# How do financial crises come to life? The role of systemic risk

Associação Portuguesa de Bancos Systemic risk: Too-important-to-ignore

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These are my views and not necessarily the views of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York or the Federal Reserve System

#### What is systemic risk?

"Systemic risks are developments or events that threaten the stability of the financial system as a whole and consequently the broader economy, not just that of one or two institutions."

#### Why should we care about systemic risk?

- 1. Early studies find that output losses during a banking crisis are, on average, in the range of 6%--8% of annual GDP.
- 2. More recent studies find that cumulative output losses during a banking crisis are, on average, 15%--20%, of annual GDP.

# SOURCES OF SYSTEMIC RISK: PRE 2007-2008 FINANCIAL CRISIS VIEW

# Historically, bank runs have been the key driver of systemic risk, but there are other sources



# Sources of systemic risk: Many banks failing at the same time

- 1. Depositors panic and run indiscriminately on their banks.
- 2. Shock that affects a large portion of banks' balance sheets.
- 3. Banks' incentives to choose correlated portfolios of assets creates the conditions for a joint failure.

#### Sources of systemic risk:

# A bank failure may lead to a banking crisis

- 1. It may release information about banks' financial condition or the nature of an aggregate shock, motivating depositors to update their beliefs and run on their banks.
- 2. It may propagate to other banks, for example via the interbank market, or the payments systems and lead to the collapse of the banking system.

### The case of too-big-to-fail banks

- U.S. Comptroller of the Currency: "Had Continental failed and been treated in a way in which depositors and creditors were not made whole, we would have seen a national, if not an international financial crisis, the dimension of which were difficult to imagine."
- Continental was the nation's seventh-largest bank
- Average size of top-5 banks: \$86 B
- Average size of top-10 banks: \$63 B
- Average size of 11<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> largest banks: \$19 B

# Sources of systemic risk Failure of a nonbank financial institution:

- 1. Disappearance of liquidity following the Russian default triggered a global "flight to quality" and contributed to the collapse of LTCM
- 2. Concern: Had the LTCM been allowed to fail, it could lead to a collapse in asset prices, forcing intermediaries to sell, leading to a further decline in asset prices. A widespread financial crisis could follow.

# Sources of systemic risk Collapse of the payments system

- 1. Failure of a payments system is automatically a financial crisis, to the extent that it renders member institutions unable to carry out their payments obligations.
- 2. Payments systems may fail because of
  - operational problems
  - failure of one of its key members

# Sources of systemic risk Collapse of the interbank market

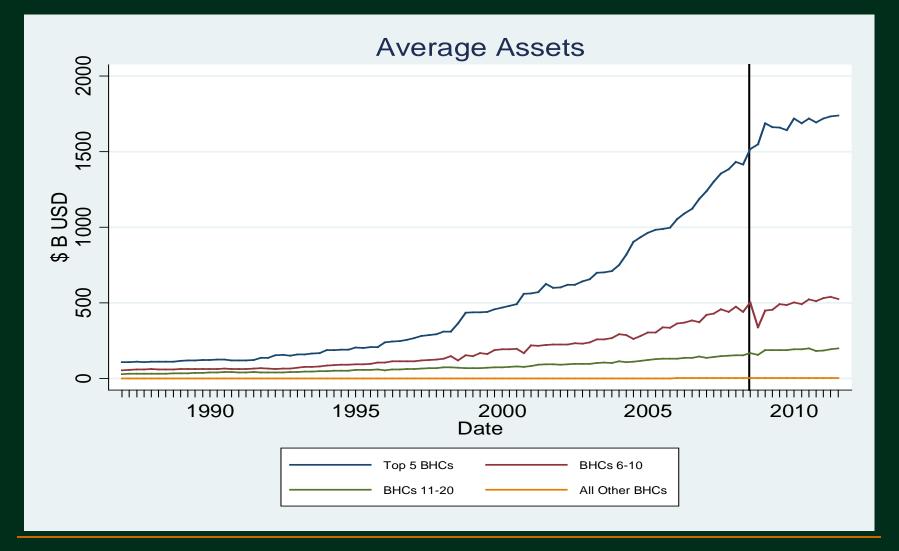
- 1. Collapse of the interbank market will preclude banks from meeting their liquidity needs. Interbank market may collapse because:
  - 1. Asymmetry of information about the financial condition of banks may induce banks not to lend to each other.
  - 2. Concerns with possible future fire sales may lead banks to hoard liquidity instead of extending loans.

# SOURCES OF SYSTEMIC RISK: THE 2007-2008 FINANCIAL CRISIS

## Deposit runs are still a source of systemic risk



# Too-big-to-fail still a problem



#### Systemic risk outside the banking sector: Inv. banks

#### **Average CDS Spread of 12 Largest US Commercial Banks**

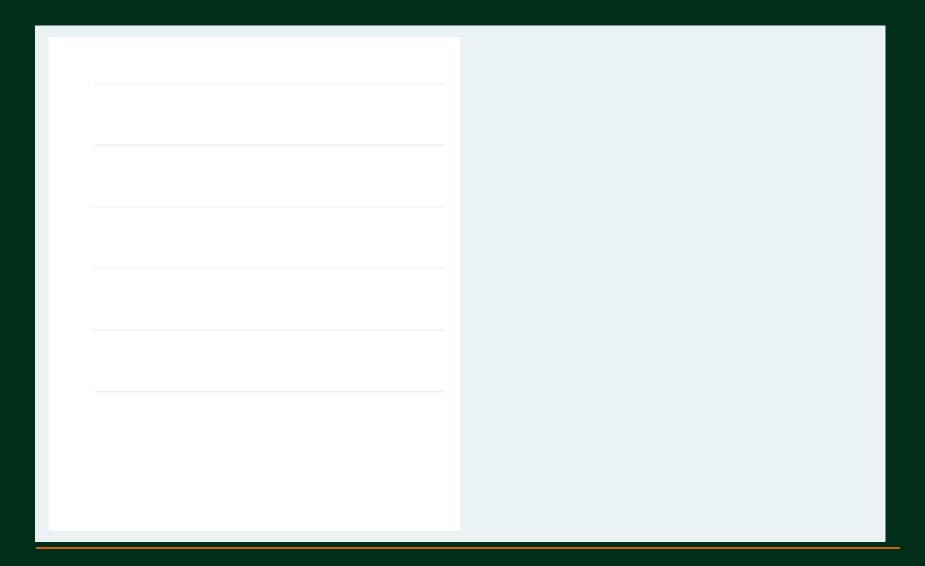


#### Collapse of the interbank market still a possibility

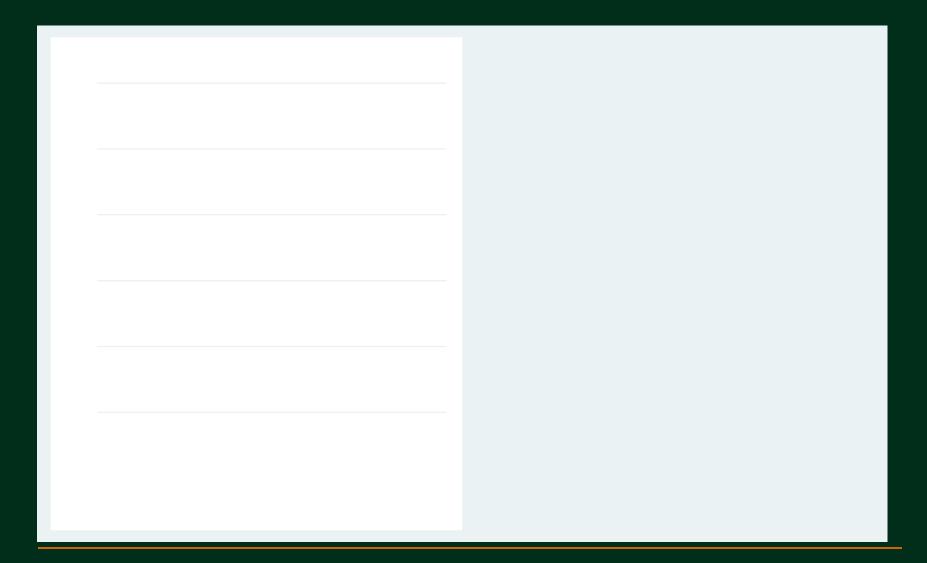
**Libor-OIS** 



# Growing importance of non-deposit funding

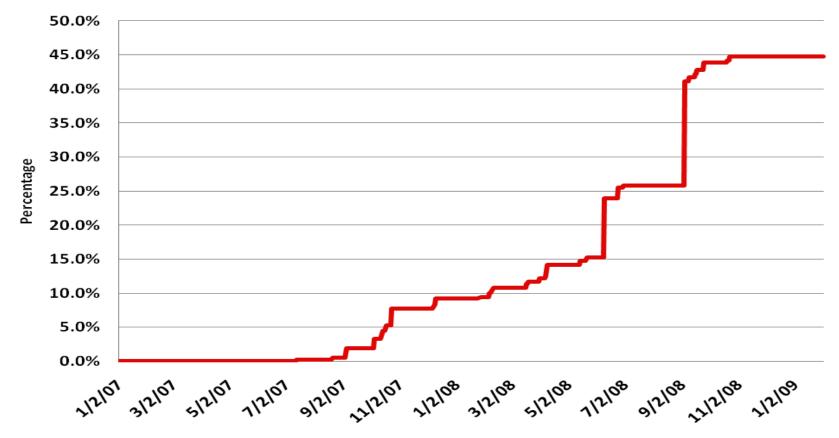


# **Decline in the importance of insured deposits**



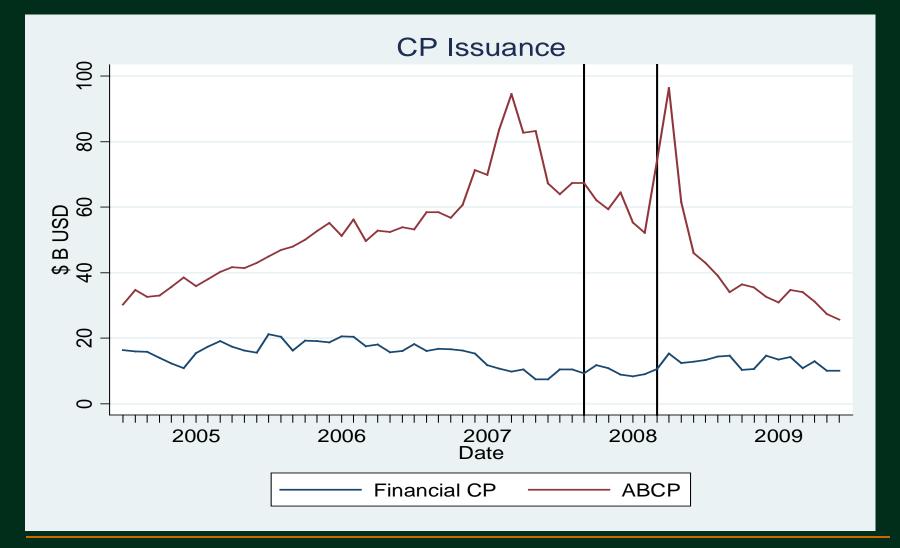
### Collapse of the repo market

#### **Haircut index**

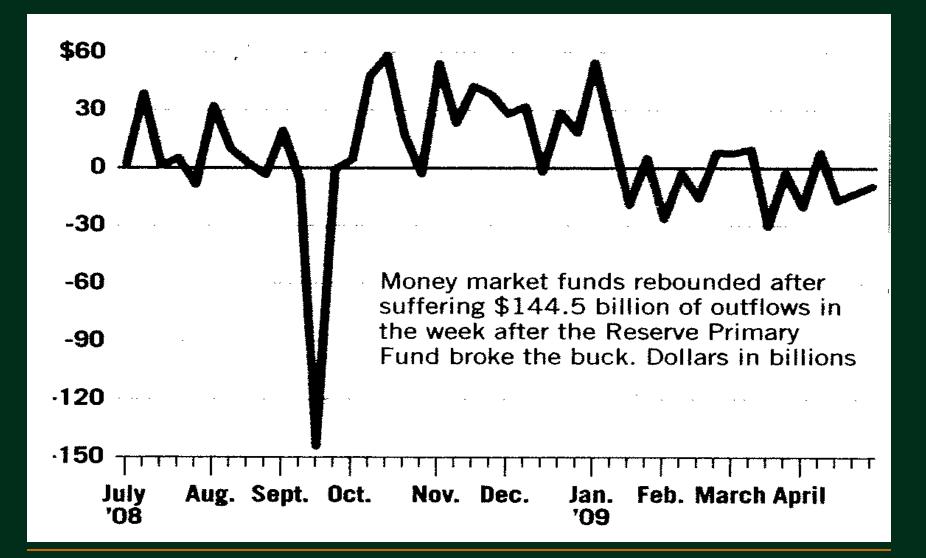


Source Gorton and Metric (2010) "Securitized banking and the run on Repo"

#### Problems in the commercial paper market



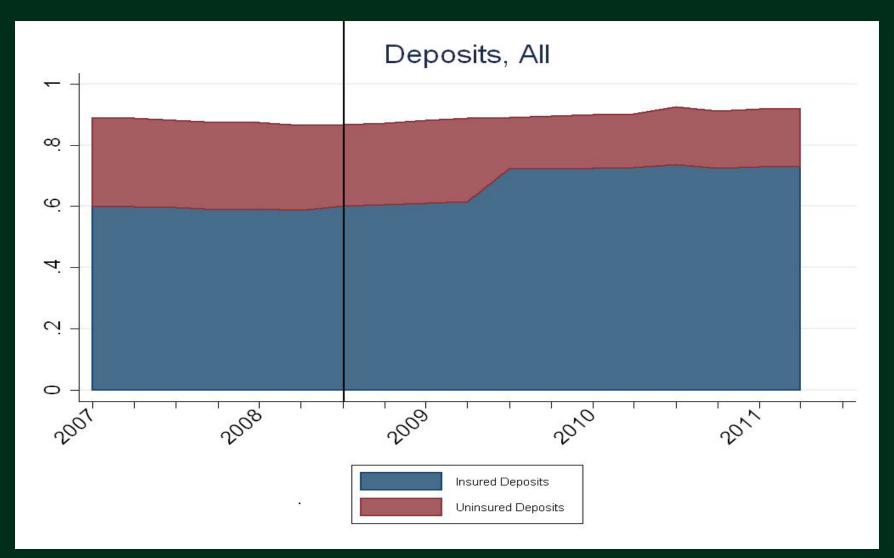
#### **Problems with the MMFs**



# Summing up

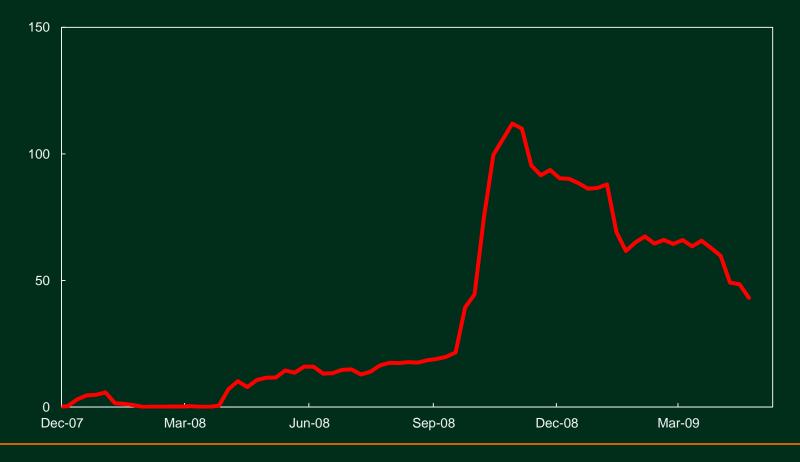
- 1. Systemic risk comes from multiple sources
  - Some sources are within the banking sector
  - Other sources are outside the banking sector
- 2. Sources of systemic risk vary with the state of the economy and the conditions in the financial markets
- 3. Sources of systemic risk vary over time as result of
  - innovation
  - policies
  - structural changes

# Some regulations "worked": Deposit insurance



#### Some regulations "worked": Lender of last resort

Discount Window Borrowing



Source: Federal Reserve Board (Billions of dollars)

### Some regulations did not meet their objectives

- 1. Limits to banks' exposures to borrowers or sectors of activity
- 2. Bank capital standards

#### How should society deal with systemic risk?

- 1. Should systemic risk be regulated or should the financial system be redesigned?
- 2. Which sources of systemic risk be regulated?
- 3. How can we design regulations that account for the fact that systemic risk drivers are continuously changing?