

1 **How central banks manage climate and energy transition risks<sup>1</sup>**

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17 **Abstract**

18 Central banks have begun to examine and manage climate risks, including both transition risks of  
19 moving from fossil fuels to clean energy and physical climate risks. Here we provide a systematic  
20 assessment of how and why central banks address climate risks, based on an original dataset of  
21 central banks across the OECD and G20. We show that central banks vary substantially in the  
22 extent to which they *re-risk* fossil fuel investments and physical risks and *de-risk* clean energy  
23 investments. Our analysis finds that central bank climate risk management is not associated with  
24 a country's economic exposure to transition risks but instead with its climate politics. The results  
25 suggest that central banks may not be solely independent risk managers but also actors that respond  
26 to political demands. As such, central banks may reinforce national decarbonization policy, while  
27 not correcting for the lack thereof.

29 **Main**

30 The energy transition and climate change both entail risks for the global economy (1). As the global  
31 economy decarbonizes, fossil fuel investments face stranded asset risks, i.e., lost profits due to  
32 early retirement (2). Stranded asset risks threaten financial stability. Similarly, exposure to climate  
33 hazards contributes to financial stability risk. Clean energy investments, meanwhile, come with  
34 higher capital investment and greater uncertainty about technology and market performance,  
35 despite declining technology costs (3). Policy can help mitigate these risks (4-7).

36 Over the last decade, central banks have taken on a role in examining and managing  
37 transition risks as well as physical climate risks (8). These risks are not only firm-level risks but  
38 can amount to systemic risks. After the financial crisis of 2008/09, central banks have grown more  
39 occupied with financial and macroeconomic stability, and finance is the transmission belt of  
40 transition risks (9-11). Climate activists have welcomed the expansion of central banks' activities  
41 to facilitate decarbonization, hoping that central banks could substitute for the lack of strong

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42 national climate action. Monetary conservatives, instead, have been alarmed by mission creep  
43 among central banks (12-14). Since first movers such as the Bank of England began to explore the  
44 issue, central banks across the globe have started to assess and manage climate risks. New global  
45 fora foster learning and cooperation among central banks, such as the Network for Greening the  
46 Financial System (15-16).

47 Yet the response from central banks has not been uniform: some have adopted measures of  
48 varying type and stringency; other central banks have not taken any actions (17-20). This raises  
49 the question of what explains central bank activity in managing climate risks. We consider two  
50 sets of explanations: central banks respond to underlying economic risks, or central banks react to  
51 political demands in addressing risks (21).

52 Here we provide a systematic study of central bank management of climate risks. We  
53 introduce an original dataset on climate risk management measures by central banks across 47  
54 OECD and G20 countries which is—to our knowledge—the largest country sample in related  
55 research to date. Importantly, we develop a classification system to identify actions that *re-risk*  
56 brown investments and *de-risk* green investments. Re-risking refers to embedding transition risks  
57 and physical climate risks into financial risk management practices to ensure financial stability,  
58 whereas de-risking means reducing the risk of clean energy investments, i.e., the technology,  
59 market, and policy risks of new clean energy technologies, to facilitate decarbonization. Prior  
60 research has not differentiated these two key dimensions of central bank activity which relate to  
61 phasing out fossil fuels and phasing in clean energy.

62 We assess several economic risks and political demands. We find limited evidence that  
63 economic risks are associated with central bank behavior. Among these risks, stranded asset risks  
64 and clean energy investment risks—main transitions risks—are not associated with central bank  
65 actions, only physical risks are to some extent. Instead, we find that central bank actions to manage  
66 risks are significantly associated with domestic climate politics—existing climate policy  
67 stringency and public opinion on climate change. Our results suggest that the magnitude of  
68 economic risks is not associated with central bank attempts to contain those risks, leaving a risk  
69 mitigation gap. Furthermore, they indicate that central banks may not be entirely autonomous risk  
70 managers but rather be responsive to political demands to maintain their legitimacy. Overall, our  
71 findings suggest that central banks may reinforce decarbonization policy, instead of correcting for  
72 the lack thereof.

#### 73 **Measuring how central banks manage climate risks**

74 Central banks have taken a range of actions to address transition risks and physical climate risks,  
75 including stress testing requirements, purchasing green bonds for their own portfolios, or requiring  
76 climate risk disclosure of the financial institutions they oversee (17-18, 22-23). We argue that we  
77 need to differentiate between actions that *re-risk* “climate bads” and that *de-risk* “climate goods”  
78 because they address different sets of risks and include different policy measures (Table 1). Prior  
79 research has acknowledged that prudential (re-risking) and promotional (de-risking) motives exist,  
80 while we show that this translates into different central bank actions (20).

81  
82 [TABLE 1 HERE]

83  
84 Re-risking policies are targeted at adding in climate or carbon risk metrics to central bank  
85 supervisory procedures (Extended Data Table 1). They include, for instance, requirements for the  
86 disclosure of transition and physical climate risks, the inclusion of these risks in stress testing, and  
87

88 to shift lending away from carbon-intensive projects. Re-risking policies can be beneficial to  
89 countries that have a large economic exposure to stranded asset risks or to climate impacts and  
90 thus climate damages. De-risking actions are policies that facilitate low-carbon investments. Such  
91 measures include, for example, lower capital requirements for green projects, requirements for a  
92 minimum allocation of lending toward green projects, and investments in green bonds.

93  
94 [FIGURE 1 HERE]  
95

96 We construct a dataset on central bank policies on climate and transition risks for the OECD  
97 and G20 countries, containing policies enacted as recently as August 2023 (Methods). We classify  
98 these policies by function (re-risking, de-risking, both), cost, and type of instrument (Methods,  
99 Table 1, Extended Data Table 2). We aggregate the policy-level dataset to the country-level and  
100 calculate composite scores of their climate-related activity: a re-risking score and a de-risking  
101 score (Methods, Supplementary Note 5).

102 We find substantial variation in the extent to which countries re-risk, de-risk, or do both  
103 (Figure 1). First, there is a group of countries with high re-risking and de-risking scores (blue  
104 quadrant). These are mostly member states of the European Central Bank (ECB) (Italy, Germany,  
105 France, Netherlands, Belgium), the UK, and China. A second cluster of countries with relatively  
106 less activity (a score of 10 or lower) in both re-risking and de-risking scores, includes the United  
107 States, South Korea, Costa Rica, South Africa, and Russia (red quadrant). A third set of countries  
108 clearly engage in more re-risking than de-risking (Brazil, Switzerland, Sweden) (yellow quadrant).  
109 Last, a set of countries engage primarily in de-risking (Hungary, Denmark, Japan, India, Indonesia)  
110 (green quadrant). We discuss observations on trends in the policy instruments central banks use in  
111 Supplementary Note 5. This substantial cross-national variation raises the question of why central  
112 banks vary in the extent to which they re-risk and de-risk transition risks.  
113

#### 114 **Central banks and economic risks**

115 We focus on two basic explanations for why central banks manage climate risks: they seek to  
116 address economic risks, or they respond to political demands for climate action. The first  
117 explanation assumes that central banks are rational technocratic agencies that follow their mandate  
118 to manage economic risks. This includes specifically protecting financial stability (24) which  
119 decarbonization and climate change can disrupt (16). We here test economic explanations for both  
120 re-risking and de-risking and turn toward the political explanation in the next section.

121 First, we hypothesize that a central bank is more likely to re-risk, the greater the stranded  
122 assets risks are in the economy and financial system it oversees (3, 25). This follows from central  
123 banks' mandate to ensure financial stability (26-27). How to best measure stranded asset risks is  
124 an ongoing debate, and a key part of central bank engagement with transition risks is to better  
125 understand the type and magnitude of these risks (28). We consider two risk dimensions: the extent  
126 of fossil fuel assets in an economy and the relative size of the financial sector. We assume that the  
127 larger the oil and gas sector in an economy, the greater are the stranded asset risks. Similarly, a  
128 large financial sector increases the direct exposure of an economy to stranded asset risks which  
129 could threaten financial stability (29). We measure the size of the oil and gas sector by calculating  
130 the oil and gas sector share of a country's GDP and the size of the financial sector as domestic  
131 credit provided by the financial sector as a share of GDP.

132 We use a simple linear regression model to test the correlation of economic risks with  
133 countries' re-risking scores. Because we have a diverse set of countries in our sample, we are

134 careful to control for factors that could be associated with cross-national differences in central  
135 bank activity. They are central bank independence, level of democracy, whether a central bank  
136 mandate includes a price stability objective only, an economic support objective, and/or a  
137 sustainability objective, GDP per capita, GDP growth rate, trade share of GDP, unemployment  
138 rate, inflation rate, and EU membership. While our dataset on central bank activities includes 47  
139 countries, due to missing data our regression analyses include 41. See Methods and Supplementary  
140 Note 6 for further details.

141 We find no statistically significant correlation between the size of either the oil and gas  
142 sector or the financial sector and re-risking scores. The central banks of economies with likely high  
143 exposure to stranded asset risks through either a large oil and gas sector and/or a large financial  
144 sector do not appear to engage more in re-risking than economies with low stranded asset risks.

145 To illustrate cross-national variation, we plot the relative size of the financial sector against  
146 re-risking scores in Figure 2. From here on, plots in grey indicate no correlation, whereas plots in  
147 red and blue indicate significant correlation for re-risking and de-risking, respectively. Figure 3  
148 plots the coefficient estimates and standard errors of these two models, with the statistically  
149 significant variables highlighted by color to distinguish the two models. Supplementary Tables 1  
150 and 2 contain the full regression results. We provide an expanded discussion of all hypothesized  
151 factors in Supplementary Note 3.

152  
153 [FIGURE 2 HERE]  
154

155 [FIGURE 3 HERE]  
156

157 Second, we hypothesize that a central bank is more likely to de-risk if there is a growing  
158 green economy (30). Central banks often have mandates to support the domestic economy which  
159 may lead them to support high-growth sectors, thus taking on a promotional role. We consider the  
160 growth of renewable energy usage from 2018-2021 as proxy for a growing green economy because  
161 renewable energy technologies are the most mature clean energy technologies.

162 We find no statistically significant relationship between the growth of the share of  
163 renewable energy in total primary energy use and de-risking scores (Figure 3 and Figure 4). This  
164 means that a growing renewable energy industry is not associated with central banks reducing the  
165 risks of clean energy investments.

166  
167 [FIGURE 4 HERE]  
168

169 Third, we expect central banks to engage in re-risking if their economies are highly exposed  
170 to physical climate hazards, such as storms, droughts and wildfires. A core part of central bank re-  
171 risking is supervisory, i.e., understanding the magnitude of these risks and incorporating them into  
172 financial risk management practices such as stress tests. It follows that if a country is highly  
173 exposed to physical climate risks, it would adopt these practices. In fact, prior research has  
174 demonstrated a correlation between physical risks and central bank management of climate risks  
175 (19). We measure climate hazard exposure by using the exposure component of the Notre Dame  
176 Global Adaptation Initiative (ND-Gain) Country Index.

177 We do not find an association between exposure to climate hazards and re-risking. Instead,  
178 we find that de-risking is positively and significantly correlated with higher exposure to physical  
179 climate risks. This is puzzling and requires further analysis. One would expect that central banks

180 of economies with high exposure to climate hazards engage primarily in re-risking. To illustrate  
181 cross-national variation, we plot the ND-Gain Exposure index (our measure for physical climate  
182 risk) against de-risking scores in Supplementary Figure 1.

183 In sum, we find that only physical climate risks are significantly correlated with central  
184 bank de-risking activities. Transition risks—stranded asset and clean energy investment risks—are  
185 associated with neither re-risking nor de-risking actions.

186

## 187 **Central banks and climate politics**

188 A second set of explanations for why central banks tackle climate risks lies in politics (31-32).  
189 Central banks could be responding to political demands from either policymakers and/or the public  
190 (14, 33). While central banks tend to have high degrees of autonomy, they are ultimately  
191 accountable to politicians and the public they serve (34-35). Central banks have a record of  
192 responding to policymaker and public pressures, including in ways that extend beyond the scope  
193 of their primary mandate of price stability—specifically since the 2008 financial crisis (36-38).  
194 This suggests that central banks may be increasingly sensitive to political forces and act  
195 strategically, in their interests of self-preservation and maintaining their legitimacy (39).  
196 Legitimacy in the eye of the public is a key strategy to ensure their autonomy vis-à-vis politicians  
197 (40-43). By appealing to issues with public salience (in this case, climate change), central banks  
198 may strengthen their public legitimacy, but only as so far that engagement with matters of public  
199 concern does not overshadow their main mandate of ensuring price stability. We test two sources  
200 of political demands—policymakers and the public—separately, complementing prior research  
201 that focuses on supply-side variables, i.e., features of central banks, such as their mandates and  
202 level of independence (17, 19).

203 First, we use the stringency of a country's climate policy as proxy for policymaker  
204 demands. If policymakers—meaning politicians and/or bureaucrats—have enacted stringent  
205 national climate policy, they may expect central banks to follow suit and to support their policy  
206 goals (36-38, 44-45). Absent direct policymaker influence on central banks, this relationship might  
207 also exist if a central bank has a mandate to support the domestic economy or support the  
208 government's economic agenda, as in China or the United States.

209

210 [FIGURE 5 HERE]

211

212 We find that climate policy stringency (based on an OECD index) is a statistically  
213 significant and positive factor for re-risking. In other words, the more policymakers adopt strong  
214 climate policies, the more likely central banks are to engage in re-risking. We demonstrate the  
215 relationship in Figure 5. By contrast, climate policy stringency is not correlated with de-risking.  
216 One potential reason may be that stringent climate policy often performs a de-risking function by,  
217 for instance, providing clean energy subsidies and tax credits. In which case, central banks do not  
218 need to step in.

219 Second, we assume that the more the public is concerned with climate change, the more  
220 central banks will adopt re-risking and de-risking policies. In countries where climate change is a  
221 salient political issue and a large share of the population are concerned about the impacts of climate  
222 change, there have been public calls for central banks to act directly to address it (46). Supportive  
223 public sentiment might be a necessary condition for central banks to engage specifically in de-  
224 risking policies because such policies have already fallen under scrutiny for violating market  
225 neutrality (14, 47).

226 Using a cross-national survey on public concern about climate change from the Yale  
227 Program on Climate Change Communication, we find a statistically significant positive correlation  
228 between public concern and de-risking scores (Figure 3, Supplementary Table 2). This means that  
229 central banks may respond to greater public concern with de-risking the clean energy transition,  
230 but not with re-risking stranded assets and physical climate risks. We plot de-risking and public  
231 concern for climate change in Figure 6 to illustrate cross-national variation in public concern and  
232 de-risking actions.

233 In sum, we find that political demands from policymakers and the public are significantly  
234 and positively correlated with central banks' re-risking and de-risking activities, respectively.  
235

236 [FIGURE 6 HERE]

## 239 Discussion

240 Central banks vary substantially in the extent to which they re-risk fossil fuel investments and de-  
241 risk clean energy investments. The surprising finding here is that this is not significantly associated  
242 with exposure to transition risks, such as stranded asset and clean energy risks. Instead, we find  
243 that climate policy stringency and public concern with climate change are associated with re-  
244 risking and de-risking activities, respectively.

245 Our study has limitations that future research should address. First, we provide a cross-  
246 sectional analysis of central bank actions that emerged only recently. As time passes, researchers  
247 need to develop time series to understand the evolution of central bank climate risk management,  
248 thus also increasing the number of observations for statistical analysis. We are also at an early  
249 stage of understanding transition risks. Developing transition risk indices would offer additional  
250 conceptualizations of risk beyond an economy's exposure to affected sectors as tested in this  
251 article.

252 Second, we present cross-national correlations and theorize underlying mechanisms.  
253 Future research could shed light on central bank decision-making in tackling transition and climate  
254 risks, using in-depth case studies or surveys on central bank decision-making. This will help better  
255 understand how central bank bureaucrats think about both economic risks and political demands  
256 in incorporating energy and climate-related risks into their activities. In addition, as more policies  
257 are enacted, research on the effectiveness of different policy instruments could help shed light onto  
258 which actions have the greatest impact on climate risk mitigation (see also Supplementary Note  
259 5).

260 Third, central banks are the primary actors in managing financial risk and stability but not  
261 the only ones. To better assess the magnitude of the risk mitigation gap, research needs to examine  
262 the broader regulatory ecosystem, including financial supervisors and private sector actors. For  
263 example, in the United States, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Commodity  
264 Futures Trading Commission are setting rules on climate risk disclosure, not the Federal Reserve  
265 (48-49). Also, private actors, such as credit rating agencies, accounting firms, and insurance  
266 companies, are working to develop their own climate risk management practices. New coalitions,  
267 such as the Value Balancing Alliance, advance standards setting in impact accounting and climate-  
268 related disclosures. Yet these are all voluntary forms of risk management. Understanding the  
269 broader regulatory system of risk will allow for an assessment of the regulatory gap for the  
270 economy as a whole.

271 Our findings also have an important implication for policy. Climate policy advocates have  
272 held hopes that central banks could correct for the lack of national decarbonization policy. Their  
273 relative independence could theoretically provide them with greater ability to adopt policies where  
274 executives or legislatures are paralyzed by political opposition. This would most likely be the case  
275 for re-risking fossil fuel investments which tends to provoke opposition from fossil fuel and related  
276 industries. Yet we find re-risking to be positively correlated with the stringency of national climate  
277 policy. This suggests that so far central banks complement, rather than act as a substitute for,  
278 regulatory or legislative policy to reduce fossil fuel dependence. This makes central banks an  
279 important additional actor in decarbonization policy. That said, it also cautions against high hopes  
280 for central banks in laggard countries to take the lead in tackling climate risks. Research has found  
281 a similar pattern for transnational climate governance by private actors: the more stringent national  
282 climate policy, the more sub-national and private actors participate in transnational climate  
283 governance (50). In short, the halo effect of national climate policy and politics looms large and  
284 likely shapes a country's overall decarbonization ambition, including efforts by independent  
285 actors, such as central banks.

286 The political nature of the management of climate risks raises concerns about unmanaged  
287 risks in the global economy, specifically stranded asset risks. These exist in economies with large  
288 oil and gas and/or financial sectors and low re-risking scores. We see two practical paths to begin  
289 to address the risk mitigation gap. First, increasing transparency of central bank actions on climate  
290 risk management would lay the ground for building political pressure on laggard central banks.  
291 This article has taken a first step toward that, while a more institutionalized effort would be to  
292 develop a central bank climate index. Such an index would identify leaders and laggards and show  
293 progress over time. It would provide the informational basis for a number of advocacy and market  
294 actors to build pressure on central banks. For instance, private credit rating agencies may use the  
295 index to inform country credit ratings, thus indirectly incentivizing central bank actions to address  
296 climate risks.

297 Second, international organizations, such as the Bank for International Settlements (BIS)  
298 or the Financial Stability Board (FSB), could move beyond identifying best practices and develop  
299 standards for climate risk management that members need to adhere to. Both the BIS and the FSB  
300 have begun to explore climate risks. For example, the BIS has examined climate risk disclosure  
301 requirements, discussing which requirements should be standard for members and which should  
302 be at national discretion. International risk disclosure requirements for central banks could  
303 potentially incentivize greater risk management by central banks in countries that lack strong  
304 national decarbonization policy.

## 305 **Methods**

306 **Overview.** This paper undertakes regression analyses of an original dataset. This section first  
307 describes how we created the dataset, including the sample of countries, data collection, dataset  
308 aggregation, and outcome variable calculation. Then it details data collection for all covariates and  
309 describes the linear regression model.

310 **Countries included in the dataset.** Forty-seven countries are included in our dataset. They include  
311 the OECD countries plus all other countries in the Group of Twenty (G20). The countries are:  
312 Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica,  
313 Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, European Union, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary,  
314 Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Latvia, Lithuania,  
315  
316

317 Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Saudi  
318 Arabia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom,  
319 and the United States. As of 2022, OECD and G20 countries together constitute more than 84% of  
320 global GDP and 83% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (51-52).

321  
322 **Data collection on central bank actions.** The starting point of the data collection on climate risk-  
323 related central bank actions was the Green Monetary and Financial Policies Tracker created by the  
324 E-Axes Forum in 2021 (53). This tracker covers G20 countries, EU countries, and some countries  
325 in Latin America. This dataset includes the country, the implementing institution (whether it was  
326 the central bank or other financial regulator), the year of the policy, policy description, webpage  
327 link to the source, and a policy type classification. The policy type classification focused on  
328 whether the policy was a monetary policy, financial policy, or other, and then had sub-  
329 classifications based on these three categories, to further identify the policy group (e.g., collateral  
330 policy, credit operations, asset purchases, supervisory guidelines, stress tests, surveys, etc.).

331 While this Tracker provided useful information, we wanted to expand the dataset to include  
332 more recent policies (post-2021), a more expansive country sample, and create a classification  
333 system of policies to differentiate between re-risking and de-risking goals, so we constructed an  
334 original dataset from scratch. In the summer of 2023, we went through the sample countries one  
335 by one to collect our own set of central bank climate-related actions. Via web searching on the  
336 central bank's website and national news sources, we searched for specific keywords to identify  
337 any possible climate-related policy enacted by the central bank. These keywords were: climate  
338 change, climate finance, climate risk, sustainable, sustainable finance, and green asset. Our search  
339 usually yielded more exhaustive findings that might not fit the scope of the dataset (e.g., internal  
340 sustainability efforts the central bank is doing to make their office buildings more energy efficient),  
341 but this way we felt confident our dataset was not missing any key policies. We also cross-checked  
342 our policy dataset with the E-Axes Forum Tracker.

343 Our policy-specific dataset includes 168 observations across the 47 countries, and  
344 identifies: the country; the year of the policy (91% of the policy observations are between 2019-  
345 2023); the name of the policy; the policy description; the data source (webpage link); whether the  
346 policy includes a requirement of other actors (e.g., a regulatory rule for banks to comply with, or  
347 a request for information) or only pertains to the central bank operations (e.g., information  
348 published by the bank or a change in how the bank manages its funds); whether the policy aims to  
349 re-risk, de-risk, or both; the policy function class (information, economic, structural); and  
350 the relative "cost" of the policy to the central bank (the relative degree to which the action is costly  
351 to the central to enact, as interpreted by what is going to have a material impact on the financial  
352 system and what might have a resource cost to the central bank to enact). (See Supplementary Note  
353 5 for an expanded discussion of this cost concept). To review some examples of these specific  
354 policies and the policy classification systems, please see Table 1 and Extended Data Table 1.

355  
356 **Dataset aggregation and dependent variable creation.** To conduct the country-level analysis of  
357 risk management activities by central banks, we aggregated the policy-level dataset by country to  
358 create aggregate re-risking and de-risking scores (Extended Data Table 2). We assigned each policy  
359 observation a point value based on its relative cost for central banks and/or complying entities, in  
360 order to weight higher cost actions more heavily. Low-cost actions have a point value of 1.  
361 Medium-cost actions have a point value of 2. High-cost actions have a point value of 5. And very  
362 high-cost actions have a point value of 10. The rationale behind this weight (over simply tallying

363 up observations) is that a central bank might engage in several low- or medium-cost actions, such  
364 as publishing its own climate risk management guidance or even setting up an internal climate  
365 change working group, but these actions do not have immediate economic effects on the country's  
366 financial sector. An expanded and detailed discussion of this data aggregation process and the  
367 underlying rationale for this approach is provided in Supplementary Note 5.

368 We then aggregated the policies' point values based on whether the policy is for re-risking  
369 or de-risking. In the final country-level aggregated dataset, each country has a re-risking score, a  
370 de-risking score, and a total score (re-risking + de-risking). Supplementary Figure 2 maps out the  
371 total score for each country in the dataset. For the European countries that are under the jurisdiction  
372 of the European Central Bank, we added the EU scores to the national scores. This then captures  
373 both the policies of the national central bank of the European country as well as what the European  
374 Central Bank implemented.

375 We calculated alternative versions of the scores as well in order to perform robustness  
376 checks. Instead of a (1,2,5,10) scale for the observation weights (based on the policy cost), the  
377 alternate versions of these scores apply a different weight scale: (1,2,3,4), (1,3,5,7), and (1,5,10,15)  
378 (see Supplementary Note 10 for these analyses).

379  
380 **Data collection on explanatory variables.** Based on the different initial hypotheses, we collected  
381 a broad set of possible explanatory variables at the country level. To capture stranded asset risks,  
382 we used both a measure of the size of a financial sector and the approximate carbon exposure of  
383 the country's GDP. First, we used the World Bank DataBank's domestic credit provided to the  
384 private sector measure, as a share of GDP, from the most recent full coverage year in 2019 as a  
385 proxy for financial sector size (54). This measure is a commonly used proxy for financial depth,  
386 which captures the financial sector's size relative to the domestic economy (55). We also calculated  
387 the economic value contributing to a country's GDP from the oil and gas sector for the year 2021,  
388 using the GLORIA model (Global Resource Input-Output Assessment), a multi-regional input-  
389 output database that capture input and intermediate goods trade across the world (56). This dataset  
390 includes not just economic value produced and traded, but also value added by each economy into  
391 the value of final goods. This measure best captures the economic value the oil and gas sector  
392 contributes to an economy. For data on the growth of the renewable energy sector across countries,  
393 we used yearly data from the IEA on renewable energy's percentage share of primary energy  
394 supply and calculated the growth rate from 2018 to 2021 (57). We used the 2022 Exposure  
395 component of the Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative (NG-Gain) Country Index to capture  
396 a country's physical risk of climate change impacts (58). To measure climate policy stringency,  
397 we used the OECD's Climate Policy Stringency of adopted policies index for the most recent year  
398 available, 2020 (59). To capture public sentiment about climate change, we used data from the  
399 Yale Program on Climate Change Communication (YPCCC)'s survey, conducted in 2022, that  
400 produced population breakdowns of sentiment on climate change, by percentage (60). We grouped  
401 the Alarmed and Concerned audiences together to capture the share of the population concerned  
402 about climate change. This survey is the most comprehensive cross-country sampling of public  
403 sentiment about climate change to date, but it still is missing a handful of countries from our  
404 dataset, most notably China and Russia. We substitute in a data point for China from a comparable  
405 2022 survey from the IMF (Public Perceptions of Climate Mitigation Policies: Evidence from  
406 Cross-Country Surveys) which includes the share of the population that feels climate change will  
407 affect them or their family now up through the next ten years (61). We discuss this process more  
408 in Supplementary Note 6.

409 For the set of control variables, we used the World Bank DataBank's 2022 values for a  
410 country's inflation rate, unemployment rate, GDP growth rate, GDP per capita, and trade share (as  
411 a % of GDP) (62). We sourced a 2022 democracy index from The Economist Intelligence Unit,  
412 and a central bank independence index from the Quality of Government Institute, a dataset  
413 published by Ana Carolina Garriga in 2016 (63). We also created a secondary database on our  
414 sample countries' central bank mandates. The data on mandates was collected from the websites  
415 of each central bank. We gathered direct text from the central bank, summarized the core  
416 objectives, and verified these mandates using secondary sources. From these mandates, we created  
417 three binary indicators for the controls: 1) whether the mandate is for price stability only, 2)  
418 whether the mandate includes a clause (can be secondary in objective) to support the domestic  
419 economic policies of the country, and 3) whether the mandate includes any text explicitly that  
420 points to sustainability objectives. For any country observation for the control variables where the  
421 data point was not available given the year we use, we used the data value for the most recent year  
422 available, in order to ensure completeness of the dataset and not unnecessarily drop countries from  
423 the regression analysis (specific observations are noted in Supplementary Note 6).

424 An expanded discussion of our dataset is in Supplementary Note 6. We collected alternate  
425 data sources for these explanatory and control variables as well (see Supplementary Table 4 for a  
426 discussion of these alternate sources and why we selected these specific variables for this analysis).  
427

428 **Regression analysis.** We conducted the regression analysis of this study in R. We created a linear  
429 regression model with robust standard errors, using the main dependent variables and the above-  
430 described explanatory variables and controls. In the regression analysis, our sample is 41  
431 observations. From the 47 countries in our dataset, the countries dropped from the regression  
432 analysis due to missing observations are: Estonia, Iceland, Latvia, Luxembourg, Russia, and  
433 Slovenia. The missing data is due to the variable for public sentiment about climate change,  
434 discussed above and in Supplementary Note 6. The regression sample of countries together  
435 constitute more than 79% of global GDP and 81% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (51-52).

436 Our use of OLS is justified in Supplementary Note 7. To test the robustness of our main  
437 findings, we carry out a number of checks. We test for multicollinearity in our main model, run  
438 our main specification using alternate versions of the dependent variable, and run an alternate  
439 model with a different measure of renewable energy growth. (See Supplementary Notes 8-11 for  
440 results of these robustness checks.)  
441

## 442 **Data availability**

443 We created two datasets for this analysis. The first is a policy-specific dataset that includes the  
444 individual re-risking and de-risking policy measures for all central banks in our dataset. The second  
445 is a country-level dataset that aggregates the policy observations into aggregate re-risking and  
446 de-risking scores. This dataset also includes the independent variables for our regression analysis.  
447 Both datasets are described in the Methods and in the Extended Data Tables 1 and 2. We currently  
448 do not make the datasets publicly available due to additional ongoing analysis by the authors, but  
449 we make them available upon reasonable request.  
450

## 451 **Code availability**

452 We will provide the code for the regression analysis upon request.  
453

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459

#### 460 **Author contributions**

461 E.S. conceived the study and led the development of theory and corresponding analysis, with the  
462 guidance of J.M. and J.J.F. E.S. collected the data, designed the methodology, executed the  
463 statistical analysis, and produced tables and figures, with the guidance of J.M. and J.J.F. E.S. and  
464 J.M. wrote the manuscript.

465

#### 466 **Competing interests**

467 The authors declare no competing interests.

468

#### 469 **Additional information**

470 Supplementary Information is available for this paper.

471 Correspondence and requests for materials should be addressed to Esther Shears  
472 (esther\_shears@berkeley.edu) or Jonas Meckling (meckling@berkeley.edu).

473

### 474 **Tables**

475 **Table 1. Defining re-risking and de-risking.**

	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Risk type</b>	<b>Policy examples</b>
<b>Re-risking</b>	Internalizing risks of fossil fuel investments and physical climate risks into financial risk management practices to ensure financial stability.	Stranded assets risks (transition risks) & Physical climate risks	Re-risking policies tend to be supervisory in nature, e.g., - Targets added for its own investment portfolio to achieve net-zero, and restricts investments in fossil fuels (Finland) - Publishes report on carbon footprint of its corporate bond holdings (Sweden) - Banks must now incorporate climate-related risks into their stress tests (Brazil)
<b>De-risking</b>	Reducing the risk of clean energy investments.	Clean energy risks (transition risks)	De-risking policies tend to incentivize finance for clean energy investments, e.g., - Lower capital requirements for environmentally sustainable corporate and municipal lending (Hungary) - Invests in green bond investment fund for central banks to increase share of green securities in its own funds portfolio (EU) - Publishes guidance for a green financial system, to incentive more capital for green sectoral development (China)

476

### 477 **Figure Captions**

478 **Fig. 1 Re-risking and de-risking scores by country.** This graph plots each country's calculated re-risking  
479 and de-risking scores. Scores higher than 10 indicate that the country engages in substantial activity in  
480 that policy group, while scores 10 or lower indicate rather marginal efforts. The two-digit ISO country code  
481 indicates country names. There are four clusters evident from this plot: countries that engage substantially

482 in both re-risking and de-risking (blue quadrant), countries that mostly re-risk (yellow quadrant), countries  
483 that mostly de-risk (green quadrant), and countries that engage marginally in both or either group (red  
484 quadrant).

485  
486 **Fig. 2 Stranded asset risks and re-risking.** This figure plots central bank re-risking activity against a proxy  
487 for relative size of a country's financial sector, the domestic credit provided to the private sector, expressed  
488 as a percentage share of the country's GDP.

489  
490 **Fig. 3 Estimate plot of regression models.** This figure plots the coefficient estimates from the two linear  
491 regression models supporting our main findings. The re-risking model is shown in red, and the de-risking  
492 model is shown in blue. The red circle or blue square points indicate the coefficient estimate values, with  
493 the lines on either side of the observation showing the 95% confidence intervals. The highlighted boxed  
494 variables indicate a statistically significant variable in the model, color-coded to indicate which model (red  
495 for re-risking, blue for de-risking). Next to the findings discussed in the main text, we find that GDP growth  
496 rate is a negative statistically significant factor for re-risking, and that being a member of the EU is a  
497 statistically significant factor for de-risking. We discuss these findings in Supplementary Notes 1-4.

498  
499 **Fig. 4 Renewable energy growth and de-risking.** This figure plots central bank de-risking activity against  
500 the growth of a country's renewable energy sector, specifically the percentage change from 2018-2021  
501 of a country's renewable energy share of the country's total primary energy supply. The size of the  
502 observation point represents the 2021 value of the renewable energy share of total primary energy  
503 supply for each country, with the smaller circles indicating a lower share and the larger circles indicating  
504 a larger share.

505  
506 **Fig. 5 Climate policy stringency and re-risking.** This figure plots re-risking against the Climate Policy  
507 Stringency index, an OECD index of adopted climate policies with a range from 0-10, 10 being most  
508 stringent. The observations are colored red to indicate significant association with re-risking.

509  
510 **Fig. 6 Public concern about climate change and de-risking.** This figure displays the relationship between  
511 de-risking activity and a public sentiment measure from the Yale Program on Climate Change  
512 Communication, the percentage share of the country's population that is concerned about climate  
513 change. The observations are colored blue to indicate significant association with de-risking.

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