The Federal Reserve in the 21st Century

Financial Stability Policies

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK of NEW YORK

Thomas Eisenbach, Research and Statistics Group

The views expressed in the presentation are those of the speaker and are not necessarily reflective of views at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York or the Federal Reserve System.

Overview

- Why care about financial stability?
 - "Benefits" and "costs" of the financial system
- Inherent instabilities of financial institutions
 - Maturity transformation and runs
 - Solvency and liquidity
 - Pro-cyclical leverage
- Financial stability policies
 - Federal Reserve and financial stability
 - Vulnerabilities and tools by sectors
 - Asset markets
 - Banking sector
 - Shadow banking sector
 - Non-financial sector

The Financial System



Benefits of the Financial System

— What is it supposed to achieve?

Allocation of resources

- Savers to borrowers
 Stocks, bonds, bank deposits/loans: from people who want to save to people who want to invest
- Across many investments
 Asset prices, interest rates: determine where funds are
 most scarce and direct flows

State-contingent exchanges

- Intertemporal smoothing
 Transfer of purchasing power across time
- Sharing of risks
 Different natural exposures (airline & oil producer)
 and different capacity to bear (retiree & young worker)

"Costs" of the Financial System

— What can go wrong?

Asset bubbles

- Combinations of psychology and frictions can drive valuations far from fundamentals
- Credit booms
 - Borrowers taking on, rolling over debt; able to repay only under best scenario
- Worst case: combination of both
 - Rising asset prices \leftrightarrow demand for credit
- Comovement of risk premiums and risk taking

Fluctuations in Asset Valuations



9

Asset bubbles

Combinations of psychology and frictions can drive valuations far from fundamentals

Credit booms

- Borrowers taking on, rolling over debt; able to repay only under best scenario
- Worst case: combination of both
 - Rising asset prices \leftrightarrow demand for credit
- Comovement of risk premiums and risk taking

Median Outcomes of Banking Crises
in Advanced Economies, 1970-2011

Relative to GDP	Output Loss	-32.9%
	Increase in Debt	21.4%
	Fiscal Costs	3.8%
In Years	Duration	3 years

Source: Laeven & Valencia (2012)

Asset bubbles

- Combinations of psychology and frictions can drive valuations far from fundamentals
- Credit booms
 - Borrowers taking on, rolling over debt; able to repay only under best scenario
- Worst case: combination of both
 - Rising asset prices \leftrightarrow demand for credit
- Comovement of risk premiums and risk taking

Asset bubbles

- Combinations of psychology and frictions can drive valuations far from fundamentals
- Credit booms
 - Borrowers taking on, rolling over debt; able to repay only under best scenario
- Worst case: combination of both
 - Rising asset prices \leftrightarrow demand for credit
- Comovement of risk premiums and risk taking

Risk Premiums and Risk Taking



Source: Adrian & Shin (2014)

Measures of risk are lowest when risk taking is highest!

Inherent Instabilities

- Financial system does not correspond to perfect market for Arrow-Debreu claims
- Frictions are important source of instability
 - Maturity transformation and runs
 - Interaction of solvency and liquidity
 - Pro-cyclical leverage
- Financial conditions interact with real activity
 - Spillovers and amplification

Maturity Transformation and Runs

Maturity Transformation and Runs

Diamond and Dybvig (1983)

- Long term investment: productive but illiquid
- Agents uncertain about consumption needs: early vs. late
- Bank with demand deposits can make everyone better off
- But ... coordination problem among late consumers!
 - Staying is better if everyone stays ↔ bank is fine
 - Running is better if everyone runs \leftrightarrow bank fails
 - Multiple equilibria, "good" and "bad"



- Eisenbach, Keister, McAndrews, Yorulmazer (2014)
 - Solvency and liquidity cannot be viewed separately
- Financial intermediary balance sheet:

Assets	Liabilities
<i>m</i> : cash, safe & liquid <i>y</i> : asset, risky & illiquid	s: short-term debt ℓ: long-term debt e: equity

Assets	Liabilities
<i>m</i> : cash, safe & liquid <i>y</i> : asset, risky & illiquid	s: short-term debt ℓ: long-term debt e: equity

- Asset *y*:
 - Fundamental value θy if held until maturity
 - Liquidation value $\tau \theta y$ with $\tau < 1$ if liquidated early
- Short-term debt *s*:
 - Promises r_s if rolled over, 1 if withdrawn early
 - Fraction α is withdrawn
- Both θ and α are uncertain \rightarrow shocks to assets **and** liabilities



Fundamental Solvency



- For asset return sufficiently high / low
 - Debt can / cannot be repaid irrespective of withdrawals
 - → Intermediary is "fundamentally solvent / insolvent"

Conditional Solvency



- For intermediate asset returns
 - Solvency depends on level of withdrawals
 - → Intermediary is "conditionally solvent / insolvent"

Adrian and Shin (2010)

Assets	Liabilities	_ Leverage:
A: asset value	D: debt	A = A = A
	<i>E</i> : equity	$L = \frac{1}{E} = \frac{1}{A - D}$

- Change in leverage after change in asset value?
 - Debt is a fixed claim
 - Equity bears losses
 - → Expect **counter-cyclical** leverage:

$$A \uparrow \Rightarrow L \downarrow \text{ and } A \downarrow \Rightarrow L \uparrow$$

NOTE: Assumes no active adjustments (issue/repay debt)

Household leverage as expected:



Commercial banks target fixed leverage:



Broker dealers disproportionally adjust leverage:



Figure 4 in Adrian and Shin (2010)

How does leverage targeting work?



- especially during times of stress
- Effects stronger for pro-cyclical target than for constant target

40 debt

Leverage: 5

10 equity

50

Monitoring and Policies

Fed was created in 1913 in response to financial panics

"It should always be kept in mind that ... it is the **prevention of panic**, the protection of our commerce, the stability of business conditions, and the maintenance in active operation of the productive energies of the nation which is the question of vital importance."

- Senator Robert Latham Owen

Federal Reserve Act coauthor

- Monetary policy
- Banking regulation & supervision
- Financial stability matters for monetary policy
 - Financial conditions affect transmission of monetary policy
 - Monetary policy affects financial risk taking
 - Financial vulnerabilities are down-side risk to real economy
- Set of tools for financial stability
 - Monetary policy itself blunt and with unintended effects
 - Micro-prudential stability of individual institutions
 - Macro-prudential stability of financial system

- Systemic risks can emerge during benign periods
 - Systemic risk built up during the period of low volatility
 - Accounting & risk measurement problems can obscure risks
- Externalities have first order, aggregate effects
 - Fire sales and effects on the real economy
 - Interconnections transmit distress
- Shadow banking system affects core financial institutions
 - Regulatory arbitrage / financial innovation
 - Implicit & explicit guarantees to shadow institutions

1. Asset markets

The risk of abrupt reversals in asset values tends to increase when the pricing of risk is compressed

2. Banking sector

 Firms are considered systemically important because their distress or failure could disrupt the functioning of the broader financial system and inflict harm on the real economy

3. Shadow Banking sector

 Shadow banks provide maturity and liquidity transformation without public sources of backstops and represent systemic risks due to their connections to other financial institutions

4. Non-financial sector

 Linkage of financial sector to real economy is via the provision of credit

Asset Markets

- Vulnerabilities
 - Overvaluations and leverage
 - Low volatility and compressed risk premiums
- Macroprudential policies
 - Sectoral risk weights for banks
 - Margin and haircut requirements
- Cleaning up ex post can lead to excessive risk taking
 - Collective moral hazard due to "Greenspan put"
 - Ex ante macroprudential policy preferable
- Forward guidance can contribute to low volatility
 - Asset prices can be fueled by the combination of low rates and low volatility, exacerbating the leverage cycle

- Vulnerabilities
 - Pro-cyclical leverage of banks and broker-dealers
 - Risk-taking channel of monetary policy
- Macroprudential policies
 - Countercyclical capital and risk weights
 - Sectoral risk weights, exposure limits
 - Supervisory guidance
 - Stress tests for capital (CCAR) and liquidity (CLAR)
- Measures of systemic importance
 - Size, interconnectedness, complexity, and critical services
 - Market-based measures of systemic risk (CoVaR, SES,...)

- Vulnerabilities:
 - Pro-cyclical intermediated leverage (dealer \rightarrow hedge fund)
 - Excessive maturity transformation
 - Regulatory arbitrage
- Macroprudential policies
 - Monitor and reduce incentives for regulatory arbitrage
 - Minimum haircuts or margins
 - Tighter standards on securitization
- Activities not backed by government backstops:
 - MMFs, cash pools, securities lending / repo activities, velocity of collateral, securitization

- Vulnerabilities:
 - Deterioration in lending standards
 - Excess household leverage
- Macroprudential policies:
 - Loan-to-value and debt-to-income ratios
 - Limits on adjustable rate loans for borrowers
- Other non-financial sector risk
 - Leverage of businesses, governments
 - Non-financial credit ultimately funded with short-term debt

