

ABOVE THE LAW

How The Government Lets Major Air Polluters Off The Hook

Wisconsin

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Executive Summary

An Environmental Working Group analysis of U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Clean Air Act enforcement records reveals a persistent pattern of violations of state and federal clean air rules by big polluters in five major industries in Wisconsin. The records, audited by industry and state regulators prior to their release, show that state officials in Wisconsin are doing little to enforce the Clean Air Act, and federal officials with the U.S. EPA are allowing this poor performance to continue. Large industrial corporations are taking advantage of lax enforcement to avoid compliance with clean air rules that they had an active hand in developing through the public comment process.

This new analysis of 28 facilities (25 major facilities) in Wisconsin, from January 1997 through December 1998, shows that:

- Eleven (11) of the twenty-five major facilities analyzed were out of compliance with the Clean Air Act at least one quarter, and an average of four of the eight quarters in the two-year period analyzed. None of these facilities were fined by the state of Wisconsin or the U.S. EPA during that time (Table 1). These facilities include all permitted polluters in the state in auto

assembly, iron and steel, petroleum refining, pulp manufacturing, and metal smelting and refining industries.

- The parent corporations that owned these facilities reported total combined revenues of \$180 billion in 1998, none of the eleven companies that violated clean air safeguards in Wisconsin were fined (Table 1).
- Three companies, Consolidated Papers, Inc. in Wisconsin Rapids, Globe Building Materials Inc. in Cornell and Packaging Corp. of America in Tomahawk have been out of compliance with the Clean Air Act every quarter for the past eight quarters. None of these facilities was fined at all during that time (Table 1).
- Seven of the twenty-five facilities analyzed were listed as current "significant violators" of the Clean Air Act (Table 2). One of these facilities was fined.

It is clear from this analysis that there is no undue regulatory burden on air polluters in Wisconsin, a finding that severely undermines the rationale for so-called regulatory reform legislation at the federal level. Industry argues that most regulatory actions brought against facilities are

initiated by "overzealous big-government regulators" for minor paperwork violations that consume massive amounts of resources for little environmental gain. The facts are that few enforcement actions are brought in the first place and that almost none of the actions are for recordkeeping violations. In both 1997 and 1996, less than two percent of all enforcement actions were concluded with only recordkeeping changes. In contrast to the image of a crushing regulatory burden, this analysis clearly shows that there is barely any enforcement at all of existing clean air health protections and virtually no pressure for air polluters to comply with current pollution control laws.

Recommendations

Substantial evidence shows that thousands of large companies routinely violate their pollution permits. They discharge too much waste into waterways, emit excess pollutants into the air, and mismanage the hazardous waste they create or accept for treatment or disposal. These chronic violations of environmental laws add to pollution of air and water, contributing to health risks, and put law-abiding companies at an unfair economic disadvantage. Constrained by limited resources or a lack of political will, regulatory agencies take effective enforcement action against only a relatively small percentage of violators.

Major improvements in air quality in Wisconsin could be achieved just by strict enforcement of current laws and regulations. To achieve this goal however, both state and federal environmental enforcement agencies

need to vastly improve their enforcement activities. Industry, in turn, needs to operate without such opportunistic disregard for environmental rules it typically helped to write.

To improve compliance with the Clean Air Act:

- Wisconsin should set strict limits on the discretion of its regulatory agencies. Facilities should not be allowed to be out of compliance with environmental laws for more than two quarters in any one-year period without facing mandatory penalties. A good example of a more effective state enforcement policy is the New Jersey law that is based on the popular "three strikes and you're out" model.
- The regional U.S. EPA office should exercise its authority and take over cases when Wisconsin assesses insufficient fines or delays during the enforcement process.
- U.S. EPA and Wisconsin should help concerned citizens participate in the development and enforcement of air pollution permits issued under Title V of the CAA. U.S. EPA and Wisconsin should monitor state implementation of Title V programs to ensure that the compliance-related information is readily understandable by – and available to – the public.



Table 1: Many multi-billion corporations in Wisconsin violated the Clean Air Act in the past two years and escaped with little or no fines.

Facility	City	Number of Violations 1997 - 1998*	Penalty**	Revenue
Consolidated Papers, Inc.	Wisconsin Rapids, WI	8		\$2,000,000,000
Globe Building Materials Inc.	Cornell, WI	8		
Packaging Corp. of America	Tomahawk, WI	8		\$7,597,000,000
Ford Howard Corp.	Green Bay, WI	4		\$7,300,000,000
Charter Manufacturing Co.	Saukville, WI	3		
PH Glatfelter Co.	Neenah, WI	3		
General Motors	Janesville, WI	2		\$161,300,000,000
Mosinee Paper Corp	Mosinee, WI	2		
Wisconsin Tissue Mill	Menasha, WI	2		
Murphy Oil USA Inc.	Superior, WI	1		\$1,700,000,000
Thilmany Pulp and Paper	Kaukauna, WI	1		

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. EPA SFIP/AFS data, Company Annual Reports and Fortune 500 listings as of April 15, 1999.

* Violations are reported quarterly.

** The most recent data reports penalty amounts from 1997, 1998 and where available, 1999.

Table 2: Industrial facilities currently listed by the Wisconsin EPA as "significant violators" of the Clean Air Act.*

Facility	City	Penalty**	Revenue
Charter Manufacturing Co.	Saukville, WI	\$0	
Consolidated Papers, Inc.	Wisconsin Rapids, WI	\$0	\$2,000,000,000
Ford Howard Corp.	Green Bay, WI	\$0	\$7,300,000,000
Mosinee Paper Corp	Mosinee, WI	\$0	
Murphy Oil USA Inc.	Superior, WI	\$0	\$1,700,000,000
Repap Wisconsin Inc.	Kimberly, WI	\$525,000	\$12,300,000,000
Wisconsin Tissue Mill	Menasha, WI	\$0	

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. EPA SFIP/AFS data, Company Annual Reports and Fortune 500 listings as of April 15, 1999.

* Listed by the state as a significant violator as of April 15 1999.

** The most recent data reports penalty amounts from 1997, 1998 and where available, 1999.