How sound are banks today?

Mathias Dewatripont
Solvay Brussels School and ECARES
Université Libre de Bruxelles

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Outline

- 1. To what extent has regulation been corrected since banking crisis that started in 2007-2008, in terms of liquidity, solvency and resolution?
- 2. Where do Belgian banks stand, also in comparison with the rest of the Eurozone (EZ)?
- 3. How serious is overcapacity (esp. in terms of employment) given technological evolutions?
- 4. EZ-wide banking advocated by some/many: good idea? Will it allow for more risk diversification or instead exacerbate the Too-Big-To-Fail syndrome?

Banking challenges

- Banking is useful: banks provide liquidity, and lend to households and SME's.
- Banking is risky: (1) banks lend long, borrow short;
 (2) are very leveraged; (3) no creditor/ depositor discipline (but risk of volatility).
- Therefore, need for regulation that: (1) strengthens solvency & liquidity; (2) deals with systemic risk; (3) makes resolution credible when things go wrong.
- Idea: replicate corporate control of 'regular' firms (see e.g. Dewatripont-Tirole, 1994, 2012, Dewatripont, 2014a).

1. Regulation

(see e.g. Dewatripont et al., 2010)

- Regulation in 2008 (Basel II) was clearly insufficient, in terms of solvency (equity/assets), but also in terms of absence of liquidity or systemic regulation and in terms of resolution (therefore huge bailouts).
- Better now (Basel III): higher solvency ratios, new liquidity ratios (liquid assets/volatile liabilities), 'macroprudential' regulation. See BCBS (2016, 2017a).
- On resolution front, progress ('bail-in') even if still some unfinished business.

Regulation (2)

- Since January 2016, Banking Recovery and Resolution Directive (BRRD) asks for 'bail-in' of at least 8% of balance sheet before a bailout.
- Now finally requires 8% of long-term subordinated claims (equity + junior debt) for all banks with at least €100 billion of balance sheet + ability of national authorities to require it for smaller banks: Belgium rightly requires it, but not everybody does.
- Key however for financial stability: need to avoid bank runs, which could be hugely costly for taxpayers (see Dewatripont, 2014b).

2. Belgian banks (*: billion €)(NBB Annual Reports)

	Dec. 2008	Sept. 2018
Assets*	1,422	1,038
Loans-to-assets	39%	59%
GDP*	354	450
Assets-to-GDP	4.0	2.3
Equity (& min. interests	s) 49	77
Equity-to-assets	3.4%	7.4%

ROE: between 8.6 and 10% each year since 2015 (8.6% in Sept. 2018), close to cost of capital.

Belgian versus EZ banks

(European Banking Federation, 2019)

- Outperform EZ banks EBA stress tests.
- Return On Equity: Netherlands close to Belgium, while France closer to 6% and Germany to 3% (worse than Spain and Italy, which are around 7%).
- Some badly-performing large banks, e.g. Deutsche Bank.
- More generally, much heterogeneity (e.g. in Italy).
- US banks in much better shape than EZ banks.

Selected EZ banks

To	tal assets	Market cap	
(e	(end 2017,		Ratio
	oillion €)	billion €)	(%)
BNP Paribas	1,960	54.5	2.8
ING	953	42.6	4.5
Deutsche Bank	1,769	16.3	0.9
Commerzbank	543	8.8	1.6
Unicredit	834	26.1	3.1
KBC group	292	25.5	8.7

Conclusion

- Belgian and Eurozone banks more solid than in 2008.
- Significant heterogeneity in performance.
- System potentially fragile in case of negative macro shock (which may come endogenously or be the result of policy/political shock).
- And this while facing technological 'disruption'.

3. Overcapacity: The digital challenge

- Banks are busy restructuring and cutting employment (e.g. ING Belgium, Fortis).
- Process clearly not over yet, especially since: (1) on number of branches, Belgium significantly 'lags' the Netherlands; and (2) EZ lags other parts of the world (e.g. Alibaba extends loans to 11 million SME customers and all of this is done by Al algorithms ...).
- Worsens overcapacity in banking (general phenomenon, esp. acute in Germany).
- One question: who should pay restructuring cost?

4. Cross-border mergers: a solution?

- Increased push for cross-border mergers in EZ (SSM, ECB, not to mention big banks themselves).
- Will it allow for more risk diversification?
- Or instead exacerbate the Too-Big-To-Fail syndrome?
- For a general analysis, see Allen et al., 2011).

Cross-border M&As in Eurozone

- 9% of deals in 2016 (slightly more in 2017), 15% in 2011-2015.
- US: cross-state deals between 31 and 52% 2000-2015 (versus between 5 and 19% in Eurozone).
- Result: domestic credit institutions in 5 biggest countries (by banking assets) in Eurozone (DE, FR, IT, ES, NL) each amount to more than 90% of domestic assets.
- Note: Belgium is interesting exception: 6th country by size, and one where this number is only around 50%.

Advantages of cross-border banks

(European Central Bank, 2017, 2018)

- Better monetary policy transmission.
- Better risk-sharing.
- Lower home-sovereign bias.
- Faster resolution of Non-Performing-Loan problem (problem which leads to overestimate bank solvency).
- Fewer competition problems.

Comments: advantages

- Advantages indeed all relevant (but big merger talked about now is Deutsche-Commerzbank ...).
- Could in fact go further on home bias: home sovereign bias indeed a problem (sovereign concentration, without capital requirements ('0 risk weight') tolerated from the start by Basel: 'original sin').
- Hope that Basel will address it probably unrealistic (see BCBS 2017b).
- Makes it harder politically for Eurozone to tackle it, except possibly through 'concentration risk weights'.

Comments: advantages (2)

- But note that home sovereign bias not the only problem: home economy bias problematic too (and if sovereign risks defaulting, home economy will tank too, which makes it rational for sovereign home bias to rise in times of sovereign stress.
- Cross-border banking can address both home biases.
- One idea: introduce concentration risk charges only at consolidated level, not subsidiary levels.

Costs of cross-border banks

(European Central Bank, 2017, 2018)

- Too-Big-To-Fail? ECB answer: less of a problem now with Basel III and Banking Union.
- Excessively slow cost-cutting? ECB answer: need domestic mergers too.
- Contagion? ECB answer: need proper macroprudential policy.

Comments: costs

- All costs, as well as mitigants, relevant too.
- Too-Big-To-Fail: don't underestimate potential problem, given that EZ already has 8 large banks (G-SIB).
- Moreover, Basel-III G-SIB surcharge more than offset by ability of large banks to compute their risk weights thanks to 'internal models' ('output floor' at 72.5% of 'standardized approach' by 2027, while only at 50% in 2022 ...). And (nonrisk-weighted) leverage ratio culminates at 4% for EZ G-SIBs (see BCBS 2017a).

Comments: costs (2)

- Thus, no significant prudential penalty for size, and capital buffers do remain limited.
- This pleads for caution as far as bank mergers are concerned
- And especially as far as takeover battles are concerned, where the evidence is that around 100% of the efficiency gains are obtained by shareholders of the target, and where the 'winner's curse' is not rare.

Comments: costs (3)

- Example: hostile takeover of ABN-AMRO by RBS-Santander-Fortis.
- Of course, did happen at 'wrong time' and with excessive optimism by bidders, but these problems can never be ruled out.
- And not obvious Basel III and Banking Union would have prevented it, despite having more capital and liquidity (in the above case, the short-term wholesale financing of the merger was a key problem).
- Need also for symmetry on anti-takeover rules (contrast between ABN and Belfius? To keep in mind in a country where 2 of 4 biggest banks are already foreign-owned ...).

Conclusion

- Cross-border mergers have potential advantages as far as financial stability is concerned (esp. to address fragility w.r.t. domestic shocks) and of course in terms of the efficiency/competition tradeoff.
- One should however not underestimate potential costs, especially in a world where bank capitalisation remains modest and where larger bank size does not translate into significantly higher capital requirements.
- Belgian experience has shown that enthusiasm for bank expansion can at times end in tears.

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