SWEDISH HOUSE OF FINANCE



NOBEL SYMPOSIA

Nobel Symposium "Money and Banking"

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May 26-28, 2018 Clarion Hotel Sign, Stockholm



INSTABILITY FROM BELIEFS

Pedro Bordalo, Nicola Gennaioli, and Andrei Shleifer

Credit Cycle Facts

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Rapid credit growth is associated with higher risk of a financial crisis.



Source: Schularick and Taylor (2012).

Credit Cycle Facts

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Rapid household credit growth is followed by slower economic growth.



Source: Mian, Sufi, and Verner (2017).

Credit Cycle Facts

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Exuberant credit market sentiment is followed by slower economic growth.



Source: López-Salido, Stein, and Zakrajšek (2017).

Traditional View

- Bad Shock (sunspot, bad fundamental news, spike in spreads)
- Amplification Mechanism (short term debt, illiquidity, agency problems, adverse selection)
- Recession
 (impaired intermediation)

Expectations are rational, crises amplify bad news.

See Bernanke (1983), Diamond and Dybvig (1983).

Instability from Beliefs

- 1. Excess optimism, excess lending and investment
- Correction of expectations (due to bad news or waning of optimism)
- Recession (impaired intermediation or excess pessimism)

Crises are due to non-rational beliefs, which may be amplified by traditional mechanisms.

See Minsky (1977), Kindleberger (1978).

Some Intriguing Evidence-1

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When the share of risky corporate debt in total is high, corporate bonds have low excess returns moving forward.



Source: Greenwood and Hanson (2013).

Some Intriguing Evidence-2

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Bank equity prices rally leading up to the peak of a credit boom and decline afterward.



Source: Baron and Xiong (2017).

Instability from Beliefs: A Program

Measure and analyze expectations

Develop psychologically founded, portable models of beliefs

Incorporate them in standard macro/finance settings

Measure and Analyze Expectations

- How to measure beliefs?
 - Surveys
 - Techniques for inferring beliefs from asset prices
- Are survey measures reliable or just noise?
- Are measured beliefs rational? If not, how?
 - Study the predictability of forecast errors
- Heterogeneity of beliefs may be important see Geanakoplos (2010).

Survey Data are Informative

- Greenwood and Shleifer (2014):
 - Measured expectations of stock returns strongly correlate:
 i) server size different expectations
 - i) across six different surveys
 - ii) with mutual fund flows
- Gennaioli, Ma, and Shleifer (2015):
 - Measured CFO expectations of their firms' earnings growth strongly positively correlated with:
 - i) analyst expectations
 - ii) firm level and aggregate investment
- Armona, Fuster, and Zafar (2016):
 - Household expectations of home prices correlated with intended home buying decisions.

Survey Data are Informative

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Survey expectations are not noise - market participants of different degrees of sophistication have highly correlated expectations about future returns.

		Graham-	American	Investor			Expectations
	Gallup	Harvey	Association	Intelligence	Shiller	Michigan	Index
	(N = 135)	(N = 42)	(N = 294)	(N = 588)	(N = 132)	(N = 22)	(N = 294)
Graham-Harvey	0.77						
	[0.000]						
American Association	0.64	0.56					
	[0.000]	[0.000]					
Investor Intelligence	0.60	0.64	0.55				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
Shiller	0.39	0.66	0.51	0.43			
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]			
Michigan	0.61	-0.12	0.60	0.19	-0.55		
	[0.003]	[0.922]	[0.003]	[0.395]	[0.020]		
Expectations Index	0.87	0.58	0.87	0.81	0.52	0.55	
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.008]	
Fund flow	0.69	0.71	0.42	0.20	0.51	0.40	0.45
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.068]	[0.000]

Source: Greenwood and Shleifer (2014).

Survey Data are Informative

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Comparing the Gallup survey with flows into equity mutual funds.



Source: Greenwood and Shleifer (2014).

Extrapolative Beliefs

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- Excess optimism about future stock returns when past stock returns have been high (Greenwood and Shleifer 2014).
- Excess optimism about a firm's earnings growth when past earnings growth has been high (Gennaioli et al. 2015; Bordalo et al. 2018).
- Forecasts of most macro series are extrapolative. In particular, they exhibit over-reaction to information about the future (Bordalo et al. 2018).

Extrapolative Beliefs

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Past stock returns explain survey expectations.



Source: Greenwood and Shleifer (2014).

Predictability of Forecast Errors

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Estimate two equations, following Coibion and Gorodnichenko (2015).

Over / under reaction in consensus forecasts

$$x_{t+h} - x_{t+h|t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 [x_{t+h|t} - x_{t+h|t-1}] + \epsilon_{t,t+h}$$

• Over / under reaction in individual forecasts

$$x_{t+h} - x_{t+h|t}^{i} = \beta_0^p + \beta_1^p \left[x_{t+h|t}^{i} - x_{t+h|t-1}^{i} \right] + \epsilon_{t,t+h}^{i}$$

- $\beta_1 > 0$ underreaction, $\beta_1 < 0$ overreaction

Predictability of Forecast Errors

Variable	eta_1	β_1^{p}	β_1^p (f.e.)
Nominal GDP (SPF)	0.48	-0.26	-0.30
Real GDP (SPF)	0.45	-0.23	-0.21
Real GDP (BC)	0.59	0.12	-0.02
GDP Price Index Inflation (SPF)	1.21	-0.07	-0.16
Real Consumption (SPF)	0.18	-0.34	-0.39
Real Non-Residential Investment (SPF)	0.93	0.01	-0.03
Real Residential Investment (SPF)	1.26	-0.02	-0.12
Real Federal Government Consumption (SPF)	-0.44	-0.62	-0.63
Real State&Local Govt Consumption (SPF)	-0.16	-0.71	-0.73
Unemployment (SPF)	0.82	0.33	0.26
Housing Start (SPF)	0.45	-0.25	-0.28
Fed Funds Rate (BC)	0.61	0.15	0.12
3M Treasury Rate (SPF)	0.71	0.24	0.19
3M Treasury Rate (BC)	0.67	0.20	0.16
5Y Treasury Rate (BC)	0.05	-0.12	-0.19
10Y Treasury Rate (SPF)	-0.01	-0.18	-0.23
10Y Treasury Rate (BC)	-0.06	-0.17	-0.25
AAA Corporate Bond Rate (SPF)	-0.01	-0.21	-0.26
AAA Corporate Bond Rate (BC)	0.21	-0.17	-0.22
BAA Corporate Bond Rate (BC)	-0.14	-0.28	-0.34

p < 0.05

Source: Bordalo, Gennaioli, Ma, and Shleifer (2018).

Kernel of Truth

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- Individual level β_1^p closer to zero for more persistent series
 - Both rational and diagnostic revisions become larger



Significant correlation, even removing overlapping series.

Overreaction in Credit Markets

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When the current spread is low, forecasts are revised upwards. When the current spread is high, forecasts are revised downwards.



Source: Bordalo, Gennaioli, and Shleifer (2018).

Overreaction in Credit Markets

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When the current spread is low, forecasts are revised upwards. When the current spread is high, forecasts are revised downwards.

Forecast Revisions of Credit Spreads

Quarterly time series regression: the dependent variable is the forecast revision (quarter t + 3 forecast of credit spread in quarter t + 4 minus quarter t forecast of credit spread in quarter t + 4); the independent variable is actual credit spread averaged over quarters t - 4 to t - 1, where t - 1 is the latest quarterly credit spread prior to the forecast. Standard errors in parentheses are Newey-West, with the automatic bandwidth selection of Newey and West (1994).

	Revision (1)
Current spread	-0.36
	(-2.13)
Constant	1.13
	(2.44)
Observations	64
R^2	0.15

Source: Bordalo, Gennaioli, and Shleifer (2018).

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Representativeness and Beliefs

- Challenge: what are the foundations of overreaction?
- Kahneman and Tversky: many errors in assessing probabilities can be viewed as due to focusing on what is representative in light of data.
- Kahneman and Tversky (1983)'s definition of representativeness:
 "an attribute is representative of a class if it is very diagnostic, that is, if the relative frequency of this attribute is much higher in that class than in a relevant reference class."
- Gennaioli and Shleifer (2010) model this idea.

Formalization

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- Assess the probability of type t conditional on data D. The true distribution is Pr(t|D). Representativeness of t is:

 $\frac{\Pr(t|D)}{\Pr(t|-D)}$

- The representative type is one that has become relatively more likely in light of current data D, relative to comparison data -D. (-D can be another group or past information.)
- Representative types easily come to mind and are overweighted in judgment.
- Proof of concept: probability that an Irish person has red hair?

Irish Example

Hair Color Distributions (T)



Source: Bordalo, Coffman, Gennaioli, and Shleifer (2016).

Diagnostic Beliefs

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- θ -over-weighting of representative types:

$$\Pr^{\theta}(t|D) = \Pr(t|D) \left[\frac{\Pr(t|D)}{\Pr(t|-D)} \right]^{\theta} Z$$

- Rational expectations are a special case for $\theta = 0$.
- Beliefs are forward looking and depend on true DGP.
- Testability (can distinguish from adaptive expectations).
- Key distortions: kernel of truth.

Portability

- Over-weighting of representative types unifies the explanation of:
 - Lab experiments on conjunction fallacy, disjunction fallacy, base rate neglect (Gennaioli and Shleifer 2010).
 - Social psychology of stereotypes and data on beliefs about political groups (Bordalo et al. 2016).
 - Experiment on gender and self confidence (Bordalo et al. 2016).
- But also, can be used to model expectations in finance and macroeconomics:
 - Analyst expectations of future corporate earnings.
 - Analyst expectations of future spreads and interest rates.
 - Forecaster expectations of macroeconomic variables.

Intertemporal Inference

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• Forecast the AR(1) variable (with normal shocks):

$$x_{t+1} = \rho x_t + \epsilon_{t+1}$$

- Data D is news received at $t, \epsilon_t = x_t - \rho x_{t-1}$. Diagnostic distribution:

$$f_t^{\theta}(x_{t+1}) = f(x_{t+1}|x_t) \left[\frac{f(x_{t+1}|x_t)}{f(x_{t+1}|\rho x_{t-1})} \right]^{\theta} Z_t$$

Overweight states whose likelihood has gone up.

Intertemporal Inference

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 - The diagnostic distribution $f_t^{\theta}(x_{t+1})$ is normal with same variance as the true one, and with mean:

$$\mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(x_{t+1}) = \rho x_t + \theta \rho(x_t - \rho x_{t-1})$$

- Extrapolation: past changes are projected into the future.
- Neglect of risk: after good news, the left tail is underweighted.
- Forward looking: updating more aggressive when persistence ρ is higher (Lucas 1976).

Intertemporal Inference

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- The diagnostic distribution after good news, $x_t \rho x_{t-1} > 0$



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Credit Cycles in Reduced Form

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- Interest rate spread falls in expected future productivity $\mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(A_{t+1})$

$$r_t = b_0 - b_1 \mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(A_{t+1})$$

- Higher expected productivity implies lower default risk.
- Lending and capital increases in expected future productivity $\mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(A_{t+1})$

$$K_{t+1} = a_0 + a_1 \mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(A_{t+1})$$

- Time to build, lower cost of capital.
- All this is microfounded in BGS (2018).

Credit Cycles in Reduced Form

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• Suppose productivity follows an AR(1):

$$A_{t+1} = \rho A_t + \epsilon_{t+1}$$

Then credit spreads and investment follow:

$$r_t = b_0(1-\rho) + \rho r_{t-1} - \rho b_1(1+\theta)\epsilon_t + b_1\rho^2\theta\epsilon_{t-1}$$

$$K_t = a_0(1-\rho) + \rho r_{t-1} + \rho a_1(1+\theta)\epsilon_t - a_1\rho^2\theta\epsilon_{t-1}$$

- ARMA (1,1): over-reaction to current news, reversal of past news
- Predictable cycles in prices and quantities: excess optimism in aood times, on average wanes next period.

Predictions

- Fluctuations in optimism due to diagnostic beliefs can account for key credit cycles facts:
 - Rising high yield share in good times
 - Predictability of low bond returns afterwards
 - Predictability of future spikes in spread and lower subsequent GDP growth
 - Excess volatility in credit spreads determined by heta
 - Over-reaction to news by credit market forecasters
- We are not at the level of full quantification, but we have used expectations data to back out the value of θ .

Forecast Errors and heta

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- The model yields predictions on predictability of forecast errors from forecast revisions:

$$\frac{cov(x_{t+1} - \mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(x_{t+1}), \mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(x_{t+1}) - \mathbb{E}_{t-1}^{\theta}(x_{t+1}))}{var(\mathbb{E}_t^{\theta}(x_{t+1}) - \mathbb{E}_{t-1}^{\theta}(x_{t+1}))} = -\frac{\theta(1+\theta)}{(1+\theta)^2 + \rho^2 \theta^2}$$

- Matching this to the credit spreads data yields $\theta \approx 0.9$.
- For analysts' earnings growth forecasts, we get heta pprox 1.1.
- For macroeconomic foecasts, we get θ ranging from 0.4 to 1.4.
- Important to assess stability of heta and quantitative implications.

Takeaways

- Use of expectations data allows us to make progress. Data suggests that rational expectations may be too restrictive.
- Evidence consistent with over-reaction to news. This opens the way for financial instability to come from beliefs.
- A psychologically founded model of representativeness and beliefs yields main qualitative facts of credit cycles and expectations.
- Open problems:
 - understanding rigidity and underreaction
 - more realistic macro models
 - Bubbles and richer dynamics
 - quantification

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