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AIQ

ISSUE 001

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

The new geopolitical order

AVIVA INVESTORS

Disruption and Disorder

In 2016, the established world order has been turned on its head. Two events in particular – the UK's vote to leave the European Union and the election of Donald Trump as US president – confounded political commentators and financial markets; triggering fears of a new era of protectionism.

The collapse of the Soviet Union signalled the end of the Cold War and, supposedly, "the end of history". In our cover story, we look at whether national self-interest in the US, China and Russia will lead to the emergence of new spheres of influence, and the potential economic and market ramifications.

Disruption isn't limited to the political arena. Technology is radically altering the financial services industry, too, including asset management. In this issue, we take a look at how robo advice is shaking up the intermediary market, with claims it could lead to the 'democratisation' of wealth management. For those who dismiss the threat, it is worth reading our story on the FinTech revolution in China, where digital disruption is the norm.

Also in this issue, Aviva Investors' CEO Euan Munro gives his thoughts on what the asset management industry must do to win back public trust; while Steve Waygood, Chief Responsible Investment Officer at Aviva Investors, explains how a new Financial Stability Board initiative will help investors quantify climate related risks.

Other articles look at the limits to real estate diversification, whether the threat of deflation has truly been eliminated and why demographic shifts will be a major driver of investment performance.

We hope you enjoy the issue

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DIVERSIFICATION: FRIEND OR FOE?

CHRIS URWIN
Global Research Manager
Real Estate

Logic suggests diversification is necessary to reduce risk within a real estate portfolio. In reality, its benefits are not as clear cut as investors might imagine, argues Chris Urwin.

While the importance of diversification is well known, determining how much is appropriate for a real estate portfolio is not necessarily obvious. Similarly, the idea that concentration is a risk to portfolios is not as straightforward as some investors might assume.

The goal of diversification is to reduce or eliminate 'specific risk' from a portfolio. However, studies of both equity and real estate markets suggest this objective can be largely achieved in concentrated portfolios with relatively few holdings. Analysis also indicates that diversification can bring diminishing returns and rising costs.

Furthermore, there are considerable potential benefits to holding concentrated portfolios of well-understood assets. Increasingly, deviation from benchmarks is viewed as an opportunity for outperformance rather than a risk. Information asymmetry is a key characteristic of the real estate sector, and better-informed investors can exploit this to create value.

Not all risk can be eliminated

Although the idea that diversification should reduce risk is intuitive, it is nonetheless worth looking at the theory behind it to determine what diversification can and cannot achieve. By diversification, we mean the inclusion of additional assets in a portfolio in order to reduce risk, with risk typically measured by the volatility of returns.

The capital asset pricing model (CAPM), which applies to all risky asset classes, makes a key distinction between two sources of volatility: specific risk and market or systemic risk.

Specific risk is unique to an individual asset, such as a particular equity or property, and independent from one asset to another. Specific risk can be diversified by combining assets, each with their own idiosyncratic risks, and effectively eliminated through portfolio management. As such, theory suggests that it shouldn't justify a premium return.

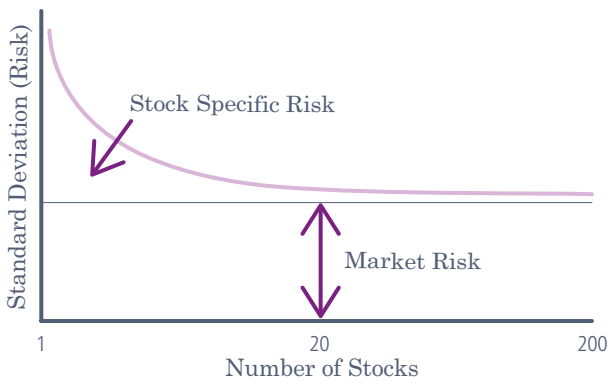
Market or systematic risk, meanwhile, refers to the tendency of individual assets to move together in response to systematic factors that affect all properties to a greater or lesser degree. This is an integral component of investing in the asset class and is inescapable. The model suggests this type of risk does justify a premium return.

The key insight is that while specific risk can be eliminated through the creation of diversified portfolios, market risk will remain even in well-diversified portfolios. As only market risk justifies a premium return, the key concern for an investor in any risky asset class is to ensure a sufficient number of assets are held, and those assets are sufficiently uncorrelated, to allow specific risk to be effectively eliminated and total portfolio volatility to approach the level of the overall market.

Diversification can be taken too far

The CAPM clarifies what investors can reasonably expect by diversifying their portfolio holdings. But how many holdings are needed in order to achieve the benefits of diversification? Studies of equities suggest the answer is relatively few. They indicate that although the initial benefit of adding more assets to a one-holding portfolio is significant in terms reducing portfolio volatility, the size of reductions tend to tail off quite quickly. In other words, there are diminishing marginal returns to diversification as a way to reduce risk. Most studies show that equity portfolios of about 15-20 assets will eliminate almost all specific risk and the addition of further assets has little impact in this respect[1]. The chart below illustrates this.

For equities, at least, relatively concentrated portfolios can attain most of the benefits of diversification. Nonetheless, the theory suggests that continuing to add assets will have a beneficial impact on portfolio risk, even if the impact is small.



Source: Investopedia

This being the case, why not add as many assets as possible? The answer lies in the potential for excessive diversification. Adding more and more assets to a portfolio leads to increased costs and potentially lower returns. At a certain point, the negative impact of these factors will outweigh any benefits from a reduction in risk. Increased costs are particularly likely in the form of higher transaction and management costs. The threat of reduced returns comes from this source as well as the potential for lower investment standards and the dilution of best ideas. In short, by overdiversifying investors risk acquiring more assets than can be effectively managed.

Concentrated portfolios can achieve the benefits of diversification

With regards to direct investments in real estate, can the major benefits of diversification be achieved in relatively concentrated real estate portfolios, as is the case with equities?

A major study of real estate risk by the Investment Property Forum, which looked at the volatility of returns on over 1,000 properties in the UK from 2002-2013, suggests so[2]. For most properties, it found 'the market' is the major risk factor, with specific risk relatively low and, in general, truly idiosyncratic to the property. Because the specific risks are so different from property to property, this implies diversification can be achieved rapidly. The study found that portfolios of 15-20 assets would, on average, have recorded volatility of returns close to that of the overall market, a number that echoes the findings of the equity studies.

The chart on opposite page shows that diversification brings diminishing marginal returns and most of the benefits can be achieved in relatively concentrated real estate portfolios.

Concentrated portfolios and outperformance

We would also argue there are considerable advantages to concentrated real estate portfolios due to the nature of physical real estate as an asset class. Real estate differs in many ways from the other major asset classes, equities and bonds, with four key differences particularly relevant.

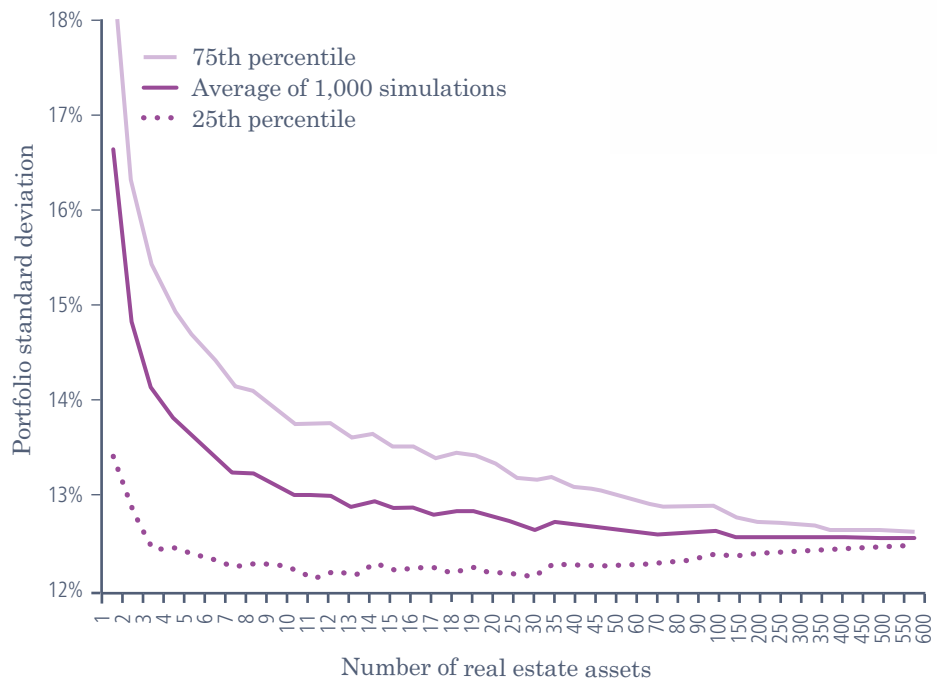
First, while all ordinary shares in a company or bonds in an issue are identical, each property is unique. Properties vary by factors such as location, use, size, age, construction and tenant type. Second, each property's location is fixed and local factors, such as infrastructure, can fundamentally affect its value.

Third, in contrast to major equity and bond markets, property prices are not determined by the interaction of numerous sellers and buyers for a homogeneous investment. There is limited information available on transaction prices and the volume of transactions is relatively low. Judgement is required when interpreting the available transaction evidence and what it might imply for the pricing of other properties.

Finally, while the ownership of a share bestows rights, such as voting rights, it does not generally come with obligations. By contrast, ownership of physical real assets comes with significant management obligations, including rent collection, maintenance, rent reviews and lease negotiations.

> *Real estate portfolio managers whose portfolios look least like the benchmark create most value for their investors*

10-year standard deviations of simulated portfolios, 2004-2013



Source: Investment Property Forum, 2015

While these features of real estate clearly give rise to management costs, they also create an asymmetry of information that is generally not found in other asset classes. Active real estate investors acquire information that is not readily publicly available and can use this to generate significant value.

We suggest this can be best achieved in concentrated portfolios by giving investors in-depth knowledge of their assets, with much of this knowledge unavailable to other parties. Real estate remains a local asset defined inherently by its location, and the more an investor understands local dynamics, the greater the potential to drive performance.

Concentration also allows more potential for asset management. In a relatively concentrated portfolio, resources can be focused where they have most potential to add value. It also provides managers with greater scope to spot and exploit mis-pricing and, crucially, the opportunity to focus on their best ideas.

Such advantages should be kept in mind when constructing real estate portfolios. While diversification is certainly advisable, investors should be wary of adding more assets than they can effectively manage and exploit.

Be wary of paying for passivity

The evidence suggests the potential for outperformance that comes from concentrated portfolios whose managers make well-studied, high-conviction calls. It also suggests such portfolios can be constructed without losing the benefits of diversification inherent in larger portfolios.

Investors are increasingly seeking managers willing and able to make conviction calls. In the wake of the financial crisis, investors are more focused on managers' ability to provide active management. Investors in all asset classes, including real estate, have become increasingly wary of paying higher fees for active management while receiving passive 'index-hugging' or low-conviction products in return.

As a corollary of this, investors are increasingly willing to view a portfolio's deviation from its benchmark as an opportunity for outperformance rather than just a risk. One indication of this is the growing focus on active share, which measures how much an equity portfolio's holdings differ from the benchmark index constituents.

There are three sources of portfolio active share: including stocks that are not in the benchmark; excluding stocks that are in the benchmark; and holding benchmark stocks at different weights to the benchmark.

Many institutional clients and consultants use active share as a tool to determine if an equity strategy justifies active management fees. For example, if a portfolio claims to be actively managed but has a low active share, an investor may decide to shift to a cheap passive index fund instead.

The courage of your convictions

With real estate portfolios and benchmarks made up of collections of unique assets, active share as defined above cannot be calculated for real estate portfolios. Nonetheless, analogous measures can be calculated based on a portfolio's sector or segment calls in order to get an idea of a portfolio manager's conviction.

In a recent academic study[3], the deviation of active managers' portfolios from the segment breakdown of their benchmark was calculated for over 250 UK real estate funds for 2002 to 2011, a measure that is comparable to active share. The results were telling.

The authors found that the most active commercial real estate portfolios – those with segment weights least like the index – have, on average, significantly outperformed. This performance has not been achieved by taking more risk: more active portfolios were as well-diversified as typical funds, with slightly less total volatility on average. The study also noted that although the more active, better performing funds tended to be smaller, outperformance cannot be explained by fund size alone.

These findings suggest real estate portfolio managers whose portfolios look least like the benchmark index create most value for their investors. This could be due to managers' ability to identify which segments offer better value, or their ability to build an informational advantage in certain segments, or a combination of both. The smaller number of holdings in these portfolios suggests they are run by managers who are willing to act with conviction, without benchmarks acting as a constraint on their investment decisions ●

1 'Modern Portfolio Theory and Investment Analysis', Elton & Gruber
2 'Individual Property Risk, Investment Property Forum', July 2015
3 'How Active is Your Real Estate Fund Manager?', Cremers & Lizieri, December 2013

A MATTER OF TRUST

With asset managers facing significant scrutiny from regulators and the public alike, Aviva Investors' CEO Euan Munro discusses what the industry can do to demonstrate its societal and economic value.

> *It is imperative we can prove our value to society*

While the banking sector bore the brunt of public and political wrath in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis, the asset management industry now finds itself under the microscope.

The UK Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) launched a thematic review into the industry in November 2015 to "understand whether competition is working effectively to enable investors to get value for money when purchasing asset management services".

Thematic studies by regulators happen for a reason; and questions over whether asset managers offer value for money were being asked long before the FCA announced its review. But is there genuinely something wrong at the heart of the industry or is it just doing a poor job of demonstrating value?

The asset management industry finds itself under significant scrutiny: is it doing enough to demonstrate its societal and economic purpose?

Euan Munro: You're right to say the industry is in the spotlight given that it is under review by the FCA. I suspect the review was driven in part by a concern that some managers are charging active fees but aren't trying that hard to beat the index – in other words, active fees for semi-passive propositions. They'll either find that smoking gun or they won't.

The point I would make is that regulators or politicians are really following rather than leading the public mood. The public feel they have been let down by the financial sector broadly: banking has been through its own trauma and some unpleasant revelations emerged, such as the Libor scandal, which involved fraudulent activity that led to an investigation around the Libor. That tarnished the whole industry so people are looking at asset management to see if there is something fundamentally wrong.

I don't actually think there is, but at the same time it is imperative we can prove our value to society and what we do to support economic growth and development. That is something we have not done a good enough job of and something we have to get better at.

The FCA review is looking closely at whether asset managers offer value for money. Where are improvements needed?

The value for money issue is critical. There is no doubt that as we moved from a high interest-rate world to a zero interest-rate world, relatively simple styles of passive investing where you own chunks of the market have all done well. Straightforward market exposure – or beta – has been a powerful driver of returns over the past 15-20 years.

However, I believe we're at an inflection point because interest rates cannot keep going down. The factors or low-cost styles of investing that led to success and appear to offer value for money are not going to be able to deliver the same results over the next 10-15 years. We can't be driving using the rear view mirror: we have to think about the styles of investing or philosophies that will deliver the outcomes clients are hoping for in future.

My fear is that customers in these low-cost strategies, largely because they delivered in the past, are going to be disappointed. True value for money, I believe, will be found in high quality active solutions and also high quality illiquid assets. You can't do that for nothing: any focus on value for money can't only be about the fee; it has to look at the fee in the context of the expected outcome.

If simple strategies aren't likely to deliver the same results as before, can we expect a wave of new product innovation or should asset managers focus more on improving existing propositions?

Fundamentally we need less products and propositions, but they need to be of better quality. When I think about innovation in the financial sector generally, some of the biggest innovations have also been the biggest disasters. Within investment banking we saw the splicing and dicing of credit into instruments such as collateralized debt obligations, which were subject to further financial engineering and ultimately led to a catastrophe in 2008.

In the past, the asset management industry came up with its own innovations such as 130:30 funds, where you invested 30% of the fund in stocks you liked and shorted 30% of stocks you didn't. It was a construct that was supposed to allow stock pickers to show off their capabilities, but didn't really benefit clients or solve their real-life problems. That's why they weren't commercially successful.

Our role as fund managers is to deliver a small number of client needs – to generate a decent return or level of income; or beat inflation or liabilities. Clearly there is an element of innovation that is required in terms of idea generation, but primarily we should be identifying innovators in the real economy and backing them with capital.

If returns, as you say, will be less predictable, presumably portfolio construction will assume greater value?

I've described portfolio construction previously as a Cinderella science. When a portfolio manager is being written about in the press or compared to peers, the focus will often only be on the return. Part of the job is

clearly to outperform the benchmark you've been set by a client, but a really pertinent question for a portfolio manager is whether she or he has taken more risk than is inherent in that market. That is a portfolio construction issue: in the pursuit of return, how much risk do you have to take?

I believe Asset management is a twin-task business: it's about generating ideas to deliver positive returns and putting them into portfolios that are robust in a range of market scenarios. The Holy Grail is the delivery of good returns with low volatility. That is why portfolio construction will increasingly be at the heart of what is necessary to meet client expectations.

Does the industry need to do a better job in educating investors on this – there is so much emphasis on performance and less about the stability of returns?

That's right, we do need to emphasize that more in all of our communication and remind people it is a critical part of our remit. We could also do more in terms of providing empirical evidence that shows that if you reduce volatility for investors, they are less likely to make a mistake. If you take a simple investment strategy such as buying a passive investment in equities, it is true that someone who started a strategy a few decades ago and stuck with it would have received very good returns. But behavioural aspects means that people sometimes invest more in boom years like 1999 and panic in bear markets like 2008 and switch out. They get a much worse outcome than if they had stayed with the programme and invested consistently through the period.

If we can avoid the extremes, we can guide people towards much better outcomes from their savings. Ultimately that will help them live better in retirement.

You mentioned earlier the importance of illiquid assets: should they be part of all investors' portfolios or just institutional clients who can live with the illiquidity?

One key challenge in the industry is how to give retail investors appropriate access to illiquid assets. These assets will almost certainly be an important area of return generation in future. I think a lot of individual investors would really get a sense of the value of portfolio management if they were investing in assets such as wind farms, tidal energy projects, bridges and hospitals. The nature of these investments is that you are helping to build useful infrastructure, but very often retail investors are kept out of these markets because the assets are by their nature long-term and illiquid. We haven't yet been able to develop the right fund structures and need innovation to give people that exposure.

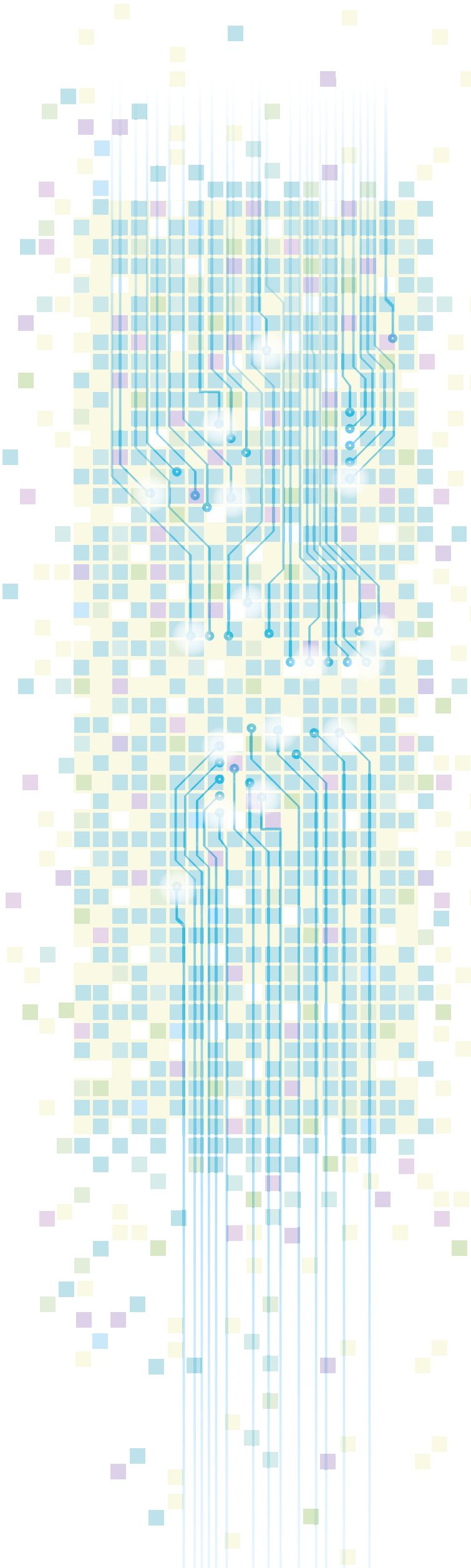
Someone in their mid-60s who has decided to retire and wants to secure a long-term income from their asset pot can buy an annuity. Clearly an annuity provides security for life and that's worth something, but the rate of return will not be much better than investing in a government bond. What might be interesting to investors prepared to take some risk would be investing in the kind of assets that an insurance company is able to.

In Europe, Jean-Claude Juncker [European Commission President] has talked about the development of 10-year funds where people subscribe for the entire period. That potentially could be the solution: if we could set up mutual funds with a defined long-term maturity, people might be able to invest more in illiquid assets.

Could investments in areas such as infrastructure help asset managers redefine their societal purpose, particularly in the post-Brexit environment?

Potentially. I'm proud of the investments we have made in solar panels, windfarms, biomass, energy centers and hospitals, where the societal value is clear. Even with liquid assets, the thoughtful allocation of capital to industry in the UK and beyond also has a clear benefit. We definitely have an opportunity to play a part in the post-Brexit world, but I'd argue we have always been involved in activities that have social and economic value. We maybe just haven't got the message across ●

> *"The Holy Grail is the delivery of good returns with low volatility"*



ROBO REVOLUTION?

Proponents of robo-advice claim it could lead to the 'democratization' of wealth management. Detractors say the technology is unproven and no match for bespoke advice provided by humans. The truth is somewhere in between.

On November 21, 2016, UBS, the world's largest wealth manager, went live with SmartWealth, its robo-advice offering. From February, UK investors with £15,000 or more will be able to sign up online and get access to the same investment expertise as those with the £2 million needed to open a full service account with the Swiss bank. Given the option of five risk profiles via the advice tool, investors will pay all-in fees of 1% a year for a portfolio of passive funds or 1.7% for active funds, both with the same strategic and tactical asset allocation.

The initiative might have surprised some, raising the possibility that UBS will simply cannibalize its existing client base. Unsurprisingly, UBS has a different perspective. Nick Middleton, co-head of SmartWealth, says opening up to the mass affluent market means UBS can become the "natural home" for people at a lower portfolio size. By the time people have amassed £2 million, they typically already have an adviser and are loath to move, he explains.

UBS is not the only incumbent to respond to the challenge set by FinTech start-ups such as Nutmeg in the UK and Betterment and Wealthfront in the US, which use algorithms to run and rebalance low cost automated portfolios of exchange-traded funds (ETFs) based on risk profiles their customers have selected online. Wealth managers such as Brewin Dolphin and Killik & Co are similarly entering, or about to enter, the robo-investment space[1].

In the US, portfolio managers Vanguard and Fidelity have joined the fray, although they have direct to consumer offerings already; robo-advice could be seen as a natural extension. BlackRock, meanwhile, is taking the business-to-business route via FutureAdvisor, the independent robo-adviser it bought in 2015, offering white-label services to banks and financial advisers. Invesco has moved in the same direction, having acquired white label platform Jemstep a year ago.

Perhaps pointing to the future for robo-advice, US brokerage firm Charles Schwab is getting set for the launch of its second robo-advice service. The first was fully automated and free to use; the second is a hybrid model, mixing automation with human investment advice, for a fee of 0.28% a year, capped at $9,000 a quarter.

Growing pains

In short, low cost automated risk profiling and portfolio management is slowly going mainstream, with or without the addition of a human advisory element. Consultancy firm EY predicts robo-advice will make a breakthrough in the UK in 2017, with several large providers expected to enter the market[2].

Estimates of potential growth for the industry vary, with forecasts for assets under management by 2020 ranging from around $500 billion to $2.2 trillion[3]. Robo advisers continue to attract venture capital funding, with a sector peak of $341 million invested last year, according to Tracxn, which collects data on start-ups worldwide[4]. Most of this was late stage funding going into established US companies, notably Betterment, which raised $100 million, and Personal Capital ($50 million). But the average size of seed and early stage investments has grown significantly in the past two years as well, Tracxn notes, "a sign that VCs see potential for sizeable exits in this space".

For now, the market remains in its infancy, and most start-up robo-advisers have yet to turn a profit. Speaking at a conference last year, Rohit Krishnan, then European market lead for McKinsey's 'Growth Tech' practice before joining Eight Roads Ventures as vice president, said total AUM for robo-advice platforms amounted to about $20-25 billion and fees to $100 million a year, which was too low for profitability. Krishnan noted the growth of market leaders Betterment and Wealthfront in the US had slowed appreciably, meaning they had failed to justify their valuations.

According to Krishnan, robo-advisers need $10 billion of assets under management to become profitable; Betterment has since reached $6.1 billion while Wealthfront is at $4 billion. They have been caught and surpassed by Vanguard and Charles Schwab, with $40 billion and $10 billion AUM respectively, although much of this has come from existing customers who have moved over to the new services.

In the UK, the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) is encouraging the growth of robo-advice, having identified the development of large scale automated advice models as part of the solution to providing affordable advice to consumers. The FCA found about two-thirds of financial products are now sold without professional financial advice, up from 40% four years ago, after the reforms of the retail distribution review came into effect. The regulator launched a dedicated unit last year to help firms seeking to develop fully or partly automated advice services[5].

Start-up robo-advisers in the UK face the same issues as those in the US; namely maintaining sufficient growth in client acquisition and AUM to keep investors on board and willing to provide funding. Their target AUM for profitability is lower, though, as the fee level is about three times higher in Europe than the average in the US of 0.15-0.35%. Adam French, founder and managing director of online investment outfit Scalable Capital, believes the range for UK firms is between €500 million and €1 billion.

With AUM of €100 million and less than €1 million of revenue coming in, Scalable Capital is not profitable yet, but French believes the firm's recent expansion into white-labelling and co-branding, in addition to its business-to-consumer proposition, will help it grow. A lot has changed in the past year, he adds, as the investment industry has moved from scepticism to seeing opportunity in the expansion of robo-advice. "It is not

> *Management by algorithm may ultimately prove superior to the human touch*

FinTech versus incumbents, but an area where we all understand there is an opportunity."

Competition or complementary?

FinTech is widely viewed as potentially disruptive to industry incumbents but robo-advice has yet to force major change on the industry. Some see the development as complementary, and entirely welcome if it expands the pie by bringing in new customers.

The disruptive potential lies mainly in the business model, as is true for other industry sectors. Factors at work include a large profit pool and dissatisfied consumers, and a data intensive and scalable platform, according to Andrew Power, a partner in Deloitte's UK Consulting group. Rather than the winners being the FinTech newcomers though – think Google, Facebook, Airbnb or Uber – it is the incumbent firms that adopt the robo approach which are expected to come out on top. "The winners will be those with a brand name and a multi-channel approach," says Power.

Start-ups and those already in the market have pioneered the technology and made people aware of what is possible, says Middleton of UBS. "It is always the case that those first to market find it hard. For the customer, brand and security are front of mind."

However, the fact that incumbents have started to respond to the rise of robo-advice is an acknowledgement that it poses a challenge. Robo platforms are providing the risk profiling, asset allocation and regular rebalancing services that have long been the preserve of wealth managers and IFAs, but at a lower cost and with greater transparency. Its proponents would argue that management by algorithm may ultimately prove superior to the human touch, given the behavioural issues known to affect investment judgement.

Financial advisers do not perceive much, if any, threat to their business as yet, however. Patrick Connolly, head of communications at Chase de Vere, says robo-advice could work for simple financial planning needs, thereby filling the advice gap eventually. But he does not believe it will replace advisers who genuinely add value and offer a personalized service. "Where there is a threat, it is to advisers offering a one-size-fits-all service, if robo comes in and does it more efficiently," he says, adding that Chase de Vere has no immediate plans to offer a robo-advice proposition.

Hargreaves Lansdown is another incumbent with few concerns about robos eating its lunch, and no plans to incorporate a robo offering. Mark Dampier, research director at the firm, says the company investigated an automated offering a while ago, but "decided it wouldn't be compliant".

Dampier is referring to the regulatory fine line that separates 'execution only' business from providing financial advice. UK robo-advisers are often positioned as discretionary portfolio managers, with the customer's decision to invest in the product presented as their choice rather than resulting from a recommendation. Some commentators question whether this approach truly avoids giving advice.

Some of the incumbents coming to market are avoiding putting this question to the test by incorporating advice into their offerings. UBS, for example, is operating under the limited advice rules with its SmartWealth service.

Keeping up standards

Rodney Prezeau, managing director of Aviva UK Life's consumer platform, acknowledges that robo-advice has the potential to shake-up the financial services market, but adds its providers must be held up to the same standards as any human adviser.

"If a consumer feels they have received advice that has led to a poor outcome – whether it is through automation or from a human – they have a right to make a complaint," he says. "Robo-advice systems must be validated to ensure they deliver advice that complies with regulatory standards and mitigate the risk of flawed advisory models that could result in poor customer outcomes. Given the current framework for advice does not discriminate between robo and human advice models, it is sensible to have independent validation to safeguard customers."

Irrespective of the regulatory concerns, wealth managers and big IFAs will increasingly come under pressure to include robo-advice within their range of services; possibly transferring existing smaller clients over to robo services. Looking at the US, it is clear that while robo-advice among FinTech companies has grown quickly, the robo services offered by traditional groups have grown even quicker.

"It is not all about low cost; rather it is about the efficient delivery of financial planning," says Jeremy Leadsom, head of the UK wholesale business at Aviva Investors. "For advisers, this represents a big opportunity, rather than worrying whether Nutmeg will steal your clients."

Robo is likely to drive further consolidation in the advice market, and will force some wealth managers to sharpen their proposition for wealthier clients to show the added value higher fees obtain, Leadsom adds.

Prezeau believes automated advice is most effective when helping customers with straightforward savings and investment needs – such as choosing an appropriate retirement account and underlying funds – rather than managing their retirement finances as a whole.

"Our research suggests it takes around 240 questions to build a detailed enough understanding of a customer's financial position to provide a personal recommendation and few people would make it through that process," says Prezeau. "Any robo-advice service would need to offer the customer the opportunity to pause and take information from another source, to step away from the service and interact with a real person. These interventions should allow the customer time to consider their options more carefully and take up an offer of bespoke advice delivered by a real person."

Nevertheless, the sophistication of robo-advice can only improve. It may not replace face-to-face advice, but as well as giving access to those who cannot afford personalized advice, it will cause disruption by attracting individuals who can afford a full service but decide robo-advice is good enough.

Over time, it is also likely to extend beyond the digitally savvy clients the start-ups have focused on to other investor segments, thanks to the effects of aging demographics. In the next five years, around 75% of assets – estimated at nearly $25 trillion – will be in the hands of those at or nearing retirement, and the DIY tools of robo-advice have particular significance in this context, says Amin Rajan, chief executive of Create Research.

"They offer transparency around the four things that matter most to investors: the risks they are taking, the returns they can expect, the compound erosion of their portfolios due to open and hidden charges, and the scalability of their chosen strategies."

This gives a better basis for building relationships than is currently the case, adds Rajan. It also means investors stand a better chance of "buying what they understand and understanding what they buy". Progress may take time, however, as the incumbent product providers and financial advisers will not act "until there is serious and sustained fee compression", Rajan argues.

If you can't beat them

It is not just financial advisers that face disruption by robo: asset managers also need to adjust to the changing landscape. Active asset management has already been disrupted by the growth of passive management in recent years, particularly the use of ETFs. Robo-advice could be viewed as an extension of that trend, given its strong dependence to date on ETFs as the underlying building blocks for diversified portfolios.

One response to worries about the growing use of passive solutions by distributors adding robo-advice to their offering may be for asset managers to rebuild direct relationships with clients, to gain more control. The difficulty is in avoiding direct competition with distributors they depend on for sales.

There is scope, says Power of Deloitte, to pick up retirement account clients via a robo-advice offering, and maybe customers with up to £50,000 to invest, where the competition at present is mainly the independent robo-advisers. Indeed, the future for the independents may largely lie in working with incumbents to provide the technology needed, given the relatively high costs of client acquisition for small firms.

So far, big asset managers have focused on the B-to-B route, using the robo platforms they have acquired to work with distributors rather than going into competition with them. Some, like Schroders, have taken minority stakes in robo-advisers to share in the growth of the sector. Others, such as German insurer Allianz, which took a stake in robo adviser MoneyFarm in September, are looking to harness robo-advice to sell actively managed funds.

Banks in the UK have yet to join the robo-advice race, but it may only be a matter of time. They scrapped their financial advice services after a series of mis-selling scandals and the FCA's ban on commission payments. Last year, Santander and Barclays moved back into selling investments via online platforms, but neither offer automated portfolio management. Robo-advice would

ROBO REVOLUTION?

continued

be a natural extension for banks in due course, argues Power, but the unresolved issue of the regulatory difference between advice and guidance could slow its adoption. There is a "disconnect", he says, between the FCA's desire to support the development of automated advice and some of the specifics of the difference between advice and guidance.

Banks that have already paid out on mis-selling claims may also fear 'systemic risk' – that a programming error means a robo-adviser repeatedly makes the same mistake without it being discovered until customers make complaints. Customers may also make poor decisions if they misunderstand the questions designed to direct them to the appropriate portfolio solution, or provide inaccurate answers. Some commentators have pointed to the lack of due diligence on robo-advice models as a serious flaw.

One approach to avoiding such problems is to adopt a hybrid approach, combining human as well as machine interaction. This may give confidence to both customers and companies, according to consultant EY, although it notes that a human element is only part of the solution. Proper due diligence is also required. Human advisers are not allowed to operate without a system of checks, balances and oversight, so robo-advisers should be similarly monitored[6].

Once such safeguards are in place, however, EY believes "a robo adviser would be expected to have fewer biases and a better audit trail than any human".

It is still early days for mass market automation in financial advice and investment management. Few of the start-up robo-advisers are likely to achieve the scale necessary to survive and prosper, and many will look to be bought. Competition is fierce and there is no guarantee they will stay in business long enough to become profitable. Care is needed to ensure that any mistakes are caught early, as trust is hard to build and easily squandered.

However, if robo-advice lives up to its description as the 'democratization' of wealth management, bringing tools and techniques long used by banks and wealth managers for high net worth and institutional clients to the mass market, it offers huge potential. Disruptive – yes, but financial services incumbents could prove hard to budge

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2 'Life & pensions industry outlook for 2017', Ernst & Young, December 2016
3 'Robo advice: catching up and getting ahead', KPMG, January 2016. https://home.kpmg.com/content/dam/kpmg/pdf/2016/07/Robo-Advising-Catching-Up-And-Getting-Ahead.pdDB research: when machines manage your assets
4 https://blog.tracxn.com/2016/12/08/robo-advisors-report-december-2016/
5 https://www.fca.org.uk/firms/project-innovate-and-innovation-hub/advice-unit
6 'Managing risk in automated advice', Ernst & Young

INFLATION FINALLY TRUMPS DEFLATION THREAT

The efforts of major central banks to generate inflation are finally starting to pay off in much of the developed world; a trend that will be boosted further by the increased role of fiscal policy in 2017.

The fear of deflation has cast a long shadow over the developed world for the past decade. Finally, however, the narrative seems to be shifting in the opposite direction. With the notable exception of long-suffering Japan, gone are the concerns of falling prices. Suddenly financial markets are convinced inflation is taking root, with Donald Trump's US election victory helping to cement this view.

Government bond yields, after hitting record lows in the summer, have risen sharply as investors begin to price in a normalisation of inflation. The yield on ten-year US Treasuries, for example, jumped from 1.4% in early July to 2.6% in December, although it had since fallen back to around 2.4% in early February.

Investors are right to have factored higher inflation into bond valuations. Indeed, given the strength of the US economy – not to mention President Trump's plans to implement fiscal stimulus – this 're-pricing' of government bonds is likely to have further to run.

With the US economy now growing faster than its trend rate, the annual rate of inflation as measured by the Consumer Prices Index is forecast to rise to 2.3% in each of the next two years, from 1.7% presently. While that might not sound like a dramatic increase, bear in mind that it stood at just 0.8% in July and was actually negative as recently as September 2015.

Inflation is increasing in China too, with manufacturing output prices now rising at the fastest pace in five years[1]. Inflation has also picked up in the euro zone although Japan remains an altogether different story.

Let loose

The gradual return of inflation is largely explained by two factors: the stabilization and recovery in commodity prices and the actions of the world's major central banks. Over the last year, all of them have kept monetary policy extremely loose. Indeed, policy has been loosened further in most places, including the euro area, UK and Japan. The case for easier policy was not difficult to make. While each of these central banks was dealing with slightly different issues, they were all in need of more inflation.

As for the one major country where policy has actually been tightened – the United States – even here policy has arguably been too loose.

> *The likelihood remains that while inflation will pick up it will not get out of control*

The Federal Reserve, by deciding to pursue a risk-management approach that aimed to cement the economic recovery and push inflation back up to its target – something we expect other central banks to do in the future – has probably not hiked rates enough. As a result, US inflation appears likely to overshoot its 2% target.

At the same time, there is an increased likelihood fiscal policy will be used as a tool to boost investment and growth, further buoying reflationary forces. The International Monetary Fund in its April 2016 *World Economic Outlook*[2] called for a three-pronged approach to securing higher and sustainable growth: structural reforms, monetary accommodation and fiscal support.

Last year, Japan, Canada and China all announced large fiscal stimulus packages. And most significantly of all, Trump has promised a massive expansion. One of the big questions for investors now is whether Trump will be able to deliver the level of fiscal stimulus markets are expecting. While the big cuts in individual and corporate taxes, and increased expenditure on defence, he is proposing are likely to be welcomed by Republican lawmakers, the tax reforms at least will take time to pass through Congress. As for his plan to boost infrastructure spending, that will require a change of attitude from some members of Congress if it is to come into effect. In any case, it will take longer still to deliver.

Nevertheless, we expect his policies to result in a fiscal stimulus of around 0.5% of GDP over the next couple of years. And it could be even bigger, with respected independent analysis of all of Trump's pledges suggesting the annual boost to GDP could be double that.

With the US economy already close to full employment – the unemployment rate is just 4.7% – hourly earnings are now rising at the quickest pace in seven years. A fiscal stimulus of the magnitude being proposed looks certain to boost wage growth, and hence inflation, even more.

However, it is important to remember that while Trump's policies have the potential to 'turbo-charge' reflation, inflation itself remains low by historical standards. At this stage we do not envisage a more destabilizing rise in inflation.

Crucially, there is no reason to believe the Fed is in danger of making a major policy error, by leaving interest rates too low and letting inflation get out of control. It seems the Fed is finally moving away from its overly cautious approach to raising rates. It announced a 25 basis points hike on March 15, and we anticipate at least two more hikes in 2017.

To the extent there is a risk of inflation spiking significantly higher than we anticipate, the biggest threat, at least in the short term, would appear to come from a further leap in commodity prices. Stronger economic growth and higher infrastructure spending could conceivably coincide with supply shocks caused either by geopolitical tensions or output cuts from members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

We saw a sixfold increase in oil prices between 2004 and 2008. While we do not envisage a repeat, that period demonstrated just how dramatic an impact an increase in demand can have on a market where supply is constrained, at least in the short term.

Protectionism

Looking further ahead, rising protectionism could pose a threat. We are more uncertain than usual about the political and policy environment under a Trump presidency. Hopes he may take more pragmatic positions on trade and immigration policy than those he espoused during the campaign may be unlikely. If he were to impose punitive, unilateral, across-the-board tariffs on Chinese and Mexican goods, leading to widespread trade wars, much higher inflation could ensue.

Similarly, if Trump were to follow through on his threat to rapidly deport several million illegal immigrants, the resulting shrinkage in the labor force would be inflationary as well as being negative for growth. In other words, if he were to pursue these policies aggressively there is a risk the US, rather than moving more rapidly towards reflation, could experience 'stagflation'. While such a scenario is unlikely, political developments will require close monitoring.

The main downside risk appears to emanate from China, where there are growing signs of financial excess and where the government could yet be forced to abandon its growth targets, particularly if Trump were to take aggressive action to curb Chinese exports to the United States.

We believe the risks to be broadly balanced. The likelihood remains that while inflation will pick up it will not get out of control. But much will depend on the forthcoming policy decisions taken in Washington.

As for what this means for financial markets, Giles Parkinson, Global Equity Portfolio Manager at Aviva Investors, says the general assumption is that it will be bad for bonds but better for equities. However, he believes the reality is unlikely to be quite so straightforward.

"People have seen the bond market sell off and shifted into 'cyclical' shares, assuming there is going to be stronger economic growth. But actually, if bonds have really risen because of worries over inflation, you need to think about individual companies' pricing power.

"Take a company with a strong brand. In the UK companies with strong brands have managed to pass on cost increases, stemming from a decline in the pound, to its supermarket customers. But companies with weaker brands, and producers of own-label products, are likely to struggle to do this," he says.

Parkinson also cautions that not all companies will be able to preserve cash flows equally well in an inflationary environment. Firms with large amounts of fixed capital investment will suddenly look like they are making more profit than they actually are. As the cost of replacing that capital will rise in an inflationary environment, there will be a tendency for these companies to under-report their depreciation charge.

He also cautioned that much of the better economic news has now been factored in to share prices. "This time a year ago the consensus was for 'perpetual secular stagnation'. Suddenly the market has started to price in some growth. Excluding commodities, earnings haven't actually risen by that much. But the amount people are prepared to pay for those earnings has gone up, in some cases spectacularly," he says.

Meanwhile, fixed-income portfolio managers Orla Garvey and James McAlevey see further strong demand for securities that compensate investors for higher US inflation, such as Treasury Inflation Protected Securities (TIPS).

They say that with headline inflation set to pick up over the next six months thanks to higher energy prices, steadily rising wages and the prospect of US tax cuts, the market will be forced to factor in still higher inflation risk premia.

Noting demand for TIPS has to date mainly come from retail investors and central banks, they say that as inflation picks up even further, large institutions such as endowments and pension funds might embark on liability-hedging exercises in greater numbers.

"At a time when the outstanding stock of inflation-protected securities amounts to little more than $1 trillion, supply could prove to be inadequate in the face of greater interest from these large institutions," Garvey says.

Indeed, the combination of increased demand and the need to factor in higher inflation risk premia means there is a possibility the TIPS market begins to overestimate future levels of inflation.

Equally, they say, it is possible the Fed will suddenly get more hawkish, especially if wage growth accelerates much further. In this event, with interest rates rising faster than expected, the market could actually begin to price in weaker inflation over longer time horizons. They have looked to hedge against this risk elsewhere in their portfolios

1 China National Bureau of Statistics
2 http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/01/pdf/text.pdfY

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE: THE RETURN OF HISTORY?

As the US, Russia and China reposition themselves on the world stage, Cold War-style spheres of influence are coming to define the new global order.

In February 1945, with the end of the Second World War in sight, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin convened in the Livadia Palace in Yalta, a Russian resort town on the Crimean peninsula. Fuelled by Armenian brandy, the three leaders discussed the terms of the peace.

Roosevelt envisaged an agreement on international security, jointly administered by the 'Four Policemen' of America, Britain, the Soviet Union (USSR) and China. The outcome was somewhat different. The Yalta Conference inaugurated the Cold War, in which the great powers ceded each other vast supranational territories where they operated more or less unopposed.

While proxy conflicts erupted in East Asia and Latin America after 1945, this post-war order largely held until the demise of the USSR in 1991. Even before the USSR officially dissolved, the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 came to be regarded as a defining moment in what political scientist Francis Fukuyama called 'the end of history'; the triumph of the US liberal model and an open, market-orientated international system underpinned by American security guarantees.

Fast forward three decades, and history appears to have started up again. The US has a new president in Donald Trump, who espouses a protectionist and isolationist worldview, while Russia and China are growing increasingly assertive under their respective leaders Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping. The phrase 'spheres of influence' is once again on the lips of foreign policy experts.

"The world is not relentlessly moving towards plural liberal politics and open markets; it is moving in a rather different direction," according to John Sawers, British diplomat and former chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), speaking at the Aviva Investors 'Investing for Outcomes' conference in

> *The transition to a new global order could be fraught with danger*

London in November 2016. "We are moving from a world which, in the 1990s, was increasingly Western dominated…towards spheres of influence."

In the absence of the unwritten rules that prevailed during détente, the transition to a new global order could be fraught with danger. So where could potential flashpoints arise? And what are the economic and financial implications of these geopolitical shifts?

End of the Pax Americana

The term 'sphere of influence' refers to any geographic area over which a state claims cultural, economic or military pre-eminence, even if it does not technically enjoy sovereignty over the entire territory.

A classic example is the 'Monroe Doctrine' adopted by the US in the nineteenth century, under which President James Monroe promised to oppose European colonial incursions in both American continents, while pledging not to interfere in politics across the Atlantic. More recently, during the Cold War, the metaphoric Iron Curtain cleaved Europe into Western and Soviet spheres of influence.

Following the collapse of the USSR, the global reach of the US and its Western partners, projected via international alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), appeared almost untrammelled. But the US-led interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, indicated the limits of Western influence.

Under the Obama presidency, the US acknowledged these limits. Long before Donald Trump promised to 'Make America Great Again' by focusing on domestic issues, Barack Obama had begun to adopt a pragmatic stance on foreign policy and to criticize what he called "free riders"; countries that expect America to solve the world's problems single-handedly[1].

A cautious realism defined Obama's approach. He sanctioned airstrikes in Libya and wide-ranging drone attacks against jihadists, but withdrew American troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. He implemented a strategic pivot to Asia, but did not try to prevent China from building a strong military presence in the South China Sea.

Obama resisted calls to intervene in the Syrian civil war in 2013 when evidence came to light that President Bashar al-Assad's forces were deploying chemical weapons – even though Obama had explicitly described use of such weapons as a red line that must not be crossed[2]. America's hesitation opened the door for Russia to enter the fray to strengthen Assad – one of Putin's key allies in the region – by launching airstrikes against both Isis forces and what the US considers the moderate opposition to Assad's rule (Russia draws no such distinction).

The gradual waning of American power is not just a consequence of realist political philosophy. It is also a matter of resources. In 1950, the US generated almost 30% of global GDP[3]; that figure is now less than 17%[4]. The rest of the world is catching up, most notably China, and other nations now want their share of global influence.

"We are seeing the end of the Pax Americana, the era of American enlightened self-interest that has lasted for 70 years," says Alastair Newton, a political consultant and former senior analyst at Nomura. "We are moving towards a global order defined by regional hegemons. A reversion to nationalist strongmen at the end of a period of US hegemony is to be expected."

Scramble for Europe

Three 'strongmen' in particular are likely to define the course of global politics over the next four years: Trump, Putin and Xi. If the current Big Three staged a new Yalta conference to thrash out the terms of the international order, they would be entering contested territory.

In March 2014, Russian troops annexed the Crimean peninsula following the ousting of Viktor Yanukovych, Ukraine's pro-Russian president. The invasion prompted fresh Western sanctions against Russia. Most international governments still consider Crimea a part of Ukraine. Moscow, meanwhile, has proclaimed the peninsula fully integrated into its borders[5].

Russia's actions in Ukraine demonstrate how a sphere of influence is about more than just military might. As with Georgia – which Russia invaded under then-president Dmitry Medvedev in 2008 – Moscow has long regarded Ukraine as part of its domain because of its longstanding historical, cultural and linguistic connections with the country.

"The historic maps, linguistic maps, ethnic maps that Russians have in their minds do not necessarily correspond to real borders," says Igor Zevelev, a political scientist and former director of the MacArthur Foundation in Russia. "The countries of the former USSR are still connected by various ties. Russia perceives these regions very differently from the way the rest of the world does."

Russia may be tempted to make further incursions into Eastern Europe, perhaps in the Baltic States. During his election campaign, Trump questioned whether the US should risk "World War Three" by honoring NATO's principle of collective defence[6]. Compare the stance adopted by then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during the Georgia crisis of 2008; Rice condemned Russia's attempts to "consign sovereign nations and free peoples to some archaic sphere of influence"[7].

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

continued

"Russia has a deep resentment of the US and sees a decline of Western strength and unity that it can take advantage of," said Sawers. "At the Valdai Conference [in October 2016], one of the phrases Russians were using on the margins – Putin didn't use it himself – was 'the scramble for Europe', the idea that Europe is beginning to fragment and bits of it will be up for grabs by the great powers as the established new spheres of influence."

The rise of populist politics in Europe, which could lead to a fracturing of the European Union, may create opportunities for a revanchist Russia. Putin is prepared to use tactical nuclear weapons to settle a conflict in Central or Eastern Europe, according to Sawers; in October 2016, Russia moved nuclear-capable Iskander-M missiles to the enclave of Kaliningrad that borders Poland and Lithuania.

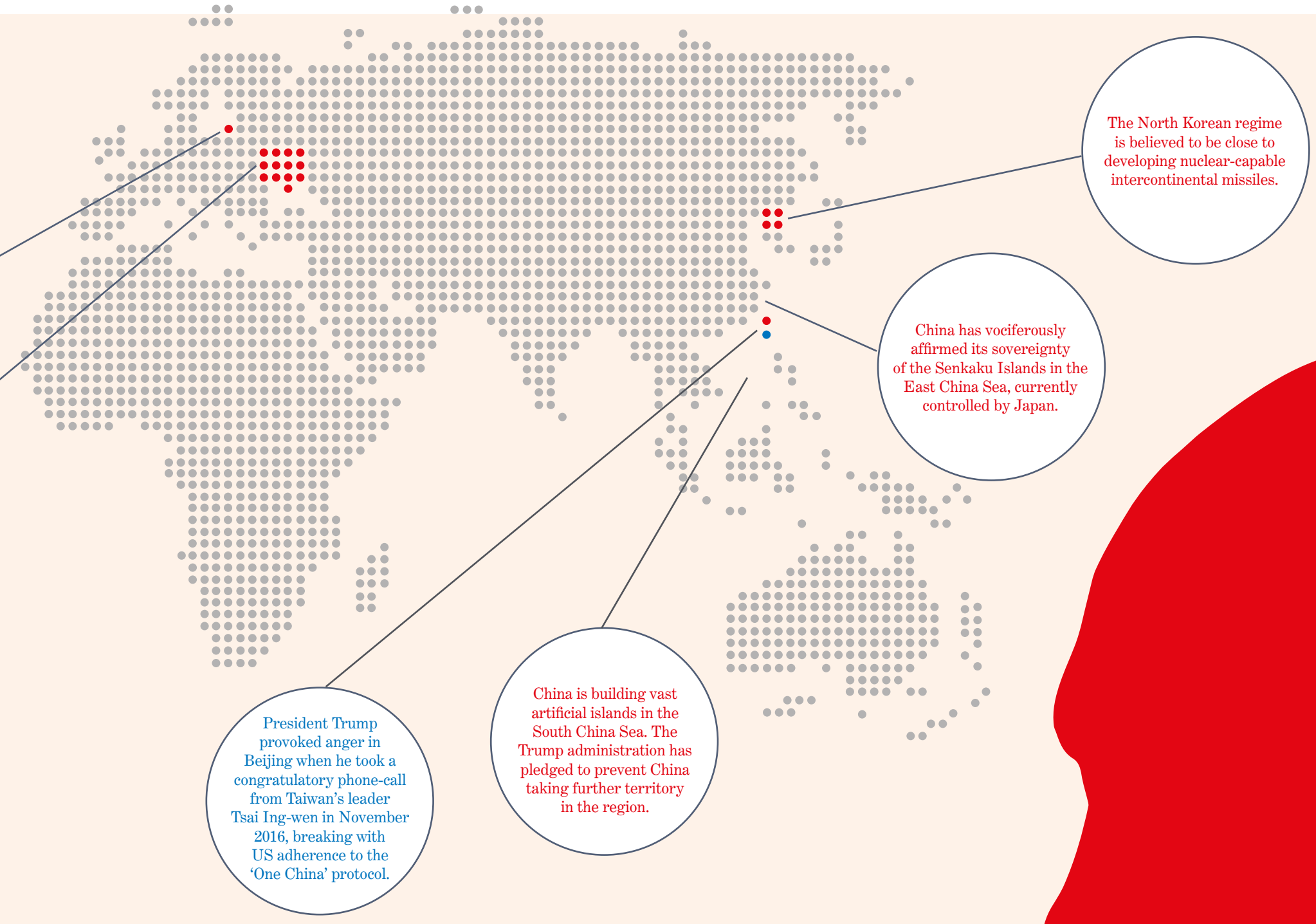
Despite this development, a period of nervy détente is more likely than outright conflict. Analysts expect the Trump administration to drop US opposition to the annexation of Crimea – without formally recognizing it as a part of Russia – while continuing to stand by the Baltic States. James Mattis, the new US defense secretary, affirmed Washington's "unshakeable commitment" to NATO in a call with his British counterpart Michael Fallon on January 23, according to a Pentagon statement.

Nevertheless, the possibility of a return to the hair-trigger tensions of the Cold War should not be dismissed lightly, says Zevelev. "I am concerned about possible unintended incidents between Russian and NATO aircraft or ships near the Baltic Sea. Diplomacy will be needed between Russia and the US to avoid the possibility of face-to-face military conflict. There are many parallels with the Cold War era."

Russian weakness, Russian strength

Trump and Putin may be able to defuse this potential standoff. The consensus among the US intelligence services is that Russia intervened in the US presidential election to weaken Trump's rival, Hillary Clinton[8]. In December 2016, Obama expelled 35 Russian nationals from the US and blamed the Russian government directly for its role in hacking the Democratic National Committee's email server during the election campaign.

Whether or not Putin orchestrated the hack, there seems little doubt Trump was the Kremlin's preferred candidate. Where Clinton is hawkish on Russia, Trump has spoken of opportunities to work with Moscow on strategic objectives, such as military action against Isis in Syria and the wider Middle East. Trump's 'transactional' approach, honed during a career in business, may facilitate cooperation on a case-by-case basis.



The appointment of Rex Tillerson, former CEO of ExxonMobil, as Secretary of State may also contribute to more cordial relations with Russia. Tillerson professes "a very close relationship" with Putin, whom he met numerous times while negotiating deals on behalf of ExxonMobil in Russia[9].

"The Rex Tillerson appointment is evidence there could be progress on economic ties between Moscow and Washington," says Zevelev. "I expect the Trump administration to engage Russia and encourage it to open its markets to American companies, especially in the energy sector, in return for a lifting of sanctions."

In 2011, Tillerson negotiated a $500 billion joint venture between ExxonMobil and Russian state-owned oil company Rosneft to drill for oil in the Arctic Ocean, a deal which was nixed after the imposition of sanctions on Russia in 2014[10]. A lifting of sanctions would open up potentially lucrative opportunities for Western firms and give Russian companies access to US hydraulic fracturing technology, enabling them to exploit new energy fields in Siberia.

But Moscow remains wary of Trump – and some of his policies may not be conducive to Russian interests. The US president has promised to support America's native shale gas industry, for example. A surge in US supply could force down global energy prices and eat into Russia's market share, potentially damaging a vital source of revenue for the Russian state.

The Emperor far away

As Trump's predecessor Obama argued, Russia's territorial aggression and its economic weakness are in inverse proportion, and the one feeds the other. "The path that Putin is taking is not going to help [Russia] overcome [its economic] challenges. But in that environment, the temptation to project military force to show greatness is strong, and that's what Putin's inclination is," Obama told *The Atlantic* in 2016.

Unlike Russia, China has a robust economy and prefers to project its influence through commercial means. Where it does deploy its military, as on the vast artificial sandbanks it has created in the azure waters of the South China Sea, it appears more interested in defending its own borders than making territorial incursions. China feels threatened by the build-up of US military forces in the region following Obama's pivot to Asia.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

continued

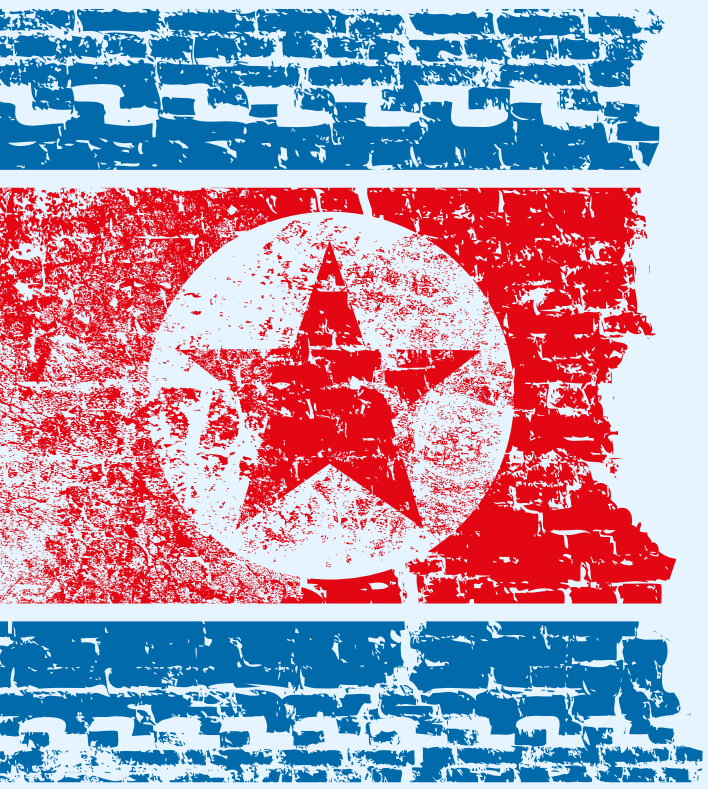
During the post-Mao era, China has mostly followed Deng Xiaoping's dictum on foreign policy: "Hide your capacities, bide your time." By contrast, President Xi tends to flaunt China's capabilities and demand recognition. Under his watch, China has vociferously affirmed its sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea, currently controlled by Japan. His government also reacted angrily to Trump's phone call with Taiwan's leader Tsai Ing-wen in November 2016, which broke with US adherence to the 'One China' protocol.

However, China is unlikely to wage revanchist wars. Beijing already expends a great deal of money, time and effort enforcing domestic security, not least in Tibet and Xinjiang, where 'the mountains are high and the Emperor far away', to use the Chinese proverb for far-flung and unruly provinces.

Where China does seek to project its influence, it relies on its economic clout. The so-called 'One Belt One Road' infrastructure investment initiative in Central Asia and its equivalent in Southeast Asia, the 'Maritime Silk Road', are good examples of this strategy. China's trade-driven diplomacy has paid dividends, cementing economic ties with Russia and improving its strategic position to the south.

Consider the example of Rodrigo Duterte, president of the Philippines, one of America's most important allies in the region since the signing of a security treaty in 1951. In 2016, Duterte turned decisively away from Washington and towards Beijing. Duterte used a diplomatic visit to China in October to announce his country's "separation" from the US, dropping a complaint lodged by his predecessor, against China's military presence in Filipino waters[11]. Xi and Duterte signed trade deals worth $13.5 billion during the state visit.

HOW DO YOU SOLVE A PROBLEM LIKE NORTH KOREA?



With North Korea's nuclear-armed regime close to developing an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), the Trump administration will need to deal with the issue as a matter of priority. But how do you deal with a leader as secretive and autocratic as Kim Jong-un?

Jenny Town is assistant director of the US-Korea Institute, a research program at Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC, and managing director of 38 North, a website that documents the latest intelligence on the North Korean regime. In this Q&A she discusses the threat posed by North Korea and says that – with the right approach – Pyongyang can be brought to the negotiating table.

AIQ: ***How is North Korea influencing geopolitics in the Asia-Pacific region?***

Jenny Town: As North Korea continues to build its nuclear capacity, it increases its bargaining power and its ability to influence geopolitics in the region. The US is concerned that the North Koreans are building a missile with intercontinental capability. But as far as our allies in the region are concerned, the red lines have already been crossed. The threat North Korea poses is viable and imminent.

AIQ: ***What are the prospects of a regional arms race?***

JT: This was already happening even before President Trump threatened to withdraw American military support from South Korea and Japan. These countries are showing greater willingness to consider building indigenous nuclear capabilities and increasingly questioning US resolve. In 2010, for example, after the sinking of the South Korean ship the *Cheonan*, South Korea wanted a far stronger response than the US was willing to allow[16]. Before 2010, there were few domestic politicians who publicly questioned the US-Korea alliance or called for the South to have its own tactical nuclear weapons. Now there is much more mainstream conversation about those ideas and much more public support for them.

> *China is expanding its authority at just the time when the US is enacting protectionist policies*

The demise of TPP

China is expanding its authority through trade and investment at just the time when the US is enacting protectionist policies. On January 23, President Trump signed an executive order that formally withdrew the US from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), ostensibly because the unfettered global trade it represents has harmed the livelihoods of ordinary Americans in the rust-belt constituencies whose interests he has promised to defend. Trump has accused China of devaluing its currency to hurt US exporters.

In fact, the Obama administration meticulously designed TPP, a 12-country agreement, to exclude China and maintain US economic leadership in the region. Its demise may work to China's advantage. "Trump must do something on trade with China, as for many of his voters it is the *sine qua non*," says Newton. "But it will be difficult. He could slap tariffs on Chinese goods, as Obama did with Chinese tires, but that would be self-defeating if prices in Walmart go up by 15%, hitting ordinary Americans in the pocket."

The Obama administration set tariffs on Chinese tires of 25-30% for three years from 2009, in response to a surge in supply. But the results of this policy were mixed. Shipments from other Asian nations doubled in value and consumer costs rose. According to the Peterson Institute for International Economics, the tariffs protected no more than 1,200 US manufacturing jobs – but resulted in the US economy losing about 3,700 retail jobs due to the impact of higher prices[12].

In the meantime, China has been touting a rival free trade agreement to TPP, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). Many of TPP's intended members, including Australia and Japan, are in talks over RCEP. This marks an intriguing role reversal: China, the ostensibly communist power, is now presenting itself as the guardian of free trade and capitalist enterprise while the US is perceived to be retreating behind its borders.

On January 17, Xi delivered a speech to the World Economic Forum in Davos in which he robustly defended globalization. "We must redouble efforts to develop global connectivity to enable all countries to achieve inter-connected growth and share prosperity. We must remain committed to developing global free trade and investment…and say no to protectionism," Xi said.

AIQ: ***How close is North Korea to developing an ICBM that could reach targets in the US?***

JT: In his New Year address, Kim Jong-un said North Korea is in the final stages of developing ICBM capability, although he didn't threaten an imminent test. The regime has been working on an ICBM for some time and in 2016 it obtained two large liquid fuel engines, one of them presumably for an ICBM. It has rebuilt its space launch facilities to be able to accommodate larger rockets, and we would presume larger missiles as well. The next stage is flight testing. According to some of the more aggressive estimates, North Korea will have some kind of operational ICBM by 2018.

AIQ: ***Is North Korea capable of cyber attacks?***

JT: North Korea has a very sophisticated cyber force and is willing to use it. There is a lot of conjecture as to how big that force is and where it is stationed – there is talk that North Korea's cyber hackers are stationed along the Chinese border – but there is distinctive coding that shows various different hack attempts have come from the North Koreans.

AIQ: ***Does China have a role to play in reining in the North Korean regime?***

JT: Everyone looks to China, but China doesn't have the influence over North Korea that it used to. China had a very strong relationship with [former leader] Kim Jong-il. Beijing knew how to talk to Kim Jong-il and how he would react to things. Xi Jinping has not had personal contact with Kim Jong-un and communication has broken down. On the day [Chinese envoy] Wu Dawei arrived in Pyongyang last year, North Korea announced they were going to do another satellite launch – when they knew that Wu Dawei was there to talk to them about calming the situation down. That was a huge slap in the face and shows the limitations of Chinese influence on the regime.

AIQ: ***What would be the consequences if the North Korean regime collapses?***

JT: It would be total chaos. A lot of people wish for a regime collapse. They think as soon as Kim Jong-un is gone the country will turn to the West. But that rarely happens at the end of a dictatorship. This a country of 25 million people, of which only three million are of the 'moneyed' class and there have been various purges of the elites. There's nothing to say there won't be various factions fighting for leadership if the regime collapses. There are nuclear weapons; there are biological weapons in provincial stockrooms that could be accessed by people in the provinces.

AIQ: ***How would neighboring countries respond in that event?***

JT: Given the lack of information available from inside the country, it would be difficult in that situation for other countries to know how to respond. When do things get bad enough to require foreign intervention – and what would be the goal of such intervention? Stability? Unification? Or merely securing the weapons of mass destruction (WMD)? If the US and South Korea go in, how does China react? It's hard to envisage an easy transition.

AIQ: ***What does Pyongyang want?***

JT: North Korea's rhetoric is very much about demanding respect as a sovereign state and an end to the targeting of their leader with sanctions, which Pyongyang sees as disgracing the country. North Korea also wants guarantees on security. But ultimately the regime does want a more peaceful political environment to try to develop its economy.

AIQ: ***Is North Korea willing to negotiate on its nuclear program?***

JT: A lot of people talk about how North Korea will never give up its nuclear weapons and how it is not interested in negotiations. That is a very dangerous way to approach the problem because it limits the options – and it is not necessarily the truth. We do a lot of 'Track Two' work with North Korean government officials and there is a room for negotiation. The reality is if the international community is really serious about trying to curb the North Korean nuclear weapons program at some point it has to explore the diplomatic track. Pressure, intimidation, bolstering defenses, imposing more sanctions – these tactics are forcing North Korea to move in the opposite direction to what we want ●

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

continued

> *Geopolitics is a more pressing issue for governments than at any time since the Cold War*

Asian arms race

While China is taking steps to secure its economic leadership in the region, it has not demonstrated it is willing to use its burgeoning military power to guarantee security and preserve the status quo. With Trump threatening to pull US forces from the region unless his allies contribute more to their own security, East Asia could face a power vacuum.

Ironically, Trump's isolationism may not necessarily be welcomed by Xi in this instance, as it would strengthen Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's argument that Japan's pacifist constitution must be revised and its army retooled. "Up to now, US policy in Asia benefits Beijing in that it keeps Japan disarmed," says Benjamin Charlton, Senior Analyst, East Asia, at consultancy Oxford Analytica.

"US withdrawal [from Japan] would force Tokyo to develop its independent military capabilities, which China would find threatening. This could spark a Sino-Japanese arms race; spurred by the fact Japan would probably still have access to US weapons and equipment. Japan is a lucrative export market Washington would have no reason to cut off," Charlton adds.

The US presence on the Korean peninsula is another matter. China is reportedly suspicious of the 'missile shield' the US is installing in South Korea to defend it against a nuclear strike from the North. In China's view, the US Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) system undermines its own nuclear threat, and THAAD's powerful radar capability enables the US to monitor activity in China.

Again, China is using capital to make its views felt. In early 2016, a Chinese foreign ministry official travelled to Seoul to meet some of South Korea's biggest investors in China, including Samsung and Lotte Group, and told them their China business could suffer because of the government's support for THAAD, according to a report in the *Financial Times*[13].

China's economic influence, rather than military force, may be the key to defusing the threat posed by Pyongyang – although Xi is reluctant to countenance further sanctions. "Unlike his predecessor Hu Jintao, Xi Jinping has made no effort to bring North Korea to heel," says Newton. "He sees the North Korean regime as a useful tool in promoting Chinese hegemony in the region. More meaningful sanctions would have to happen mostly through Chinese banks. China will not like that."

Trump has indicated he would negotiate directly with Kim Jong-un to curtail the North Korean nuclear program, which could bring dividends. But a resumption of the multilateral talks involving the US, China, South Korea, Japan and Russia, which took place from 2003-2009, is perhaps the more vital objective. This is because the main hazard posed by North Korea may not be a nuclear strike but rather the precariousness of its regime. If the nuclear-armed government falls without any international agreement on how to respond, the region's powers might act independently to contain the threat and defend themselves: a risky scenario.

"Instability in North Korea could create a situation in which all surrounding countries act individually to protect their interests," Henry Kissinger told *The Economist* in December 2016. "This might trigger a conflagration with some of the characteristics of 1950, when China entered a war [the Korean War] it had not intended to participate in, and affected thereby the whole structure of Asian foreign policy for 25 years. That danger is extremely real[14]."

Cyber security

With uncertainty surrounding relations between the great powers, coupled with the resurgent threat of nuclear war, geopolitics is a more pressing issue for governments than at any time since the Cold War. But in another sense, the relationship between geography and political power has never mattered so little. The internet has rendered physical distance a minor obstacle for a state that wants to flex its muscles.

Cyber attacks can be staged relatively cheaply, which levels the playing field between nations with unmatched economic or military resources. North Korea's most effective act of aggression in recent times was not a missile launch. In 2014, Pyongyang allegedly sponsored a hack of Sony Pictures' email servers, apparently in retribution for its production of *The Interview*, a knockabout movie comedy that mocks Kim Jong-un. Sony initially withdrew the film from theatrical release in response to the hackers' threats of terror attacks on cinemas. The US doubled down on sanctions against North Korea in response.

Suspected foreign interference in the US election, and hackers' near-destruction of the TV5 television network in France in 2015, are more recent examples of how cyber warfare is playing a newly influential role in global politics[15]. Governments are increasingly deploying armies of 'bots' on social media to promote political messages and influence public debate (see boxed text).

And in the future, cyber-warfare will not be limited to the release of classified information or the dissemination of propaganda. As countries become ever more reliant on automated transport systems and other high-tech infrastructure, cyber-warfare could have severe consequences in the physical world.

"Sometime in the next ten years we should expect a 'cyber 9/11', something that costs a lot of people's lives, which destroys businesses," said Sawers. "And that will lead to the same response on the cyber side as we saw after 9/11 on the counterterrorism side." Sawers believes it will be important for major economies to develop guidelines as to what is a permissible use of cyber force and what is beyond the pale.

With that in mind, one can envisage a new Yalta-style conference to determine the rules. There would be no need for the participants to meet in person; the negotiations could take place in the neutral territory of a virtual conference room. In place of the soldiers that guarded the Big Three in 1945, Trump, Putin and Xi would be protected by squads of technology boffins, leaving them free to negotiate their cyber-spheres of influence. ●

1 See Obama's wide-ranging interview with *The Atlantic* magazine, 'The Obama Doctrine,' April 2016
2 *Ibid*. Obama told *The Atlantic* he prevailed on Putin at a G20 summit in St. Petersburg to have Assad remove the chemical weapons arsenal in lieu of military action.
3 'The world economy: a millennial perspective', OECD, 2001
4 World Bank
5 'Putin eliminates ministry of Crimea, region fully integrated into Russia, Russian leaders say,' *International Business Times*, July 2015
6 'Donald Trump reiterates he will only help NATO countries that pay "fair share,"' *The Guardian*, July 2016
7 Speech to The German Marshall Fund, September 2008
8 'FBI in agreement with CIA that Russia aimed to help Trump win White House,' *Washington Post*, December 2016
9 'How Rex Tillerson changed his tune on Russia and came to court its rulers,' *New York Times*, December 2016
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12 'US tire tariffs: saving few jobs at high cost,' *PIIE*, April 2012
13 'China turns screws on corporate Korea over missile shield,' *Financial Times*, January 2017
14 'On background: Interview with Henry Kissinger,' *The Economist Radio*, December 2016
15 Hackers based in Russia were reportedly behind the TV5 attack. See 'How France's TV5 was almost destroyed by "Russian hackers,"' *BBC News*, October 2016
16 The *Cheonan* went down near the Korean maritime border on March 26, 2010. An international investigation found it is likely the ship was sunk by a North Korean torpedo. The White House described the sinking as "an act of aggression" by North Korea. '"North Korean torpedo sank South's navy ship" – report,' *BBC News*, May 2010
Image page 12, courtesy The UK National Archives

RISE OF THE BOTS:
POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN THE AGE OF THE INTERNET

The spread of 'fake news' – and its potential influence on politics – has become a public controversy since the US election of November 2016.

For Samuel Woolley, Director of Research at the Computational Propaganda Project at Oxford University, falsified reporting is not so much a new phenomenon as a sign we are returning to the global propaganda wars of yesteryear. "We see this as the re-emergence of a form of propaganda, similar in some ways to the propaganda promoted during the Cold War," he says.

Woolley and his colleagues have conducted research that shows governments across the world are marshalling armies of 'bots' – sophisticated programs that deliver messages on social media websites – to sway the political debate at home and extend their spheres of influence abroad. He spoke to *AIQ* about 'computational propaganda' and what the future holds for political communication in the age of the cyber-troll.

AIQ: ***What is computational propaganda?***

Samuel Woolley: We study the ways in which social media spheres are manipulated by bots: social bots that look and act like people, but are in fact software coded to influence public opinion. Ten years ago, the general view was that social media would become a political tool that would allow people in countries ruled by oppressive regimes to communicate and organize using channels that are outside the hands of the government. But now we're seeing the political normalization of social media. Powerful political actors are manipulating sites like Facebook, Twitter, Reddit and Instagram to their own ends.

AIQ: ***How does the technology work?***

SW: Governments, political parties and candidates for office worldwide are using bot technology to do several things. One is to make them look more popular: bots can enable them to drive up the traffic supporting them on social media and amplify their message by retweeting or sharing certain content. The most sophisticated bots operate via machine learning and can produce content and interact with real people in response to real-world events. Another way political actors can use computational propaganda is to game the Facebook or Twitter algorithm to display certain messages more prominently. What we're talking about here is not traditional computer hacking, it's the hacking of public opinion using accounts that look like real people online. This approach makes the most of the anonymity of the internet, as the sites in question don't have any markers to delineate who is real and who is a bot.

AIQ: ***Who is using computational propaganda?***

SW: There is a large Russian state effort to push out pro-Russian content using political bots and it is very much transnational. During the Crimea crisis and the Olympics doping scandal, we saw lots of bots sending out pro-Russian messages. There is an organization called the Internet Research Agency in St. Petersburg that has worked on multiple campaigns designed to spread pro-Kremlin messages and to contribute to real-time debates. For example, it would deploy bots on the comment sections of *The Guardian* and *New York Times* websites to start arguments and try to change people's opinion. Turkey, Ecuador and Venezuela have run domestic bot campaigns; in Venezuela bot production is known to be carried out in-house as part of the government's communications department.

AIQ: ***Did bots influence the US election?***

SW: We are studying this issue at the moment. Pretty much anyone can create a Twitter bot using the Twitter application processing interface (API) and we know that lone individuals and the 'alt-right' political movement use bots, but we haven't seen a connection to the two main parties during the US election. However, we know that Twitter and Facebook are the main sources of news for many people in the US and the use of bots to promote support for the candidates in the election was widespread. Our research has found that 19 million bot accounts tweeted in support of either Trump or Clinton in the week leading up to Election Day. In Michigan, 30% of people claimed to be undecided voters, but in the end that state voted overwhelmingly for Trump. We wonder whether intensive messaging streams on social media during the election aided by bots might have had something to do with the shift.

AIQ: ***How can the rise of computational propaganda be challenged?***

SW: Governments need to work to catch up. In America we have several arms of government that don't seem to know that bots even exist, and the Federal Elections Commission, the regulator, is one of them. I also think Facebook, Twitter and Reddit should do more to flag bots. Lots of these websites promote themselves as a place of social conversation and they need to start detecting and getting rid of manipulated traffic. And given their business models, it's in their interests to address this issue. Advertisers don't want fake traffic; they want real eyes on the page.

AIQ: ***What does the future hold for computational propaganda?***

SW: There's an arms race between the people building the bots and those working to detect them, and the people building the bots are winning. Machine learning will continue to advance and bots will become ever more sophisticated. The ability to 'megaphone' messages using bots is the future of political communications and it is going to become ever trickier to monitor it ●

FSB TASK FORCE URGES TRANSPARENCY IN THE BATTLE AGAINST CLIMATE RISK

The Financial Stability Board's Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures has published its first set of recommendations for companies and financial institutions. These will help investors quantify climate-related risks, says Steve Waygood.

Environmentalists were dismayed at Donald Trump's victory in the US election. During his campaign, Trump vowed to revive the fossil fuel industry, scrap Barack Obama's environmental protections and cancel the Paris Agreement, which commits governments to hold global temperatures at less than two degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

But as he settles into the White House, President Trump may find it difficult to reverse the momentum behind the transition to a low-carbon economy. Governments, companies and investors are already taking action to limit fossil fuel emissions and mitigate climate-related risks.

The Financial Stability Board's Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures (TCFD), chaired by former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg, is a good example. The TCFD launched in December 2015 and is backed by companies with a market capitalization of $1.5 trillion and financial institutions responsible for assets worth a combined $20 trillion. The task force encourages voluntary, consistent disclosures to help investors, lenders and insurance underwriters manage climate risks and identify opportunities.

Steve Waygood, Chief Responsible Investment Officer at Aviva Investors, is a member of the TCFD. "The emergence of the task force proves the business world is serious about tackling climate change," he says. "This is not some fluffy campaign promoted by a pressure group – it is an initiative backed by some of the world's biggest companies and financial institutions that want to ensure the transition to a low-carbon economy is managed properly."

Lacking clarity on companies' exposures to the risks associated with extreme weather events or climate-related regulatory changes, investors can be left vulnerable to abrupt shifts in asset prices. As Bloomberg put it in a statement co-authored with Bank of England Governor and FSB Chair Mark Carney: "Without the necessary information, market adjustments to climate change will be incomplete, late and potentially destabilizing."

In December 2016, the TFCD published its first set of recommendations on disclosure for companies and other financial institutions. The task force suggests companies run scenario analyses that model potential performance under a range of different climate and policy outcomes, and publish the results as part of their mainstream financial filings. Companies and other financial institutions are encouraged to report how they will incorporate climate-related considerations into four key areas of their businesses: governance, strategy, risk management and targets.

The task force will share the results from a public consultation on its recommendations with the FSB in March, before delivering an updated report to the FSB in June.

In this Q&A, Waygood explains the thinking behind the TFCD's recommendations and the importance of transparency in the market's response to climate change.

Why do investors need information on companies' climate-related exposures?

Climate change is potentially the mother and father of all secular shifts this century. According to research from the Economist Intelligence Unit, commissioned by Aviva Investors, a rise in temperatures of six degrees this century would see $43 trillion wiped off the value of financial markets, discounted to present day value[1]. That's 30% of the entire stock of global manageable assets. So it is crucially important for investors to know the companies in which they invest have considered this issue.

Specifically, better disclosure will enable investors to assess the impact of the three main types of climate risk on their portfolios. The first category is the physical risk to investment assets posed by extreme weather events such as floods and droughts. The second is transition risk, which refers to the hazards associated with the transition to a low-carbon economy. The implementation of a global carbon budget, for example, would render the vast majority of fossil fuel reserves 'stranded' or unusable, hitting extractive companies' business models. Third is litigation risk, which is related to the potential effects of compensation claims on carbon extractors and emitters.

Will better disclosure also enable investors to identify opportunities?

Yes. Equipped with more information, asset owners will be able to better engage with the companies they invest in to ensure they are dealing with climate-related risks. But investors will also be able to use this data to put capital to work, identifying new opportunities to profit from the transition to a low-carbon economy across various sectors; from commercial real estate companies that specialize in energy-efficient buildings to automobile firms that are in the vanguard of zero-emissions technology.

> *"Climate change is potentially the mother and father of all secular shifts"*

> *Better disclosure will incentivize longer-term thinking among investors*

We hope better disclosure will incentivize longer-term thinking among investors and bring to an end what Mark Carney has called the "tragedy of the horizon", a damaging short-termism that fails to take into account risks and opportunities beyond the three-to-five year cycle of most financial-market actors.

The TCFD recommends companies model different climate scenarios. How will this work in practice?

The TCFD believes organizations should use scenario analysis to assess the business, strategic and financial implications of climate-related risks and opportunities – both to better understand those risks and opportunities and to inform stakeholders about how the organization is positioning itself in relation to them. This is perhaps the single biggest new contribution the task force is making: the suggestion that thousands of companies should produce their own scenarios to give stakeholders a picture of what climate change means for their business.

The TCFD recommends modelling a range of outcomes, starting with a 'two degree scenario' – the risk that global temperatures rise two degrees above the pre-industrial average – and scenarios relevant to their specific circumstances. Automobile companies should model scenarios based on changes to emissions regulations, for example. If these companies are going to make the transition to electric cars, what sort of batteries will they use for energy storage? Most electric-car batteries use lithium, which is a non-renewable resource – so what happens if lithium becomes scarce and uneconomic to extract? These are the sorts of details the disclosures need to include.

How have companies responded to the recommendations?

Companies provided feedback on the recommendations at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2017. There was overall support for the task force's emphasis on standardization and consistency of climate-related disclosures. However, some companies in the oil and gas sector raised concerns over the recommendation that they disclose 'scope three' or indirect emissions, such as those associated with the disposal of the waste they create or their employees' use of transport. Aviva believes the solution to this issue will lie in standardized conversion factors, which we would like to see the International Accounting Standards Board produce.

The TCFD recommendations are voluntary. Is this sufficient?

While we welcome the recommendations, we don't believe voluntary disclosures will get us far enough, fast enough to effectively combat climate change. Research shows it is only when governments mandate disclosure that you get it at the scale required to make it consistent and comparable.

We would like the International Organization of Securities Commissions to change its listing rules to promote this kind of disclosure. We would also like to see the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development update its Principles of Corporate Governance to make clear it is the responsibility of company boards to govern long-term risks, including climate change.

Does the election of Donald Trump threaten to derail global efforts to combat climate change?

The launch of the TCFD could not be better timed, as it shows there is massive momentum behind the transition to a low-carbon economy in the private sector. During Davos, support for the TCFD initiative was clear, Trump's election notwithstanding.

While it's not going to be the easiest political environment in the US for the next four years, I have no doubt Obama and his team have done everything they can to ensure it will be extremely difficult to unwind the Paris Agreement, as Trump has threatened to do. In my view, it is now inevitable we will transition to a zero-carbon economy. The question is whether it happens quick enough to stop runaway climate change, and that's the concern I have about Trump; he could slow things down. This is why initiatives such as the TCFD are so important ●

1 https://www.eiuperspectives.economist.com/sites/default/files/The%20cost%20of%20inaction_0.pdf

CASHFLOW-DRIVEN INVESTING: A NEW APPROACH

JOHN DEWEY
Head of Investment Strategy, Global Investment Solutions

In the current environment for liability hedging, maturing defined benefit pension plans should look at alternative strategies, including cashflow-driven investing, writes John Dewey.

While liability-driven investment (LDI) and growth approaches will remain a key part of the toolkit for defined benefit pension plans, there is a strong case to be made for incorporating cashflow-driven investing (CDI) into their strategies. CDI can deliver the predictable returns of LDI strategies but at higher yields, while diversifying portfolios and drawing on a wide range of return premia.

Traditionally, market returns from assets such as equities, property or diversified multi-asset portfolios have been called on to do the heavy-lifting of generating the long-term returns to overcome deficits. But the challenging outlook for many asset classes raises questions over their ability to continue to single-handedly fulfil this role. Furthermore, experience has demonstrated that a simplistic diversification approach of investing across listed markets can fail to deliver protection when it is most needed: when volatility is high, asset prices are falling and correlations rise.

Even if growth assets might deliver the returns targeted in the long term, mature pension plans are juggling the challenging combination of rising cashflow needs and persistent underfunding. This has placed greater emphasis on the risk of path dependency: the possibility that several years of poor returns may deplete a plan's assets to the extent that meeting long-term funding targets is unviable; putting pressure on corporate sponsors.

For cashflow negative plans, successful investing in growth assets also relies on the order in which returns arise. Good returns followed by bad returns allows a plan to build its funding level, pay benefits and weather difficult subsequent market conditions. Conversely, poor returns in the near term could put the plan in a more vulnerable position later on.

Kicking the usual bucket approach

The conventional investment approach sees pension assets split broadly into two categories: growth assets, invested to generate strong returns in a diversified pool, and matching assets, used to hedge a plan's liabilities in line with movements in interest rates and inflation. But the return outlook for both matching assets and growth assets has been in long-term decline, while deficits remain stubbornly persistent.

Pension plans should therefore consider a change in investment strategy to exploit assets that may not fit naturally into either growth or matching buckets but will provide reliable income at an attractive premium above bonds and swaps.

- **Income-producing diversified growth:** A multi-asset investment portfolio of listed assets carefully tailored to pay out a regular income is one way of meeting the cashflow demands faced by maturing pension plans. This can be achieved by investing in a wide range of asset markets, with a robust strategy to deliver regular, reliable cashflows and protect capital. The success of this approach depends on the skill of the investment manager.

- **Customized credit:** A credit portfolio can be constructed to meet the cashflow needs of an investor's liabilities and held to maturity. This provides investors with optimal credit exposure and interest rate, inflation and cashflow exposure tailored to a pension plan's liability profile.

- **Private assets:** Private assets with clearly defined and transparent cashflow characteristics are particularly relevant in this environment; providing higher yields through illiquidity premia and diversified return premia. They include infrastructure debt, real estate debt, private corporate credit and some types of financing transactions that banks are keen to offload from their balance sheets. The optimal assets have bond-like characteristics, but offer better yields and a more reliable means of meeting cashflow requirements with less risk. Infrastructure is particularly attractive, since it can offer highly regulated and secure returns that can reliably deliver annual income of over 7%, without leverage.

	CDI	LDI
Yields	Varying margins above bonds/swaps	Low government bond and swap yields
Mark-to-market liability hedge	No	Yes
Can provide regular reliable cashflows	Yes	Yes
Leverage possible	Possible in some assets but not generally desirable	Yes – swaps and bond repo
Diversification	Yes	No
Return premia	Liquid assets: varied Private assets: varied, illiquidity	Interest rates, inflation
Liquidity of instruments	Liquid assets: high Private assets: low	High

The middle ground

An investment strategy focused on such assets, generally termed CDI, doesn't mean replacing growth assets altogether, particularly because it doesn't provide a perfect match for liabilities when interest rates and inflation change. But it offers an attractive middle ground that can be balanced against traditional approaches, depending on the situation and requirements of each pension plan.

Pension plans should clearly understand their time horizon, objectives and cashflow requirements over the coming years to determine the appropriate balance between growth, LDI and CDI. Unlike LDI assets, which offer an effective mark-to-market hedge of a plan's liabilities, CDI assets are driven by a wide range of factors, including supply and demand for individual private assets. This offers opportunities to provide cashflows, diversify portfolios to make them more resilient and enhance returns.

If a plan has a medium to long-term time horizon, and a tolerance for less liquid assets, private assets merit exploration. Conversely, if a plan is well funded and targeting a buy-in or buyout in the short to medium term, it will typically need a robust mark-to-market hedge and the balance should remain towards LDI.

The next natural step

Cashflow negativity is becoming more prevalent in pension plans. According to Mercer[1], 42% of plans surveyed are currently cashflow negative and, of those that are not, nearly 80% are expected to become so over the next decade.

This dynamic highlights why pension plans should put cashflow requirements at the heart of their asset and liability management strategy. Once a plan truly understands how its cashflow commitments will change and has determined what allocation it can make to less liquid private assets, it can test those holdings in multiple scenarios and stresses to fully understand how the portfolio will perform in any conceivable environment.

An evolution to CDI represents a natural step for a large number of maturing pension plans and should lead to a more effective investment strategy in the challenging years ahead ●

1 'European Asset Allocation Survey 2016', a survey of nearly 1,100 institutional investors across 14 countries, reflecting total assets of around €930 billion.

GOLDEN YEARS

Ageing populations will be among the most formidable economic challenges faced by policymakers worldwide this century. For investors, demographic shifts are already generating a mixture of risks and opportunities.

Demography has played a key role in economic theory since Thomas Malthus published his treatise '*An Essay on the Principle of Population*' in the late eighteenth century. Malthus famously proclaimed the number of human beings on the planet would eventually become unsustainable, leading to widespread famine and environmental catastrophe. In fact, while the global population grew exponentially in the twentieth century, we are now facing the opposite problem: a shortage of people to sustain economies on a growth-driven model.

Since the 1950s, economists have been working on a discipline called growth accounting, which seeks to disaggregate GDP growth into its constituent parts. The following formula exposes the key role of demographics in economic expansion:

$$Y = \frac{Y}{H} \times \frac{H}{E} \times \frac{E}{N} \times \frac{N}{P_{WA}} \times P_{WA}$$

The formula looks complicated, but in fact it indicates growth (Y) is the product of the interplay of simple factors: the total number of hours worked in the economy (H), the number of people in employment (E), the total labor force (N) and the working-age population (PWA). The formula finds that, all else being equal, a rise in the working-age population results in stronger growth.

Over the last 50 years, global economic growth was fuelled by a rapid increase in the number of people aged between 16 and 65, a consequence of a post-war baby boom. Employment grew at an annual rate of 1.7% in the world's largest economies, accounting for 48% of GDP growth between 1964 and 2014, according to research from consultancy McKinsey & Company. The other 52% of growth during this period was generated by rising productivity, mostly derived from technological innovations that improved efficiency in agricultural production and other industries.

Since 2000, however, these demographics trends have reversed. Working-age populations are falling, and the elderly becoming more numerous, across the globe. Today, about 12% of the world's population, or 900 million people, are aged 60 or older; by 2050, that figure will be 22%, or 2.1 billion[2]. With the lone exception of Niger, the proportion of elderly people will grow in every country in the world between now and 2050.

Some countries, such as Nigeria, the Philippines and Kenya, still stand to benefit from a so-called 'demographic dividend', in which rising working-age populations and higher labor participation rates combine to deliver strong growth. But most large economies are now facing a demographic deficit: a shortage of labor and a surfeit of elderly 'dependents'. Unless massive improvements in productivity can offset the impact of a decline in the workforce, global GDP growth over the next 50 years is likely to be at least 40% lower than it was during the last half-century[3].

"As the working-age population falls, there will be a reduction in trend growth patterns," says Stewart Robertson, Senior Economist at Aviva Investors in London. "Ageing demographics mean we are living in a completely different world to the one we've had since the Industrial Revolution, which has been based on trend growth. Zero growth could be the new normal."

GOLDEN YEARS

continued

> *Changing population dynamics are already transforming the profitability of investment portfolios*

So what does this mean for investment returns? "Any nominal income stream that is directly linked to the rate of nominal GDP growth will be affected. If you look at the dividend discount model of equity valuation, the return you receive is the dividend yield plus the rate of growth over time. If the rate of growth is linked to nominal GDP, that's going to be lower than in the past," says Robertson.

The consequences of the great demographic shift will have varying implications across asset classes, and investors who can identify potential winners and losers stand to gain a significant advantage. While the full effects may not be felt for some time to come, changing population dynamics are already transforming the profitability of investment portfolios.

Bonds

For investors in government bonds, rising public debt and slowing growth are key concerns. Age-related spending in advanced economies is expected to increase from 16.5% of GDP in 2016 to 25% by the end of the century, according to the International Monetary Fund[6]. Such estimates may even be conservative given the possibility medical advances will lengthen lifespans even further.

While governments have various tools they can use to alleviate the demographic burden – such as boosting immigration, incentivising female participation in the workforce and investing in technology to improve productivity – it is likely that public debt will rise and taxes will go up, putting a further brake on economic growth.

To mitigate the impact on their portfolios, bond investors may increasingly favor those economies in the emerging world that boast healthier demographics. "Demographics are one of the key advantages of investing in emerging-market economies," says Aaron Grehan, Senior Portfolio Manager in Aviva Investors' Emerging Market Debt team. "Demographics are so important in determining the growth potential and financial positions of governments."

Young populations can deliver other benefits, too. In Indonesia, where the median age is under 30, one third of voters in the 2014 presidential election were casting their ballot for the first time. Hungry for reform, this cohort of younger citizens helped elect Joko Widodo, a candidate who has pledged to challenge corruption, liberalize the Indonesian economy and end trade protectionism – good news for investors in the country.

The young, growing populations of sub-Saharan Africa could deliver similar political and economic benefits, although recent developments in the Middle East suggest vast numbers of working-age citizens may be a mixed blessing for economies that cannot accommodate them with jobs.

"Countries such as Saudi Arabia could face problems if they cannot put the younger generation to work.

Figure 1: Japan's Ageing Demographics, 1950-2100

The dotted line indicates the excess male or female population in certain age groups.

Source: United Nations Population Division, 2015.

The Arab Spring was driven by large numbers of young people who were faced with a lack of opportunities," says Grehan. "But if everything else is aligned, younger demographics can be a massive driver of economic growth and development."

In the developed world, government bond investors are focused on the rise in age-related spending and the potential impact on state finances. Japan is an interesting test case in this regard. The country's public debt has spiralled to almost 230% of GDP over the last decade, partly because of increased spending on pensions and healthcare. Consumer spending has fallen and the tax take has dropped.

Japan has introduced helpful reforms, including an increase in the retirement age and a progressive pensions system that means wealthier retirees receive less government support (although it still refuses to countenance more immigration). Japan spends 10% of GDP on public pensions, three percentage points higher than the OECD average – but less than France (12%), Germany (11%) and Greece (12%)[7]. Japan is still considered a 'safe haven', suggesting its debts remain serviceable for the time being.

Indeed, ageing demographics may be a more pressing issue for European governments, which have struggled to modernize creaking pensions systems. Even thrifty Germany recently announced plans to spend an extra £4 billion on pensions every year, which may reflect politicians' need to appeal to older voters – among whom turnout is reliably high – ahead of parliamentary elections in 2017[8].

Meanwhile, Europe's more-indebted peripheral economies are suffering a double whammy of rapidly ageing populations and high rates of youth unemployment. Many young Greeks and Portuguese are fleeing abroad in search of work, exacerbating demographic pressures. Higher immigration would help, but it takes a long time to integrate new arrivals into the workforce – and political populists across Europe are stoking resentment against newcomers.

"Countries like Portugal have big problems," says James Vokins, Senior Portfolio Manager, Multi-Strategy Fixed Income at Aviva Investors. "The working-age population is falling fast but the government has few tools at its disposal to limit the economic damage. While Japan has the same problem of ageing demographics, at least the Bank of Japan can adjust monetary policy to offset a decline in capital flows. Portugal doesn't have that luxury."

Between 2010 and 2014, Portugal lost almost 2% of its population, as the number of deaths exceeded births and emigration rose[9]. And this isn't just a problem for policymakers: Portuguese companies are already sharing the cost of the demographic imbalance. A clothing manufacturer based in the city of Viseu, has joined the local government in offering employees a cash incentive to have more children[10]. While this

initiative was undertaken voluntarily, governments will likely force companies to shoulder more of the burden in future. This is a hazard for credit investors.

"As age-related spending rises, the temptation will be to offload some of the fiscal burden onto the corporate sector," says Chris Higham, Head of Credit Multi-Strategy Fixed Income at Aviva Investors. "That's a risk for the European companies we lend to. For now, the European corporate sector can absorb higher costs as balance sheets are healthy. But we're concerned about the effect of higher pension contributions, for example, on the longevity of some businesses."

Some companies are better placed than others. Those with exposure to larger emerging markets such as Brazil or China, for example, will have access to a valuable revenue stream over the coming years. This is not because these countries have no problem with ageing populations – China is ageing almost as quickly as Japan thanks to the lingering effects of the One Child Policy – but because an increasingly affluent group of middle-class consumers will have the wherewithal to pay for nursing homes and medical treatments as they get older.

"We're more comfortable lending money to large pharmaceutical companies in the knowledge that they have a share of the growing Chinese healthcare market," says Vokins. "There's an opportunity for investors to gain access to two combined demographic trends: ageing populations and the growing spending power of emerging-market consumers."

Equities

Equity investors are also eyeing opportunities in global pharmaceutical companies and nursing home operators. While healthcare will require more investment from governments as the average age of the population rises, there is likely to be a greater role for private companies in providing services in the future.

"For equity investors, pharmaceutical stocks will continue to see strong underlying demand from ageing populations, as will companies focused on wider healthcare provision – from private hospitals to makers of titanium hip replacements," says Driver.

According to research from Oxford Economics and Prudential, spending on medicine and drugs will grow by $40 billion annually over the next half-century. By 2070, real spending on nursing homes will be $325 billion greater than today, thanks solely to the effect of ageing demographics (that is, on top of the $300-400 billion of extra spending due to overall economic growth)[11].

Treatments for ailments that have a direct correlation with ageing, such as eye conditions, will be in particular demand. According to research group Evaluatepharma, Eylea, a new drug to treat a form of age-related macular degeneration, will be the world's fifth-biggest selling drug by 2022 with $7.7 billion in annual revenues[12]. The clamour for 'med-tech' will grow and the sector will likely receive incentives from regulators and policymakers:

Retail will also undergo a transformation. Older people tend to spend less on schooling, clothes and eating out, for example, meaning these sectors are likely to see falling demand. According to Oxford Economics, the share of total annual spending on higher education in the US will fall by 13% over the next 50 years, the equivalent of $90 billion per year. Consumer spending on restaurants will fall by $75 billion each year[13].

By contrast, sectors including home improvements and travel will benefit. "Wealthy pensioners spend more on travel," says Driver. "Companies such as luxury cruise lines, whose average customer is aged about 50, will see strong growth and demand. If your target market is set to double in size over the coming decades, you're in a healthy position, even if the take-up rate declines."

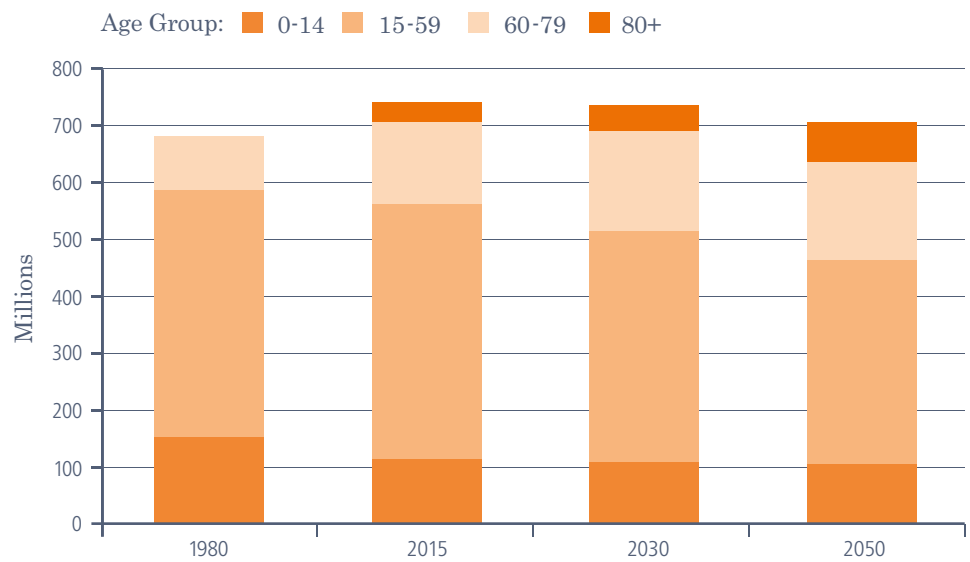
Equity investors also need to consider indirect consequences of shifting demographics. Demand for investment and savings products, for example, is likely to grow as more citizens enter middle age and look forward to retirement. More broadly, companies able to automate their operations or adopt new technologies to boost productivity, such as artificial intelligence, are likely to outperform as the available pool of human labor dwindles.

"General Electric, for example, is looking to the Internet of Things to drive client productivity and improve efficiency through greater utilisation of data," says Driver.

Real estate

Real estate investors, too, are drawing on technology to assess the impact of shifting population patterns. Ageing populations will need different types of real estate: office space will become less important and nursing homes will grow in popularity, as will retail outlets that target older consumers. To monitor these trends, investors are using 'big data' to analyse information on catchment areas and occupancy.

Figure 2: European population 1980-2050



Source: UN Population Division, 2015.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND INTEREST RATES

How will ageing populations affect interest rates?

Some analysts believe that as large numbers of retirees begin to draw down their financial holdings, economies will approach the brink of a 'demographic cliff'. As pensions are cashed and savings rates fall, asset prices will decline because there will be insufficient demand among younger cohorts to make up the difference.

However, research shows retirees tend not to sell down their investments in one go and many pensioners will continue to hold significant savings throughout their retirement, partly out of a desire to leave a bequest to their children. The outlook for interest rates is complicated because it is difficult to say with certainty how future generations will behave when they reach late middle age, even if previous generations have tended to save a high proportion of their earnings. In China, for example, people over the age of 55 tend to save more and allocate as much as half their expenditure to essentials such as food, while those in their mid-40s save less and spend more on discretionary items such as clothing[4].

However, most economists agree that ageing demographics are likely to exert downward pressure on long-term interest rates over the coming decades. A paper published in October 2016 by the research division of the Federal Reserve found demographic factors alone accounted for a 1.4% fall in the natural rate of interest and real GDP growth since 1980. "Looking forward, the model suggests that low interest rates, low output growth, and low investment rates are here to stay, suggesting the U.S. economy has entered a new normal," the authors wrote[5].

GOLDEN YEARS

continued

"Big data enables real estate investors to do much more sophisticated catchment analysis," says Chris Urwin, Global Research Manager, Real Estate at Aviva Investors. "The tenant mix should match the catchment area. Where that's an older demographic, you need to work with landlords to get the right occupiers in place."

This sort of granular analysis reveals demographics shifts can vary broadly across regions in a single country. Aviva Investors research shows that in Germany, total population growth varies from -9.6% in the state of Saxony to a much healthier seven per cent in Hamburg[14]. The research also reveals an east-west divide: forecasts suggest the east of Germany (with the exception of Berlin) will see a greater fall in both the total population and the working-age population, and a steeper rise in the dependency ratio.

This means different strategies will be appropriate at the local level. In areas with a rising population, such as Hamburg, demand for office space and housing is likely to remain robust. In other locations, where the population is getting smaller and older, swathes of office space are likely to fall into disuse – and demand for nursing homes will outstrip appetite for student accommodation.

Investors should also take cultural factors into account. In the US and New Zealand it is more common for senior citizens to move out of their homes and into specialist retirement accommodation than it is in the UK, partly due to savvy marketing that has rebranded retirement villages as an attractive lifestyle choice.

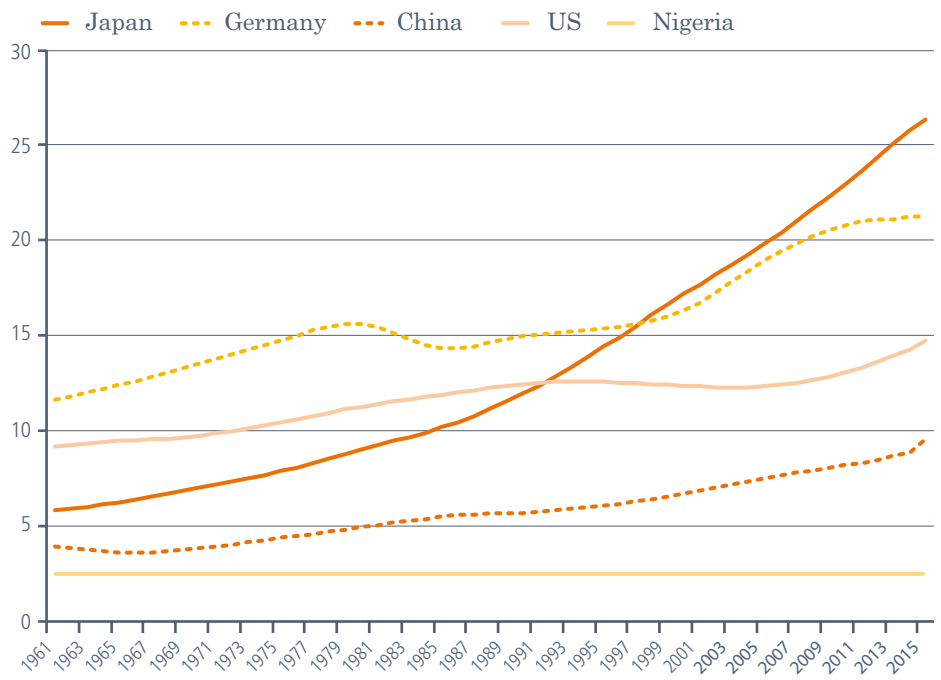
"In New Zealand, when people get to their late 50s they start thinking about which retirement community they will move into. That doesn't really happen in the UK. We don't have a good quality or quantity of senior housing," says Urwin.

Owner-occupied retirement housing in the UK represents just two per cent of Britain's total housing stock, compared with 17% in the US and 13% in Australia and New Zealand. A single company, McCarthy & Stone, claims 70% of the market[15]. This may represent an untapped opportunity; especially given over-60s in England alone boast some £1.2 trillion in unmortgaged housing wealth, mostly concentrated in the southeast of the country[16].

Urwin also recommends targeting some of the more indirect consequences of ageing demographics as an investment theme, such as research into medical treatments for age-related diseases. This makes clusters of laboratory and office space and universities particularly attractive.

"We have strategically committed to investing in office space in Cambridge," he says. "The city is one of the best established clusters on a global scale for biotech and life sciences, and the tenant mix is likely to be 'sticky' as a result of the long-term nature of these research projects."

Figure 3: Percentage of population aged 65 or older



Source: World Bank, 2015.

Silver linings

For an idea of what the future holds, real estate investors can look to Japan, where operators that have been able to respond adroitly and tailor their assets to a different catchment base have proved resilient in the face of demographic change.

In Funabashi, multi-format retailers are converting shopping centers for use by senior citizens. One property now boasts slower escalators, large signage, on-site medical clinics and rest zones. The success of the conversion, which drew thousands of customers on its reopening in 2012, indicates how active asset management can mitigate demographic risk.

More broadly, Japan's example contains lessons for the rest of the world, both good and bad. Japan has suffered the damaging economic effects of growing longevity, partly because of its refusal to countenance more immigration. But it has also adapted shrewdly by boosting productivity through technological innovation. And there are signs that Western economies are following this example.

"Japan remains a very wealthy country with a good quality of life," says Robertson. "GDP per capita in Japan has grown just as quickly as anywhere else, even as the working-age population has declined. Its example shows that perhaps economies can adapt to a world of low secular growth through advances in technology, even if there are likely to be some wrenching adjustments while they do so"

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