Table 1 shows historical returns and the equity risk premium (on a compounded and an arithmetic basis) for the U.S. markets from 1802 through September 30, 2001. The last columns display the equity risk premium based on a comparison with U.S. T-bonds and T-bills, which is just the difference between the real return for stocks and the real return for bonds and bills. I broke out these returns and premiums into the three major sub-periods since 1802 and also into 20-year post-World War II periods.

When I wrote the book *Stocks for the Long Run* (Siegel 1998), I was struck by the fact that for all the very long periods (and the definition of “long” is more than 50 years), the average real annual stock market return is just about 7 percent a year, maybe a tad under. This return also holds true for the three sub-periods 1802–1870, 1871–1925, and 1926–2001 and for the whole 1946–2001 post-WWII period. (By the way, almost all of the inflation the United States has suffered over the past 200 years has come since World War II, and as we economists should not find surprising, stocks—being real assets—were not at all adversely affected by post-WWII inflation). So, 7 percent appears to be a robust measure of the long-term annual real stock return.

For periods of several decades, however, the real return on stocks can deviate quite a bit from that 7 percent average. Some of those extreme periods since WWII include the bull market of 1946–1965, the bear market of 1966–1981, and the great bull market that lasted from 1982 to the end of 1999. From 1982 through 1999, the average real return on stocks was 13.6 percent, which is double the 200-year average.

That recent experience may color investors’ estimates of the equity risk premium today. In the roundtable Discussion for the opening session [“Theoretical Foundations”], there was talk about Bayesian updating, and I do believe that investors place greater weight on the more recent past than we economists think they should. Perhaps investors believe that the underlying parameters of the system have shifted or the model or paradigm has changed or whatever, but I think some of the high expectations investors have for future returns have certainly come from the recent bull market. For many investors, their bull market experience is the only experience they have ever had with the markets, which could certainly pose a problem in the future if excess-return expectations are widespread and those expectations are frustrated.
The annual real bond returns provided in Table 1 show an interesting trend. From 1802 through September 30, 2001, the average annual real T-bond return was 3.5 percent, about half the equity return. In the major subperiods, this return has been trending decidedly downward. Beginning in the 19th century, it was nearly 5 percent; it then fell to 3.7 percent in the 1871–1925 period; it was 2.2 percent for the 1926–2001 period; and since the end of WWII, it has been only 1.3 percent. From 1982 onward, as interest rates and inflation have fallen, bonds have produced a much greater real return than average. When I was studying finance in the 1970s, we learned that both T-bill and T-bond real returns were close to zero. Yet, over the past 20 years, those real returns have definitely risen.

When TIPS were first issued, they were priced to yield a real return of 3.5 percent, which is close to the average 200-year long-term real return of bonds.\(^1\) Investors rightfully ignored the low real returns on bonds of the past 75 years (the period made popular by Ibbotson and the standard benchmark for the profession) in determining the TIPS yield. In fact, in 2000, during the stock market boom, TIPS were priced to yield a real return of almost 4.5 percent. Currently, the long-term TIPS yields have fallen back to a 3.0–3.2 percent range, depending on the maturity.

The real returns on T-bills tell the same story as for bonds, although for bills, the return is generally a bit lower. Of course, bills do not generate the capital gains and losses that bonds do, so in the post-WWII period, bill returns have not fluctuated as much as bonds. Note that from 1982 forward, the annual real return for bills is 2.8 percent, far higher than the nearly zero average real return realized in the previous 55 years. In other words, periods as long as a half century can be quite misleading in terms of predicting future returns.

The problem is that while real stock returns were maintaining their long-term historical average real return of about 7 percent, real bond and bill returns were very low over the past 75 years, particularly up to 1980. Recognition of this phenomenon might help us understand why the equity premium has been so high in data from 1926 to the present.

The equity premium calculated for the past 75 years is biased downward for two reasons—bias in bond returns and bias in equity valuations.

**Bias in Bond Returns**

First, real historical government bond returns were biased downward over the 1926–2001 period. I say so because all the evidence points to the fact that bondholders simply did not anticipate the inflation of the late 1960s and 1970s. Investors would not have been buying corporate and government bonds of 30-year duration with 3.5 percent coupons (as they did in the 1960s) had they had any inkling of the inflation risk. I attribute part of that ill-fated confidence to the fact that few had a complete understanding of the inflationary implications of the shift from a gold-based to a paper monetary standard.

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\(^1\) TIPS are Treasury Inflation-Protected Securities; these securities are now called Treasury Inflation-Indexed Securities.
The gold standard was prevalent during the 19th century and much of the early 20th century when prices were stable over the long term. The United States (and most of the rest of the world) went off the gold standard in the early 1930s, but the effect was not immediately apparent. Although we had a pop of inflation following World War II, inflation was quite low up to the mid-1960s. So, in the 1960s, bond buyers were pricing 30-year bonds as if 30 years later their purchasing power would be nearly the same.

As inflation accelerated, bond buyers began to catch on. Bond yields rose, bond prices fell, and real bond returns were severely depressed. Table 1 shows that during the 15-year period from 1966 through 1981, the real return on bonds was a negative 4 percent. That period was long, and its effect is to bias downward the real return of bonds over the longer 1926–2001 period. I thus believe we should use higher real returns on fixed-income assets in our forecasting models, returns that are consistent with the real return on TIPS of 3–4 percent.

Bias in Equity Valuations

The second reason the equity risk premium is too high is that historical real stock returns are biased upward to some extent. Figure 1 plots historical P/Es (defined here as current price of the S&P 500 Index divided by the last 12 months of reported earnings) from 1871 through September 2001. The straight line is the 130-year mean for the P/E, 14.5. The latest P/E is about 37, surpassing the high that was reached in late 1999 and early 2000. So, the collapse of earnings that we have experienced this year has now sent the P/E to an all-time high.

Let me add a warning here: Part of the incredibly high P/E that we have now is a result of the huge losses in a few technology companies. For instance, JDS Uniphase Corporation wrote down its investments $36 billion in the second quarter of 2001. The write-down was in reported earnings, not in operating earnings, and translates into a 5-point drop in the S&P 500 Index’s valuation. So, approach these recent data on reported earnings with caution; $36 billion from just one company’s write-down has a huge impact on the market. Some of the technology issues are now essentially out-of-the-money options. When we compute numbers like the P/E of the market, we are adding together all the earnings of all the companies and dividing that into the market value. Because one company has big losses, it sells at option value, but another company with positive earnings can sell at a more normal valuation level. Adding these together might lead to upward biases in P/Es.

Nevertheless, there is no question that P/Es have risen in the past 10 years. If the market’s P/E were to return to the historical (since 1871) average of 14.5 tomorrow, the annual real return on equities would fall 50 bps. And if the P/E had always remained at its

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**Figure 1. Historical Market P/E, 1871–2001**

[Diagram showing historical P/E values from 1871 to 2001]

*Note: Ending month for 2001 is September.*
historical average level but the dividends paid had been reinvested, the annual real return on equities would be 115 bps lower than where it is today. The reason is that much of the real return on equities comes from the times when stock prices are very depressed and the reinvested dividends are able to buy many more shares, boosting stock returns. Much of the historically high returns on stocks has come when the market was extremely undervalued and cash flows were reinvested at favorable prices.

I believe there are several reasons for rising valuation ratios.

- **Declining transaction costs.** One reason for rising valuations is the extensive decline in equity transaction costs. One-way transaction costs were more than 1 percent of the value of the transaction as late as 1975; costs are less than 0.2 percent today. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the (two-way) costs of maintaining a diversified portfolio could have been as high as 2 percent a year, whereas today indexed funds enable even small investors to be completely diversified at less than 0.2 percent a year.

- **Declining risk.** Another reason for rising valuations may be declining levels of real economic risk as the U.S. economy has become more stable. The increased stability of labor income has enabled workers to accept a higher level of risk in their savings.

- **Investor learning.** We cannot dismiss the fact that investors may have learned about the long-term risk and return characteristics of stocks. If investors have learned that stocks have been chronically undervalued on average, and in particular during recessions and crises, they will be less likely to let prices become undervalued, which leads to higher average valuations.

- **Taxes.** Tax law has become increasingly favorable to equities. And low inflation, because the capital gains tax is not indexed, causes after-tax returns to rise. There has also been a proliferation of tax-deferred savings accounts, although it is not clear whether the taxable or tax-deferred investor sets stock prices at the margin.

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### Historical Growth Rates

As Table 2 shows, the real return on stocks has been 7 percent for the 1871–2001 period and is almost exactly the inverse of the P/E. If you divide this period into two subperiods—before World War II and after World War II—the real return for stocks remains roughly 7 percent but the dividend yield drops significantly from the first subperiod to the second, as does the payout ratio, and earnings growth rises.

In his presentation, Cliff Asness mentioned that he could not find in the data an increase in earnings growth when the payout ratio decreased [see “Theoretical Foundations” session]. But his findings are inconclusive because of the confusion between cyclical and long-term trends. In a recession, because dividends remain relatively constant as earnings plummet, payout ratios rise and earnings fall. In the subsequent economic recovery, earnings growth is higher and appears to follow a high dividend payout ratio. But this phenomenon is purely cyclical. Over long periods, a drop in the payout ratio and a drop in the dividend yield are matched almost one-to-one with an increased growth rate of real earnings. I find this relationship comforting because it is what finance theory tells us should happen over long periods of time.

### Projecting Real Equity Returns

The link between the P/E and real returns is given by the following equation:

\[
\text{Expected future real returns} = \frac{E}{P} + g \left(1 - \frac{RC}{MV}\right),
\]

where

- \(E/P\) = earnings yield, the inverse of the P/E
- \(g\) = real growth
- \(RC\) = replacement cost of capital
- \(MV\) = market value of capital

\(RC/MV = \text{book-to-market value, or } 1/\text{Tobin’s q}\)

I will call it the “Tom Philips equation” for projecting the real return of equity (Philips 1999). (I modified the formula somewhat.) According to this equation, if replacement cost does not equal market value, then the link between the P/E and future real returns must be modified. If Tobin’s \(q\) is not 1, you have to correct

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### Table 2. Historical Growth Rates, 1871–September 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Real Stock Return</th>
<th>Average P/E</th>
<th>Inverse of Average P/E</th>
<th>Real Earnings Growth</th>
<th>Dividend Yield</th>
<th>Real Dividend Growth</th>
<th>Real Capital Gains</th>
<th>Average Payout Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871–2001</td>
<td>7.06%</td>
<td>14.45</td>
<td>6.92%</td>
<td>1.27%</td>
<td>4.66%</td>
<td>1.09%</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
<td>62.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871–1945</td>
<td>6.81%</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>7.23%</td>
<td>0.66%</td>
<td>5.31%</td>
<td>0.74%</td>
<td>1.32%</td>
<td>72.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946–2001</td>
<td>7.38%</td>
<td>15.30</td>
<td>6.54%</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>3.78%</td>
<td>1.57%</td>
<td>3.32%</td>
<td>50.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the earnings yield for the growth rate in the real economy to find expected future real returns. According to the equation, when the market value of equity exceeds the replacement cost of capital, as is the case today, the earnings yield underestimates future returns. The reason is that higher equity prices allow companies to fund capital expenditures by floating less equity, thereby reducing the dilution that this investment entails.

How much downward is the earnings yield biased? The Tobin’s $q$ on the latest data that I have is about 1.2. It was about 1.5, or even higher, in 2000. With long-run real growth at 3 percent, the last term, $g[1 - (RC/MV)]$, adds about 50 bps to the forecast of real return going forward. It added more in 2000 because Tobin’s $q$ was higher. So, if the P/E settles down to 20 (and I believe that a future P/E should not be back at 14 or 15 but that a higher P/E is justified for the reasons I listed previously) and we emerge from the recession, then in terms of a long-term trend, E/P will be about 5 percent. Add the half a percentage point for the cheaper investment to maintain capital and you get a 5.5 percent expected real rate of return for equities. If the P/E is 25 in the future, with $1/25 = 4$ percent, adding the growth correction produces an expected real return for equities of 4.5 percent.

Keep in mind that TIPS are now priced to yield a real return of about 3 percent. So, because I believe that the long-run P/E in the market will settle between 20 and 25, the real future equity return is about 5 percent and the equity future equity return is about 5 percent and the equity risk premium will be 2 percent (200 bps).