An Overview of Potential Economic Costs to Washington of a Business-As-Usual Approach to Climate Change

A Report from
The Program on Climate Economics,
Climate Leadership Initiative,
Institute for a Sustainable Environment,
University of Oregon

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With Assistance from Members of the Program on Economics’ Steering Committee

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AUTHORSHIP AND CONTACT INFORMATION

The Program on Climate Economics of the Climate Leadership Initiative (CLI), Institute for a Sustainable Environment, at the University of Oregon, sponsors research on the potential economic consequences and benefits of climate mitigation, preparation and economic development policies. This report is part of that effort. It calculates some of the potential costs that families, businesses, and communities in Washington might expect in the next several decades if Washington, the U.S., and countries around the world were to continue their activities in a business-as-usual manner, i.e. without effective steps to reign in greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) or to prepare for and adapt to changes in climate that past and future emissions of GHG will bring about.

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I. Introduction and Summary

Extensive research shows that Washington and other western states already have experienced noticeable changes in climate and predicts that more change will occur in the future. Much of this change is having and will continue to have negative economic consequences. Some negative effects are readily recognized: warmer stream temperatures during summer stressing salmon and trout populations, prolonged drought destroying farmers’ crops, and rapidly growing insect populations attacking trees. In response, families, businesses, and communities are considering actions that would reduce the emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases (GHGs) that contribute to climate change. Amid all this activity, many have concluded that such actions should not be undertaken because their costs are too great. They reach this conclusion, however, without first seeing what the costs would be of not taking these actions and allowing climate change to continue unabated.

Until now, attempts to describe the costs of climate change have produced results that are too abstract to matter to most citizens. Some have estimated the global costs, but what does this mean to an average family in Washington? Others have looked at the costs that will materialize over the next several centuries, but what does that mean to people making decisions today? A few have attempted to describe the net costs of taking this or that action, but undermined their efforts by focusing mostly on describing the action and not providing a full, easily understandable description of the consequences of not taking it.

The first step toward filling the gap was taken a few years ago by the Climate Leadership Initiative at the University of Oregon, which produced the first climate economic report for the State of Washington, Impacts of Climate Change on Washington’s Economy: A Preliminary Assessment of Risks and Opportunities. The study used information available at that time. The current report builds on that assessment and additional data available today. It illustrates some of the potential costs Washington’s families, businesses, and communities might incur over the next several decades if Washington, other states, the U.S., and other countries were to extend a business-as-usual approach to climate change. Under this approach, we assume behaviors do not change and the emissions of carbon

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1 See, for example, the assessments of climate science and other reports prepared by the U.S. Climate Science Program: http://www.climatescience.gov, and the reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change: http://www.ipcc.ch.

dioxide and other greenhouse gases would continue to grow at rates similar to those seen during recent years, leading to increases in global temperature such as those depicted in the high-emission scenarios described by the U.S. Climate Science Program, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), and others.

We take this approach with full recognition that it does not address all the potentially important effects of climate change on Washington’s economy. Moderate warming might have some positive economic effects for some Washingtonians, by boosting the output of some farmers, for example, or allowing some recreational activities to occur earlier in the spring and later in the autumn. Many of the most serious economic consequences of a business-as-usual approach to climate change will occur elsewhere, or beyond the next several decades, but still are important to today’s Washingtonians. As people in Washington become more familiar with the prospect of changes in climate they likely will take actions to mitigate the harm. All these concerns must be considered to have a complete picture of how climate change will affect Washington’s economy. This report provides only one piece of the picture: the potential gross costs that might materialize in this state over the next several decades, if societies here and elsewhere fail to address climate change by proceeding in a business-as-usual manner.

To facilitate better understanding of our findings, we place each potential cost in a setting familiar to today’s Washingtonians, assuming that families, businesses, and communities will behave in the future essentially the same as they do today and that future prices relative to budgets will be essentially the same as today’s. That is, we assume that families, farms, and businesses will continue to go about their activities in a business-as-usual manner. Families will continue with consumption patterns similar to those of today, businesses will continue to produce products similar to their current ones, and communities will follow current behaviors to organize land-use, transportation, and other activities. In short, we provide an estimate of costs that might materialize if climate change is not reined in, not a forecast of how things will actually unfold.

We anticipate that the information in this report will help families, businesses, and communities better understand the nature of the economic threats that climate change poses over the next several decades. We emphasize, however, that the scope of this report is limited. It illustrates only some of the potential costs that might materialize if Washington, other states, the U.S., and other countries were to fail to address climate change by carrying on in a business-as-usual manner. Insufficient data currently exist, however, for us to account for all the potential costs. Hence, we encourage the reader to bear in mind that Washingtonians face substantial, multi-faceted costs in addition to those we describe here, both during the next several decades and beyond.

Our analysis is structured as follows: in Section II, we present a conceptual framework for describing the potential negative economic effects of climate change. In Sections III and IV, we apply the framework and calculate 18 different types of potential costs. We divide these costs into two broad categories: the costs
produced by the effects of climate change, and the costs generated by some of the business-as-usual activities that contribute to climate change. In Section V, we discuss the potential implications for Washington’s households.

The 19 costs we describe are already observable. Over time, they will be exacerbated by potential changes in temperature, precipitation and other climate characteristics, or by climate-related changes in the state’s ecosystems. The extent of the anticipated climate change is closely related to increases in the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide, which was about 260 to 280 parts per million (ppm) before the Industrial Revolution and has risen to about 385 ppm today. Under our business-as-usual assumptions, the concentration would rise to about 400 ppm by 2020, 500 ppm by 2040, and 800 ppm by 2080. At these concentrations, climate modeling indicates that average global surface temperature could rise by more than 5°C (9°F) above pre-industrial levels by the end of this century (during the past century, the temperature rose 0.74°C (1.33°F), mostly in the past three decades).

Economic costs would arise from undesirable changes in climate, ecosystems, or both. Higher temperatures would increase the incidence of heat-related health problems, for example, and ecosystem changes would reduce summertime stream flows. These and similar changes would impose economic costs on Washington’s families, businesses, and communities. In addition, Washingtonians would incur costs as they engage in practices that contribute to climate change, such as consuming electricity generated by burning coal and continuing with technologies and practices that waste energy. For each type of cost, we describe the mechanism that produces it, as well as the assumptions, data, and steps we take to calculate it.

Figure 1 summarizes our findings, aggregating the 18 different costs into 9 categories. By 2020, these costs total $3.8 billion per year. The major components of climate-change costs are potential health-related costs of about $1.3 billion per year, potential reductions in salmon populations, with a value of $530 million per year, and energy costs of about $220 million. In addition, continuing with the activities that contribute to climate change potentially would cost Washingtonians almost $1.4 billion per year in missed opportunities to implement energy-efficiency programs and about $19 million per year in health costs from burning coal. The combined total annual costs would increase with time, more than three-fold by 2080.

If spread evenly, Washington’s households, on average, could incur annual costs of $1,250 per year by 2020. Of this amount, $540 relate to expenditures on energy,

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3 These increases correspond to the A1FI scenario used by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The IPCC applies the label, business as usual, to another scenario, A2, but, since its development, it has understated the actual, business-as-usual emissions of greenhouse gases. Hence, we use the A1FI scenario, which we believe more closely represents the trajectory of emissions in a business-as-usual world. See, IPCC. 2007. Fourth Assessment Report. Retrieved January 22, 2009, from http://www.ipcc.ch/.
$440 relate to health-care costs, and $180 to the adverse effects of climate change on salmon populations. These costs are not negligible. The 2020 average of $1,250 represents more than 2 percent of the current median household income in Washington. Analogously, the potential costs in 2040 represent more than 3 percent of median household income and those in 2080 more than 5 percent of the income that half of the households in Washington earn in a year.

We recognize that families, businesses, and communities in Washington may be able to offset or mitigate some of the potential costs in the near term by taking advantage of the potential economic benefits of climate change, such as increased production of some crops or reduced expenditures on heating, that might accompany moderate climate warming. Our aim, however, is not to describe this potential adjustment but to describe the potential consequences if such adjustments are not realized. Further investigation is required to determine the extent of these opportunities, but current evidence suggests they will not fully
offset the costs likely to materialize with large increases in atmospheric concentrations of GHGs.

Similarly, we recognize that there may be some overlap among our cost estimates and, hence, double counting when they are summed. We’re confident, however, that the potential costs that are not included in the calculations more than offset the double-counts, if any, and that the total potential costs of a business-as-usual approach to climate change are larger—perhaps far larger—than the amounts shown in Figure 1.

Some of these additional costs likely would materialize inside Washington over the next several decades. Figure 2 summarizes some of these additional costs, for which we were unable to find adequate documentation to quantify in this report.

Far greater costs might materialize elsewhere or in future centuries, the result of a business-as-usual approach to climate change over the next few decades. If temperatures rise to the maximum levels predicted under the business-as-usual

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**Figure 2. Some Potential Economic Costs Not Incorporated in this Report**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Unquantified Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced productivity of nearshore marine environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased cooling costs for commercial and industrial businesses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased costs for air conditioning and refrigeration in transportation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased costs to cope with greater variability in weather conditions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased pumping costs to replace surface water with groundwater for irrigation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased regulatory costs for protecting additional threatened and endangered species</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased management costs for controlling invasive species</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased costs associated with flood and wind damage from more frequent and intense storms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reduced value of certain crops, such as tree fruits and nursery stock</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased costs associated with agricultural pests and diseases related to climate change</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased costs associated with fish and wildlife diseases related to climate change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced value of certain crops due to water stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased costs for families and businesses that move in response to climate change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced productivity of rangelands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased health care costs related to expanded range of tropical and sub-tropical diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased health care costs related to increased incidence of water- and food-borne diseases</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reduced recreation opportunities due to increased wildland fires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced boating and other recreation opportunities due to decreased streamflows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased costs to bring warmer streams into compliance with water-quality standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased insurance costs for storms, fires, sea-level rise and other effects of climate change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest
scenario, billions of people in less-developed countries likely would endure increased thirst and starvation, thousands of species would face extinction, sea levels would rise several meters, and vast areas of the oceans could become essentially barren. To the extent that these distant effects matter to today’s Washingtonians, the potential costs would be far greater than we indicate.
II. Conceptual Framework

This analysis is concerned with the climate-related economic costs families, businesses, and communities in Washington might incur over the next several decades under a business-as-usual approach to climate change. This approach has two major assumptions. One is that Washington, other states, the U.S., and other countries will not take effective actions to rein in emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and continue to engage in activities that drive climate change. We use the A1FI scenario described by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) to represent the future evolution of emissions and atmospheric concentrations for GHGs, as it seems to trace most closely the recent trends in emissions.4

The other major assumption we make in this analysis is that Washington’s households, businesses, and communities will continue to engage in behaviors and adopt technologies similar to those of today. This assumption has several strengths. It reflects the social and economic inertia that arises, for example, insofar as there exists a large amount of residential, commercial-industrial, and public capital built with little or no regard for climate change, and modifying or replacing it likely will take considerable time. It also facilitates both the analysis and the communication of our findings. Limited by time and money, we lacked the ability to construct a scenario of how Washingtonians will behave over the next 10, 30, and 70 years that is both more suitable and understandable than the scenario we used, which assumes that, absent major effort to rein in climate change, most families, businesses, and communities will try to continue doing tomorrow what they are doing today.

These assumptions yield illustrations of costs that might materialize if business-as-usual activities continue, but fall far short of a worst-case depiction of what the costs of climate change might be. Numerous recent reports of scientific studies, not represented in the most recent assessment of climate prospects by the IPCC from 2007, signal a growing probability that emissions of GHGs and average surface temperatures might rise faster than previously anticipated. Other studies signal a growing probability that, whatever the increase in emissions and temperatures, the effects of climate change will be more severe. Forests will die more rapidly, oceans will become less productive, ice sheets will melt more rapidly, epidemics of disease and pests will spread more quickly, and more. At the same time, meaningful progress on efforts to rein in the global emissions of GHGs has been slow, and many in the state continue to oppose proposals to

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reduce GHG emissions here or to prepare for climate changes that cannot be avoided.

In the following sections we first provide an overview of climate-related risks, and then describe ways in which climate change might impose economic harm on this state. We then outline the specific steps we have taken to produce the illustrations of specific types of potential economic harm that we present in Sections III and IV.

A. Overview of Climate-Related Risks

Rapidly accelerating emissions of carbon dioxide, methane, and other GHGs since the beginning of the 20th century have increased the average global temperature by about 0.74°C (1.33°F), and altered precipitation patterns. These changes in climate have had and will continue to have negative effects on the well being of current and future generations of humans. These effects are expected to worsen at an increasing rate as atmospheric concentrations of GHGs increase and global temperatures rise even further. Figure 3 illustrates, briefly and incompletely, the potential impacts of each incremental increase in average global temperature.

Based on this evidence, many have concluded that society should aim to rein in emissions of GHGs so the rise in temperature does not exceed 2°C (3.6°F). There is considerable uncertainty underlying such conclusions, however. As we understand the scientific reports, this uncertainty suggests that the economic risks associated with the smaller increases in temperature (and, hence, with the lower levels of emissions of GHGs) are higher than they first appear, insofar as:

- **Once set in motion, the processes of climate change cannot easily be reversed, if at all.** Temperatures will continue to rise in response to GHGs

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6 See, for example, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2007. *Fourth Assessment Report*. Retrieved January 22, 2009, from http://www.ipcc.ch/. Some believe climate change is important not only for what it does for humans, but for its effects on the environment, apart from people. They suggest economics should consider those values, and there are good arguments for doing so. There similarly are good reasons for considering spiritual and other measures of the value of climate change that lie outside the direct purview of economics. Here, however, we focus on the economic connections between climate change and people. We do so not just to keep our task from becoming intractable but also because this relationship underlies many, if not most, of the motivation for human actions to restrict emissions of greenhouse gases and to prepare for unavoidable changes in climate. We take a broad view, though, of the ways in which climate change might affect the economic dimensions of human standards of living and quality of life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temperature</th>
<th>Impact Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1°C (1.8°F)</td>
<td>Increased potential for prolonged drought, converting some parts of the American West to sandy deserts, on a scale much larger than the 1930s Dustbowl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2°C (3.6°F)</td>
<td>Small mountain glaciers will disappear and mountain snowpack diminish, as will stream flows dependent on snow melt. Large areas of the oceans will become too acidic for organisms with calcium carbonate shells, and for many species of plankton, the basis of the marine food chain. Onset of irreversible melting of the Greenland ice sheet would raise sea levels by about seven meters. Heat waves similar to the most extreme in recent history likely would occur every year in many places. About one-third of all species around the globe may be driven to extinction. Increased risk of hunger for many communities, especially in Africa and Asia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3°C (5.4°F)</td>
<td>An increase of this magnitude could be a tipping point that causes climate change to become uncontrollable. The middle areas of North America likely would become deserts. Extreme weather, such as hurricanes, may become more intense, doubling damage costs in the U.S. Millions, perhaps billions may face famine from extreme drought, flooding, and insect infestations. Perhaps 50 percent of species face extinction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4°C (7.2°F)</td>
<td>The West Antarctic ice sheet may collapse and raise sea levels another five meters. Crop yields likely would continue to fall in many regions. Significant shortages of water may affect more than a billion people, as some areas may see runoff increase by one-third. Perhaps 50 percent of species face extinction. Conditions typical of the Sahara Desert probably will materialize across southern Europe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5°C (9.0°F)</td>
<td>Entire regions of the Earth might see major declines in crop production and ecosystems unable to maintain their current form. Forest fires, droughts, flooding, and heat waves will increase in intensity. Increasing probability of abrupt, large-scale shifts in the climate system, e.g., tropical conditions, may materialize in Arctic regions. Rising sea level threatens major coastal cities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6°C (10.8°F)</td>
<td>The Earth would experience climate conditions associated with a period, about 250 million years ago, that saw perhaps 95 percent of all species go extinct.</td>
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</tbody>
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already in the atmosphere, and additional GHG emissions will only reinforce the momentum. There may be no corrective actions available to arrest or reverse some of the processes, and their ecological and economic consequences, once they have been triggered.

- **Some major impacts of climate change are occurring faster than anticipated.** Sea ice in the Arctic Ocean is melting at rates unforeseen by the IPCC in its 2007 integrated assessment of climate-related research through the early part of 2007.8 The melting of the sea ice means that solar energy that the ice would reflect now will be absorbed by open water,

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further accelerating increases in temperature. Some ice structures in the Antarctic Peninsula also are melting faster than expected.\textsuperscript{9} The global sea level has been rising faster than expected, and recent analyses conclude during this century it will rise twice as much as IPCC predicted in 2007.\textsuperscript{10} The processes that enable the oceans and other elements of the global ecosystem to remove GHGs from the atmosphere are slowing down faster than anticipated.\textsuperscript{11} Trees in the U.S. and Canada are dying at unforeseen rates, so that some forests, rather than increasing their removal of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, are contributing the greenhouse gas to the atmosphere.\textsuperscript{12}

- **Recent research suggests that, for a given concentration of GHGs in the atmosphere, the temperature will rise higher than previously anticipated.** The 2007 report of the IPCC, for example, reported that, if carbon dioxide concentrations were to stabilize in the range of 350 to 400 ppm, warming likely would stabilize within the range of 2°C to 2.4°C (3.6°F to 4.3°F), but it warned that larger temperature increases might occur.\textsuperscript{13} Research not represented in the IPCC report looks more directly at the possibility that temperatures will increase faster than expected. The authors of one recent paper find that, if carbon dioxide concentrations stabilize at 450 ppm (or higher) there is a substantial probability that the increase in temperature will rise to 6°C (10.8°F).\textsuperscript{14}

- **The atmospheric concentration of GHGs has been rising faster than expected.\textsuperscript{15}** The acceleration stems from faster than expected burning of

\begin{itemize}
\item Le Quéré, C., et al. 2007. “Saturation of the Southern Ocean CO\textsubscript{2} Sink Due to Recent Climate Change.” *Science* 316(5832): 1735-1738.
\item Solomon, S., D. Qin, M. Manning, M. Marquis, et al. (eds.). 2007. *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis*. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Working Group I. New York: Cambridge University Press. An average global temperature increase of 2°C to 2.4°C (3.6°F to 4.3°F) would mean higher temperature increases over land and in some regions. Scientists anticipate that the increase in temperatures over land will be larger than the global average increase, perhaps as great as two times larger, because land absorbs more heat than the oceans.
\end{itemize}
fossil fuels for electricity, transportation and other purposes, but also from other contributing factors, such as a slowing in oceanic absorption of carbon dioxide and unexpected releases of methane, a potent GHG, trapped in soils.\footnote{16} Several authorities have warned of the potential consequences. The authors of one study of past changes in climate concluded, for example, that warmer temperatures likely would accelerate the emission of GHGs into the atmosphere, and “promote warming by an extra 15 to 78 percent on a century scale” relative to the projections presented by the IPCC.\footnote{17}

- \textbf{Leading researchers are urgently calling for faster and steeper curtailment of GHG emissions to prevent catastrophic damage from climate change.} The International Energy Agency has observed that, given the recent rapid increases in the burning of fossil fuels, the average global temperature will rise 6°C (10.8°F) unless there is a quick and rigorous change in policy.\footnote{18} The head of Britain’s Met Office recently warned that, if emissions keep rising, the average temperature could increase by more than 5°C (9°F) by the end of the century.\footnote{19} Some scientists conclude that, to sustain climatic and ecological conditions similar to those that have existed during the development of human civilization, society must do more than just arrest growth in the atmospheric concentration of GHGs, it will have to be reduce them below the current level, with the concentration of carbon dioxide falling to no more than 350 ppm within the next several decades.\footnote{20}

Not all of these (and many related) impacts would occur immediately. There is considerable uncertainty about how long it would take for some of the impacts to materialize, but some of the most extreme impacts likely would not materialize


for decades or centuries. This delay does not, however, mean that the far-distant impacts have no economic relevance today. Decisions now that affect the atmospheric concentration of GHGs may set in motion climate-relate processes that lead to irreversible consequences. Moreover, current Washington residents may have strong feelings, and thus realize a marked reduction in their economic well-being, knowing that today’s decisions might have catastrophic consequences for future generations.

Having recognized the importance of these more distant and extreme effects, we now set them aside, and focus on the task at hand: describing the business-as-usual potential harm of climate change for families, businesses, and communities in Washington over the next several decades. In the next section we describe the general mechanisms through which such harm can materialize in this context.

**B. Climate Change and the Economy**

Figure 4 illustrates some of the potential changes in climate expected over the next two decades. The top two maps depict the average annual temperature (left) and heat waves (right), and the bottom two maps depict the annual average precipitation (left) and extreme precipitation (right) expected by about 2030, relative to conditions in about 1990, under a middle-of-the-road scenario regarding future emissions of GHGs and their impacts. These anticipated changes point toward some of the ways that climate change can impose harm on the western states. The lower left map, for example, shows that the southwestern region can expect reductions—marked reductions in some areas—in precipitation, while some of the northern parts of the region likely will see precipitation increase. Individually and together, these maps indicate the potential for some or all in the region to realize economic harm through any number of mechanisms: increased droughts and floods, higher air-conditioning costs to cope with higher temperatures, higher incidence of morbidity and mortality for those without access to air conditioning, more frequent wildfires, loss of habitat for important species—the list is perhaps without end.21 Moreover, under a business-as-usual scenario, the physical changes depicted in Figure 4, and thus the resulting economic impacts, would likely be magnified.

To provide some structure for thinking about the different ways in which climate changes can produce economic harm, Figure 5 identifies different types of change that can generate harm and the different ways in which harm might materialize. In some cases, the harm can originate directly from a change in the climate itself, through changes in temperature, precipitations, or storms and other extreme events. An increase in heat waves, for example, might increase the incidence of heat-related human illness and death,22 high temperatures plus...
reduced precipitation might reduce the productivity of crops that wither under drought conditions, and higher flooding from more severe storms might damage property, disrupt commerce, and take lives.

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In other cases, climate change indirectly diminishes well-being by inducing changes in ecosystems or social systems. Warmer temperatures have been associated, for example, with ecosystem changes, such as epidemic outbreaks of insects that kill pine trees and reduce the productivity of the timber industry,\textsuperscript{25} rises in sea level that erode ocean-front property and increase the cost of maintaining coastal homes and highways,\textsuperscript{26} and contractions of fish habitat that diminish salmon populations and eliminate opportunities for recreational fishing.\textsuperscript{27} Climate-related changes in social systems that can diminish economic well-being might arise if families and businesses conclude they must move to avoid the effects of climate change, or if the costs of climate change fall disproportionately on poor families and communities, diminishing their prospects for climbing out of poverty.

The bottom of Figure 5 illustrates that climate-related economic harm can occur in several ways. This summary illustrates each mechanism in greater detail:

- **Reduction in human health and other constituents of quality of life.**
  Hotter temperatures can increase human mortality; reductions in stream flows can reduce boating, fishing, and other recreational opportunities.

- **Reduction in the value of assets or in the level of income.**
  Increased flooding from climate-related storms can reduce the value of exposed properties and disrupt employment for workers at commercial and industrial enterprises in low-lying areas.

- **Increase in climate-related expenditures and, hence, decrease in income available for other purposes.**
  Households, businesses, and government are likely to increase spending on health-related issues in response to higher temperatures, leaving less money for discretionary household spending, business investment and profits, and government services.


Figure 5. Changes in Climate Can Have Negative Effects on the Economy Over the Next Several Decades

Changes in Climate...

Higher Temperatures
Increases in short- and long-run temperatures.

Changes in Precipitation
Decreases or increases in snow or rain, and shifts in seasonal precipitation patterns.

Increases in Extreme Events
More frequent or more severe storms, droughts, heat waves.

Climate-Related Changes in Ecosystems
Losses of habitat for species of concern, increases in undesired species (diseases and pests), reductions in ecosystems’ ability to produce desired goods and services.

Climate-Related Changes in Social Systems
Increases in climate-related expenditures, behaviors, and institutions, including migrations of population and economic activity away from areas facing high climate-related risks.

...can lead to... Economic Harm

Economic Costs
Reductions in the value of goods and services available to society.

Negative Economic Impacts
Reductions in jobs, income, and related variables.

Increases in Risk and Uncertainty
Risk: Higher probability that harmful events will materialize in the future, or that harmful events will become more severe, or both. Uncertainty: Diminished ability to anticipate the future.

Increases in Unprecedented Economic Conditions
Information costs, adaptation costs, and increased economic impacts.

Increases in Undesirable Distribution of Economic Well-Being
The effects of climate change accrue in a manner people consider to be unfair and inappropriate.

• Reduction in the value of goods and services derived from the ecosystem.
  Changes in climate can diminish an ecosystem’s ability to provide valuable goods and services, such as those illustrated in Figure 5. The reduced supply of ecosystem goods and services can reduce the quality of life in a community and increase costs for families, businesses, and governments.
• **Loss of employment or reduction in employment opportunities.**
  Workers may be harmed when climate-related events, such as floods or wildland fires, cause them to lose their jobs and incomes. The indirect effects of climate change also may lead to similar outcomes, as businesses move away from areas affected by drought to areas with greater availability of water.

• **Increase in risk or uncertainty about future economic conditions.**
  All else equal, the economic well-being of most families, businesses, and communities is diminished when they experience higher risk, i.e., a higher probability of having bad things happen to them, and greater uncertainty about the probability that such events will occur. The prospect of climate change increases both.

• **Increase in unprecedented economic conditions.**
  Preparation for and adaptation to new conditions will generate new costs that were not necessary to address similar concerns in the past. Climatic, environmental, and economic variations in the past provide reference for families, businesses and communities to anticipate impacts and adapt their activities. Insofar as climate change generates conditions not experienced in the past, preparation and adaptation will be more costly in terms of requiring new information, institutions, infrastructure, and behaviors.

• **Undesirable shift in the distribution of wealth, income, and other indicators of economic well-being.**
  Many Americans may experience harm when climate change, or changes in ecosystems and social systems that stem from it, generate economic benefits for one group while imposing costs on another, especially if the latter is poor or otherwise disadvantaged. Similar harm may occur if changes in climate cause the extinction of species or the loss of notable landscapes and other natural resources so they will not be available to future generations.

Washingtonians potentially will incur additional costs not as a result of changes in climate but from activities that contribute to climate change. We examine two of these. One is the cost households and businesses would incur by continuing with technologies and behaviors that inefficiently use energy, even though more-efficient alternatives are available at little or no cost. The other is the health-related cost individuals and families would incur by being exposed to harmful pollutants produced by burning coal to produce electricity.

The analysis we present in Section III focuses on the potential economic costs of changes in climate, ecosystems, and social systems. Washingtonians potentially will incur additional costs not as a result of changes in climate but from activities that contribute to climate change. We examine two of these in Section IV. One is the cost households and businesses would incur by continuing with technologies and behaviors that inefficiently use energy, even though more-efficient alternatives are available at little or no cost. The other is the health-related cost
individuals and families would incur by being exposed to harmful pollutants produced by burning coal to produce electricity. In the following section, we describe our analytical approach to quantifying these costs.

C. Calculating the Business-As-Usual Potential Economic Harm

Our objective is to illustrate the potential economic harm to families, business, and communities in Washington over the next several decades under conditions likely to materialize if society continues to conduct its affairs without an effective program to rein in GHGs. We call this the business-as-usual potential economic harm.

The reasoning underlying the calculation is straightforward. We begin with a credible, quantitative estimate of a climate-related potential worsening in some factor (public health, agricultural production, energy costs, etc.) that contributes to the economic well being of families, businesses, or communities in Washington. We then multiply this times a credible estimate of the per-unit value of the factor. The product is an initial estimate of the potential harm per year.

We complete our calculations by adjusting the initial estimate to represent business-as-usual expectations for three target years: 2020, 2040, and 2080. This adjustment may have three steps. First, if the literature provides estimates of the quantitative impact of climate change for years other than a target year (2020, 2040, or 2080), we linearly interpolate to get a value for a target year when it falls between two values available from the literature, or linearly extrapolate when it falls outside them. For example, the maps in Figure 3 show expected changes in climate from 1990 to 2030. If we were to use the underlying data for our calculation, we would interpolate to find the expected change in 2020, and extrapolate to find the expected change in 2040 and 2080. The values would be 70, 125, and 225 percent of the 1990 to 2030 change. We anticipate that linear interpolative and extrapolative adjustments likely understate and overstate the impact in the target year, respectively, as the underlying climate relationships apparently are nonlinear.

Second, we adjust the initial estimate to account for business-as-usual conditions. This adjustment is required because most of the studies that offer a quantitative estimate of the impact of future climate change employ a scenario of emissions, temperature, and climate that assumes business-as-usual behaviors will not continue (i.e., society begins to act to rein in emissions). Other studies employ middle-of-the-road assumptions about the sensitivity of temperature and climate to GHG emissions, and thus potentially underestimate the possible effects of climate change. Accordingly, we adjust our initial estimate of the potential harm to reflect more closely what it would be under a business-as-usual scenario, based on differences among scenario assumptions of CO₂ concentrations in a given time period. For this exercise, we employ Scenario A1FI, as represented by
the IPCC. We anticipate that using this scenario may still underestimate the potential harm under business-as-usual conditions, as actual emissions in recent years have exceeded the level embedded in the scenario, and recent research suggests the climate and ecosystem may be more sensitive than previously anticipated to increases in greenhouse gases. Figure 6 lists the adjustment factors applicable to the calculations we present in Section III. As Figure 6 shows, the differences between A1FI and the other emission scenarios are fairly small for 2020 and 2040 but they increase substantially by 2080.

Third, we adjust for anticipated changes in population. This adjustment is appropriate, for example, when a study estimates the future impact of higher temperatures on human morbidity, expressed as a change in the death rate per hundred-thousand population. We adjust the population of Washington, assuming it will experience population growth at the rates estimated by the state through 2030, and for the nation as a whole by the Bureau of Census after 2030.

The product of these steps is a representation of the potential future cost in Washington over the next several decades if the global society should extend a business-as-usual approach to addressing issues associated with climate change. We anticipate that our results will provide a useful introduction to the potential economic consequences of climate change, at a spatial and temporal scale that is useful for many Washingtonians. We also anticipate that our results will provide a useful basis for future investigations to describe these other facets of the economic consequences of climate change:


• A full assessment of all the potential near-term costs in this region, encompassing the many costs that are too poorly understood to describe today.

• An assessment of the potential costs that might materialize outside this region and beyond the next several decades.

• An estimate of the present expected value of the overall potential cost of climate change, reflecting the many alternative ways in which climate change might play out and the probability that each will occur.

• A comparison of the potential costs and benefits associated with different levels of GHG emissions, actions to rein in emissions, or actions to prepare for and adjust to changes in climate that cannot be avoided.

• An estimate of the costs associated with continued dependence on foreign oil, including payments to foreign countries.

• A forecast of what the economy will look like in the future. Such a product would require information about all the potential costs and benefits of climate change, the climate-related actions society might take, and the probabilities associated with different potential outcomes.

Some of the potential costs, called market costs, would materialize as reductions in cash: lower disposable incomes for households, net revenues for businesses, and financial resources for communities. Increased expenditures to cope with climate-related illness, for example, would lower household incomes, while reductions in workers’ productivity could also reduce business earnings and public tax revenues. Other potential costs, called non-market costs, would not have an immediate cash effect on incomes, earnings, and public finance. Much of the cost associated with potential reductions in salmon populations, for example, reflects the public’s desire to ensure that salmon will be available for future generations to enjoy. Both market and non-market costs are important.

This analysis does not capture all likely costs of climate change for Washington. Insufficient data are available to provide estimates for all of the potential effects scientists have identified, not to mention other effects not yet identified. In addition, Washingtonians likely will experience costs that materialize beyond the state’s border: as climate change leads to damage from heat waves, droughts, and storms elsewhere in the country and the world, for example, tax dollars and voluntary contributions will flow out of the state to provide assistance. Today’s Washingtonians also will incur some costs from manifestations of climate change that would occur beyond this century. Many Washingtonians strongly want to pass to future generations the beaches, salmon populations, and skiing opportunities that exist today, for example, and will experience reductions in economic well-being should climate change make this unlikely, if not impossible. For all these reasons, we are confident that the actual potential costs of climate change in Washington are larger than the amounts we have calculated.
III. THE POTENTIAL ECONOMIC COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

In this section we present our illustrative calculations of the business-as-usual, potential economic costs to families, businesses, and families in Washington of climate change over the next several decades. In Section IV, we present another set of costs resulting from activities associated with the business-as-usual pathway that contribute to climate change. For each type of cost in this section and in Section IV, we present this information:

**Description:** We provide a short description of the potential cost, and the change(s) in climate, ecosystems, or social systems that likely will generate it. To facilitate the presentation, we organize the potential costs into these categories:

A. Energy  
B. Fish and Wildlife  
C. Flood and Storm Damage  
D. Food Production  
E. Forest and Range Production  
F. Recreation  
G. Public Health

**Assumptions, Data, and Calculation:** We describe our assumptions, identify the information we use to quantify the business-as-usual potential cost and estimate its economic value, and demonstrate how we make the calculation.

**Results:** We report each potential annual cost under a business-as-usual scenario in 2020, 2040, and 2080. Our findings represent the costs expressed in today’s dollars, that Washingtonians potentially would bear if they, in concert with others around the world, do not take meaningful action and climate change occurs as represented by the A1FI scenario from the IPCC.

We anticipate that our results generally underestimate the potential economic costs climate change would impose on Washingtonians if they and the residents of other states and nations continue in a business-as-usual manner. The degree of understatement increases the further one looks into the future. As atmospheric concentrations of GHGs increase, it becomes increasingly likely that higher temperatures will trigger processes that bring about even faster change in climate and initiate irreversible changes in ecosystems and social systems.

We recognize that families, businesses, and communities in Washington may be able to offset or mitigate some of the potential costs in the near term by taking advantage of the potential economic benefits of climate change, such as increased production of some crops or reduced expenditures on heating, that might accompany moderate climate warming. Our aim, however, is not to describe this potential adjustment but to describe the potential consequences if such adjustments are not realized. Further investigation is required to determine the extent of these opportunities, but current evidence suggests they will not fully offset the costs likely to materialize with large increases in atmospheric
concentrations of GHGs. Similarly, adaptation opportunities may not offset the costs of small increases, or even the costs of increases that already have occurred. In sum, our results do not represent a forecast of what will happen, but a description of what might happen. We do not present a forecast because doing so would inject into the calculations many variables about which little is known, at odds with our objective to provide results that are defensible, comprehensible, and useful.
A. Energy

1. Reduced Hydropower Generation

Description
Climate models indicate that changes in the Pacific Northwest’s climate likely will cause runoff to increase in winter and decrease in summer, reducing value of hydropower produced by the region’s hydroelectric facilities. This reduction in value would ensue due to a mismatch between energy demand, which will increase in summer, and hydropower supplies, which would be lower at the same time.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We apply the findings of a recent regional assessment, which concludes that climate-related changes in streamflow could reduce the annual average production of the hydropower system in the Pacific Northwest by 664 megawatts (MW) in 2020, and 2,033 MW in 2040. We assume the trend will continue and extrapolate to estimate the potential effect in 2080. We estimate Washington’s share of the potential reduction in productive capacity to be 355 MW by 2020, 1,100 MW by 2040, and 2,150 MW by 2080, assuming that its current share of production will persist. We estimate the value of the reduction in the production of energy assuming the forgone generation otherwise would have produced electrical energy year-round and applying $48.25 per MW-hour as the estimated bulk electricity price.a

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduction in Hydropower Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$150 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

References and Notes

2. Increased Energy Consumption for Residential Indoor Air Cooling

Description
Higher temperatures during summer months will induce residential consumers to spend more money on air conditioning, decreasing the amount they can spend on other things.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
A regional assessment concludes that average July-August temperatures will increase 2.9°C (5.2°F) by 2040, and the associated increases in air conditioning will increase average regional residential demand for energy from the power system by about 200 megawatts (MW).\(^a\) We linearly interpolate to estimate the increase in 2020 and extrapolate to estimate the increase in 2080. Assuming that Washington’s 2000 share of regional consumption in 2000 will extend into the future, the additional average demand will be about 47 MW by 2020, 110 MW by 2040, and 280 MW by 2080. We use the average monthly residential prices in Washington between 1990 and 2008 for July and August to estimate consumers’ additional cooling costs.\(^b\)

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Increased Energy Costs for Air Conditioning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$28 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

This calculation does not include additional expenditures for commercial or industrial consumers, which we expect to be small relative to the potential increase in Washingtonians’ home electricity bills.

References and Notes


3. Increased Energy Loss During Transmission

Description
Higher temperatures during climate-related heat waves will increase the amount of energy lost during electricity-transmission lines. During heat waves, the resistance of overloaded transmission lines increases, causing the grid to convert more electricity into heat, which wastes energy.a

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We assume summertime consumption of electricity in 2008 will increase in accord with the rate projected by the Energy Information Administration for Washington.9 We apply a middle-of-the-road estimate of the potential growth in heat-wave days from 1990 to 2030; linearily interpolate and extrapolate to estimate the number of additional days in 2020, 2040, and 2080; and adjust the numbers to estimate what the impact would be under a business-as-usual scenario of climate change. If the additional transmission-line losses during a heat-wave day equal about one-quarter of the electricity being transmitted,a the annual losses would total 678,000 MW-hours by 2020, 1.3 million MW-hours by 2040, and 3.75 million MW-hours by 2080. We assume the average summertime wholesale price of electricity, $65 per MW-hour in 2008 dollars, will apply in the future.d

Results

| Potential Value of Energy Lost in Transmission During Heat Waves |
|------------------|----------|----------|
| 2020             | 2040     | 2080     |
| $44 million      | $85 million | $241 million |

Source: ECONorthwest

References and Notes


4. Other Potential Costs of Climate Change Related to Energy

Description
Climate change undoubtedly will affect other parts of Washington’s energy system but there is little research to substantiate the magnitude of these impacts. For instance, a recent report showed that industry may increase its energy consumption on days with high temperatures, people may consume higher amounts of gasoline due to increased use of air conditioning in their cars, and trucks that transport perishables may increase their fuel use to refrigerate their cargoes. Equally uncertain is how much farmers’ energy demand will increase on hot days when they ramp up irrigation to maintain soil moisture. Other potential costs include damages to electricity-transmission equipment during floods and storms, which are expected to become more frequent and intense because of climate change and costs associated with an increased probability of blackouts. A study by researchers at Los Alamos National Laboratory found that an increase in air temperature of 1.5°C (2.7°F) would increase the probability of a blackout occurring from 1 time per year to 8-10 times per year. The researchers estimated economic loss associated with this increased probability at 1 percent of gross state product.

References and Notes


c Personal communication with Gary Geernaert, Director, Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, Los Alamos National Laboratory. February 6, 2009.
B. Fish and Wildlife

1. Reduced Salmon Habitat and Populations

**Description**
Warmer stream temperatures resulting from increased global temperatures reduce the amount of habitat that can viably support salmon, reducing salmon populations.

**Assumptions, Data, and Calculation**
We assume salmon populations will decline proportionate to expected losses of suitable aquatic habitat. An assessment of stream temperatures under an A2 emissions scenario indicates increased warming might reduce salmon habitat in Washington by 5, 13, and 22 percent by 2030, 2060, and 2090, respectively. We interpolate and adjust the percentages to reflect the potential changes in 2020, 2040, and 2080, as well as the A1FI scenario. To determine the value of the loss of salmon, we rely on a study of Washingtonian’s willingness to pay for changes in the size of anadromous fish runs. The methodology in this study was vetted and adopted by a panel of economists for Washington State’s Columbia River Initiative, who recommended that “any reliable estimates of impacts on salmon and steelhead should be assigned values based upon the methodology.” Using results from Layton et al., we derive the value Washingtonians place on the potential loss of salmon populations in Washington in 2020, 2040, and 2080, adjusting for growth in households over time.

**Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Salmon Populations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$531 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

These results are based on an analysis of the value of increasing salmon stocks, which diminishes as fish populations become more robust. Climate change impacts reduce stocks, which should lead to an increasing, rather than decreasing value as salmon become more rare. Consequently, these estimates likely understate the value of salmon losses. The results also probably understate the total impact of climate change on salmon populations, because they overlook stresses from potential changes in ocean conditions, climate-related increases in disease, and reduced effectiveness of habitat restoration efforts, among other effects. They also may not fully account for ecosystem goods and services other than salmon that would be lost as changes in climate affect salmon habitat.
References and Notes


2. Other Potential Costs Related to Impacts of Climate Change on Fish and Wildlife

Description
Increased temperatures and changes in precipitation are likely to impact many species, other than salmon in Washington. Scientists have found evidence that climate change can result in changes in species’ range, abundance, phenology (timing of an event, such as migration), morphology and physiology, and community composition, biotic interactions and behavior. Many of these impacts on populations and ecosystems would potentially result in economic harm. For example, sea level rise, changes in ocean currents, and increases in ocean acidity are likely to impact the species and ecological communities in Washington’s coastal and near-shore environments, including coastal wetlands and rocky intertidal areas. Disruptions in these ecosystems could adversely affect Washington’s commercial and recreation fishing industries. Temperature increases also are likely to disrupt montane ecosystems, particularly those associated with glaciers and snowpack. Some invasive species and pests, which have historically been limited by temperature or moisture, may be able to expand their range and pose new threats to native populations of fish and wildlife. Data are not available, however, to allow us to estimate the costs associated with these and other potential fish and wildlife-related impacts.

References and Notes


C. Flood and Storm Damage

1. Costs Related to Sea-Level Rise

Description
Rising global temperature leads to increased sea levels, which will inundate valuable property and structures.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
No direct estimates of the value of coastal property damage due to sea-level rise exist for Washington, so we apply estimates for California. After adjusting for differences in general coastline length, median home value, and coastal population density, the potential damage for Washington in 2070 would be $74 million per year, under the A2 scenario for future emissions and climate change. Hence, we linearly interpolate and extrapolate to obtain estimates for 2020, 2040, and 2080, and adjust to represent the A1FI scenario.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Property Damage from Sea Level Rise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$21 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

These results embody considerable uncertainty, as there exists no direct measurement of the potential damage from climate-related increases in sea level and storm surges. We do not adjust for the current tectonic trend of uplift for northwestern Olympic peninsula, subsidence for south Puget Sound, and little noticeable movement for the rest of Washington coastline. The estimate does not account for the interactive effects of higher sea levels and increased storm surges that would further increase damages. Sea-level rise and increased storm surges would generate increased risk of flood and storm damage for inland areas reached by the tides such as downtown Olympia, Tacoma, Seattle, and other urban areas.

References and Notes


c Washington’s general coastline is 19 percent as long as California’s, its 2000 median home value was 80 percent, and its 2008 coastal population density is 50 percent. National Oceanic and

2. Costs Related to Extreme Weather Events

Description
Climate change is expected to increase storm severity and the frequency of extreme storm events, including high winds, flooding, lightning and fire. Storm events will have direct property-damage effects, as well as increased storm-related injuries and fatalities.\(^a\)

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration’s National Weather Service and National Climatic Data Center collect information on fatalities, injuries, property damage, and crop damage resulting from extreme weather events, including weather-influenced wildfires.\(^b\) The U.S. Climate Change Science Program provides rough estimates for increases in extreme weather events, including an increase in frequency of extreme precipitation events by 2.5 times under the A1B scenario by 2100. Wildfire forecasts for the west follow similar increases rates with two to five times the acreage burnt at the end of the 20\(^{th}\) century by late in the 21\(^{st}\) century.\(^c\) Using the average total property and crop damage estimates from 1996 to 2007, we linearly interpolate an increase in these impacts 2.5 times by 2100 for 2020, 2040 and 2080, and adjust for the A1FI scenario. We do not monetize fatalities and injuries, but the increase by 2080 would be 20 fatalities and 58 injuries due to extreme weather events. These include heat-related effects that are further described in the Public Health section below.

Results

| Potential Value of Property and Crop Damage from Extreme Weather Events |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 2020             | 2040             | 2080             |
| $51 million      | $106 million     | $255 million     |

Source: ECONorthwest

References and Notes


3. Other Potential Costs from Climate-Related Sea-Level Rise and Extreme Weather

Description
The combined impact of multiple storm and ocean effects from climate change is likely to be greater than the sum of the individual impacts, as interactions increase severity. Similarly, damages from storm events tend to increase relative to storm severity more than linearly.\(^a\) Thresholds exist in current infrastructure designed to protect property and people from storm impacts.

Sea-level rise and extreme weather events will impact natural structures and functions and the resulting ecosystem services communities rely upon. Storm events increase erosion, create landslides, damage forests and habitat, and injure wildlife.

References and Notes
D. Food Production

1. Reduced Beef Production

Description
Higher temperatures slow the rate of growth for beef cattle and reduce the production and sales of ranches and feedlots.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We assume ranchers and feedlot operators will continue the practices of 2007 and that prices will remain at 2007 levels, which produced sales of $732 million.\textsuperscript{a} We also assume that the temperature increases accompanying a doubling of carbon dioxide emissions would increase the time required for a cow to reach finished weight in a feedlot in the western United States by 2.5 percent; a tripling might increase the time by 15 percent.\textsuperscript{b} The potential harm equals the value of annual beef production times the percentage loss of production from climate change, adjusted to reflect potential doubling of carbon dioxide emissions by 2040 and tripling by 2080, under scenario A1FI.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Beef Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$11.6 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

Potential losses would be greater if ranchers tried to expand their production, so that higher temperatures would affect the maturation of a larger number of animals. Also, additional beef production losses, especially for range-fed cattle, may occur as range productivity declines with increasing temperatures and reduced water availability during summer months.\textsuperscript{c}

References and Notes


2. Reduced Wheat Production

Description
Temperatures above 5°C (9°F) reduce the yields of winter wheat production.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We assume farmers will continue with the practices that produced the 2007 crop and that prices will remain at 2007 levels, which produced a crop worth about $822 million.\(^a\) We apply the results of a study that indicates wheat production in eastern Washington will decline by approximately 20 percent with a 5°C (9°F) increase in global mean temperature, and an atmospheric carbon-dioxide concentration of 365 ppm.\(^b\) We extrapolate and adjust this finding to estimate the potential reduction in production under the A1FI scenario in 2080, the only one of our target years that would experience a temperature increase of at least 5°C (9°F). The potential harm equals the value of the potential reduction in wheat production.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Wheat Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

We do not include costs for 2020 and 2040, because reduced wheat production does not occur until temperatures reach approximately 5°C (9°F). This magnitude of temperature increase is not expected to occur in the A1FI scenario until the later part of the 21st century.

References and Notes


\(^b\) Brown, R.A. and N.J. Rosenberg. 1999. “Climate Change Impacts on the Potential Productivity of Corn and Winter Wheat in their Primary United States Growing Regions.” Climatic Change 41: 73-107. Although the authors hold carbon dioxide concentrations constant to control for any so-called fertilization effect, in which higher concentrations of CO₂ accelerate plant growth, they conclude that even at concentrations of carbon dioxide at 750 ppm, a 5°C (9°F) increase in temperature causes wheat yields to decline.
3. Reduced Agricultural Output in the Yakima Basin

Description
Decreased summer water supplies negatively impact irrigated agriculture in the Yakima basin, that comprises a great number of high-value crops.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
A recent study of the impact of climate change on the irrigated agriculture in the Yakima Valley found that water shortages in spring and summer reduce the crop yields by $66 million by 2060. The results were modeled under a scenario similar to A1B, with temperature increases of 2°C (3.6°F) and CO₂ concentrations of 560 ppm, assuming no adaptation other than early planting. We linearly interpolate and extrapolate to estimate these losses in 2020, 2040, and 2080 and adjust the numbers to estimate what the impact would be under a business-as-usual approach to climate change. The authors of the study recognize that their results are probably underestimates since the analysis does not account for damages to fruit trees and grape vines from low-water years that carry over into the future.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Agricultural Output in the Yakima Basin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$23 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

References and Notes

4. Other Potential Costs from the Effects of Climate Change on Food Production

Description
Changes in precipitation and temperature are likely to impact Washington’s agricultural industry in ways other than those reported above. For example, higher temperatures may reduce the yield or cease production altogether in some regions of some additional crops, such as grapes, apples, cherries, and potatoes. Changes in temperature may also increase the occurrence of pests and plant diseases, requiring farmers to expend more resources on pest and disease management. Increased evapotranspiration and reduced availability water supplies may lead to reductions in yield for a variety of crops due to water stress. Insufficient data are available, however, to allow us to estimate the costs associated with these and other potential food-production-related impacts.

References and Notes

E. Forest and Range Production

1. Lost Forest Assets from Wildland Fires

Description
Wildland fires become more frequent and severe as climate change increases temperatures and aridity, and accelerates tree mortality from insects and disease. When forests burn, they lose their ability to produce many goods and services, but data are available only to estimate the loss assuming the forest would be managed to produce timber.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
Projections for climate-related changes in temperature and precipitation suggest that, relative to the 20th century, wildfires in Washington will burn 50 percent more acreage per year by 2020 and double the acreage by 2040.a On average, 73,000 acres of federal land burned annually from 1988 to 1999.b We assume that, if non-federal lands burned at the same rate, the average would have been 166,000 acres. State and federal land make up 63 percent of all forestland in Washington.c A 50 percent increase in acreage burned by 2020 would be a marginal increase of 84,000 acres, and a 100 percent increase by 2040 would be a marginal increase of 166,000 acres. We assume the value of lost goods and services when a forest burns is at least $1,000 per acre, a general estimate for the value of lost timber.d We use the projected increase in burn rates for the A2 scenario, which we linearly extrapolate for A1FI and 2080.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Lost Forest Assets from Increased Forest Fires</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$84 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

These results do not include the value of ecosystem services distinct from the production of timber that would be lost with increased forest fires. The loss of structures to fire is included under extreme weather events because the data are collected by the National Weather Service and aggregated with other weather-related structural losses.

References and Notes


2. Increased Control Expenditures Related to Wildland Fire

Description
Wildfires become more frequent and severe as climate change increases temperatures and aridity, and accelerates tree mortality from insects and disease. As wildland fires become more widespread Washingtonians will incur additional fire-control costs.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
Projections for forests in Washington based on temperature and precipitation suggest that wildland fires will impact 50 percent more acreage than during the 20th century by 2020 and a doubling by 2040.\(^a\) We assume suppression costs will increase proportional to acres burned, fire suppression costs will increase as well, or alternatively.\(^b\) We base our calculation on these rates and historical expenditures.\(^c\)

Results

| Potential Value of Increased Control Expenditures for Wildland Fires |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|
|                         | 2020           | 2040           | 2080           |
| $18 million             | $37 million    | $82 million    |

Source: ECONorthwest

References and Notes


3. Other Potential Costs from the Effects of Climate Change on Forests and Range

Description
Numerous studies based on climate forecasts as well as impacts already occurring indicate that climate change is likely to increase the forest damages resulting from disease and pests such as the mountain pine beetle. Mountain pine beetle populations are historically held in check by cold winters. As the frequency of cold winters decreases, the mountain pine beetle’s exponential growth rate goes unfettered and leads to rapid and widespread tree mortality, as seen throughout the western United States and Canada. The mountain pine beetle is now beginning to show a potential to jump to non-pine species after locally exhausting the supply of pines. Mountain pine beetles could conceivably impact the majority of remaining forest in Washington. Mountain pine beetles can interact with other effects that stress forests in Washington such as increased temperatures and decreased soil moisture to hasten tree mortality.

Lost forest will lead to lost ecosystem services for Washintonians, such as water filtration, water storage and air filtration. The City of Portland, Oregon avoids purchasing a $200 million filtration treatment system for its water supply by protecting 102 square miles of its watershed. This equates to an avoided cost benefit of $3,000 per acre for water filtration services. We do not make an estimate of the total value of ecosystem services lost with forest loss because there currently are not equivalent identifications of demand for the state of Washington as a whole. While the forest value from Portland is likely high for most forest in Washington, it is a value for only one ecosystem service, and as the population grows, demand for these services will increase as well.

References and Notes


F. Public Health

1. Increased Low-Altitude Ozone

Description
Increased temperatures favor the production of low-altitude ozone, which negatively impacts the health of humans that live in urban areas and creates costs associated with increased rates of morbidity, premature mortality, and lost worker productivity.a

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation of Mortality
We apply findings from an assessment of the A2 scenario, which indicate elevated ozone levels related to climate change could increase nonaccidental mortality by 0.27 percent by 2050.b We linearly interpolate and extrapolate to estimate the effects in 2020, 2040, and 2080, then adjust for higher temperatures expected in the A1FI scenario. We assume that, absent climate change, nonaccidental mortality would rise proportional to future increases in Washington’s metropolitan population and estimate that the higher ozone concentrations would increase annual mortality by 56 deaths in 2020, 128 in 2040, and more than 335 in 2080.c We estimate the value of the additional premature deaths using EPA’s current estimate of the value of a statistical life.d

To calculate the potential costs of increased morbidity we rely on the results of an employee survey, that estimated expenditures associated with conditions, such as allergies, asthma, and other respiratory affections, incurred by employees, including those who do not suffer from the particular condition.e Using these results, we first estimate what the costs would be absent climate change by assuming that current costs of hospitalization for conditions related to ozone in metropolitan areas will increase proportionate to expected growth in Washington’s labor force. We then apply the results from a study that concluded current hospitalization costs related to high ozone concentrations in California might triple under the A2 scenario,f and make adjustments to reflect the higher temperatures expected under the A1FI scenario. The results represent the potential increases in medical costs for 2020, 2040, and 2080.

To estimate the value of increases in lost productivity as more workers become ill from climate-related increases in ozone concentrations, we rely on the findings of the same employee surveye and first assume that, absent climate change, current levels of lost productivity in metropolitan areas would grow proportional to expected growth in Washington’s labor force. We then apply the results of a study that estimated the productivity losses in California related to ozone could increase 62 percent under the A2 scenario,f and make adjustments to reflect the higher temperatures expected under the A1FI scenario. The results represent the potential increases in workers’ lost productivity for 2020, 2040, and 2080.
## Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Health-Related Costs from Increased Low-Altitude Ozone</th>
<th>2020</th>
<th>2040</th>
<th>2080</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value of Premature Deaths</td>
<td>$388 million</td>
<td>$882 million</td>
<td>$2.3 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of Increased Morbidity</td>
<td>$70 million</td>
<td>$86 million</td>
<td>$126 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of Lost Productivity</td>
<td>$731 million</td>
<td>$892 million</td>
<td>$1.3 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>$1.2 billion</td>
<td>$1.9 billion</td>
<td>$3.7 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

The calculation of increased morbidity costs does not account for costs that would occur outside a hospital (in-patient or emergency room) or for the effects of higher ozone concentrations on all sensitive groups, like children and elderly.

A newly released assessment of the impacts of climate change in Washington by the Climate Impacts Group similarly finds that higher temperatures will lead to increased ozone concentrations, which in turn will result in increased mortality in the state. The report’s forecast is higher than our estimates giving us confidence that probably the impacts of climate-induced increases in ozone concentrations will be at least equal to those we calculate above. The assessment also does not estimate increased costs of morbidity and lost productivity related to higher ozone levels.⁸

EPA’s value of statistical life represents the value that people, on average, are willing to pay to avoid premature mortality from exposure to harm, be it pollution, accidents, etc. Researchers have argued that a more appropriate measure to value a life is the willingness to accept fatal consequences of exposure to harm. This value is usually higher than the willingness to pay.⁹ This means that the total value of increased mortality from high ozone concentrations, that we estimate above, understate the actual value society places on deaths from climate change.

### References and Notes


2. Increased Heat Waves

Description
Additional heat waves (days with temperatures consistently above a threshold specific to different geographic areas) are expected to increase mortality rates and medical costs of those already suffering from cardiovascular, cerebrovascular, and respiratory diseases. They also will reduce work productivity, household productivity, and the value of leisure time.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We apply to the entire Washington state the results of a recent study, which estimated climate-related heat waves would cause an additional 14 deaths in Portland, Oregon, by 2055 under the A2 scenario, and make adjustments to estimate the number of additional deaths in 2020, 2040, and 2080 under the A1FI scenario. We estimate the value of the additional premature deaths using EPA’s current estimate of the value of a statistical life.

To calculate additional medical and other costs, we multiplied Washington’s expected future populations times the per capita daily costs for hospitalization, emergency-room visits, and follow-up medical costs during the 2006 heat wave in California. We estimate the additional climate-related costs by applying the results of a study that projected Washington would experience an additional 14 heat-wave days by 2030 under the A1B scenario and making adjustments to estimate the number of additional deaths in 2020, 2040, and 2080 under the A1FI scenario.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Health-Related and Other Costs of Heat Waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of Premature Deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of Increased-Medical Care Costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of Other Costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

Heat-wave statistics show they cause more deaths than all other natural disasters in the US. Death certificates systematically fail to represent high temperatures as the death cause during heat waves, however, and a full accounting would increase the mortality numbers, perhaps by 54 percent.
Recently the Climate Impacts Group of the University of Washington released an assessment of the impacts of climate change in Washington. The authors similarly find that higher temperatures will lead to increased heat waves, which in turn will result in increased mortality in the state. The report’s forecast is higher than our estimates giving us confidence that probably the impacts of climate-induced heat waves will be at least equal to those we calculate above. The assessment also does not estimate increased costs of morbidity and lost productivity related to higher ozone levels.8

EPA’s value of statistical life represents the value that people, on average, are willing to pay to avoid premature mortality from exposure to harm, be it pollution, accidents, etc. Researchers have argued that a more appropriate measure to value a life is the willingness to accept fatal consequences of exposure to harm. This value is usually higher than the willingness to pay.9 This means that the total value of increased mortality from high ozone concentrations, that we estimate above, underestimate the actual value society places on deaths from climate change.

References and Notes


3. Other Potential Costs from the Effects of Climate Change on Human Health

Description
Impacts of climate change on human health are not restricted to those caused by high levels of ozone or heat. Studies have shown that climate change will make wider areas hospitable to vectors that produce diseases, such as the West Nile virus, encephalitis, and Lyme disease. At the same time, water- and food-borne diseases likely will increase in incidence and cases of Giardia, salmonellosis, E. coli will become more frequent.a

We have found no data to quantify these future impacts associated with climate change but the lack of quantifiable information does not mean that the value is zero.

References and Notes

G. Recreation

1. Reduced Opportunities for Snow-Related Recreation

Description
Higher temperatures reduce snowfall and accumulation, shortening the ski season, degrading skiing conditions, and reducing the value associated with the ski industry.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We assume that, absent climate change, downhill skiing participation would grow from the 2006 ski season level, 2,137,930 skier-days, at the same rate as the general population is expected to grow, and that the average expenditures and consumer surplus per skier day would remain at $70 and $28 per day, respectively. We assume that the ski season will shrink 14 percent by 2020 and 30 percent by 2040, based on a temperature increase rate associated with business-as-usual emissions. We assume the number of user-days, expenditures, and consumer surplus shrinks proportionately. We linearly extrapolate to estimate the reductions for 2080. The potential harm equals the number of user-days times the expenditures and consumer surplus per day times the percentage loss of recreation opportunity from climate change.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Downhill Skiing Recreation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35.5 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

Industry officials suggest that once the snow-recreation season is shortened to the extent indicated for 2080, snow-related recreation businesses, and the downhill skiing businesses in particular, likely would not be viable and would close.

References and Notes

2. Reduced Opportunities for Cold-Water Angling

Description
Increased stream temperatures reduce the amount of habitat that can viably support salmon, reducing the contribution of cold-water angling to the economy.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We assume the value of cold-water angling will decline proportionate to expected losses of aquatic habitat for salmon and trout. An assessment of the A2 emissions scenario indicates increased warming might reduce salmon habitat in Washington by 5, 13, and 22 percent by 2030, 2060, and 2090, respectively.\(^a\) We interpolate and adjust the percentages to reflect the A1FI scenario, and apply them to 3,526,000,\(^b\) the number of stream-based angling days in Washington in 2006, to estimate the reductions in angling in 2020, 2040, and 2080. We adjust for population growth in 2020, 2040, and 2080 and value the reductions applying the estimated consumer surplus and expenditures per salmon-angler per day: $140\(^c\) and $118,\(^b\) respectively.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Cold-Water Angling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35.7 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

These results may overstate the potential harm by applying values associated with salmon angling to trout angling. They probably underestimates the total harm from climate change, insofar as it also might lead to degraded ocean conditions, increased incidence of disease, and other factors that would affect future salmon and trout populations.\(^d\)

References and Notes


3. Reduced Opportunities for Reservoir Recreation

**Description**
Increased temperatures and changes in precipitation are predicted to affect the way the Columbia River reservoir system is operated, reducing water levels and opportunities for reservoir recreation in some years on Lake Roosevelt, which is formed by Grand Coulee Dam.

**Assumptions, Data, and Calculation**
We assume the value of reservoir recreation on Lake Roosevelt will decline proportionate to the expected loss of years in which storage levels are sufficient to support summer recreation. Reservoir reliability decreased from baseline levels in response to climate change, as modeled under a scenario similar to the B1 scenario, by 2 percent in 2020, 5 percent in 2040, and 2 percent in 2080. We adjust the percentages to reflect the A1FI scenario, and apply them to 1,804,000, the average number of reservoir-recreation days for Lake Roosevelt between 1987 and 1993. We adjust for population growth in 2020, 2040, and 2080, and value the reductions applying the estimated consumer surplus per recreation day: $72.

**Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Reduced Reservoir Recreation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3.8 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

**References and Notes**


4. Other Potential Costs from the Effects of Climate Change on Recreation

Description
Increased wildland fires will potentially reduce recreation opportunities during summer months. Forest closures during wildland fire events and exceptionally dry, high-risk fire seasons may limit the area, and thus opportunities, available for activities, such as hiking, mountain biking, wildlife watching, and scenic driving. Post-fire landscapes may provide more limited or lower-quality recreation experiences.\footnote{Starbuck, C.M., R.P. Berrens, and M. McKee. 2006. “Simulating Changes in Forest Recreation Demand and Associated Economic Impacts Due to Fire and Fuels Management Activities.” Forest Policy and Economics 8: 52-66.} \footnote{Scott, D., G. Wall, and G. McBoyle. 2005. “Chapter 7: Climate Change and Tourism and Recreation in North America: Exploring Regional Risks and Opportunities.” In C. M. Hall and J. Higham (eds.) Tourism, Recreation and Climate Change. Aspects of Tourism. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.} \footnote{Mickelson, K.E., and A.F. Hamlet. 2008. “Effects of Climate Change on White-Water Recreation on the Salmon River, Idaho.” American Geophysical Union, Fall Meeting.}

Low water levels in streams, especially in late summer, may also reduce some water-related recreation opportunities, such as river rafting and kayaking. As peak flows shift earlier in the season due to earlier snowmelt, they may not longer overlap with the summer season in which many people enjoy river recreation. Lower flows during peak summer months may limit boating on certain stretches of river and lower the quality of the recreation experience.\footnote{Mickelson, K.E., and A.F. Hamlet. 2008. “Effects of Climate Change on White-Water Recreation on the Salmon River, Idaho.” American Geophysical Union, Fall Meeting.}

Though insufficient data are available to quantify these impacts, research elsewhere suggests that they have the potential to reduce the value (expenditures and consumer surplus) of forest-based and water-related recreation in Washington.

References and Notes
IV. THE POTENTIAL ECONOMIC COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH ACTIVITIES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO CLIMATE CHANGE

In this section, we describe costs that are produced by activities associated with the business-as-usual pathway that contribute to climate change. Although these are not costs resulting directly from the effects of climate change per se, they represent important sources of economic harm society incurs by proceeding with business-as-usual activities.

A. Wasteful Use of Energy

Description
Consumers incur costs by using technologies and behaviors that are less efficient in their use of energy than available substitutes.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
We assume Washington’s consumption of electricity and natural gas in 2007\(^a\) will increase at rates estimated by the Energy Information Administration\(^b\) for Washington and use percentages reported by several studies\(^c\) to estimate the amount of energy Washingtonians will waste by not implementing cost-effective programs and technologies to increase energy efficiency. We estimate the value of the expenditures on wasted energy using recent average prices.\(^d\)

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Wasted Electricity and Natural Gas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1.41 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

References and Notes


B. Emissions from the Generation of Coal-Fired Electricity

Description
Burning coal to generate electricity in Washington will impose health-related spillover costs on Washingtonians, i.e., costs not reflected in the price of the electricity.

Assumptions, Data, and Calculation
The TransAlta Centralia Coal Plant, Washington’s only coal-fired power plant, which has a generating capacity of 1,404 megawatts (MW), emitted about 2,000 metric tons of sulfur dioxide and 8,000 metric tons of nitrogen oxide in 2006.\(^a\) The health-related externality costs associated with these pollutants are $2,556 per ton for sulfur dioxide, $1,505 per ton for nitrogen oxides.\(^b\) We assume that, in a business-as-usual future, emissions would continue at these rates and that coal-fired electricity generation in Washington would grow at the expected rate for total electricity consumption, 0.8 percent per year.\(^c\) The potential harm is the sum of the cost of the health-related spillover costs for the three pollutants.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Value of Health-Related Spillover Costs of Coal-Fired Electricity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$19.2 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest

These results likely underestimate the total health-related spillover costs associated with coal-fired electricity generation, insofar as they do not include other harmful pollutants, such as particulate matter, mercury, volatile organic compounds, and carbon monoxide.

References and Notes


V. POTENTIAL ECONOMIC COSTS PER HOUSEHOLD

The preceding sections illustrate some specific types of potential economic costs Washingtonians as a whole would face if Washington, other states, the U.S., and other nations adopt a business-as-usual approach to climate change. Here, we scale down our findings to illustrate the potential costs per household.

In 2005, Washington had 2.45 million households.\textsuperscript{30} We assume this number will grow at the same rates projected for Washington’s population through 2030 and at the rates projected for the U.S. population from 2030 until 2080, reaching 3.0 million in 2020, 3.56 million in 2040, and 4.70 million in 2080. Dividing these numbers into the estimates of statewide potential costs from the preceding section for each of these years yields the per-household costs shown in Figure 7. These costs are not negligible; based on the median income of a household in Washington in the 2005-2007 period,\textsuperscript{31} these costs represent 2 percent of household earnings in 2020, 3 percent in 2040, and 5 percent in 2080.


Figure 7. Potential Economic Costs Per Household in Washington Under a Business-As-Usual Approach to Climate Change, 2020, 2040, and 2080 (Dollars per Year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Costs of Climate Change</th>
<th>2020</th>
<th>2040</th>
<th>2080</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased Energy-Related Costs</td>
<td>$74</td>
<td>$175</td>
<td>$319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Salmon Populations</td>
<td>$177</td>
<td>$393</td>
<td>$638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased Coastal Damage</td>
<td>$24</td>
<td>$42</td>
<td>$75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Food Production</td>
<td>$12</td>
<td>$18</td>
<td>$77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased Wildland Fire Costs</td>
<td>$34</td>
<td>$58</td>
<td>$98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased Health-Related Costs</td>
<td>$433</td>
<td>$618</td>
<td>$936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost Recreation Opportunities</td>
<td>$25</td>
<td>$59</td>
<td>$130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal for Costs of Climate Change</td>
<td>$779</td>
<td>$1,363</td>
<td>$2,275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional Costs from Business-as-Usual (BAU) Activities that Contribute to Climate Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Costs of Climate Change</th>
<th>2020</th>
<th>2040</th>
<th>2080</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inefficient Consumption of Energy</td>
<td>$466</td>
<td>$449</td>
<td>$468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased Health Costs from Coal-Fired Emissions</td>
<td>$6</td>
<td>$6</td>
<td>$7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal for Costs from BAU Activities</td>
<td>$473</td>
<td>$456</td>
<td>$475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Cost per Household per Year</td>
<td>$1,252</td>
<td>$1,819</td>
<td>$2,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ECONorthwest.

Notes: These numbers illustrate different types of annual cost Washingtonians potentially would incur if society were to continue with a business-as-usual approach to climate change. There may be overlap between the values for some of the different types of cost. Nonetheless, adding the different types of costs probably seriously understates the total potential cost of climate change because the table excludes many additional types of climate-related costs that Washingtonians would incur under a business-as-usual approach. The numbers do not indicate the net effect of climate change, as they do not represent a forecast of how the economy will respond to the different effects of climate change, or account for potential economic benefits that might materialize from moderate warming and other changes in climate.