

Lending Next to the Courthouse: Exposure to Adverse Events and Mortgage Lending Decisions

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Motivations

What can happen in the financial market after an adverse shock?

- Macro-level channels:

- Deteriorating fundamentals and drained liquidity
- Collapsed collateral value
- ...

(e.g., Gan 2007; Ivashina and Scharfstein, 2010; Cornett et al., 2011, ...)

- **Micro-level channels:**

- Changes in risk preference and risk beliefs of households
(Malmendier and Nagel, 2011; Guiso et al., 2018; ...)

- **Changes in risk preference and risk beliefs of lending decision makers**

Motivations

Think about mortgage lending in the last foreclosure crisis:

- Macro-level channels:
 - Weak bank balance sheets and liquidity constrain credit supply
 - Depreciation in housing collateral makes lending risky
 - ...
- **Micro-level channels:**
 - **Lending decision makers become more cautious in making loans**

Motivations

The potential consequences of this micro-level risk-taking channel:

- Amplifying the negative impacts of the fundamental shocks
 - Credit crunch can be tightened when lenders become more cautious
- Slowing down recovery
 - Lenders may continue to hoard safe assets despite the improvement in fundamentals
- Dampening the effectiveness of policies
 - Lenders can be less responsive to bailout policies

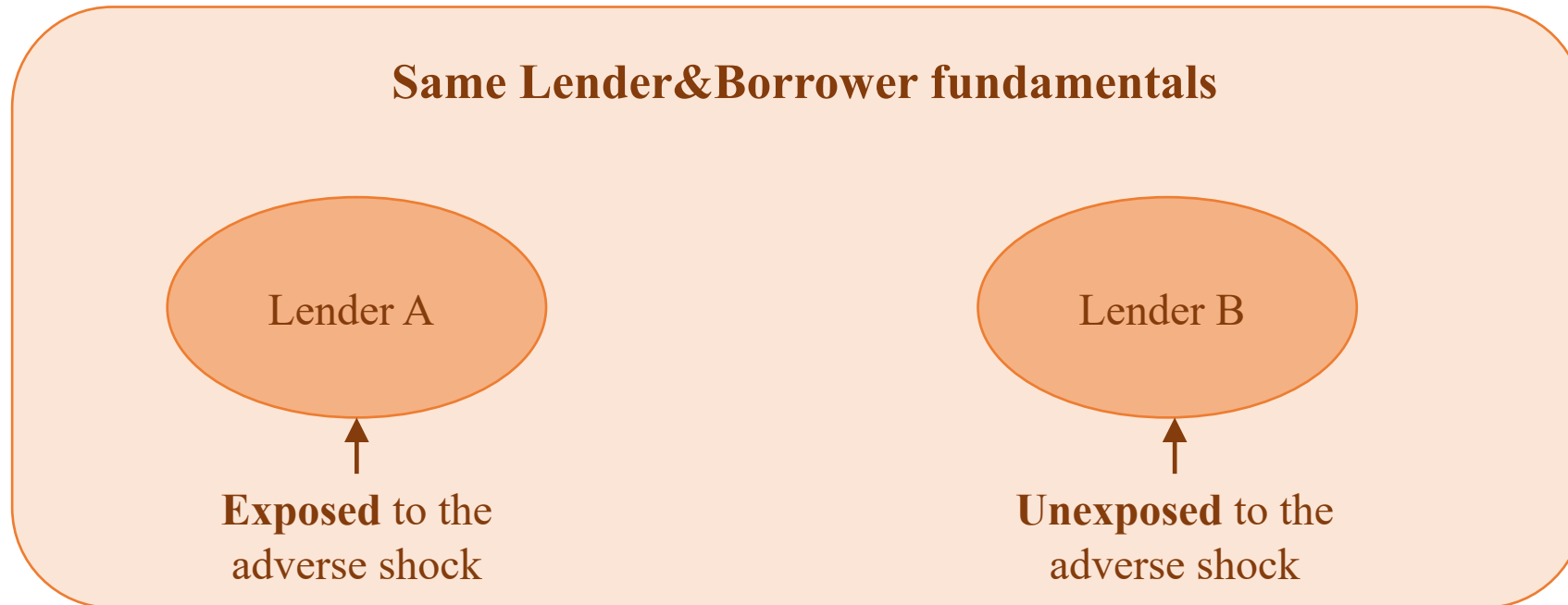
This Paper:

Provides micro-level empirical evidence in the US mortgage market:

Mortgage lending standards are more stringent
when loan officers are more exposed to the foreclosure news,
despite the same housing market fundamentals and bank characteristics

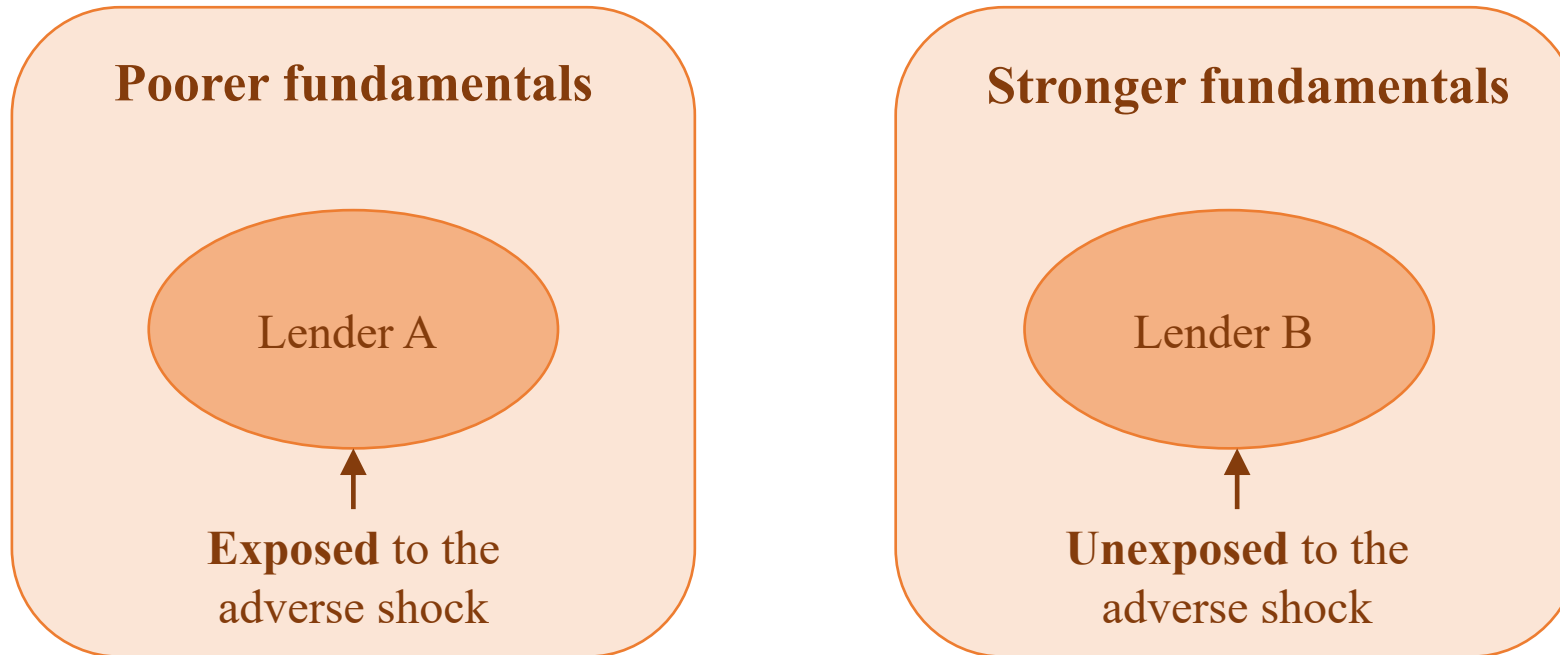
Empirical Challenge

The *ideal* empirical setting:



Empirical Challenge

The *reality*:



Identification Strategy

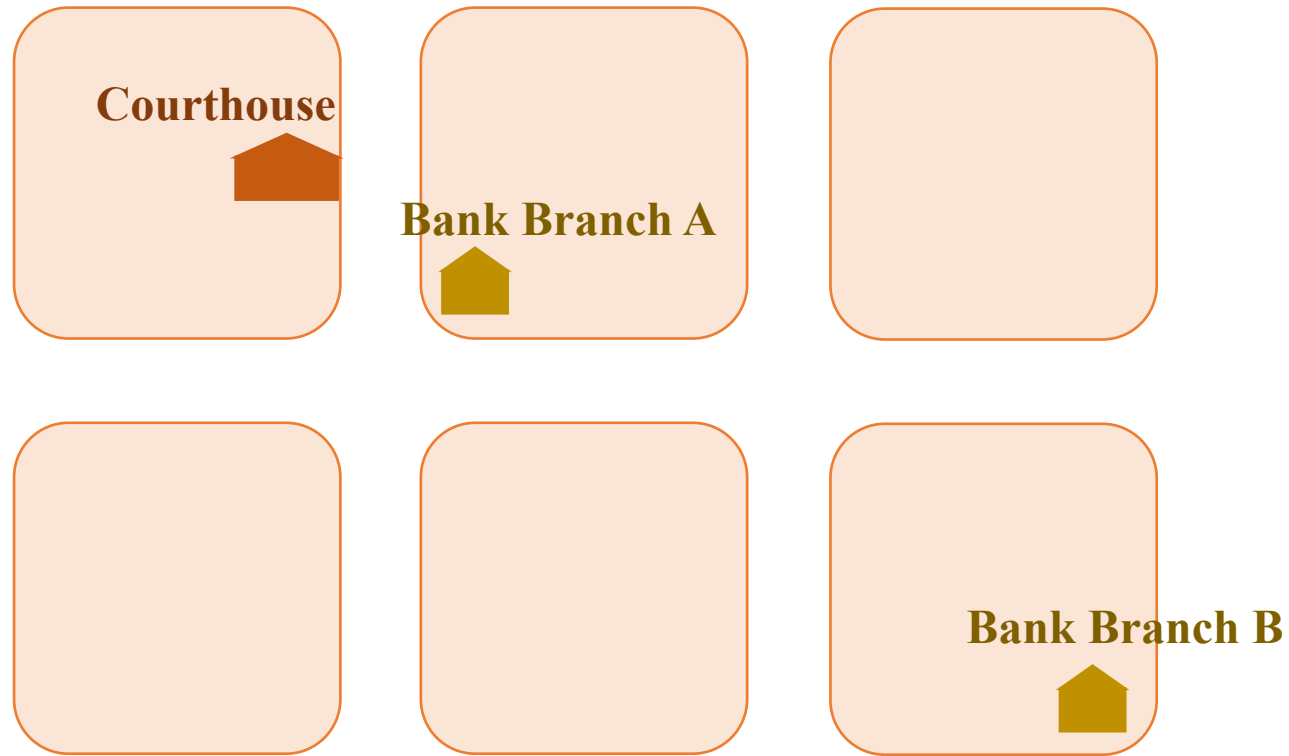
Variation in exposures to foreclosure auction events:

- Foreclosure auctions are held at the county courthouse
- Typically at the steps or in front of the main entrance



Identification Strategy

Variation in exposures to foreclosure auction events:



Identification Strategy

- Same adverse market shock:
 - The county-wise foreclosure shock
- Different exposure to the shock:
 - Treatment: branches that can easily observe the shock (next to the courthouse)
 - Control: branches that do not directly observe the shock from the courthouse

Compare mortgage lending decisions:

- Within the same county (neighborhood) and year
 - Conditional on the same local economic and housing market fundamentals
- Within the same bank and year
 - Conditional on the same lender balance sheet strength and liquidity conditions

Main Findings

Conditional on the same local and lender fundamentals:

- More stringent lending standards by branches exposed to the foreclosure events
- Lending standards by the exposed branches are more sensitive to the county-wise foreclosures, especially
 - For high DTI applications with high DTI or low neighborhood HP (high-risk applications)
 - For relatively smaller banks (more like to have human decision makers)
- The results are reflected as:
 - Higher rejection rates on mortgage applications (extensive margin)
 - Smaller loan size on approved mortgage loans (intensive margin)
 - Overall lower credit supply
- Rejections reasons:
 - *Likely* due to greater concerns given the same risk level
 - *Not likely* due to more careful screening or information acquisition

Related Literatures

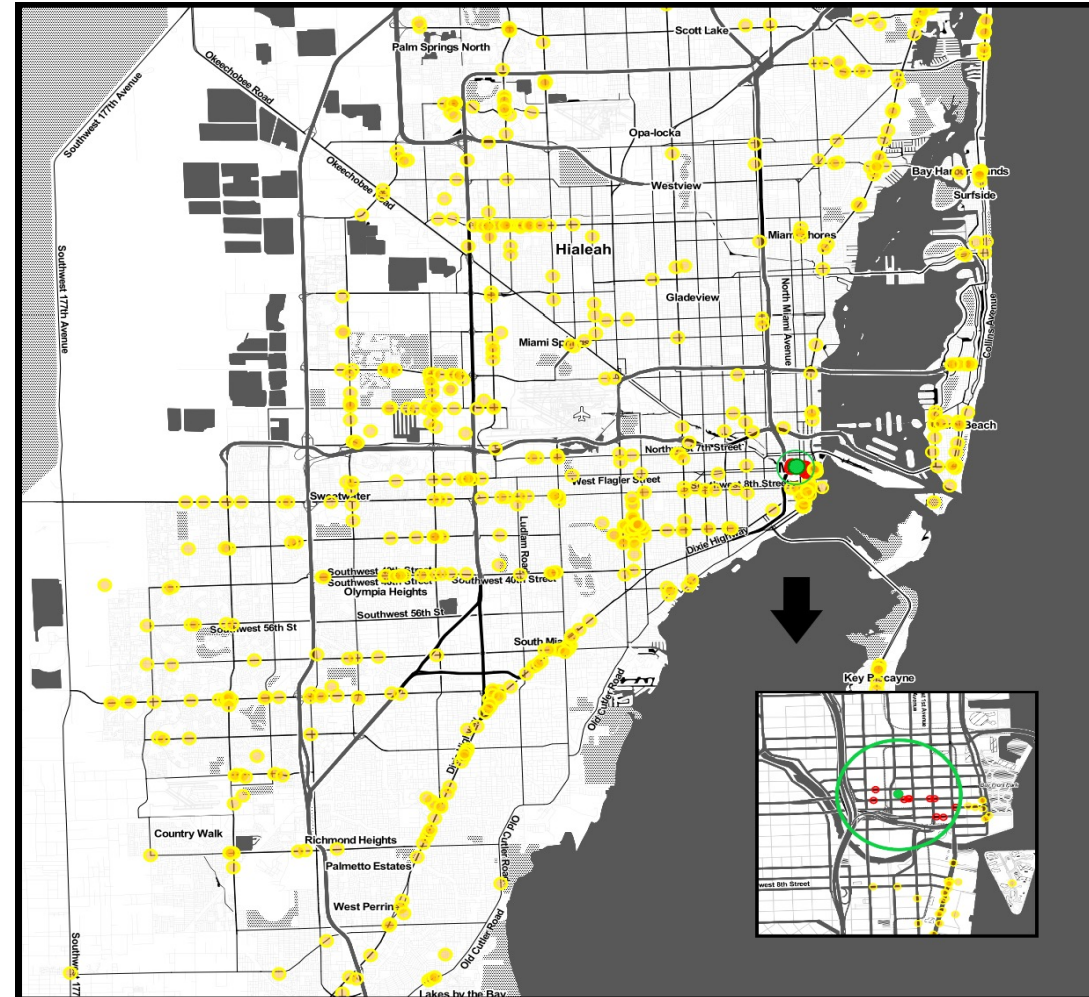
- How market dynamics shape individual preferences and beliefs
 - Investment activities (Malmendier and Nagel, 2011; Gennaioli et al., 2015; Anagol, Balasubramaniam, and Ramadorai, 2020);
 - Corporate activities such as cash holding, leverage, and investment (e.g., Bernile et al., 2017);
 - Analyst forecasts (e.g., Cen et al., 2013)
- How dynamic changes of credit conditions are driven by preferences and beliefs
 - Koudijs and Voth (2016): financiers who experience adverse market events lend with increased haircuts even without personal losses;
 - Chernenko et al. (2016): fund managers' investments in high-risk securities are affected by their personal experiences
- Bank credit activities subsequent to adverse shocks
 - Impacts of adverse shocks on bank fundamentals and the consequences (Gan 2007; Ivashina and Scharfstein, 2010; Cornett et al., 2011, ...)
 - Impacts on individual lending decision makers (this paper)

Data

- Mortgage applications and lending decisions: HMDA
 - Loan-level information on borrower characteristics, location, lender, and approval status
- Foreclosure information: Zillow
 - County-level annual foreclosure counts in 541 populous counties from major metropolitan areas across 44 states
- Courthouse location: Google
- Branch location: SOD
- Distance to courthouse
 - Vincenty's formulae, a widely used method in geodesy, with accuracy to within 0.5 mm on the Earth ellipsoid

An Illustration

Miami County, FL



Summary Statistics

	(1) N	(2) Mean	(3) S.D.	(4) P5	(5) P25	(6) P50	(7) P75	(8) P95
Loan-level								
Rejection	1,471,410	0.130	0.337	1	0	0	0	0
Debt-to-Income	1,432,604	2.515	1.536	0.478	1.506	2.362	3.311	4.893
White	1,471,410	0.830	0.376	0	1	1	1	1
Hispanic	1,471,410	0.068	0.251	0	0	0	0	1
Second Lien	1,471,410	0.032	0.175	0	0	0	0	0
HP Growth (Property Tract)	1,471,410	0.000	0.091	-0.140	-0.040	0.002	0.051	0.132
Branch-level								
HP Growth (Branch Zip)	160,082	0.000	0.074	-0.118	-0.038	-0.001	0.043	0.117
Income Growth (Branch Zip)	160,082	0.024	0.063	-0.061	0.000	0.022	0.046	0.112
County-level								
Log Foreclosure (per 10k Households)	5,520	0.956	0.736	0.000	0.325	0.894	1.447	2.279

Empirical Analysis 1

$$Rejection_{ijbct} = \beta_1 \times Courthouse_{jc} + X_{it} + X_{jt} + \alpha_{ct} + \alpha_{bt} + \epsilon_{ijbct}, \quad (1)$$

where:

- $Rejection_{ijbct}$: =1 if mortgage application i from county c in year t is rejected
- $Courthouse_{jc}$: =1 if branch j is within the 500m circle around the courthouse of county c
- X_{it} and X_{jt} : borrower and branch characteristics
- α_{ct} and α_{bt} : county-year (or tract-year) and bank-year FE

Hypothesis:

The rejection probability is higher by branches next to the courthouse: $\beta_1 > 0$

Empirical Result 1

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	0.0058** (0.0029)	0.0075*** (0.0029)	0.0106*** (0.0029)				0.0107*** (0.0029)
<i>Distance to Court <300m</i>				0.0085** (0.0036)	0.0088** (0.0036)		
<i>Distance to Court <1,000m</i>						0.0076*** (0.0021)	
<i>Distance to Court 300-500m</i>					0.0140*** (0.0040)		
<i>Distance to Court 500-1,000m</i>							0.0033 (0.0030)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	1,468,908	1,430,100	1,424,528	1,424,528	1,424,528	1,424,528	1,424,528
R-Squared	0.071	0.091	0.091	0.091	0.091	0.091	0.091

Empirical Analysis 2 (Main)

$$\text{Rejection}_{ijbct} = \beta_1 \times \text{Courthouse}_{jc} + \beta_2 \times \text{Foreclosure}_{ct} + \delta \times \text{Courthouse}_{jc} \times \text{Foreclosure}_{ct} + X_{it} + X_{jt} + \alpha_{ct} + \alpha_{bt} + \epsilon_{ijbct}, \quad (2)$$

where:

- Rejection_{ijbct} : =1 if mortgage application i from county c in year t is rejected
- Courthouse_{jc} : =1 if branch j is within the 500m circle around the courthouse of county c
- Foreclosure_{ct} : log monthly-average foreclosures per 10,000 households in county c in year t
- X_{it} and X_{jt} : borrower and branch characteristics
- α_{ct} and α_{bt} : county-year (or tract-year) and bank-year FE

Hypothesis:

The rejection probability is more sensitive to the county-wise foreclosure by branches next to the courthouse: $\delta > 0$

Empirical Result 2 (Main)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	0.0058** (0.0029)	-0.0054 (0.0048)	-0.0035 (0.0047)	-0.0009 (0.0048)	-0.0008 (0.0048)	-0.0008 (0.0063)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0096** (0.0026)	0.0093*** (0.0026)	0.0120*** (0.0025)	0.0106*** (0.0024)	0.0106*** (0.0024)	
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>		0.0103*** (0.0032)	0.0101*** (0.0032)	0.0104*** (0.0033)	0.0104*** (0.0033)	0.0108*** (0.0038)
<i>Dis. Court 500-1000m</i>					0.0031 (0.0050)	
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court 500-1,000m)</i>					0.0004 (0.0039)	
Loan-level Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	1,468,908	1,468,908	1,430,100	1,424,528	1,424,528	959,127
R-Squared	0.071	0.071	0.091	0.091	0.091	0.088

Empirical Result: By Auction Location

- Rationale for the “Courthouse” effect:
 - Foreclosure auctions are held in the county courthouse
 - ⇓
 - People next to the courthouse are more aware of the events
 - ⇓
 - They become more cautious when making lending decisions
- Awareness is more likely when:
 - Foreclosure auctions are held **in person** in the courthouse instead of online
 - Foreclosure auctions are held **outside** the courthouse instead of indoor

Empirical Result: By Auction Location

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Distance to Court <500m, Outdoor Auction</i>	-0.016 (0.0130)	-0.0153 (0.0128)	-0.0119 (0.0128)	-0.012 (0.0128)
<i>Distance to Court <500m, Other types of Auction</i>	0.0005 (0.0073)	0.0013 (0.0071)	0.0036 (0.0074)	0.0036 (0.0074)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0113*** (0.0033)	0.0144*** (0.0032)	0.0126*** (0.0030)	
<i>Log Foreclosure, Outdoor Auction</i>				0.0122*** (0.0028)
<i>Log Foreclosure, Other Types of Auction</i>				0.0154*** (0.0047)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m, Outdoor Auction)</i>	0.0251*** (0.0068)	0.0255*** (0.0067)	0.0261*** (0.0066)	0.0260*** (0.0066)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m, Other types of Auction)</i>	0.0043 (0.0054)	0.0057 (0.0053)	0.0063 (0.0055)	0.0064 (0.0055)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	1,468,908	1,468,908	1,430,100	1,424,528
R-Squared	0.071	0.071	0.091	0.091

Empirical Result: By Borrower Risk

- Mortgage screening is a “lemon-dropping” process
 - Loan officers pick out the bad applications (“lemons”) and reject them
 - ⇓
 - The marginal applications are the high-risk ones
 - ⇓
 - When risk-taking drops, the marginal high-risk applications face a higher rejection probability
- The “courthouse” effect is likely more prominent for:
 - Mortgage applications with **high DTI**
 - Mortgage applications from **negative HP growth neighborhoods**

Empirical Result: By Borrower Risk

	Low DTI			High DTI		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	0.0016 (0.0061)	0.0018 (0.0058)	0.0046 (0.0058)	-0.0144** (0.0068)	-0.0100 (0.0071)	-0.0077 (0.0073)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0084*** (0.0027)	0.0087*** (0.0025)	0.0075*** (0.0024)	0.0114*** (0.0038)	0.0115*** (0.0032)	0.0100*** (0.0031)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>	0.0058 (0.0045)	0.0053 (0.0041)	0.0050 (0.0041)	0.0164*** (0.0047)	0.0115** (0.0049)	0.0125** (0.005)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	712,688	712,688	709,514	713,550	713,550	711,145
R-Squared	0.086	0.094	0.094	0.081	0.125	0.125

Empirical Result: By Borrower Risk

	Negative HP Growth (Property Tract)			Positive HP Growth (Property Tract)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	-0.0039 (0.0064)	-0.0006 (0.0068)	0.0016 (0.0068)	0.0028 (0.0068)	0.0052 (0.0069)	0.0082 (0.0069)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0061** (0.0030)	0.0072*** (0.0025)	0.0060** (0.0025)	0.0131*** (0.0033)	0.0152*** (0.0031)	0.0147*** (0.0030)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i> <i>× (Distance to Court <500m)</i>	0.0124*** (0.0035)	0.0098** (0.0048)	0.0104** (0.0047)	-0.0024 (0.0063)	-0.0039 (0.0063)	-0.0040 (0.0063)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	714,514	698,333	695,512	750,731	728,113	725,367
R-Squared	0.083	0.103	0.103	0.070	0.093	0.093

Empirical Result: By Bank Size

- The premise for the foreclosure exposure to affect lending decisions:
 - Decisions are made by the local branch instead of the centralized system
 - Decisions are made by human instead of machine (automatic system)
- The “courthouse” effect is likely more prominent for:
 - **Smaller banks**, which are:
 - Less likely to have mortgage centers
 - Less likely to have automatic screening system

Empirical Result: By Bank Size

	Small Bank			Large Bank		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Distance to Court < 500m</i>	-0.0091 (0.0062)	-0.0089 (0.0063)	-0.0059 (0.0063)	-0.0015 (0.008)	0.0011 (0.0078)	0.0035 (0.0081)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0023 (0.002)	0.003 (0.0019)	0.0027 (0.0019)	0.0171*** (0.0049)	0.0224*** (0.0047)	0.0197*** (0.0044)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i> <i>× (Distance to Court < 500m)</i>	0.0160*** (0.0054)	0.0177*** (0.0055)	0.0172*** (0.0056)	0.0063 (0.005)	0.0052 (0.0045)	0.0066 (0.0047)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	693,509	673,898	669,388	774,324	755,105	754,043
R-Squared	0.098	0.116	0.116	0.051	0.073	0.074

Empirical Result: Robustness Checks

What if the exposed branches receive more risky applications?

- Not likely, because:
 - The results quickly diminish beyond 500m
 - The results are robust with tract-year FE
 - Borrower characteristics and housing market conditions are not any worse or more sensitive to county-wise foreclosure in exposed neighborhoods
 - The results are robust under a matched sample

Empirical Result: Robustness Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	-0.0135* (0.0076)	-0.0143** (0.0072)	-0.0124* (0.0072)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0061** (0.0024)	0.0072*** (0.0024)	0.0068*** (0.0024)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>	0.0132** (0.0053)	0.0143*** (0.0052)	0.0141*** (0.0052)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	No
Branch-level Controls	No	Yes	No
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Census Tract-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	1,256,092	1,221,082	1,216,723
R-Squared	0.1814	0.2016	0.2019

Empirical Result: Robustness Checks

Panel A	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Ln No. Appl.	DTI	White	Hispanic	HP Growth	Inc Growth
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	0.0341 (0.0323)	-0.0678*** (0.0184)	0.0166*** (0.0038)	0.0052 (0.0046)	-0.0003 (0.0007)	0.0049*** (0.0012)
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	154,462	153,299	154,462	154,462	154,462	154,462
R-Squared	0.462	0.321	0.333	0.2829	0.829	0.388

Panel B	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Ln No. Appl.	DTI	White	Hispanic	HP Growth	Inc Growth
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	0.0318 (0.0484)	-0.0647** (0.0326)	0.0152** (0.0064)	-0.0005 (0.0051)	0.0014 (0.0015)	0.0011 (0.0023)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	-0.0763*** (0.0280)	-0.1088*** (0.0325)	0.0133 (0.0101)	0.0052 (0.0100)	-0.0055*** (0.0015)	-0.0024** (0.0012)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i> <i>× (Distance to Court <500m)</i>	0.0029 (0.0359)	-0.0019 (0.0277)	0.0012 (0.0054)	0.0053 (0.0060)	-0.0015 (0.0015)	0.0036 (0.0024)
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	154,462	153,299	154,462	154,462	154,462	154,462
R-Squared	0.462	0.322	0.333	0.2829	0.829	0.388

Empirical Result: Robustness Checks

	Full-Sample Matching		Same-Bank Matching	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Distance to Court < 500m</i>	0.0101** (0.0049)	-0.0055 (0.0083)	0.0099** (0.0051)	-0.0066 (0.0095)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>		0.0168*** (0.0057)		0.0028 (0.0087)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court < 500m)</i>		0.0146** (0.0061)		0.0152** (0.0070)
Loan-level Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	181,491	181,491	88,003	88,003
R-Squared	0.130	0.130	0.119	0.119

Empirical Result: Robustness Checks

	Similar HP (1)	Similar Income (2)	Similar PPL (3)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	-0.0008 (0.0074)	-0.0067 (0.0067)	-0.0039 (0.0081)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	-0.0014 (0.0040)	0.0055 (0.0053)	0.0003 (0.0051)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>	0.0139*** (0.0049)	0.0158*** (0.0049)	0.0120** (0.0056)
Loan-level Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	217,637	201,668	156,194
R-Squared	0.1194	0.1218	0.1268

Empirical Result: Denial Reasons

When loan officers become more cautious, they may:

- Become more inclined to reject a loan given the same risk level
 - Risk-related reasons: high leverage, low income, poor credit history, ...
- Make more efforts to collect information that can reveal the loan type
 - Documentation-related reason: insufficient or unverifiable information

Empirical Result: Denial Reasons

	Risk-related Reasons			Documentation-related reasons		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	-0.018 (0.0136)	-0.0162 (0.0136)	-0.0162 (0.0137)	-0.0013 (0.0100)	-0.0007 (0.0096)	-0.0015 (0.0098)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>	0.0084 (0.0055)	0.0102* (0.0056)	0.0091* (0.0055)	-0.0033 (0.0046)	-0.0045 (0.0046)	-0.0034 (0.0045)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>	0.0174** (0.0082)	0.0157* (0.0085)	0.0177** (0.0084)	-0.0045 (0.0063)	-0.0046 (0.0062)	-0.0059 (0.0063)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	187,347	180,624	180,051	187,347	180,624	180,051
R-Squared	0.355	0.370	0.369	0.277	0.286	0.286

Empirical Results

- Effect on the **extensive margin**: higher rejection rate
- Effect on the **intensive margin**: smaller approved loan size
- **Overall effect**: reduction in aggregate credit supply

Empirical Result: Loan Size

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	-0.0844*** (0.0173)	-0.0577*** (0.0099)	-0.0636*** (0.0106)	-0.0391 (0.0288)	-0.0277* (0.0156)	-0.0276 (0.0169)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>				-0.0795*** (0.0201)	-0.0590*** (0.0117)	-0.0515*** (0.0107)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>				-0.0493* (0.0299)	-0.0289** (0.0140)	-0.0331** (0.0169)
Loan-level Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	1,277,185	1,245,107	1,240,097	1,277,185	1,245,107	1,240,097
R-Squared	0.393	0.698	0.699	0.393	0.698	0.699

Empirical Result: Overall Effect

	Log Loan Number		Log Loan Amount	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Distance to Court <500m</i>	-0.0125*** (0.0048)	0.0016 (0.0087)	-0.0946*** (0.0226)	-0.0125 (0.0354)
<i>Log Foreclosure</i>		-0.0155*** (0.0058)		-0.1572*** (0.0383)
<i>Log Foreclosure × (Distance to Court <500m)</i>		-0.0129** (0.0063)		-0.0742** (0.0289)
Log Number of Applications	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Average Applicant Characteristics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Branch-level Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Bank-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	152,677	152,677	152,677	152,677
R-Squared	0.943	0.943	0.696	0.696

Conclusion

- A micro-level individual decision making channel:
 - Individuals' exposure to adverse market events can change their risk preferences or beliefs
 - The changes in risk taking behaviors can affect financial decision makings of finance professionals
 - This can amplify the negative consequences on aggregate credit supply
- No efficiency conclusion:
 - If people took too much risk ex ante, exposure to the adverse events can lead to more efficient level of risk taking
 - If people took the optimal level of risk ex ante, exposure to the adverse events can lead to biases and even slow down recovery