

July 12, 2023

The Honorable Ricardo Lara Insurance Commissioner State of California 300 Capital Mall, Suite 1700 Sacramento, CA 95814

Re: Workshop Examining Catastrophe Modeling and Insurance (REG-2023-00010)

Dear Commissioner Lara:

Polls show a growing concern among Americans about the corporate use of black box modelsⁱ – secret algorithms and Artificial Intelligence – to determine whether people will have access to products and services they require, and at what price. Insurance companies are looking to these same complex and opaque technologies to evade regulations that have kept insurance rates and premiums transparent and justified in California for decades.

Protecting California homeowners, motorists, and small businesses against the reckless use of unjustified secret models is insurance reform Proposition 103, passed by voters 35 years ago after an insurance access crisis nearly identical to the one the industry has created in California over the last five months. Proposition 103 mandates that "no [insurance] rate may be excessive, inadequate or unfairly discriminatory." Its robust, nationally-recognized framework of consumer protections requires transparency, justification, and approval before an insurance company can increase insurance rates. The subject of this workshop is one of the law's principal safeguards against unjustified rates and discriminatory practices: Ins. Code Sec. 1861.07.

Your question today is whether the use of catastrophe models to predict climate risk can comport with California's consumer protection laws mandating that insurance rates be justified through a process of transparent public review and participation. The answer is Yes, and the method is straightforward: Create a public model.

The insurance industry's pursuit of profit has already shifted all of the costs of climate change onto homeowners, by non-renewing policies, increasing premiums, delaying and denying smoke and fire claims, and threatening a wholesale pullout from the state if they do not get their way. Insurers simultaneously refuse to acknowledge or address their own significant contributions to climate change by insuring and investing in fossil fuels. They are now seeking to use private climate models to unjustifiably manipulate rates even higher. This is why

Proposition 103's requirement of public scrutiny and accountability is more necessary than ever.

For insurance companies, climate change is a convenient stalking horse for their real agenda: deregulation of oversight and accountability in California. Private, for-profit catastrophe models serve as a backdoor route to deregulation, because their black box nature makes it impossible for regulators or the public to understand what prices are based on or if they're getting it right.

Yet nothing about a catastrophe model *needs* to be proprietary or secret. A public model that is open to the scrutiny of the public, press and policymakers will keep insurance companies honest by forcing them to adjust their rates based on an impartial and objective analysis of wildfire risk and the impact of loss prevention practices on that risk.

Catastrophe models are not a panacea. A model developed and implemented in a fully transparent way can, however, enable California to better plan for a changing climate. A public model is necessary because the insurance industry's fixation on short term profits is incompatible with the interests of the people who live here.

Ultimately, our focus must be on stability in insurance access and affordability for homeowners by *reducing* the risks posed by climate change. The state's long climate leadership and deep bench of top academics, engineers, scientists and technologists uniquely situate our state to build a public model to serve all Californians.

This testimony discusses:

- 1) The purpose and legal requirements of Proposition 103 that require transparency, particularly Ins. Code Sec. 1861.07 and the court cases that have upheld that requirement.
- 2) The opacity of black-box private models.
- 3) How private catastrophe models' secrecy would derail the ability of regulators and the public to review rates and confirm they are justified.
- 4) Examples of private models' inconsistency and bias across financial industries.

<u>Secrecy Enabled and Exacerbated the Insurance Crisis in the Mid-1980s That Led to the</u> Passage of Proposition 103

In the mid-1980s, California was struck by a massive insurance crisis, which destabilized the Golden State's economy, punishing consumers and businesses alike with skyrocketing premiums and refusals to sell – just as the industry is doing today. Contemporary independent studiesⁱⁱ concluded that the threshold problem was that neither the public nor policymakers

had the ability to assess the validity of the insurance companies' rates and underwriting practices. Specifically, the Insurance Commissioner had no authority to collect adequate information regarding insurance rates and practices, no authority to limit industry profiteering and market destabilizations, and there was no opportunity for members of the public to participate in any regulatory process.

Prop 103 Requires Public Disclosure of Models

Prop 103 declared that: "Enormous increases in the cost of insurance made it both unaffordable and unavailable to millions of Californians" and that the "existing laws inadequately protect consumers and allow insurance companies to charge excessive, unjustified and arbitrary rates."

Insurance Code section 1861.07 requires that "All information provided to the commissioner pursuant to this article [Proposition 103] shall be available for public inspection, and the provisions of Section 6254(d) of the Government Code and Section 1857.9 of the Insurance Code [statutes barring disclosure of industry information] shall not apply thereto."

Section 1861.07 therefore requires public disclosure of any information provided to the Commissioner in connection with review of an insurer's rate application, which must include as required by section 1861.05(b): "all data referred to in Sections 1857.7, 1857.9, 1857.15, and 1864 and such other information as the commissioner may require."

The use of models in insurance matters is subject to 1861.07. The Commissioner's recent wildfire risk mitigation regulations specifically acknowledge that models used to determine a homeowner's risk for purposes of classifying individual structures or estimating losses corresponding to such classifications (Wildfire Risk Scores) must be filed with the Commissioner and made available for public inspection pursuant to 1861.05(b) and 1861.07. (10 CCR §2644.9(f).)

The California Supreme Court Has Confirmed that there are No Exceptions to the Disclosure Requirement.

State Farm has twice challenged the application of 1861.07's disclosure requirement in court. In each case, State Farm claimed that its data are "proprietary in nature" and constitute "trade secret material" that were privileged and exempt from the disclosure mandate of 1861.07.

In a 2004 ruling rejecting State Farm's argument, the California Supreme Court concluded that section 1861.07 set forth a "broad disclosure mandate," finding that it "broadly requires public disclosure of '[a]II information provided to the commissioner pursuant to' article 10." (State Farm Mut. Automobile Ins. Co. v. Garamendi (2004) 32 Cal.4th 1029, 1043-1044 (original italics).) It found that "the drafters [of Proposition 103] established a public hearing process for

reviewing insurance rate changes" in order to "enable consumers to permanently unite to fight against insurance abuse." (*Id.* at p. 1045 (quotations and citations omitted).) The Supreme Court rejected State Farm's attempt to withhold "trade secret data." "State Farm may not invoke the trade secret privilege to prevent disclosure of its ... data under Insurance Code section 1861.07." (*Id* at pp. 1046-1047.)ⁱⁱⁱ

Notwithstanding the California Supreme Court's definitive decision, State Farm once again sued to conceal its financial data in a 2015 hearing on its application for an increase in its homeowners insurance rates, which Consumer Watchdog challenged. Insurance Commissioner Dave Jones rejected State Farm's arguments. State Farm then sued to overturn the Commissioner's decision, but its claims were rejected by the San Diego Superior Court.

The Insurance Commissioner Has Historically Enforced 103's Disclosure Requirement

Since the passage of Proposition 103, California Insurance Commissioners have long defended section 1861.07's absolute disclosure requirement. Commissioners Harry Low and John Garamendi urged the California Supreme Court to reject State Farm's first challenge.

As Commissioner Jones explained in a 2018 brief opposing State Farm's second lawsuit, "the unambiguous language of section 1861.07 requires that all documents and testimony provided to the Commissioner as part of a rate proceeding be open to public inspection."

And, as noted above, Section 2644.9(f) of Insurance Commissioner Lara's recent wildfire risk mitigation regulations requires full disclosure of wildfire risk models:

Any rating plan, or Wildfire Risk Model submitted to the Commissioner in connection with a complete rate application pursuant to subdivision(c) of this section, or any additional documentation relating to such rating plan or model as may be requested by the Commissioner during the review of any such application, including any records, data, algorithms, computer programs, or any other information used in connection with the rating plan or Wildfire Risk Model used by the insurer which is provided to the Commissioner, shall be available for public inspection pursuant to Insurance Code sections 1861.05, subdivision(b), and 1861.07, regardless of the source of such information, or whether the insurer or the developer of the rating plan or Wildfire Risk Model claims the rating plan or Wildfire Risk Model is confidential, proprietary, or trade secret. Pursuant to Insurance Code section 1855.5, subdivision(a), a Wildfire Risk Model as defined in subdivision(b)(6) of this section that is made available by an advisory organization to its members for use in California shall be filed with the Commissioner and made available for public inspection.

Private Models are in Conflict with Proposition 103's Transparency Requirements

Private modeling firms (and insurers that develop aspects of models in-house) consistently assert intellectual property and trade secret protections that are incompatible with 1861.07's transparency requirements.

The American Academy of Actuaries emphasizes this point: "While the technical documentation of the models is available to users for their general knowledge, some core assumptions are considered proprietary and are not readily accessible to users. A catastrophe model is developed by a group of scientists (meteorologist, seismologist, hydrologist, statisticians, engineers, actuaries, computer scientist, etc.) with specialized knowledge in different fields. It is not an easy task for model users to develop even a basic understanding of the model, as required by U.S. actuaries' standards of practice."

Descriptive disclosures of the science and engineering that goes into a model and test cases of a model's outputs are too generalized to allow regulators or the public to adequately verify a model's inputs and assumptions or confirm whether its impact on rates is justified.

<u>Insurance Companies Resist Disclosure of Models in their Current Narrow Use in California – for Earthquake Loss Projection</u>

The only case in which insurance companies are allowed to use private catastrophe models to make loss projections for determining overall rates in California is for earthquake (and fire following earthquake) insurance rates. (10 CCR § 2644.4(e).) In 2004 and 2007, Consumer Watchdog challenged the use of the RMS Risk Link 4.3 EQ model used to support earthquake insurance rate increases proposed by two insurers. Over the course of public hearings in those challenges the modeler withheld from the public and regulators – over Consumer Watchdog's objections – critical information needed to review and verify the validity of the model's impact on proposed rates.

Safeco sought a 29.8% rate increase; an Administrative Law Judge (ALJ) and the Insurance Commissioner ultimately approved a 13.2% rate increase after a public hearing. Among many issues raised, Consumer Watchdog's scientific expert found the RMS model over-predicted the frequency of earthquakes in comparison to other models that more closely met the actual historical earthquake experience, including the USGS and California Geological Survey, and the ALJ and the Commissioner agreed. vi

The expert testified that the company also failed to disclose a key component of the model that is used to describe the strength of a quake based on soil conditions and distance from the quake's source. It is impossible for an independent scientist to weigh the validity of a model's rate output without full access to such information. The Department of Insurance also did not obtain or review this information.

In a second case challenging GeoVera's proposed 6.8% rate increase, ultimately the parties stipulated to a 0% overall increase approved by an ALJ and the Commissioner. During the proceeding, Consumer Watchdog's actuary sought to verify an area of potential manipulation or inaccuracy that is also a factor in wildfire models: How the model amplified losses postevent. These are the assumptions a model makes about how much a large catastrophic event is likely to increase rebuilding costs beyond current market values - including how it treats inflation, replacement cost and demand surge projections. In the case in question, he estimated the RMS model overstated projected losses by about 30% or more, however the exact amount was unknown due to the company's refusal to disclose its proprietary method of calculating replacement cost values.^{vii}

It is easy to see how over-projecting replacement costs leads to excessive or unjustified rates. If such financial assumptions are built into a model, the public and regulators must have full access to evaluate the methodology behind such assumptions and determine if the model's outputs are reasonable and fair.

How Do We Ensure Models Treat Consumers Fairly?

Below we pose just a few of the questions that regulators and the public must be able to ask — the answers to which proprietary catastrophe models hide — to determine whether a model is producing rates that are excessive, inadequate, or unfairly discriminatory:

- A key question about a model's impact on rates concerns the relative weight for each input variable (risk factor) in the model. These weights result from analyses performed within the model based on a dataset used to calibrate the model's initial parameters ("training data"). Depending on a model's construction, small changes to the weights can become highly leveraged, resulting in substantial variability in the model's output. Consumers and their advocates have a legal right to know which risk factors are being used to calculate insurance premiums. They also need to be able to understand the sensitivity of a model's results to changes in risk factor values and their relative weights. Yet details about how a model weights different factors is exactly the kind of information companies protecting a proprietary model will be unwilling to disclose.
- What are the input variables (risk factors) used in the model?
 - Typically, the risk factors selected for use in the final model have a demonstrable causal relationship with the peril being modeled, e.g. vegetation density or proximity to outbuildings for wildfire risk. However, it is entirely possible for risk factors with no obvious causal connection to the peril being modeled to demonstrate a high level of predictive significance. In such cases, the modelers must ascertain whether the seemingly unrelated variable is acting as a proxy for another, more sensible risk factor, or perhaps for a different risk factor that is disallowed due to inherent bias. Regulators and consumer representatives must have the ability to ask the same questions.

- How are elements that tend to fluctuate in value and have a significant impact on model output, such as inflation, demand surge, construction and labor costs, etc., treated in the model?
- What are all data types used in the initial development of the model; what is included in the training data?
 - According to the insurance analytics firm GuideWire, viii historically there have been two primary sources of modeling data for wildfires: US Census block groups and US Forest Service vegetation imagery data. GuideWire boasts it has improved on this by using, "30-meter vegetation resolution with cutting-edge geospatial tools to deliver highly accurate assessments of wildfire risk". Generalized selling points such as this are not robust enough to support a model's efficacy in improving the accuracy of the ratemaking process. What data do these "cutting-edge" tools collect and how do they impact the model's assessment of risk?
- How is risk scoring determined for quantitative variables that have multiple components (e.g. Fire station proximity: Physical distance, staffing, average drive duration, complications in an active wildfire scenario, etc.)
- Are broad public policy changes that address climate change and the risk of wildfire -such as California's plan to achieve Net Zero carbon emissions by 2045, ix or the legislatively-mandated multi-billion dollar investments by California utilities in wildfire mitigation -- taken into consideration?
- What about developments that impact insurers' projected financial losses? California law holds utility companies responsible for damage caused by any fire ignited by their equipment, whether found negligent or not. Does the model account for the fact that the insurance industry will not ultimately be responsible for all losses from the fires it predicts? PG&E and Edison made \$12.1 billion in insurance subrogation payments for damage from fires the utilities caused in 2017-18, including the massive Camp Fire.xi The California Wildfire Fundxii was then established by the legislature in 2019 for the purpose of providing a source of money to pay or reimburse participating utility companies (San Diego Gas & Electric, Southern California Edison, and Pacific Gas & Electric) for eligible claims including those paid as subrogation to insurance companies that result from a wildfire. The Fund is capitalized by utility companies and ratepayers.
- How does the model control for overfitting? (model output regurgitates historic data vs using historic data to generate unique hypothetical scenarios)
- How much uncertainty is attached to model outputs because of errors in the model inputs and simplifying assumptions?
- How current is the data for elements such as population density, building codes, zoning changes, forest management, etc.?
- Is the model developed on a single company or insurer group's data, or on a broader data set such as industry-wide?

• Can the model be tested against past wildfire events to find out how accurately it predicts them?

Catastrophe Models Produce Inconsistent Results

In materials submitted to regulators documenting its U.S. Wildfire Model, the private modeling firm CoreLogic highlights the imprecision of catastrophe models:

"Modeling insured losses resulting from wildfires is an inherently subjective and imprecise process involving an assessment of information that comes from a number of sources and that may not be complete or accurate. Moreover, total insured loss for certain natural catastrophes may continue to evolve over a period of time. No model is, or could be, an exact representation of reality."xiii

In a frank Q&A about the insurance industry's push for catastrophe modeling published by industry consulting firm Milliman, Dag Lohmann, former vice president at modeling giant RMS, now-CEO of KatRisk, LLC, puts it more bluntly:

"Multiple modelers could develop a wildfire model from all the components in current literature, tune the models to reasonably validate with historical data, and ultimately have average annual losses 2 or 3 times different than each other when projecting future losses."

Milliman goes on to argue: "These candid descriptions of variability in catastrophe modeling evoke the thinking of statistician George Box, who quipped that: 'All models are wrong, some are useful.' In other words, a good model can provide users with significant value in spite of outstanding uncertainties as to model precision. *Model validation, as well as rigorous review of model operations and assumptions, are critical steps in assessing whether this value can be extracted from a cat model, given its intended use.*" xiv [emphasis added]

The industry itself acknowledges models' accuracy and value must be subject to "rigorous review." The modeler and the insurance industry cannot be the only players with the ability to conduct such reviews. Models protected as trade secrets will prevent verification of their science and their math, and regulators and consumer representatives would be left with inconsistent outputs and uncertainties that can't be explained. Models' mechanisms must be accessible to regulators and the public.

At the Virtual Meeting Regarding Home Hardening and Wildfire Catastrophe Modeling held by the California Department of Insurance on December 10, 2020, Allan Schwartz, Fellow of the Casualty Actuarial Society and a Member of the American Academy of Actuaries, presented testimony that illustrates how this variability manifests in the private earthquake models already in use in California:

"On multiple occasions over the last several years, the models consulted by insurance companies had dramatic differences in the results:

- In a Pacific Specialty Insurance Company rate filing, the leading RMS Model projected Fire Following Earthquake (FFEQ) loss was 263% of the projected FFEQ loss from RMS's leading competitor AIR.XV
- In a State Farm filing, the projected loss for Owner, Condo and Tenant coverage from the highest model projections were as much as 368% of the projected FFEQ loss from the lowest model projection.xvi
- And in a CSAA rate filing, one model's projection was 237% of another's.xvii

Mr. Schwartz questions the reliability of assumptions based on widely different outputs:

"Modelers often state that different models can be expected to give varying results because each modeler can use different assumptions, formula, parameters, and other inputs. While models cannot be expected be give the exact same results, it is reasonable to expect that the results from different models should be within an acceptable range. Results that vary from more than 100% to more than 250% could easily be considered to be outside an appropriate range."

With proprietary models, the CDI and the public are prohibited from looking inside the black box to determine the reason for such discrepancies and the best result.

These model inconsistencies are highlighted throughout financial and environmental regulation.

As stated by the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit in <u>Sierra Club v. Costle</u>, 657 F.2d 298, 332 (D.C. Cir. 1981) (Robb, J.), which was reviewing an econometric model used by the Environmental Protection Agency:

... models, despite their complex design and aura of scientific validity, are at best imperfect and subject to manipulation The results ultimately are shaped by the assumptions adopted at the outset, and can change drastically for a given set of input data if key assumptions are adjusted even slightly. The accuracy of the model's predictions also hinges on whether the underlying assumptions reflect reality, which is no small feat in this volatile world. (Citations omitted.)

For this reason, courts and regulatory agencies that have accepted computer models as evidence have also demanded that the underlying source data, assumptions, and methodologies be disclosed. *viiii*

Black-Box Models Harm Consumers

Across the economy, automated decisions made by undisclosed proprietary algorithms have become the unseen hand of discrimination, preventing the most vulnerable members of society from achieving important life goals. Credit scores alone have infected every aspect of Americans' personal lives, reflecting and exacerbating systemic racial and financial inequities. Discrimination occurs when people seek a mortgage, apply for a job, credit, school, apartment, or government benefits. Lower income individuals, people of color, women, and other disadvantaged communities are hardest hit by decisions made as a result of black box algorithms. xix

ProPublica launched an analysis of algorithmic bias in risk assessment software used to make criminal sentencing, bail and rehabilitation decisions in Broward County, Florida. The software, based on a for-profit company's algorithm, predicted violent crime correctly just 20% of the time, wrongly labeled Black defendants as future criminals twice as often as white defendants, and conversely mislabeled white defendants as low-risk more often than Black defendants.**

University of California Berkeley researchers found that the mortgage lenders charge higher interest rates to Black and Latino borrowers than white borrowers. "The mode of lending discrimination has shifted from human bias to algorithmic bias," said study co-author Adair Morse, a finance professor at the Haas School of Business which published the study. "Even if the people writing the algorithms intend to create a fair system, their programming is having a disparate impact on minority borrowers — in other words, discriminating under the law." The discrimination cost those homebuyers up to half a billion dollars more in interest every year than white borrowers with comparable credit scores. *xi

Uber and Lyft pricing algorithms charge a higher price-per-mile for rides that originate in more diverse neighborhoods than they do in more white neighborhoods, according to a study analyzing Chicago transport and census data conducted by George Washington University researchers. XXIII

The potential bias in opaque catastrophe models is no less damaging to consumers' financial health. A public model will allow for the most rigorous testing to root out bias.

Consumer advocates and progressive lawmakers are battling in state and federal legislative bodies, regulatory agencies and the courts against secret algorithmic manipulation that creates disadvantage across our financial lives. In the insurance space California is ahead of the game because Proposition 103 mandates transparency. Allowing insurance companies to price home insurance behind closed doors would take California backwards.

<u>Financial Industry Climate Prediction Software in Particular Faces Academic Scrutiny for Reliability and Bias</u>

Despite years of warnings that climate change threatens the insurance industry, and despite significant regulatory developments abroad, U.S. and California climate-related supervision and regulation of insurers remains limited. The California Department of Insurance recently required insurers to report their fossil fuel investments, yet insurers' deep exposure to climate risk from fossil fuel underwriting has yet to be acknowledged.^{xxiii}

Banking and securities financial regulators have gone farther in incorporating the risks of climate change into oversight. Yet the for-profit models financial companies in particular rely on to make those predictions are full of loopholes, flawed financial incentives, bias and uncertainty that threaten to leave us worse off, rather than better, in imagining the financial impacts of a changing climate.

A forthcoming law review article by Boston School of Law Professor Madison Condon brings together the public interest critique of private models for financial regulation. **xiv She writes:

"[A]ctionable and transparent information about our climate-changed future is a public good that the private sector cannot be depended upon to provide equitably or reliably. Further, all private climate services rely on upstream climate data and models that were collected and produced by an enormous network of public institutions. ... This Article urges state and federal governments to invest in their own climate services capacity at a scale not currently contemplated. Risk assessments lacking a scientific basis can lead to maladaptation across the economy."

The article is a must-read as California considers how to best respond to a changing climate while protecting insurance consumers. Among its points:

- The secrecy of private models hides uncertainty and error and prevents evaluation by the user and the regulator.
 - An example is the arena of ESG governance, where physical risk scores produced by leading firms have been found to have little correlation with one another.
- Private modeling firms have financial conflicts of interest, with many owned by the very rating agencies whose products rely on their outputs. For example, RMS one of the largest modeling firms is owned by Moodys.
 - Financial conflicts at the ratings agencies was a major topic of scrutiny after the 2008 financial crisis when it became clear they had mispresented the risks of mortgage-backed securities.
- Extreme weather events have disproportionately impacted Black and brown communities. Data bias will mean those communities are also most likely to be affected by models that consider them riskiest, and therefore least profitable to insure.

- Private models are designed to maximize short term profits, given the 1-year term of a standard insurance policy, while a public interest frame for the use of climate models should be mitigating risk, not short-term rate-setting.
- Models privatize the public data they are built on.

A Public Catastrophe Model Would Comply with 1861.07 and Best Protect Californians

A public interest framework for the use of catastrophe models in insurance rating in California would insure the most people at the lowest price while incentivizing homeowners to reduce climate risk. The insurance industry has long pursued the opposite strategy, seeking to weed out homeowners who are more likely to make claims, and the secrecy of the private modeling industry serves as a tool to that end. California has the opportunity to create a public model that instead serves all Californians. A public model would prioritize equity, reliability, affordability, transparency, risk reduction, and accountability.

Sincerely,

Carmen Balber Executive Director

Atske, Sara. "Public Attitudes Toward Computer Algorithms | Pew Research Center." *Pew Research Center: Internet, Science & Tech*, 7 July 2020, www.pewresearch.org/internet/2018/11/16/public-attitudes-toward-computer-algorithms.

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states that two specific statutory exemptions from disclosure do not apply, left intact other exemptions from disclosure under the Public Record Act, such as Government Code section 6254(k), which exempts trade secret information. The court held that, given the inclusive language used in the first clause, those two exemptions "are meant to be examples rather than an exhaustive listing of all those statutory exemptions that are inapplicable." "[T]he language of Insurance Code section 1861.07, when viewed in context, is not ambiguous and, by its terms, requires public disclosure of [State Farm's purported trade secret information]." https://scocal.stanford.edu/opinion/state-farm-v-garamendi-33393

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