

PREDICTABLE FINANCIAL CRISES

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How predictable are crises?

- *“Financial crises can’t be reliably anticipated or preempted.”* –Tim Geithner
- *“My strong belief is that these crises are unpredictable in terms of cause or timing or the severity when they hit.”* –Hank Paulson
- *“This crisis involved a 21st century electronic panic by institutions... It was an old-fashioned run in new clothes.”* –Ben Bernanke

How predictable are crises?

- **Recognized that crises preceded by weak economic fundamentals**
 - Kaminsky 1990, Goldstein-Kaminsky-Reinhart 2000
- **But, still widely believed that crises largely unpredictable**
 - Gorton (2012) “crises are sudden, unpredictable events”
 - Literature in the late 1990s and 2000s using country characteristics to forecast a currency and/or banking crisis
- **Emerging alternate: Crises predictable byproducts of rapid expansions of credit accompanied by asset booms (Minsky, Kindleberger)**
 - Recent papers arguing credit expansions, growth of risky credit as share of total, tight credit spreads, predict financial fragility & worse macro outcomes
 - Borio-Lowe 2020, Schularick-Taylor 2012, Greenwood-Hanson 2013, Baron-Xiong 2017, Lopez-Salido-Stein-Zakrajšek 2017, Mian-Sufi-Verner 2017, Krishnamurthy-Muir 2020
- **Yet, precise and straightforward estimates of the probability of a crisis following credit and asset price booms remain unavailable.**
 - Open debate about how high probability of a crisis should be permitted to climb before prompting early policy action

This paper

- **Estimate probability of financial crises as a function of past credit and asset price growth.**
 - Panel of 42 countries from 1950–2016
 - Historical data on growth of outstanding credit to businesses and households.
 - Data on the growth of equity and home prices.
 - Chronology of financial crises: Baron-Verner-Xiong (2021) use hand-collected historical data on bank stock returns to improve existing crisis chronologies.

- **Construct indicator variables capturing “overheated” credit markets**
 - Overheated = **Joint occurrence** of rapid asset price growth and credit growth
 - Do so separately for the household and business sector

- **How predictable are crises?**
 - When credit markets are overheated in this sense, $\text{Prob}(\text{Crisis with 3 years}) > 40\%$

- **How much lead time does a policymaker have?**
 - A decent amount.
 - Predictability is much stronger at 2- and 3-year horizons than at a 1-year horizon.

Main Findings (1)

- 1. Consistent with Schularick and Taylor (2012) and others, crises can be predicted using past credit growth in simple linear regressions.**
 - But predictability is modest, even at horizons up to five years.
- 2. Predictability rises substantially when we focus on large credit expansions that are accompanied by asset price booms.**
 - Prob(Crisis) is high when:
 - Nonfinancial business credit growth is high + stock prices have risen sharply.
 - Household credit growth is high and home prices have risen sharply.
 - “Red-Zone” = Joint occurrence of rapid asset price growth and credit growth
 - Natural signal of an outward shift in the supply of credit, which then sows the seeds of its own destruction
 - Prob(Crisis) cumulates for 3-4 years after overheating: Ample early warning
- 3. Overheating in business and household credit = Separate things**
 - Both independently predict the arrival of future crises.
 - Particularly dangerous in the rare instances when they occur in tandem.

Main Findings (2)

4. **Overheating in credit markets naturally has a global component and is correlated across countries.**
 - ▣ Construct global business Red-zone variables: Fraction of countries in our sample that are in the Red-zone in each year.
 - ▣ Including global variables substantially increases predictability.

5. **How high should probability of a financial crisis be allowed to climb before prompting early action on part of policymakers?**
 - ▣ “Back-of-the-envelope” model
 - ▣ Answer turns on (1) statistical tradeoff between false negative and false positive errors and (2) costs of these two policy mistakes.
 - ▣ Argue that early action warranted unless costs of false negatives is very low—implausibly in our view—relative to false positives.

Previous literature

□ **Forecasting the credit cycle**

- Scholarik and Taylor 2012; Greenwood and Hanson 2013; Baron Xiong 2017; Lopez-Salido, Stein, Zakrajsek 2017; Mian, Sufi, Verner 2017; Kirti 2020
- **Our contributions:**
 - Simplicity and transparency of approach
 - Highlighting strong interaction between credit growth and asset prices
 - Documenting a higher degree of predictability than normally assumed
 - Calibrating simple model of policy tradeoff

□ **Behavioral view of credit cycles**

- Minsky 1977, 1986; Kindleberger 1978
- Gennaioli, Shleifer and Vishny 2012; Greenwood and Hanson 2013; Bordalo et al. 2018; Gennaioli and Shleifer 2018; Greenwood, Hanson, and Jin 2019; Maxted 2020; Krishnamurthy and Lu 2020
- **Our findings favor this behavioral view of crises.**

Data

- **Unbalanced panel dataset covering 42 countries from 1950 to 2016**
- **Key dependent variable = Financial crisis indicators**
 - Baseline = Baron-Verner-Xiong (2021) indicator
 - Reinhart-Rogoff (2011) and Jorda-Schularick-Taylor (2017) as robustness
- **Independent variable #1 = Growth in business/household credit**
 - Change in Credit-to-GDP for Businesses and Households
 - Focus 3-year change
 - Primarily drawn from IMF
- **Independent variable #2 = Asset price growth**
 - Equities: 3-year real price growth from Global Financial Data
 - Residential Housing: 3-year real price growth from BIS
- **Focus on the postwar period**

Crisis data

- Painstakingly collected by Reinhart-Rogoff (2011), Jordá-Schularik-Taylor (2017), and Baron-Verner-Xiong (2021)
- BVX (2021)
 - ▣ Combine narrative data on bank failures and bank panics with data on bank stock prices
 - ▣ “Bank crisis” when either:
 - “Equity crisis” = bank stocks fall by $>30\%$ + widespread failures
 - “Panic crisis” = severe withdrawals from banks
 - ▣ Unconditional probability of a crisis in a given year is 4.0%
 - Roughly a crisis every 25 years
 - ▣ BVX actually classify every country year into bank equity crisis/panic, and so on, so we can (and have) looked at predictability of different crisis genres

Forecasting with credit growth only

- Jordá-style (2005) linear forecasting regressions of the form:

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot \Delta_3 X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

for $h = 1, 2, 3,$ and 4 where $\alpha_i^{(h)}$ is a country fixed effect, and Δ_3 is the change in predictor X_{it} over three years ending in t . $Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$ is an indicator variable that equals one if a crisis begins in country i in any year between $t+1$ and year $t+h$

| | Dependent Variable | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|----------------------|-------|--------|-------|----------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| | Crisis within 1 year | | | | Crisis within 2 year | | | | Crisis within 3 year | | | |
| | (1.1) | (1.2) | (1.3) | (1.4) | (2.1) | (2.2) | (2.3) | (2.4) | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| Δ_3 (Debt ^{Priv} / GDP) (Normalized) | 2.6* | | | | 4.0*** | | | | | 5.3** | | |
| | [1.7] | | | | [2.9] | | | | | [2.6] | | |
| Δ_3 (Debt ^{Bus} / GDP) (Normalized) | | 2.0 | | | | 2.8** | | | | 3.4* | | |
| | | [1.5] | | | | [2.6] | | | | [2.1] | | |
| Δ_3 (Debt ^{HH} / GDP) (Normalized) | | | 2.8** | | | | 6.1*** | | | | 9.2*** | |
| | | | [2.2] | | | | [2.9] | | | | [3.4] | |
| Δ_3 log(Debt ^{Priv} / CPI) (Normalized) | | | | 1.3 | | | | 2.3 | | | | 3.5 |
| | | | | [1.2] | | | | [1.6] | | | | [1.7] |
| R^2 (within) | 1.5 | 0.9 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 7.3 | 1.0 |
| N | 1,281 | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,281 | 1,281 | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,281 | 1,281 | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,281 |

Forecasting with credit growth only

- Jordá-style (2005) linear forecasting regressions of the form:

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot \Delta_3 X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

- One Standard Deviation rise in $\Delta_3(Debt^{Priv}/GDP)_{it}$ associated with a 2.6 and 5.3 percentage point increase in Prob (Crisis) within 1 and 3 year.

| | <i>Dependent Variable</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | Crisis within 1 year | | | | Crisis within 2 year | | | | Crisis within 3 year | | | |
| | (1.1) | (1.2) | (1.3) | (1.4) | (2.1) | (2.2) | (2.3) | (2.4) | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| $\Delta_3 (Debt^{Priv} / GDP)$ (Normalized) | 2.6* [1.7] | | | | 4.0*** [2.9] | | | | | 5.3** [2.6] | | |
| $\Delta_3 (Debt^{Bus} / GDP)$ (Normalized) | | 2.0 [1.5] | | | | 2.8** [2.6] | | | | 3.4* [2.1] | | |
| $\Delta_3 (Debt^{HH} / GDP)$ (Normalized) | | | 2.8** [2.2] | | | | 6.1*** [2.9] | | | | 9.2*** [3.4] | |
| $\Delta_3 \log(Debt^{Priv}/CPI)$ (Normalized) | | | | 1.3 [1.2] | | | | 2.3 [1.6] | | | | 3.5 [1.7] |
| R^2 (within) | 1.5 | 0.9 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 7.3 | 1.0 |
| N | 1,281 | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,281 | 1,281 | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,281 | 1,281 | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,281 |

Incorporating Asset Price Data

- Probability of Financial Crisis *onset* within 3 years
 - ▣ *Business Debt and Equity Prices*

| Price Tercile | <i>Crisis Frequency</i> Debt Quintile | | | | | <i>Diff. from Median</i> Debt Quintile | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|-------------|---|------|------|------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 4.2 | 4.9 | 4.1 | 7.1 | 19.3 | -3.7 | -3.1 | -3.8 | -0.9 | 11.3 |
| 2 | 3.5 | 5.3 | 8.0 | 9.5 | 19.4 | -4.4 | -2.7 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 11.4* |
| 3 | 11.5 | 9.3 | 11.1 | 19.3 | 45.3 | 3.5 | 1.4 | 3.2 | 11.3 | 37.4*** |

- ▣ *Household Debt and House Prices*

| Price Tercile | <i>Crisis Frequency</i> Debt Quintile | | | | | <i>Diff. from Median</i> Debt Quintile | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|-------------|---|------|------|--------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 11.1 | 8.2 | 28.3 | 6.1** | 1.5 | 7.8 | 4.9 | 24.9** |
| 2 | 7.2 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 16.2 | 13.1 | 3.9 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 12.9** | 9.8* |
| 3 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 17.4 | 36.8 | -0.6 | -0.2 | -1.9 | 14.1** | 33.5*** |

- Simple way of understanding nonlinear multivariate relationship

Incorporating Asset Price Data

- Probability of Financial Crisis *onset* within 3 years
 - ▣ *Business Debt and Equity Prices*

| Price Tercile | <i>Crisis Frequency</i> Debt Quintile | | | | | <i>Diff. from Median</i> Debt Quintile | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|-------------|---|------|------|------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 4.2 | 4.9 | 4.1 | 7.1 | 19.3 | -3.7 | -3.1 | -3.8 | -0.9 | 11.3 |
| 2 | 3.5 | 5.3 | 8.0 | 9.5 | 19.4 | -4.4 | -2.7 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 11.4* |
| 3 | 11.5 | 9.3 | 11.1 | 19.3 | 45.3 | 3.5 | 1.4 | 3.2 | 11.3 | 37.4*** |

- ▣ *Household Debt and House Prices*

| Price Tercile | <i>Crisis Frequency</i> Debt Quintile | | | | | <i>Diff. from Median</i> Debt Quintile | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|-------------|---|------|------|--------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 11.1 | 8.2 | 28.3 | 6.1** | 1.5 | 7.8 | 4.9 | 24.9** |
| 2 | 7.2 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 16.2 | 13.1 | 3.9 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 12.9** | 9.8* |
| 3 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 17.4 | 36.8 | -0.6 | -0.2 | -1.9 | 14.1** | 33.5*** |

- Very strong interaction between past credit and asset price growth

Incorporating Asset Price Data

□ Probability of Financial Crisis *onset* within 3 years

▣ *Business Debt and Equity Prices*

| Price Tercile | <i>Crisis Frequency</i> Debt Quintile | | | | | <i>Diff. from Median</i> Debt Quintile | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|-------------|---|------|------|------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 4.2 | 4.9 | 4.1 | 7.1 | 19.3 | -3.7 | -3.1 | -3.8 | -0.9 | 11.3 |
| 2 | 3.5 | 5.3 | 8.0 | 9.5 | 19.4 | -4.4 | -2.7 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 11.4* |
| 3 | 11.5 | 9.3 | 11.1 | 19.3 | 45.3 | 3.5 | 1.4 | 3.2 | 11.3 | 37.4*** |

▣ *Household Debt and House Prices*

| Price Tercile | <i>Crisis Frequency</i> Debt Quintile | | | | | <i>Diff. from Median</i> Debt Quintile | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|-------------|---|------|------|--------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 11.1 | 8.2 | 28.3 | 6.1** | 1.5 | 7.8 | 4.9 | 24.9** |
| 2 | 7.2 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 16.2 | 13.1 | 3.9 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 12.9** | 9.8* |
| 3 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 17.4 | 36.8 | -0.6 | -0.2 | -1.9 | 14.1** | 33.5*** |

□ **Red-Zone or “R-zone”** = Asset price growth and credit growth both high

The Red-Zone

- Define three indicator variables:

$$High-Debt-Growth_{it} = 1\{\Delta_3(Debt/GDP)_{it} > 80^{\text{th}} \text{ percentile}\}$$

$$High-Price-Growth_{it} = 1\{\Delta_3 \log(Price_{it}) > 66.7^{\text{th}} \text{ percentile}\}$$

$$R-zone_{it} = High-Debt-Growth_{it} \times High-Price-Growth_{it}$$

- To assess how elevated credit and asset price growth shape Prob(Crisis), estimate Jordá-style (2005) forecasting regressions:

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot High-Debt-Growth_{it} \\ + \delta^{(h)} \cdot High-Price-Growth_{it} + \gamma^{(h)} \cdot R-zone_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

- Results similar with or without country fixed-effects
- We estimate LPMs, but marginal effects nearly identical with logit or probit
- Driscoll-Kraay (1998) standard errors (panel analog of Newey-West)
- Conservative p -values using Kiefer-Vogelsang's (2005) "fixed-b" asymptotics

Forecast with R-Zone (Business)

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Debt}\text{-Growth}_{it} \\ + \delta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Price}\text{-Growth}_{it} + \gamma^{(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

| | Crisis within 1 year | | | | Crisis within 3 years | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | (1.1) | (1.2) | (1.3) | (1.4) | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| High Debt Growth ^{Bus.} ($\beta^{(h)}$) | 6.9** [2.3] | | 5.3** [2.1] | | 16.8*** [3.3] | | 11.5** [2.7] | |
| High Price Growth ^{Bus.} ($\delta^{(h)}$) | | 0.4 [0.1] | -0.4 [-0.2] | | | 10.5 [1.4] | 7.4 [1.1] | |
| R-Zone ^{Bus.} ($\gamma^{(h)}$) | | | 5.3 [0.8] | 9.0 [1.1] | | | 19.4** [2.8] | 33.7*** [3.3] |
| Sum of coefficients ($\beta^{(h)} + \delta^{(h)} + \gamma^{(h)}$) | 6.9 | 0.4 | 10.2 | 9.0 | 16.8 | 10.5 | 38.2 | 33.7 |
| R ² (within) | 1.6 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 3.8 | 2.4 | 7.8 | 6.1 |
| N | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 |

- Degree of predictability rises significantly with horizon: Crises slow to develop

Forecast with R-Zone (Business)

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Debt}\text{-Growth}_{it} \\ + \delta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Price}\text{-Growth}_{it} + \gamma^{(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

| | Crisis within 1 year | | | | Crisis within 3 years | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | (1.1) | (1.2) | (1.3) | (1.4) | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| High Debt Growth ^{Bus.} ($\beta^{(h)}$) | 6.9** [2.3] | | 5.3** [2.1] | | 16.8*** [3.3] | | 11.5** [2.7] | |
| High Price Growth ^{Bus.} ($\delta^{(h)}$) | | 0.4 [0.1] | -0.4 [-0.2] | | | 10.5 [1.4] | 7.4 [1.1] | |
| R-Zone ^{Bus.} ($\gamma^{(h)}$) | | | 5.3 [0.8] | 9.0 [1.1] | | | 19.4** [2.8] | 33.7*** [3.3] |
| Sum of coefficients ($\beta^{(h)} + \delta^{(h)} + \gamma^{(h)}$) | 6.9 | 0.4 | 10.2 | 9.0 | 16.8 | 10.5 | 38.2 | 33.7 |
| R^2 (within) | 1.6 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 3.8 | 2.4 | 7.8 | 6.1 |
| N | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 | 1,258 |

- Coefficient on R-zone interaction is economically large, statistically significant

Forecast with R-Zone (Household)

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Debt}\text{-Growth}_{it} \\ + \delta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Price}\text{-Growth}_{it} + \gamma^{(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

| | Crisis within 1 year | | | | Crisis within 3 years | | | |
|---|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| | (1.1) | (1.2) | (1.3) | (1.4) | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| High Debt Growth ^{HH} ($\beta^{(h)}$) | 7.3** [2.2] | | 2.4 [1.6] | | 20.5*** [3.3] | | 9.1** [2.3] | |
| High Price Growth ^{HH} ($\delta^{(h)}$) | | 3.6* [1.7] | 0.4 [0.3] | | | 8.1 [1.5] | 0.0 [0.00] | |
| R-Zone ^{HH} ($\gamma^{(h)}$) | | | 8.9* [1.8] | 11.2** [2.2] | | | 20.9*** [3.2] | 28.6*** [3.4] |
| Sum of coefficients ($\beta^{(h)} + \delta^{(h)} + \gamma^{(h)}$) | 7.3 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 11.2 | 20.5 | 8.1 | 30.1 | 28.6 |
| R ² (within) | 1.8 | 0.7 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 5.6 | 1.4 | 7.6 | 7.0 |
| N | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 |

- Degree of predictability rises significantly with horizon: Crises slow to develop

Forecast with R-Zone (Household)

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \beta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Debt}\text{-Growth}_{it} \\ + \delta^{(h)} \cdot High\text{-Price}\text{-Growth}_{it} + \gamma^{(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

| | Crisis within 1 year | | | | Crisis within 3 years | | | |
|---|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| | (1.1) | (1.2) | (1.3) | (1.4) | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| High Debt Growth ^{HH} ($\beta^{(h)}$) | 7.3** [2.2] | | 2.4 [1.6] | | 20.5*** [3.3] | | 9.1** [2.3] | |
| High Price Growth ^{HH} ($\delta^{(h)}$) | | 3.6* [1.7] | 0.4 [0.3] | | | 8.1 [1.5] | 0.0 [0.00] | |
| R-Zone ^{HH} ($\gamma^{(h)}$) | | | 8.9* [1.8] | 11.2** [2.2] | | | 20.9*** [3.2] | 28.6*** [3.4] |
| Sum of coefficients ($\beta^{(h)} + \delta^{(h)} + \gamma^{(h)}$) | 7.3 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 11.2 | 20.5 | 8.1 | 30.1 | 28.6 |
| R ² (within) | 1.8 | 0.7 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 5.6 | 1.4 | 7.6 | 7.0 |
| N | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 | 1,107 |

- Coefficient on R-zone interaction is economically large, statistically significant

Additional Questions

1. How robust are these core results?
 - a) Driven by look-ahead bias?
 - b) Driven by just the 2007–2008 global financial crisis?
 - c) Hold for other crisis chronologies?
 - d) Sensitive to the specific thresholds for “high”?
2. Do overheating in the markets for business and household credit reflect a single underlying factor, or are these separate phenomena?
3. How much of the predictability is driven by global overheating in credit markets, as opposed to local, country-level credit market overheating?
4. How likely do crises need to become before warranting pre-emptive action by policymakers?

Business and Household Credit

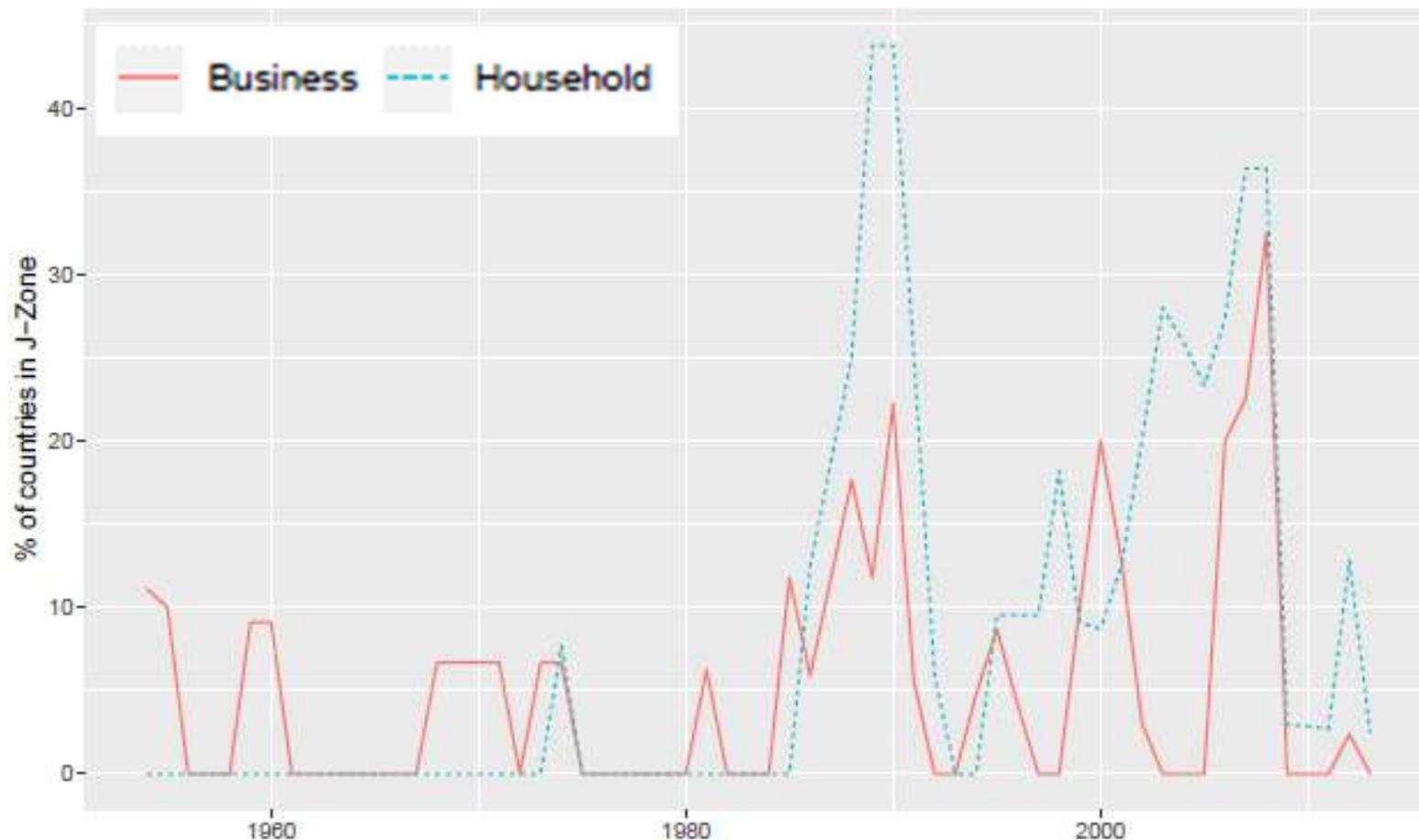
$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \gamma^{Bus(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it}^{Bus} + \gamma^{HH(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it}^{HH} + \gamma^{Both(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it}^{Both} + \gamma^{Either(h)} \cdot R\text{-zone}_{it}^{Either} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

| | Crisis within 3 years | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) | (3.4) |
| R-Zone ^{Bus} ($\gamma^{Bus(h)}$) | 28.7*** [3.2] | 22.2* [2.0] | | |
| R-Zone ^{HH} ($\gamma^{HH(h)}$) | 24.8*** [3.5] | 21.6*** [2.7] | | |
| R-Zone ^{Bus} × R-Zone ^{HH} ($\gamma^{Both(h)}$) | | | 24.8 [1.7] | 65.4*** [8.0] |
| max{R-Zone ^{Bus} , R-Zone ^{HH} } ($\gamma^{Either(h)}$) | | | | 28.1*** [3.4] |
| <i>R</i> ² (within) | 11.1 | 11.7 | 6.7 | 8.7 |
| Observations | 1,084 | 1,084 | 1,084 | 1,281 |

- Overheating in business and household credit markets are separate phenomena.
 - Correlation between household R-zone and the business R-zone just 16%.
- Independently predict the arrival of future crises, but they are particularly dangerous in rare instances—e.g., Japan in 1988—when they occur in tandem.

Local versus Global Overheating

- Credit cycles share an important global component
 - ▣ Schularick-Taylor (2012), Mian-Sufi-Verner (2017), Agrippino-Rey (2020)
- Simple measure: $Global\ R-zone_t = \% (Countries\ in\ R-zone\ in\ year\ t)$



Local versus Global Overheating

$$Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h} = \alpha_i^{(h)} + \gamma^{Bus(h)} \cdot Local\ R\text{-zone}_{it}^{Bus} + \xi^{Bus(h)} \cdot Global\ R\text{-zone}_t^{Bus} \\ + \gamma^{HH(h)} \cdot Local\ R\text{-zone}_{it}^{HH} + \xi^{HH(h)} \cdot Global\ R\text{-zone}_t^{HH} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+h}$$

| | Crisis within 3 years | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | (3.1) | (3.2) | (3.3) |
| Local R-Zone ^{Bus} ($\gamma^{Bus(h)}$) | 18.3** [2.4] | | 16.0 [1.9] |
| Global R-Zone ^{Bus} ($\xi^{Bus(h)}$) | 116.0*** [4.7] | | 77.0* [1.8] |
| Local R-Zone ^{HH} ($\gamma^{HH(h)}$) | | 14.3*** [3.1] | 13.1** [2.9] |
| Global R-Zone ^{HH} ($\xi^{HH(h)}$) | | 76.6*** [4.9] | 39.4** [2.4] |
| <i>R</i> ² (within) | 14.3 | 14.5 | 19.2 |
| Observations | 1,258 | 1,107 | 1,084 |

- Including these global variables in our forecasting regressions substantially increases the predictability of crises.
 - R^2 when forecasting crises at a 3-year horizon is 19.2% in column (3.3), far exceeds R^2 reported in prior Tables.

Crisis prediction & financial stability

- While Red-zone indicator has substantial predictive power for arrival of a crisis, still fails to signal some crises and also generates false alarms.
 - ▣ How strong must the predictability be to warrant taking early policy actions to either avert or mitigate the severity of financial crises?
- Different ways of defining R-zone events are associated with a natural statistical tradeoff between false negative errors and false positive errors
 - ▣ For instance, many of the crises not preceded by a R-zone event are “near misses” in the sense that credit and asset price growth fall just short of our assignment thresholds
 - ▣ So, they are preceded by a Yellow-zone or “Y-zone” in which credit and asset price growth are elevated, but not as high as in the R-zone.
 - ▣ So, Y-zone has fewer false negatives, but generates more false alarms than R-zone.
- Use our data to construct a “policy possibility frontier,” which provides a more formal summary of the statistical tradeoff faced by policymakers.
 - ▣ Develop a simple framework to quantify how a policymaker tasked with promoting financial stability should trade off false positive and false negative errors—e.g., when setting her threshold for acting to “lean against the wind” of credit-market overheating.
 - ▣ Taking policy possibility frontier as given, optimal choice depends on relative costs of these two types of policy errors.
 - ▣ While neither the R-zone nor the Y-zone are perfect predictors, argue there is a strong quantitative case for taking early policy action.

Crisis prediction & financial stability

- **Contingency table:** A simple representation of the predictive efficacy of the Business R-zone indicator

| | Crisis within 3 years $Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+3} = 1$ | No crisis within 3-years: $Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+3} = 0$ |
|--|--|--|
| R-zone: $R\text{-zone}_{it} = 1$ | True Positives ($\#TP$) | False Positives ($\#FP$) |
| No R-zone: $R\text{-zone}_{it} = 0$ | False Negatives ($\#FN$) | True Negatives ($\#TN$) |

- Looking at rows:
 - Positive Predictive Value: $PPV = \#TP / (\#TP + \#FP)$
 - Negative Predictive Value: $NPV = \#TN / (\#TN + \#FN)$

Crisis prediction & financial stability

- **Contingency table:** A simple representation of the predictive efficacy of the Business R-zone indicator

| | Crisis within 3 years $Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+3} = 1$ | No crisis within 3-years: $Crisis_{i,t+1 \text{ to } t+3} = 0$ |
|--|--|--|
| R-zone: $R\text{-zone}_{it} = 1$ | True Positives (34) | False Positives (41) |
| No R-zone: $R\text{-zone}_{it} = 0$ | False Negatives (117) | True Negatives (1,066) |

- Looking at rows:
 - Positive Predictive Value: $PPV = 34 / (34 + 41) = 45.3\%$
 - Negative Predictive Value: $NPV = 1,066 / (1,066 + 117) = 90.1\%$

Crisis prediction & financial stability

- **Contingency table:** A simple representation of the predictive efficacy of the Business R-zone indicator

| | Crisis onset: $Crisis_{i,t} = 1$ | No crisis onset: $Crisis_{i,t} = 0$ |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| R-zone in prior 3 years | True Positives (20) | False Positives (131) |
| No R-zone in prior 3 years | False Negatives (30) | True Negatives (1,077) |

- Looking at columns:

- ▣ True Positive Rate: $TPR = 20 / (20 + 30) = 40.0\%$
- ▣ True Negative Rate: $TNR = 1,077 / (1,077 + 131) = 89.2\%$

Crisis prediction & financial stability

| | <i>Type</i> | | | |
|--|-------------|-----------|--------|------|
| | Business | Household | Either | Both |
| #R-Zone Events followed by a Crisis | 34 | 42 | 61 | 15 |
| #R-Zone Events | 75 | 114 | 170 | 19 |
| %R-Zone Events followed by a Crisis (PPV) | 45.3 | 36.8 | 35.9 | 78.9 |
| #Crises Preceded By R-Zone | 20 | 21 | 32 | 7 |
| #Crises | 50 | 44 | 50 | 44 |
| % of Crises preceded by R-Zone (TPR) | 40.0 | 47.7 | 64.0 | 15.9 |
| #Non-crises not Preceded By R-Zone | 1077 | 897 | 969 | 1010 |
| #Non-Crises | 1208 | 1063 | 1231 | 1040 |
| % of Non-Crises not preceded by R-Zone (TNR) | 89.2 | 84.4 | 78.7 | 97.1 |
| Time to Crisis | 2.9 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.0 |

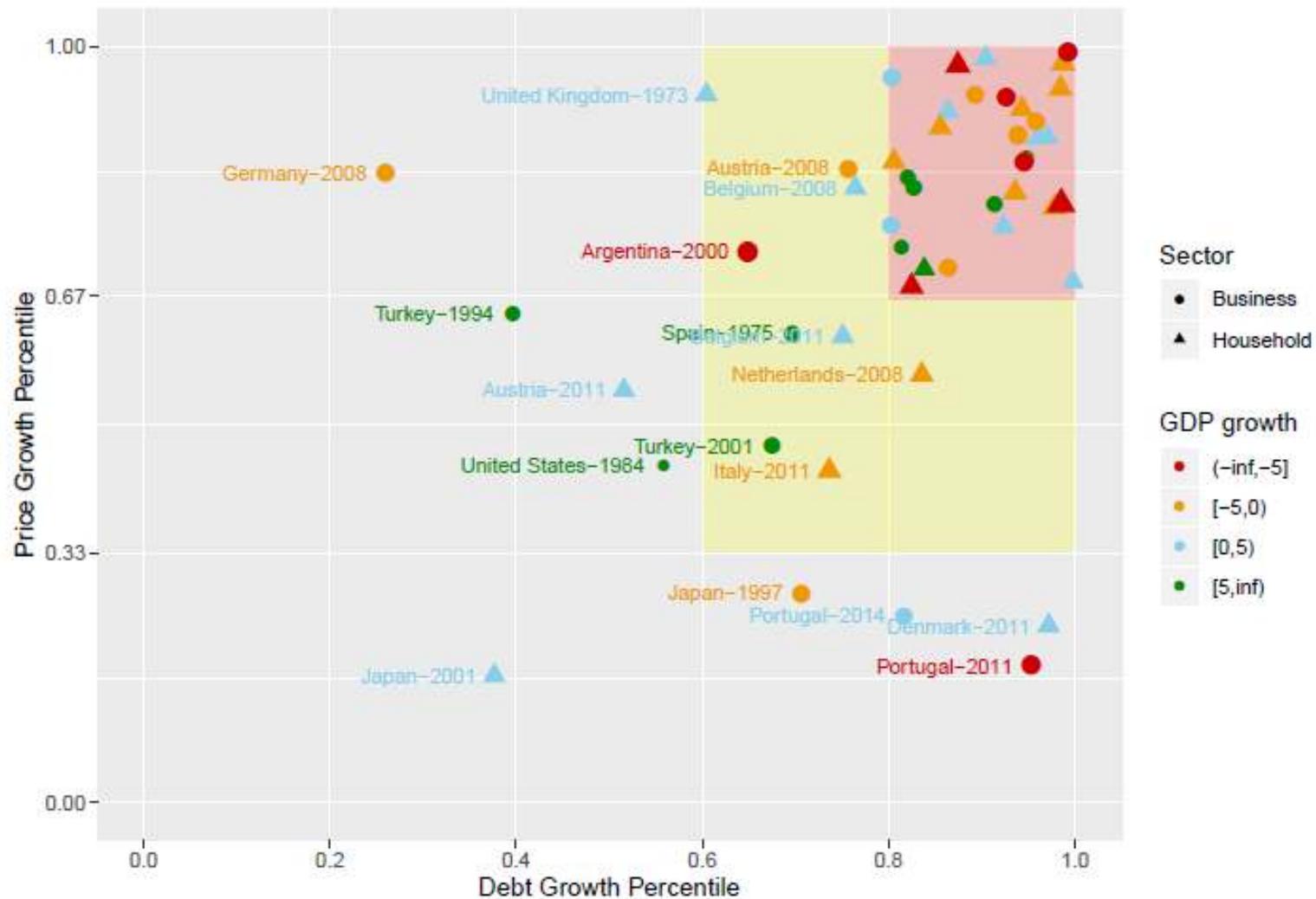
- Household *R-zone* is a more sensitive indicator ($TPR = 48\%$) than business, but is slightly less specific ($TNR = 84\%$).
- If allow **either** household or business *R-zone* to signal a crisis, sensitivity rises significantly ($TPR = 64\%$), but specificity ($TNR = 79\%$) falls
- If require **both** the business and the household sectors to be in *R-zone*, sensitivity falls significantly ($TPR = 16\%$), but a large improvements in specificity ($TNR = 97\%$).

Crisis prediction & financial stability

| | <i>Type</i> | | | |
|--|-------------|-----------|--------|------|
| | Business | Household | Either | Both |
| #R-Zone Events followed by a Crisis | 34 | 42 | 61 | 15 |
| #R-Zone Events | 75 | 114 | 170 | 19 |
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| Time to Crisis | 2.9 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.0 |

- A general statistical trade-off.
- Using a less stringent indicator of credit market over-heating:
 - ▣ Raises the True Positive Rate (TPR).
 - ▣ Reduces the True Negative Rate (TNR)
 [Also reduces the Positive Predictive Value (PPV)]

Crises in and out of the *R*-zone



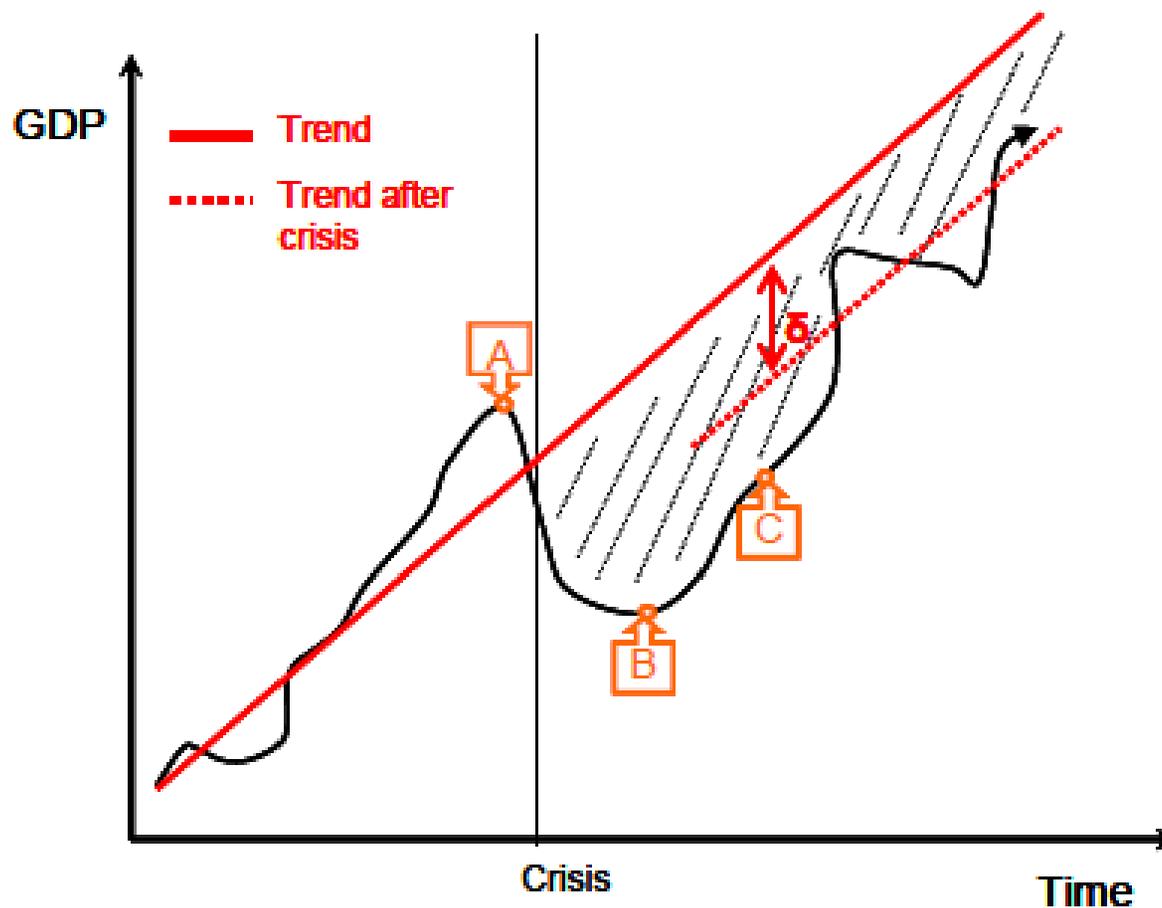
- $TPR = 32/50 = 64\%$ of crises preceded by Red-zone (either Bus or HH)
- $TPR = 41/50 = 81\%$ of crises preceded by Yellow-zone (either Bus or HH)
- 7/9 crises not preceded by Yellow-zone are “double-dips”

The policy tradeoff

- What point on the policy possibility frontier should a policymaker choose?
 - ▣ Given the statistical tradeoff between false positives and false negatives, what should a policymaker concerned with financial stability do?
 - ▣ How high of a threshold should set for taking early actions.
- Tradeoff:
 - ▣ Taking steps to avert crises, the policymaker runs the risk of leaning against the wind based on false alarms.
 - ▣ But, if they set too high of a threshold they will fail to act.
- Optimal threshold for taking early action depends on the cost of acting based on a false alarm, compared to the cost of failing to act when the risk of a crisis is truly elevated.

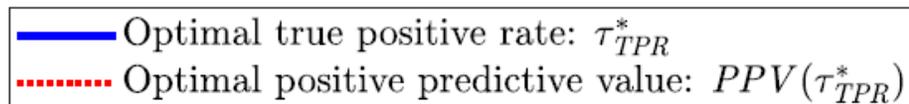
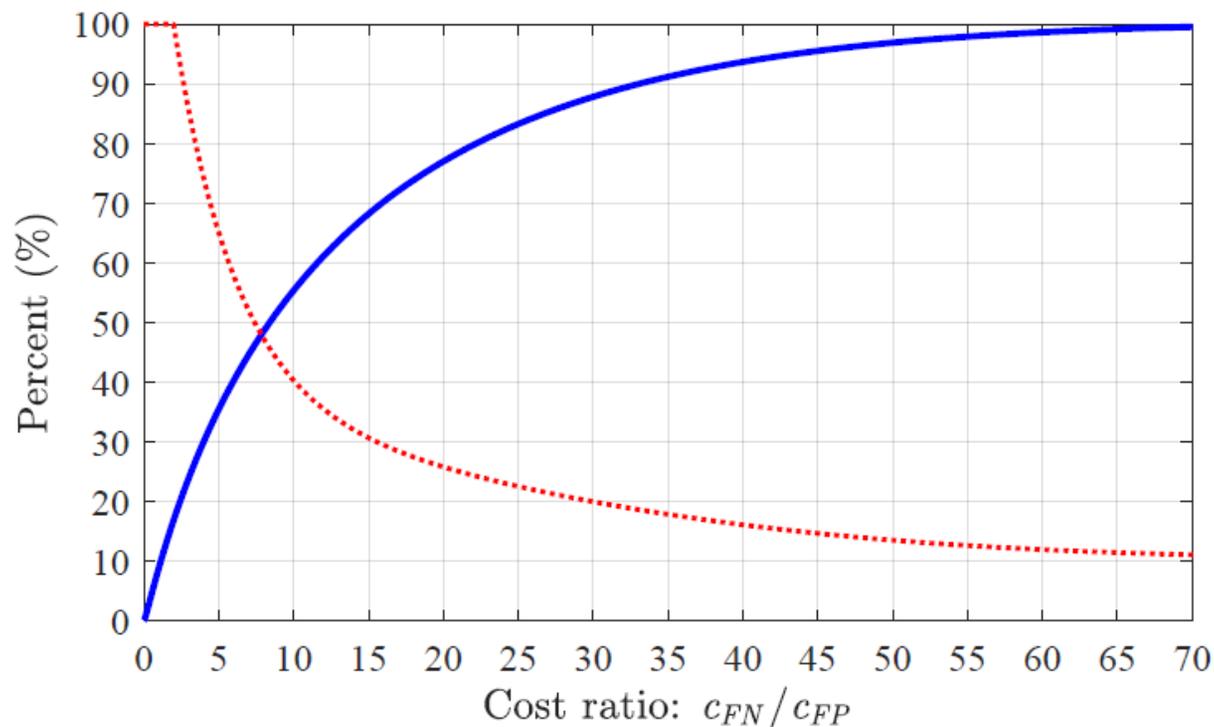
Crude back-of-the-envelope

- **Financial crises are incredibly costly.**
 - Cerra and Saxena (2008) and Basel (2010).



Crude back-of-the-envelope

- Example: $c_{FN}/c_{FP} = 30\%/2\% = 15$: Forceful early action to lean against the wind, lowers expected severity of incipient crisis by 30%, but reduces GDP by 1 percentage point for two years if there is no crisis
 - $\tau_{TPR}^* = 68\%$: Act once $\text{Prob}[\text{Crisis arrives within three years}] > 31\%$.



Crude back-of-the-envelope

- Predictability we observe is sufficiently strong that policymakers should only adopt a “do nothing” strategy if they hold fairly extreme views about costs of failing to respond to financial stability threats vs. costs of false alarms
 - ▣ Based on our estimates, policymakers should only set $\tau_{TPR}^* \leq 10\%$ if they believe c_{FN}/c_{FP} is less 1.1.
 - ▣ Policymaker would need to believe a leaning-against-the-wind policy, which would reduce GDP by 1 percentage point for two years if there is no crisis, would only reduce the expected severity of an incipient crisis by 2.2%.

Conclusion

□ **How predictable are crises?**

- When credit markets are overheated in the sense that credit growth and asset growth are jointly elevated:

$$\text{Prob}(\text{Crisis with 3 years}) > 40\%$$

□ **Sufficiently predictable to warrant early action?**

- We certainly think so!