# Climate Change Risk Is Systematic 

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## Two reasons to talk about climate change at this conference:

1. Financial engineering provides tools and insights necessary to develop appropriate climate policy

- Risk management
* tipping points
- fat tails
- positive feedbacks
* non-linear responses
- Bayesian analysis
* realistic characterization of uncertain distributions of outcomes
- Use of stochastic discount rates
- to present value future damages
- Incorporating realistic risk aversion
* calibration to financial market risk premia

2. Carbon emissions prices are not in equilibrium, and this disequilibrium creates an opportunity for investors

## In the literature on climate policy the impact of risk being systematic is often missed

- Historical average annual real returns:
- t-bills:
- long equiftes: 7.5\% per year above t-bills
- short equities: 7.5\% per year below t-bills
- Risk premia depend on covariances not volatilities
- More fundamentally premia depend on whether payoffs are obtained in good times or bad times
- Shorting equities pays off in bad times just as investments in climate mitigation would
- Based on market prices (i.e. the large equity risk premium) people are willing to pay a lot to reduce systematic risk
- Thus, like shorting equities, the hurdle rate of return on climate mitigation should be a significant negative rate
- Many economists have incorrectly argued that because such investments are risky they require a high rate of return


## This analysis builds directly on a number of previous works

1. Summers \& Zeckhauser, 'Policymaking for posterity' (2008)

- A simple two-period model; the impact of increased uncertainty on policy depends on parameters of technology and preferences

2. Weitzman, 'GHG targets as insurance against catastrophic climate damages' (2010)

- The essence of the emissions externality is the risk of catastrophic damages

3. Ackerman, et al, 'Limitations of integrated assessment models...' (2009)

- Standard CRRA utility used in climate models match neither market interest rates nor the equity risk premium

4. Epstein \& Zin, ‘Substitution, risk aversion...' (1989)

- A utility function that separates the elasticity of intertemporal substitution from the degree of risk aversion


## Climate change science IS uncertain: that uncertainty implies increased risk

- The earth has a reservoir of capacity to safely absorb greenhouse gas emissions
- The capacity of that reservoir is unknown
- Scientists can speculate about what will happen if the capacity is exceeded
- There may be a tipping point
- There may be positive feedbacks and nonlinearities
- There may be a global collapse of ecosystems
- There may be a very significant decrease in human utility
- Scientists cannot be highly confident about the level of damage to the earth's very complex, and highly integrated ecosystems
- Economists should not be overly confident about the level of impact to human welfare


## The key issue facing climate policy is where to price that systematic risk

- Science makes clear that there is an uncertain distribution of outcomes associated with the increased GHG emissions
- This distribution includes a tail with climate catastrophes
- Thus there is a systematic risk that needs to be priced
- Scientists don't have the tools to determine the appropriate price
o Financial economists do have those tools


## Not pricing risk leads to disasters

o It is easy to point to many historical examples:

- New Orleans neglect of it's levee system before Katrina
- Ignoring clear warning signs while drilling in deep water in the gulf of Mexico on the Macondo well
- Getting drunk while responsible for piloting the Exxon Valdiz
- One of my personal favorite examples: the Johnstown flood of 1889
- Not pricing systematic risk leads to global catastrophes
- One might point to the two world wars
- The current financial crisis is another example
- Not pricing carbon emissions is potentially the most significant example in history


## Consider the Johnstown Flood of 1889 The Courts Ruled it: "An Act of God"

There was a reservoir with limited capacity
There was a tipping point
Positive feedback and nonlinearities led to an "unimaginable" disaster


.2,200 Lives Were Lost

## Of course the calamity was totally forecastable Risk was not priced appropriately

- Many mistakes were made:
- A drain for the reservoir was disabled
- The dam was lowered to allow a road to run across the top
- A screen to prevent loss of fish covered the causeway and became an obstruction
- The reservoir filled during 4 days of rain
- Warning was given too late for the population to react
- Even at its peak, the water level increased at a rate of only 1 inch per hour


## Carbon emissions also create risk and this risk should be priced

- This risk is an externality that should be priced, not simply in the sense of insurance - being systematic it deserves an additional risk premium
- Yet today the current global effective price of emissions is significantly negative
- Total global fossil fuel subsidies were $\$ 312$ bn in 2009 according to the International Energy Agency
- (Compare this to renewable energy subsidies of $\$ 57 \mathrm{bn}$ )
- Thus, the current subsidy of fossil fuel use equates to a negative carbon emissions tax on the order of $\$ 10$ per ton of $\mathrm{CO}_{2}$
- This reality is a significant deviation from equilibrium


## There is no serious disagreement with the need to price this externality

- The appropriate price of carbon emissions equals the expected present value of the damages created
- the so-called 'social cost of carbon' or SCC
- The appropriate current price clearly depends on future emissions
- Future emissions depend on future prices
- Thus, the SCC is the first point in the context of a specified dynamic price path for emissions prices
- Of interest is not only the appropriate current price, but the shape of the optimal price path, in particular its slope
- The slope depends critically on the degree of risk aversion
- In particular, higher risk aversion implies a decreasing slope



## Why? Think about dynamic optimization

...with uncertainty, tipping points and nonlinear responses


A risk averse rider, when recognizing that he may be out of control, brakes hard and expects to ease off in the future as uncertainty is resolved


Slowly easing onto the brake makes sense when the road is well known and control is certain

## The price of carbon emissions is our brake as we confront the uncertainty of climate

The appropriate price depends on:
risk
and
risk aversion

- The stochastic discount rates used to calculate the present value of future damages
- The current and future costs of emissions reductions


## Calculating the discounted present value of an investment in mitigating emissions

Welfare is a sum of discounted utility

$$
W=\int_{0}^{\infty} u(c) e^{-\delta t} d t
$$

where utility of future consumption is discounted at a rate of pure time preference, $\delta$

The Stern report, which used an unusually low value for $\delta$ of $.1 \%$ per year, has been highly criticized

Consumption in a random state of nature in the future must be discounted not only as a function of time, but also by:
$o$ the probability of that state, and
o the marginal utility of that state
Thus damages are not discounted at a fixed rate, but rather at a stochastic discount rate conditional on the state in which they occur

## The standard approach is to specify constant relative risk aversion utility

$$
\text { CRRA Utility } \quad u(c)=\frac{c^{1-\eta}}{1-\eta}
$$

where the curvature paramater, $\eta$, the elasticity of marginal utility of consumption, determines both risk aversion and the elasticity of intertemporal substitution

In the absence of uncertainty
$\$ 1$ at time $t$ is worth $\$ 1 /(1+r)^{t}$ today

$$
\text { where } r \approx \delta+\eta g
$$

The discount rate $r$ is a function of:

1. the rate of pure time preference: $\delta$
2. the curvature of the utility function: $\eta$
3. and the growth of consumption: $g$

## But CRRA utility has a well known problem

Risk aversion


Intertemporal substitution


The curvature across states of nature required to generate a significant equity risk premium is much too large to be consistent with interest rates that induce people to postpone current consumption in favor of savings

These trade-offs are at the heart of evaluating optimal climate policies

## Climate modelers generally choose a low value of $\eta$ in the context of CRRA utility

Stern, for example, set $\eta=1$ or "log utility"
This value implies an equity risk premium of around 12 basis points around 60 times too low relative to observed risk premia

## Something is very wrong here

Counter to intuition increasing the risk aversion in the context of CRRA utility makes curbing emissions less urgent

Higher values of $\eta$ increase the discount rate and imply people will be less willing to postpone current consumption

The higher discount rate lowers the weight put on climate induced damages expected in the distant future

## Typical integrated assessment model results give risk and risk aversion virtually no role!

Estimates of the social cost of carbon from Anthoff, Tol, and Yohe (2009)


Increased risk aversion combined with increased uncertainty does not increase the social cost of emissions in their analysis

## Carbon emissions deserve a risk premium: The issue is "how big?"

- Financial market practitioners are familiar with how to price uncertain future cash flows (such as damages caused by carbon emissions)
- We rely on stochastic discount factors
- Cash flows in bad states of nature, where marginal utility is high, are worth more than cash flows in good states of nature
- The benefits of emissions reductions today will accrue primarily in bad states of nature, therefore they are more valuable than risk free cash flows
- How big should the risk premium be?


# A key issue in the economics of climate policy is how to calibrate intertemporal substitution and risk aversion 

- The issue is how to reconcile
- the high elasticity of intertemporal substitution evident in low real interest rates
with
o the high risk aversion evident in the very significant equity risk premium
- In the CRRA utility function the one parameter, $\eta$, determines both, but cannot be made consistent with market data.
- Epstein-Zin utility allows separate calibration to both interest rates and the equity risk premium


## Epstein-Zin utility allows intertemporal substitution to be separated from risk aversion



High curvature across states of nature can fit the very significant equity risk premiums that we observe in the market

Intertemporal substitution


While less intertemporal curvature can fit the relatively low risk free rates that we observe in the market

## We pull these ideas together in a simple model

Following Weitzman, we add significant tails to the standard distributions of climate damage

We calibrate emissions reductions costs to previous studies
We specify an Epstein-Zin utility function
o we calibrate the intertemporal subsitution to market interest rates
o we investigate the impact of different risk aversion assumptions
o we find those results with risk aversion at least modestly consistent with equity market premia more interesting

In each case we solve for emissions reduction policies that maximize welfare

## Economic impacts depend on future temperatures which are very uncertain



The distributions above are expected under "business as usual" scenarios

## Many climate models take into account only known, or highly likely, damages




These calibrations, for example, which are designed to reflect the concensus damage estimates from integrated assessment models, come from Robert Pindyck's 2009 paper, "Uncertain outcomes and climate change policy"

Here the probability is less than . 001 that real per capita consumption is impacted as much as $15 \%$ in 2090. Assuming $2 \%$ annual growth this implies we are $99.9 \%$ sure consumption will be $>4.1$ times today's consumption

Many scientists, e.g. Sherwood and Huber (2010), feel "recent estimates of the costs of unmitigated climate change are too low"

## Our analysis starts with the Pindyck distribution but recognizes additional uncertainty

- we add disaster scenarios
- in which case we expect significant damages


Probability of disaster scenario damage exceeding the given fraction of consumption


We specify priors over these scenarios and damage curves in order to generate more realistic uncertainty about future consumption

## The probability of a significant reduction in consumption at future dates is much higher



## We calibrate our cost curve to the well known McKinsey analysis

Global GHG abatement cost curve beyond business-as-usual - 2030


## We use a simple two-period model adapted from Summers \& Zeckhauser

Choose emissions reductions percentages
$\mathrm{e}_{2010}$
and
$\mathrm{e}_{2050}(\mathrm{k})$

2010
k states index the uncertain fragility of the environment

$\operatorname{Max} \quad$ Welfare $=\mathrm{U}_{\mathrm{EZ}}\left(\tilde{\mathrm{C}}_{2010}, \tilde{\mathrm{C}}_{2050}, \widetilde{\mathrm{C}}_{2090}\right)$

## Consumption

Business-as-usual consumption grows 2\% per annum

$$
\mathrm{C}_{2010}=1 \quad \mathrm{C}_{2050}^{\mathrm{BAU}}=2.2 \quad \mathrm{C}_{2090}^{\mathrm{BAU}}=4.9
$$

Costs in 2010 of emissions reduction: $\mathrm{e}_{2010}$ are given by the cost curve:
$\operatorname{cost}_{2010}=\mathrm{cC} \times \mathrm{e}_{2010}{ }^{\alpha}$

Costs in 2050 of emissions reduction: $\mathrm{e}_{2050}(\mathrm{k})$ are given by the cost curve:
$\operatorname{cost}_{2050}=\mathrm{cc}_{2050} \times \mathrm{e}_{2050}(\mathrm{k})^{\alpha}$

Damages in 2050 from emissions are given by the damage function:
damage $_{2050}=\mathrm{b} \times \mathrm{d}(\mathrm{k}) \times\left(1-\mathrm{e}_{2010}\right)^{\mathrm{q}}$

Damages in 2090 from emissions are given by the damage function:
damage $_{2090}=\mathrm{d}(\mathrm{k}) \times\left(1-.5 \times\left(\mathrm{e}_{2010} \times \mathrm{e}_{2050}(\mathrm{k})\right)^{q}\right.$

Technology improves 1\% per year
$\mathrm{CC}_{2050}=.67 \times \mathrm{CC}_{2010}$

## Optimization

We use Epstein-Zin utility and choose the elasticity of intertemporal substitution $=1.3$, which together with a time discount rate, $\delta=.5 \%$, implies a real interest rate of $2 \%$

We investigate different levels of risk aversion

| Risk Aversion | 0.95 | 1.9 | 3.8 | 7.5 | 15 | 30 | 60 |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Equity Risk Premium | $0.1 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $1.5 \%$ | $2.5 \%$ | $3.8 \%$ |

Historical equity premia are greater than 6 percent.
Equity premia consistent with different values of risk aversion in the Epstein-Zin model (shown above) are calibrated from Weil (1989)

For each value we solve for a utility maximizing emissions reduction plan

We then look at various sensitivities

## Model results as a function of risk aversion






## Results in 2050 as a function of the state






## Current versus expected future emissions prices




In a risk neutral world emissions prices start at around \$13 and increase over time at the risk free rate

But in a risky and risk averse world where:

1. consumption in 2090 is expected to be reduced $4.2 \%$ by "business-as-usual" emissions,
2. there is a $10 \%$ probability that consumption in 2090 would be impacted $>20 \%$ by "business-as-usual" emissions and $1 \%$ chance of a $>50 \%$ impact, and
3. risk is priced to the same degree as seen in the equity market
o the risk premium on climate damages is -3\% to -4\% per year
0 and the appropriate current price is in the range $\$ 40$ to $\$ 60$ per ton of $\mathrm{CO}_{2}$

## A simple cost-benefit view of optimal climate policy

|  | ness-as- | Log utility | Equity premium risk aversion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| the impact on consumption in 2010 | 0 | -0.20\% | -1.59\% |
| the expected impact on consumption in 2090 the 'worst case' scenario (probability = 1\%) | -4.23\% | -2.17\% | -1.47\% |
|  | -54\% | -17\% | -9.36\% |



## Sensitivity to price induced technological change




Our base case assumes technological innovation reduces the costs of emissions reduction decline by a fixed rate of 1percent per year

Here we investigate what happens if, instead, costs decline faster the higher emissions prices are. In particular we assume costs decline at a rate of $.8+.03 \times$ price $_{2010}$ percent per year from 2010 to 2050.

As expected, the optimal price is higher in 2010 and lower in 2050.

## Sensitivity to the time discount rate




Our base case assumes the time discount rate $\delta=.5 \%$ per year. We then set the elasticity of intertemporal substitution, eis, to 1.3 , which implies a real interest rate of $2 \%$, matching historical data.

Here we investigate what happens if, instead, the time discount rate is raised to $1 \%$ per year, and if we then set the eis at 1.95 , which also implies a real interest rate of $2 \%$.

As long as eis is calibrated to set the real interest rate at $2 \%$ the rate of pure time discount has very little impact.

## Impact of assuming no climate catastrophes




Our base case includes potential climate catastrophes with significant potential damages and with probabilities that increase with temperature.

Here we investigate what happens if, instead, damages are based only on the distribution reported by Pindyck. The Pindyck distribution, calibrated to those in many integrated assessment models, measures the impacts of damages that are known, or considered to be highly likely.

Viewed from today's consumption levels those damages represent very little real risk. Not surprisingly optimal emissions prices are much lower, particularly in the first period. We conclude that the main reason to price climate emissions is the risk that such optimistic assessments may be wrong.

## CRRA versus Epstein-Zin Utility




As seen earlier in the context of traditional integrated assessment models, increasing risk aversion in the context of CRRA utility leads to a fall in the optimal price of emissions.

The desire to smooth intertemporal consumption clearly dominates the aversion to future climate risk in the CRRA utility functional form.

## Delay increases cost and reduces efficacy



## In the mean time:

 benchmarks should reflect the current disequilibrium in the price of emissions- Market capitalization weights currently seem to reflect expectations of a very slow increase in emissions prices over time
- At some point the market will recognize that emissions will need to be priced at much higher levels
- Long term investors should position themselves ahead of time
- Relative to current market capitalization weights:
- Benchmarks should tilt
- toward assets that will benefit, and
- away from assets that will suffer
from higher emissions prices


## Summary Points

1. Consistent with the scientific consensus, we incorporate the possibility of tipping points, nonlinearities, and global catastrophes
o A low probability of very bad outcomes
2. We calculate the damages associated with an additional ton of carbon emissions by discounting these damages using a stochastic discount rate that reflects the state of the world in which the damages are incurred
o In the bad states of nature our progeny would be willing to give up a lot of ordinary consumption goods to have a more habitable world
3. We use market prices (i.e., the risk-free rate and the historical equity premium) to calibrate the stochastic discount factor parameters
4. The risk premium associated with the systematic risk of climate change significantly increases the appropriate current price of carbon emissions
