

Three perspectives

In 2019, two reports were published on how to develop the premium pension system and the default option for premium pension savers. AP7 invited the two investigators to present their conclusions. Pension management involves a long investment horizon and spreading risk, so AP7 also invited two professors to give their perspectives on the importance of diversification.

#1.

What is the value of diversification in long-term asset management?

Luis M. Viceira, Professor at the Harvard Business School. Paolo Sodini, Professor of Finance at Stockholm School of Economics.

#2.

How should the default alternative for premium pensions be developed?

Mats Langensjö, investigator.

#3.

How can the premium pension system be improved?

Mikael Westberg, investigator.



Diversification is the only free lunch in finance

The value of diversification

The idea of diversification is one of the most powerful ideas in finance, and probably the only 'free lunch' available to investors. This Nobel Prize-winning idea is behind many of the financial services that help us cope with risk and uncertainty, from car, life, or health insurance to mutual funds, exchange-traded funds (ETFs), and all kinds of collective investment vehicles.

This idea is rooted in basic statistical science. While independent individual risks can be unpredictable. the frequency with which those risks tend to materialize in a big population is largely predictable. We never know if we will be involved in a rear-end collision when we are driving, but the total number of such accidents in a given month in a region is much more predictable. This basic scientific fact opens to the door to one of the most fascinating ideas in finance: risk sharing, or the idea that we can protect ourselves from the potentially devastating impact of individual risks by pooling them together and sharing their cost with others. This idea is behind one of the most important institutions in modern societies: insurance.

This idea applies equally well in investing. Any company can experience a significant loss of value as a result of mistakes of its own making, such as designing a flawed new aircraft or folding phone screen, or through the effect of Fortuna, such as the death of a charismatic corporate leader in a ski accident or a technological discovery that deems a specific product suddenly obsolete. These idiosyncratic events are largely unpredictable, especially to outsiders. Investing all of our savings in one company exposes us to those potentially catastrophic risks.

But the overall frequency of such events is predictably bounded. We can avoid a disastrous idiosyncratic loss by investing in many companies, not just one, just like insurance companies are able to offer car insurance to all of us for a fraction of what it costs to fix a single car by pooling thousands of risks together, because only a few come predictably to fruition in a large population.

Finance goes well beyond translating this very important truth of statistics into an investing insight. First, finance notes that we as investors should require compensation for the risks we take. If we have two opportunities to invest, each of which we expect to pay a million krona in a year, we should be willing to pay more for the one whose payoff is more certain.

Equivalently, in terms of return (the expected payoff divided by the price we pay), we should require a larger return on the riskier investment to invest in it.

Secondly, some risks are more diversifiable than others, in the sense that their impact can be reduced more through diversification. Independent (or idiosyncratic) risks are more diversifiable than correlated risks. The impact of the loss of value from a failed product launch by a specific company on the value of a well-diversified portfolio is negligible, while the impact of a global recession might not be, because it is a risk that is likely to affect the value of most companies. Nevertheless, unless risks are perfectly correlated, diversification always helps reduce overall portfolio risk. Not all companies will be impacted to the same degree by a global recession.

Thirdly, all investors ('the market') are willing to hold diversifiable or idiosyncratic risks for very little compensation, while they require compensation for correlated risks. Indeed, the typical stock in the market has a return volatility which is twice the volatility of a well-diversified portfolio ('the market portfolio'), but its average return is about the same as the return on the market portfolio. Riskier asset classes (such as equities) tend to have higher average returns than less risky asset classes (such as bonds). Unless there are very good reasons to concentrate savings in very few securities, being undiversified can be very costly. It simply increases the risk of significant loss for no obvious upside. In today's world, we can dramatically reduce investment risk without jeopardizing expected return, through collective investment vehicles that charge extremely low fees. Diversification is indeed a free lunch.

An investor might find value in being undiversified if they have insights about the future of specific companies, industries, or regions that are clearly superior to those held by every other investor in the market. But that investor must check carefully that their insights are truly superior, because there is another uncomfortable mathematical truth that might come to bite them: active investing is a zero-sum game. One investor's gain from holding a portfolio different from the market portfolio is another investor's loss. If we are undiversified, we are either winners or losers. There is no middle ground.

Therefore, unless we are absolutely sure we have an informational advantage or some other powerful reason to be undiversified, we should aim at investing in the 'world market portfolio', the portfolio that is as maximally diversified as possible, with each investment weighted by its relative size.

By Paolo Sodini and Luis M. Viceira.

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Home bias - favoring the home market

Investors tend to suffer from 'home bias' - the tendency to either invest all their wealth in their own local market, or to allocate a disproportionally large share of their wealth to it. The proverbial 'Belgian dentist' thinks he knows more about the Belgian market than anyone else in the world. He does not realize there are analysts all over the world, in London, New York, or Hong Kong, whose sole professional focus is to understand the Belgian market and who have access to Belgian companies and analytical resources the dentist could never even dream of having. This dentist concentrates his portfolio in Belgian stocks and bonds that represent a tiny proportion of the global economy and capital markets. By doing so, he is implicitly making a bet that the Belgian economy will grow in the long run faster and better than the rest of the world.

This investor should ask himself whether this is a reasonable bet. It is far from obvious that betting on one specific region being better in ten or twenty years from now is safer than betting that the world as a whole will be better. There is little evidence that one large market has systematically dominated others over long horizons. The Japanese stock market handsomely beat all other large markets in the world during the 70s and most of the 80s, only to be at the bottom of performance since. The US stock market has been a clear winner over the last ten years, but it underperformed all other major stock markets in the world except Japan in the first ten years of this century. Over long horizons, it is very hard to say which regional market will be the winner. Owning a geographically diversified portfolio appears to be a safer bet than trying to pick the next winner.

Some argue that the benefits of international diversification could be offset by carefully selecting stocks in your own country. The idea is that local investors have a better knowledge of companies on their doorstep than foreign investors, enabling them to pick these companies to generate a higher return than an internationally diversified portfolio. In order for this to be possible, at least some local stocks must be mispriced, and local investors must be able to profit from that. Even though local investors might have an advantage compared to foreigners, there are several arguments against the possibility that their local ability might persist in the long run.

First, successful stock picking requires superior information, typically not public and difficult to obtain. Secondly, even if local investors have superior information, they will compete with each other, thus eliminating mispricing and, with it, their informational advantage in relation to foreigners. Thirdly, foreigners can always choose to invest in local stocks through local professionals if they think locals have an informational advantage. Money flows very fast where there are opportunities, and drives mispricing away, eliminating the gains of investing locally. In all, it is far from certain that, in the long run, local investors can consistently and significantly exploit their potential informational advantage.

There are two additional important arguments against holding portfolios concentrated in local stocks that might outweigh any possible informational advantage. First, the income of local investors and the returns on local stocks are likely to be exposed to the same sources of risk. Investing in local stocks exposes local households to the danger of both negative income shocks and capital losses on their savings. In other words, their financial wealth is likely to be low precisely when they are facing adverse income realizations and when they need wealth the most. Instead of hedging, local households investing in local stocks engage in a form of anti-hedging strategy, which is typically a mistake.

Secondly, as explained above, investing in local stocks reduces portfolio diversification and exposes investors to idiosyncratic risk that is unlikely to be compensated by higher returns. It should be remembered that Sweden comprises only 1% of the world index, and the argument that Swedish companies might be representative and strongly correlated with international companies, if anything, strengthens the reason for investing internationally.

Some have also argued that investing abroad is either impossible or limited for many investors, and expensive. This argument holds no water today. In most modern economies, including Sweden, investors have very easy access to cheap mutual funds and ETFs that invest in global equities and bonds.

Because local company returns are not affected by currency fluctuations, one reason to invest in local stocks is the possibility of limiting currency risk. However, institutional investors like pension funds and asset managers can cheaply limit currency risk through currency hedging contracts. We discuss currencies next.

Local Returns									
	Australia	Canada	China	Germany	India	Japan	U.K.	U.S.	Average
Annualized Mean	11.6%	10.7%	16.7%	9.2%	20.7%	3.0%	9.9%	11.6%	11.7%
Annualized Stdev	13%	13%	35%	18%	32%	18%	14%	14%	19.6%
\$ Returns									
	Australia	Canada	China	Germany	India	Japan	U.K.	U.S.	Average
Annualized Mean	12.5%	11.0%	16.7%	12.8%	15.9%	3.9%	8.6%	11.6%	11.6%
Annualized Stdev	20%	18%	36%	27%	33%	18%	16%	14%	22.9%
FX Returns									
	Australia	Canada	China	Germany	India	Japan	U.K.		Average
Annualized Mean	0.2%	-0.2%	-0.7%	3.3%	-4.3%	1.3%	-1.1%	,	-0.2%
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	Australia	Canada	China	Germany	India	Japan	U.K.		Average
1991-2019	68%	78%	40%	74%	29%	51%	77%		60%
1991-2001	58%	77%	24%	61%	9%	37%	67%		48%
2002-2019	75%	79%	55%	83%	53%	61%	83%		70%

Currencies

When we invest globally, we are also exposed to currency risk. US stocks trade in US dollars, and German stocks in euros. The US stock market might do very well, but the US dollar could depreciate against the krona, thus detracting from the performance experienced by a Swedish investor who invests in the US stock market. In other words, a Swedish investor who invests in a foreign market is placing a double bet: one that this market will do well, the other that the currency in which this market trades will appreciate.

Currencies are risky. Exchange rates fluctuate significantly in response to changes in interest rates, inflation, growth, and investor sentiment. Currency returns are extremely volatile. Table 1 shows the average return and volatility of eight large stock markets in their local currency and in dollars, and their currencies over the period 1991-2019. Exchange rate volatility is very significant (as low as 7% per annum and as high as 20%) and it adds significantly to the volatility of investing abroad. The volatility of dollar returns of different markets (the returns a US investor would get from investing abroad) is significantly greater than the volatility that local investors would experience.

However, the risk of currencies appears to be uncompensated. Table 1 shows that, generally, the average return on currencies is zero. Over long periods, the average return on an investment in US dollars (i.e. buying dollars, putting those dollars in US bonds for safekeeping and earning some interest, and then exchanging them back into, say, euros) is no different from the average return the same investor can earn a very significant implicit bet in the US dollar. This added risk does not go away over time.

This leads to the notion of currency hedging. Investors can reduce currency risk by entering into currency hedging contracts in which a counterparty agrees to exchange the foreign currency back to the local currency in the future at a fixed rate, thereby taking the risk of currency fluctuations off investors backs. These contracts are typically offered (or mediated) by large global banks. The cost of these contracts is not large, as it is typically the case for large currencies, so currency hedging is a desirable feature of investing abroad.

Globalization and the benefits of international portfolio diversification

In recent decades, the world has experienced a process of liberalization and globalization of trade and capital flows not seen since the late 1800s and early 1900s. As a result of this dual process of liberalization, the correlation of global stock and bond markets has increased significantly over this period. Table 2 illustrates this phenomenon. It shows the correlation of the US stock market with other seven markets in the 1991-2001 period and in the 2002-2019 period. The average correlation has increased almost by half, from 48% to 70%.

Pundits have noted that this secular increase in correlations should have reduced the benefits of global portfolio diversification. However, there are two reasons why global portfolio diversification still makes sense.

Table 3. Sharpe Ratio (\$ Returns), 1991-2019

	•	* *								Global
	Australia	Canada	China	Germany	India	Japan	U.K.	U.S.	Average	Portfolio (\$)
Sharpe Ratio	48.6%	44.6%	37.9%	36.8%	39.0%	5.6%	35.7%	60.4%	38.1%	56.9%

by not buying dollars and investing in German bonds instead. In other words, typically a euro investor is not compensated for taking US dollar/euro risk passively. The average return on that investment over investing in domestic bonds is zero, while its volatility is significant.

Currencies therefore add to the risk of a global portfolio, but there is no evidence that they add to its expected return. Table 1 shows this. Over the 1991-2019 period, the average return of a global portfolio in dollars is very similar to the average return in local currencies - about 11.6%. The currency bet implicit in investing abroad does not seem to be compensated over long horizons. This would be a risk that longterm investors would want to reduce or eliminate.

Unfortunately, currency risk is hard to reduce or eliminate through diversification because the currency bets implicit in a global portfolio tend to be sizable. The US stock market represents as much as 55% of global equities, so a global equity portfolio will have First, while markets have become more correlated, they are far from being perfectly correlated. Investors can still achieve a meaningful reduction in portfolio risk without sacrificing return by being globally diversified. Table 3 shows that over the period 1991-2019, individual stock markets have produced a Sharpe ratio (the ratio of the return in the market in excess of a risk-free investment over the volatility of the market) of about 38% on average. A global stock portfolio, on the other hand, has produced a Sharpe ratio of 57%. This is a very significant improvement.

Secondly, most investors have long investment horizons, particularly those saving for retirement. For long-term investors, what matter are long-run risks and correlations. There is some evidence that the long-run correlations of global stock markets have not increased as much as short-turn correlations as a result of globalization. The volatility and correlation of markets is driven by two distinct factors. One factor is fundamentals, i.e., growth, and the other is investor



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Poorer and less educated households keep most of their financial wealth in bank accounts instead. This is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, they avoid investing substantially in poorly diversified portfolios holding only a few stocks, thereby limiting their diversification losses. On the other hand, by keeping most of their savings in a bank account, they fail to harvest the risk premium, or extra return, that a properly diversified portfolio across stocks and bonds can produce over the interest on cash accounts.

Unless investors have extremely low tolerance for risk, holding most financial wealth in cash can be a big mistake, particularly for young and middle-aged investors, because of the compounding effect of this extra return on wealth accumulation. An urban legend claims that Albert Einstein once said that "compound interest is the eighth wonder of the world." Whether he said it or not, the reality is that compounding is a very powerful force. Over 30 years, wealth compounded at 2% grows 81%, but wealth invested at 5% grows 332%. In other words, investing at 5%, rather than 2%, over 30 years will yield a cumulative growth more than four times larger.

Overall, high net worth and financially sophisticated households are better diversified, either through diversified portfolios of directly held stocks or by investing in mutual funds. Poorer and less educated households instead tend to hold only stocks and only a few of them. However, they also keep most of their money in their bank account, limiting the perils of holding very undiversified portfolios, but also severely reducing the return they earn on their savings. This might be a costly mistake for young households as they are saving for the long term.

Helping households get access to inexpensive and well diversified mutual funds and ETFs is key to improving diversification for individual investors, particularly for those who need it more. The longrun effects of diversification and the ability to gain exposure to global risk premia should never be underestimated.

risk tolerance or sentiment. Trade globalization has contributed to making fundamentals more correlated across markets. Financial globalization has contributed to making investor sentiment more correlated - or, more precisely, it has made contagion easier as capital now flows freely across borders.

Each of these factors impact market correlations and volatility differently. Investor sentiment is transitory in nature, so it has a much more pronounced impact on short-term volatility and correlations. In contrast, fundamentals impact short-run and longrun volatility and correlations equally.

As a result, globalization has had a much larger impact on short-run correlations than on long-run correlations. Although globalization has arguably reduced the benefits of global portfolio diversification, this reduction is mostly concentrated at short horizons. Long-horizon investors still have plenty to benefit from being globally diversified.

Are individual households diversified?

We have evidence that high net worth households achieve a good level of diversification by holding portfolios that invest directly in a considerable number of stocks. In other words, instead of investing in one or two mutual funds, they hold many stocks directly. Moreover, we observe in the data that the number of directly held stocks increases strongly with household wealth. This could be a good strategy when funds charge large fees, and can also be tax efficient.

Otherwise, households are typically able to reach a good level of diversification by investing in mutual funds. Investors should try to avoid paying high fund fees, for example by investing in index funds and ETFs.

Leaving high net worth households aside, on average individual investors tend to hold very few stocks directly, which is not nearly enough to achieve appropriate diversification. However, they limit the diversification losses from holding concentrated portfolios by investing only a low fraction of their financial wealth in those stocks. Financially sophisticated households tend to invest the rest of their wealth in mutual funds that give them the benefits of diversification.

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