estimates that Massachusetts faces a 15 percent chance of a catastrophic storm within the next decade that would cost insurers $5 billion or more.

The FAIR Plan has grown rapidly in the course of the last decade, mirroring rapid growth on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and other coastal areas. MPIUA's policy count surged by nearly 350 percent from 49,628 total policies (habitational and commercial) in 1990 to 215,570 policies in 2010, although the number of policies declined by 3.3 percent between 2009 and 2010 (Fig. 24). The FAIR Plan is the largest insurer on Cape Cod and islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket with about 40 percent of the homeowners market. It insures some 150,000 homeowners statewide. Exposure to loss under the plan has also skyrocketed, from $4.1 billion in 1990 to $77.6 billion in 2010 (Fig. 25). MPIUA's operating results have been variable over the years. In the 11-year period from

2000 to 2010, it reported an operating gain in eight years (2000 and 2004-2010) and an operating deficit in three years (2001, 2002 and 2003) and (Fig. 26).

Fig. 24

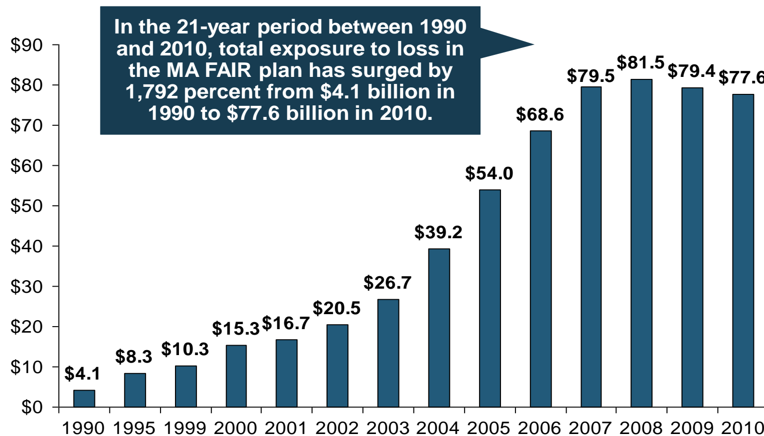
Massachusetts FAIR Plan Policy Count (1990-2010)



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

Fig. 25

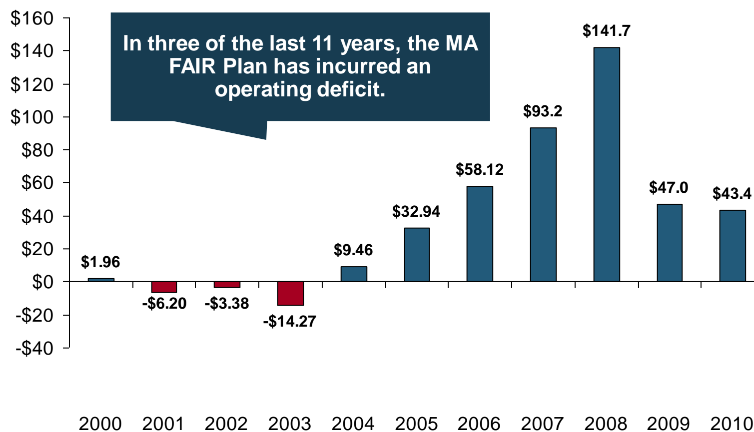
Massachusetts FAIR Plan Exposure to Loss (Billions of Dollars)



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

Fig. 26

Massachusetts FAIR Plan Operating Gain or Loss 2000-2010 (Millions of Dollars)



Source: PIPSO; Insurance Information Institute

Prior to 2004, homeowners' rate changes under the MPIUA were restricted by statute. In territories where its market share was extensive, the plan was permitted to increase pricing only by the statewide average of the top 10 companies. As a result, in the eight-year period from 1997 to 2004, the annual average price increase was capped at 1 percent. However a bill passed in December 2004 allowed the insurance commissioner to consider predicted hurricane losses and cost of reinsurance when reviewing the pricing of the plan. As a result starting from 2006, the rates could be adjusted upward, thereby giving the FAIR plan an actuarially sound pricing basis going forward.

MPIUA is one of the few plans that offer coverage almost comparable to a homeowners policy. The plan also offers a form of guaranteed replacement cost coverage, which pays up to $1 million to rebuild a home. Legislation that would have revised the plan's coverage and allowed the plan to stop offering unlimited replacement cost coverage failed to pass the Massachusetts legislature in 2008.

Earlier in 2008, the state's insurance commissioner denied the FAIR plan's request for a rate increase. The commissioner found the FAIR Plan failed to use reasonable, accurate and timely data to support its call for a rate increase. The Plan had requested an overall state-wide rate increase of 13.2 percent in 2007, but many coastal residents on the Cape would have faced rate increases of 25 percent. State attorney general Martha Coakley had appealed the rate hike to the insurance commissioner. In 2006, the insurance commissioner granted the FAIR Plan an

average rate increase of 12.4 percent and a rate increase of about 25 percent in certain coastal areas.

Under the plan, the first $250 million of losses are funded by a layer of cash and short-term securities. Losses in excess of this layer are funded by reinsurance. The MPIUA purchased reinsurance for the first time in 2006. In 2009, it had reinsurance coverage up to a total value of $900 million. Any loss in excess of the investment and reinsurance layers is funded by company assessments. Assessments for losses are based on an individual insurer's market share. Insurers doing business in Massachusetts may recoup the assessment amount by surcharging their policyholders.

In 2010, MPIUA also accessed the capital markets to provide it with an additional layer of catastrophe protection via a $96 million catastrophe bond issuance. The bond provides MPIUA with protection against the effects of Massachusetts hurricane risk through June 30, 2013.

6. NORTH CAROLINA AND SOUTH CAROLINA PROPERTY MARKETS OF LAST RESORT

The North Carolina Joint Underwriters Association (NCJUA) and North Carolina Insurance Underwriting Association (NCIUA)

North Carolina has two residual market plans that act as a market of last resort for residential and commercial property insurance in the state. The North Carolina Joint Underwriters Association (NCJUA) was created in 1969 to make basic and broad property insurance available to those unable to buy coverage through the standard insurance market. The FAIR plan covers the entire state except those barrier islands adjacent to the Atlantic Ocean. The North Carolina Insurance Underwriting Association (Beach Plan), also created in 1969, provides windstorm and hail coverage as well as homeowners policies for properties located in the state's beach and coastal area (18 coastal counties).

As noted earlier, North Carolina ranks 11th on AIR Worldwide's coastal exposure list with $132.8 billion in insured coastal exposure, of which about 59 percent is residential and 41 percent is commercial. North Carolina's insured coastal exposure represents just 9 percent of the state's total insured values.

Yet as of March 31, 2011, North Carolina's beach and windstorm plan, the North Carolina Insurance Underwriting Association (no longer a PIPSO member), reported a total of 183,646 policies, up from 119,810 policies reported at the end of 2005. Total exposure to loss under the plan also increased from $43.3 billion in 2005 to $69.3 billion at March 31, 2011 – an increase of 60 percent.

In 2011, the North Carolina JUA/IUA accessed the capital markets for the third consecutive year to provide them with additional reinsurance protection in the

event of a hurricane. The plans are now covered by a combined $506.8 million catastrophe bond protection to manage hurricane risk for the 2011 season. [16]

Legislative Developments

In August 2009, legislation (HB 1305) aimed at reforming the beach plan was passed by the state Senate and subsequently signed into law by North Carolina Governor Bev Perdue. The legislation caps insurers' assessments for losses incurred in one year at $1 billion; allows insurers to assess a 10 percent surcharge on every property insurance policy statewide after a major storm if the plan hits the $1 billion deficit threshold; and reduces coverage limits for residential property to $750,000 from $1.5 million.

The bill was based on recommendations made in January 2009 by a Joint Select Study Committee to restore the beach plan to its intended role as a market of last resort.

In addition to these legislative recommendations, in December 2008 changes were made by the beach plan and the Department of Insurance (DOI) without the need for legislation. These changes, which included increasing homeowners policy deductibles, raising rates and allowing the plan to retain more capital, were intended to increase the plan's surplus and decrease its exposure to loss.

An October 2008 study by Milliman, an actuarial consulting firm, for the Property Casualty Insurers Association of America had warned that the North Carolina beach plan was financially unprepared to weather a severe storm. It noted that the beach plan's exposure to liability is increasing but its ability to pay claims from a storm and the timing of those payments is dependent upon assessments from member companies. In a season with a large storm (1-in-250 year scenario), the plan would likely face a $6.2 billion deficit. This could result in assessments which may significantly impact the financial conditions of some insurers, according to Milliman. Even a small storm (1-in-50 year scenario) would leave the plan some $1.4 billion in the red.

The South Carolina Wind and Hail Underwriting Association

The South Carolina Wind and Hail Underwriting Association (SCWHUA), known as the Beach Plan or Wind Pool, provides wind and hail coverage for residential and commercial properties in the coastal area of the state.

As of December 31, 2010, the South Carolina Beach Plan had a total of 48,086 policies in force, an increase of 118 percent from 22,068 total policies in force at the end of 2005. The SC Beach Plan's total in-force liability increased by 164 percent from $6.6 billion in 2005 to $17.4 billion in 2010.

South Carolina ranks eighth on AIR Worldwide's coastal exposure list with $191.9 billion in insured coastal exposure, representing 28 percent of the state's total

[16] Guy Carpenter press release, May 18, 2011.

insured values. The state is also experiencing accelerating coastal population growth. Between 1980 and 2003, its coastal population grew by 33 percent, ranking it 10th among leading states in terms of coastal population growth.

From January 1, 2008, the state insurance department has required wind pool policyholders choosing replacement cost coverage to purchase flood insurance. Around 70 percent of wind pool policyholders already had flood coverage and several thousand additional policyholders are now covered for flood damage.

Legislation expanding the Beach Plan's coverage territory was approved in June 2007. Residents who make their homes more resistant to wind damage would also be given tax breaks. In addition, insurers would receive tax-credits for writing coastal policies that did not exclude windstorm losses.

7. ALABAMA INSURANCE UNDERWRITING ASSOCIATION (AIUA)

The Alabama Insurance Underwriting Association (AIUA) was voluntarily formed in the early 1970s by insurance industry leaders in co-operation with the Alabama Department of Insurance. In 2008, the Alabama legislature codified AIUA along with its articles of agreement, plan of operation, and rules and procedures. [17]

The purpose of the AIUA is to provide a market where owners of eligible property located in coastal areas of Baldwin and Mobile counties may obtain essential insurance when they are unable to obtain coverage in the private insurance market.

The Alabama Bean Plan provides two types of polices: a fire and extended coverage policy (provides no liability coverage); and a wind and hail only policy. Only home and businesses located in the Gulf front, beach and seacoast territories of Baldwin and Mobile counties are eligible for coverage under the beach plan.

Residential and commercial policyholders can purchase AIUA coverage up to the following limits:

- Residential—Dwelling Building and Contents: $500,000
- Commercial—Commercial Building and Contents: $1 million

Since July 1, 2008, the plan has offered discounts on policies covering residential dwellings built to, or retrofitted to fortified wind resistive standards, as certified by the Institute for Business and Home Safety (IBHS).

The Alabama Beach Plan has grown rapidly in the course of the past two decades. PIPSO data show a total of 18,865 habitational and commercial policies in-force at year-end 2010, an increase of 495 percent from 3,169 policies in 2004. Exposure to loss in the plan reached $3.3 billion in 2010, up 939 percent from $317.6 million in

[17] http://www.aiua.org/

2004. It should be noted that PIPSO exposure data for the AIUA in 2005 and 2006 are unavailable.

Latest data from the AIUA website show the plan continues to grow in 2011, with 21,375 total policies in-force and total exposure reaching $3.7 billion in April, 2011. Alabama ranks 12th on AIR Worldwide's coastal exposure list with $92.5 billion in insured coastal exposure, of which about 50 percent is residential and 50 percent is commercial. Alabama's insured coastal exposure represents 12 percent of the state's total insured values.

The Beach Plan had a $400 million reinsurance program in place for the 2011 hurricane season. The attachment point is $100 million, with an optional buy down for individual members of $50 million. Individual members may also purchase a further $270 million of reinsurance coverage excess of the $400 million layer, bringing total coverage up to $670 million.

Once the beach plan's total claims-paying capacity is exhausted, members assume outstanding liabilities and are liable for assessments. No specific provisions exist for recouping assessments. [18]

A series of severe tornadoes hit parts of Alabama in April 2011. The tornadoes changed the focus of a special commission originally directed by Alabama governor Robert Bentley to look at the state's coastal insurance issues. Availability and affordability of homeowners insurance is a rising concern given Alabama's exposure to tornadoes and hurricanes. [19]

[18] *State Beach and Windstorm Plans*, Insurance Research Council, October, 2010.
[19] *Gov. Robert Bentley takes lead on tornado recovery, says buck stops with him*, Associated Press interview via AL.com, June 19, 2011.

Appendix 1

Summary of Major Natural Catastrophe Legislative Proposals
Source: I.I.I. research and Property Casualty Insurance Association of America (www.pciaa.net), as of May 2011.

COASTAL (Consumer Option for an Alternative System to Allocating Losses) Act of 2011 (S. 1091)
Summary: Would amend the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968 to establish a formula for determining how much damage was caused by wind and how much by water in cases where a hurricane has reduced a structure to a slab (indeterminate loss claims).

Earthquake Insurance Affordability Act (S. 637)
Summary: Authorizes the federal government to guarantee the debt of state funds to assist the funds in obtaining post-loss catastrophe loss financing from earthquakes, earthquake-induced landslides, volcanic eruptions and tsunamis.

Policyholder Disaster Protection Act of 2011 (H.R. 2101)
Summary: Permits property casualty insurers to accumulate tax deductible reserves for the payment of policyholders' claims arising from certain catastrophes, such as windstorms, earthquakes, fires or floods.

Catastrophe Savings Accounts Act of 2011 (H.R. 2100)
Summary: Permits individuals to establish tax exempt catastrophe savings trust accounts intended for payment of expenses, including policy deductibles, resulting from a major disaster.

Natural Hazards Risk Reduction Act of 2011 (H.R. 1379 and S. 646)
Summary: Establishes an Interagency Coordinating Committee on Natural Hazards Risk Reduction to oversee the planning and coordination of the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program, the National Windstorm Impact Reduction Program, and other federal research for natural hazard mitigation.

National Hurricane Research Initiative Act of 2011 (S. 692)
Summary: Establishes a National Hurricane Research Initiative for the purpose of improving storm prediction; developing infrastructure resilient to storms; mitigation of the impact of storms on coastal populations and natural resources; and ongoing training.

Flood Insurance Reform Act of 2011 (H.R. 1309)
Summary: Extends the authorization of the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP), implements reforms to improve the financial integrity and stability of the program, and increases the role of private markets in the management of flood insurance risk.

Flood Insurance Reform Priorities Act of 2011 (H.R. 1026)
Summary: Extends the authorization of the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP) and identifies priorities essential to reform and ongoing stable functioning of the program.