## Climate Change, Growth & Trade

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Hsiang & Kopp (JEP, 2018)

Moderate emissions scenario:

+1C over next 30 years

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Climate change occurs incrementally, changing weather one day at a time.

# The Empirical Approach





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## Typhoon Haiyan – how do you rebuild after such destruction?

The devastation caused in the Philippines will take years to repair. Previous efforts in Haiti, Japan and elsewhere point the way, but how can we build back better?

#### Vitorio Infante The Guardian, Friday 15 November 2013 19.04 GMT



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Typhoon Haiyan storm



No quick fix ... an entire neighbourhood is destroyed in Tacloban after Typhoon Halyan. Photograph: Kevin Frayer/Getty Images AsiaPac

# Physical Cyclone Model (LICRICE)



Hsiang (PNAS, 2010)























# All storms within a year (LICRICE)

Maximum Wind Speed (m/s) 2008



















































































































































## Growth: Theories vs. Evidence



(Hsiang & Jina, 2014)

## Growth: Theories vs. Evidence



(Hsiang & Jina, 2014)

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## **Global** generalizability



(Hsiang & Jina, 2014)

## Repeated shocks slow growth

"Sandcastle depreciation":  $\bar{\delta} \approx \frac{1}{s_2 - s_1} \int_{s_1}^{s_2} \delta(t) dt$ 

 $growth = investment - \bar{\delta} - pop_growth - tech_growth$ 



Hsiang & Jina (AER, 2015)

## Long run evidence consistent w/ "sandcastle depreciation"



Hsiang & Jina (AER, 2015)

## Comparing cyclones to other macroeconomic events

Event	Growth	Duration	Risk
Civil war <sup>2</sup>	-3.0%	10 yrs	6.3%
$Taxes \uparrow (+1\% ~GDP)^{**3}$	-3.1%	4 yrs	$^{\dagger}16.8\%$
1- $\sigma$ cyclone	<b>-3.6%</b>	20 yrs	14.4%
Currency crisis <sup>2</sup>	-4.0%	10 yrs	34.7%
Executive constraints $\downarrow^2$	-4.0%	10 yrs	3.7%
90-percentile cyclone	<b>-7.4%</b>	20 yrs	5.8%
Banking crisis <sup>2</sup>	-7.5%	10 yrs	15.7%
Financial crisis <sup>4</sup>	-9.0%	2 yrs	< 0.1%
99-percentile cyclone	<b>-14.9%</b>	20 yrs	0.6%
Democratization <sup>5</sup>	+21.2%	30 yrs	1.4%

\*Poor countries only. \*\*USA only. <sup>†</sup>Number of quarters with any tax change. <sup>2</sup>Cerra & Saxena (AER, 2008), <sup>3</sup>Romer & Romer (AER, 2010), <sup>4</sup>Reinhart & Rogoff (AER 2009), <sup>5</sup> Acemoglu, Naidu, Restrepo, Robinson (NBER, 2014)

## A "new normal" ?

## Maximum surface wind speed during Hurricane Maria



## Undoing 26 years of Puerto Rican growth in 12 hours

### In Just 12 Hours, an Economic Wipeout

Hurricane devastation in Puerto Rico is expected to have much worse economic effects than many other recent crises that unfolded over months or years.

ECONOMIC DISASTER	YEARS	DROP IN PER CAPITA G.D	. <b>P</b> .	
Asian financial crisis: Thailand	1997-99	-25%		
Great Recession's effect on Nevada	2007-09	-22%		
Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico	2017	-21%		
Asian financial crisis: Indonesia	1997-99	-21%		
Great Recession's effect on Arizona	2007-09	-18%		
Great Recession's effect on Michigan	2007-09	-13%		
Average international financial crisis		-9%	Nevada Arizona and	
Great Recession: U.S. overall	2007-09	-9%	Michigan were among	
U.S. recessions	1980-1982	-8%	the hardest-hit states in the Great Recession of 2007-09.	
Mexico peso crisis	1994-95	-8%		

Hsiang & Houser (New York Times, 2017)

## Climate Change $\rightarrow \Delta$ Hurricanes $\rightarrow \Delta$ Growth

NPV roughly <u>\$9.7 trillion</u> (3% discount rate)

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Climate Change  $\rightarrow \Delta$  Temperature  $\rightarrow \Delta$  Growth?

## Why might temperature matter?



## Temperature affects productivity of labor & capital



## An economy with temperature-sensitive units

 $T_d$  - temperature on day d of year t $K_j$  - capital in sector j with productivity  $A_j^K$  $L_j$  - labor is sector j with productivity  $A_i^L$ 

Each day, based on temperature, capital and labor may be optimally reallocated between sectors:

$$q_j(T_d) = (A_j^K(T_d)K_j(T_d))^{\alpha}(A_j^L(T_d)L_j(T_d))^{1-\alpha}$$

Optimal supply  $(q^*)$  and temperature-sensitive demand affects prices (p).

Repeated daily:

annual\_revenue<sub>t</sub> = 
$$\sum_{d=1}^{365} \sum_{j} \underbrace{p_j(T_d) \cdot q_j^*(T_d)}_{\text{daily income sector } j}$$

Dervugina & Hsiang (2014)

## How should micro productivity map to macro?



Burke, Hsiang, Miguel (Nature, 2015)

## Global non-linear response of growth to temperature



Burke, Hsiang, Miguel (Nature, 2015)

# Using within-country variation to estimate a global function



Burke, Hsiang, Miguel (Nature, 2015)

## Rich vs Poor? Early vs late?



Burke, Hsiang, Miguel (2015)

## Really in rich countries? Check in USA





United States (counties)



## Effect in USA is stable over time



## Replication with alternative data sets & samples



Also: Brazil, Indonesia, Europe, etc.

## Replication by the IMF

#### Figure 3.7. Effect of Temperature Increase on Real per Capita Output (Percent)



World Economic Outlook (2017)

## Is it really a growth effect? (Global)



Burke, Hsiang, Miguel (2015)

## Is it really a growth effect? (USA)



Deryugina & Hsiang (2017)

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# Why is this happening?

- 1. Populations are adapting
- 2. Adaptation is a reallocation of resources

- 3. In response, markets maximize total revenue (Koopmans, 1957)
- 4. Opportunity costs of reallocated resources lowers output

5. This is effect can be measured "exactly" by observing weather shocks (Envelope Theorem)

Deryugina & Hsiang (2017)

## The "Marginal Product of Climate"



## The "Marginal Product of Climate"



Globally (countries)

United States (counties)



## Projecting forward (avg loss $\sim$ 23% World GDP)



Burke, Hsiang & Miguel (Nature 2015)

## Can trade address these unequal impacts?



Burke, Hsiang & Miguel (Nature 2015)

## Spatial correlation $\times$ trade cost = problem



El Nino Mortes: This map depicts pixel-level correlations between ENSO in December and average temperature during the following February for 1961-2013. Red areas are hotter with warmer ENSO conditions. Blue areas are cooler with warmer ENSO conditions.

Dingel, Meng & Hsiang (2021)

## Spatial correlation amplifies welfare inequality via trade



Dingel, Meng & Hsiang (2021)

## Take home points

Empirical approaches are tractable.

Repeated hurricanes slow growth substantially.

Temperature has a nonlinear effect on growth.

 $\rightarrow$  US & globally

 $\rightarrow$  widely reproducible result

Spatial correlation of impacts limit benefits of trade.

Thank you

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