

CHAPTER 11

Banking Industry: Structure and Competition

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Outline

History and Regulatory Structure

Innovation and the Shadow Banking System

The Decline of Traditional Banking

Structure and Consolidation

Separation of Banking and Other Services

Thriffs and International Banking

Wrap-up

Reading and objectives

- ▶ Mishkin, *The Economics of Money, Banking, and Financial Markets*, 13th ed.
- ▶ This deck: **Chapter 11** — Banking Industry: Structure and Competition.
- ▶ A historical and institutional chapter: *why* the U.S. has thousands of banks, how innovation reshaped the industry, and how it is consolidating.

Learning objectives

- 11.1** Recognize key features of the banking system and their historical context.
- 11.2** Explain how financial innovation produced the *shadow banking system*.
- 11.3–11.4** Identify the structural changes and the forces driving *consolidation*.
- 11.5–11.6** Assess the separation of banking from other financial services; distinguish *thrifts* from commercial banks.
- 11.7** Explain the rise of *international banking*.

PART 1

History and Regulatory Structure

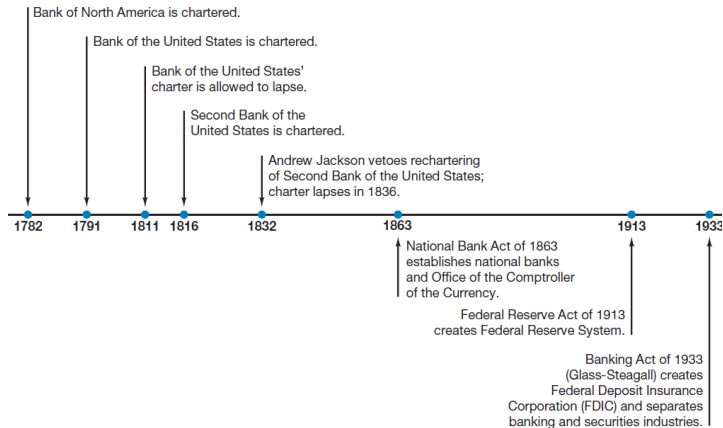
Historical development of U.S. banking

The U.S. system is unusual — thousands of banks, not a handful. The reason is history and a deep distrust of centralized financial power.

- ▶ **1782:** Bank of North America chartered — the first.
- ▶ Recurring **controversy over who charters banks** — the federal government or the states.
- ▶ **National Bank Act of 1863:** created federally chartered “national” banks and the **Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC)**.
- ▶ Result: a **dual banking system** — state and national banks coexisting, regulated in parallel. Still with us today.
- ▶ **1913:** the Federal Reserve System is created.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.1.

Figure 1 — Early history of U.S. commercial banking



Mishkin Ch. 11, Figure 1. Timeline 1782–1933.

Who regulates whom? A fragmented system

A single bank can answer to several regulators — a legacy of the dual system.

- ▶ **OCC** — charters and supervises *national* banks.
- ▶ **Federal Reserve** — state banks that are Fed *members*; also *all* bank holding companies.
- ▶ **FDIC** — insured state banks that are *not* Fed members.
- ▶ **State banking authorities** — state banks (and those without FDIC insurance).

Why this matters

Overlapping jurisdictions create gaps and *regulatory arbitrage* — institutions shop for the most lenient supervisor. A theme of the whole chapter.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.1.

PART 2

Innovation and the Shadow Banking System

What drives financial innovation?

The central idea

Financial innovation is driven by the *search for profit*. When the environment changes, institutions hunt for new, profitable ways to do business — this is **financial engineering**.

Three triggers for innovation:

1. Changes in **demand** conditions — above all, interest-rate volatility.
2. Changes in **supply** conditions — above all, information technology.
3. The desire to **avoid regulations** — “loophole mining.”

We take each in turn.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.2.

Demand: responses to interest-rate volatility

From the 1970s on, interest rates became far more volatile — raising interest-rate risk (Ch. 9). Innovation responded.

- ▶ **Adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs).** Rates float with market rates — protecting bank profits when rates rise. Lower initial “teaser” rates attract borrowers.
- ▶ **Financial derivatives.** Futures, options, and swaps let banks *hedge* interest-rate risk. Their payoffs are *derived from* previously issued securities.

Both are direct market responses to the new risk environment.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.2.

Supply: responses to information technology

Falling computing and communication costs reshaped what banks could profitably offer.

- ▶ **Credit and debit cards.** Cheap data processing made mass payment cards viable.
- ▶ **Electronic banking.** ATMs, ABMs, home/online banking, virtual banks — lower transaction costs.
- ▶ **Junk bonds.** Cheap information made it possible to assess and trade below-investment-grade debt.
- ▶ **Commercial paper market.** Firms borrow directly in the market, bypassing banks.

Note the double edge: the same technology that helps banks also lets *competitors and markets* bypass them.

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Securitization and the shadow banking system

Securitization

The process of bundling otherwise *illiquid* loans (mortgages, auto loans, card receivables) into *marketable* securities sold to investors.

- ▶ Loans no longer have to sit on a bank's balance sheet — they are originated, pooled, and sold.
- ▶ This is the engine of the **shadow banking system**: credit intermediation by non-banks (securitizers, money funds, broker-dealers) outside traditional bank regulation.
- ▶ Securitization was central to the **subprime mortgage market** of the mid-2000s — and to the 2007–09 crisis (Ch. 12).

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.2.

Avoiding regulation: loophole mining

Two regulations acted as a *tax* on banks, and innovation grew up to dodge them.

- ▶ **Reserve requirements** — a tax on deposits (reserves earn little/no interest).
- ▶ **Deposit-rate ceilings** (Regulation Q) — when market rates rose above the ceiling, depositors pulled funds out: **disintermediation**.

Innovations that escaped both:

- ▶ **Money market mutual funds (MMMFs)** — pay market rates, offer check-writing, hold no reserves.
- ▶ **Sweep accounts** — balances “swept” overnight out of reservable deposits.

The MMMF panic of 2008

When the Reserve Primary Fund “broke the buck” in September 2008, a run on money funds nearly froze short-term credit — prompting an emergency federal guarantee, and later calls for tighter regulation.

PART 3

The Decline of Traditional Banking

The decline of traditional banking

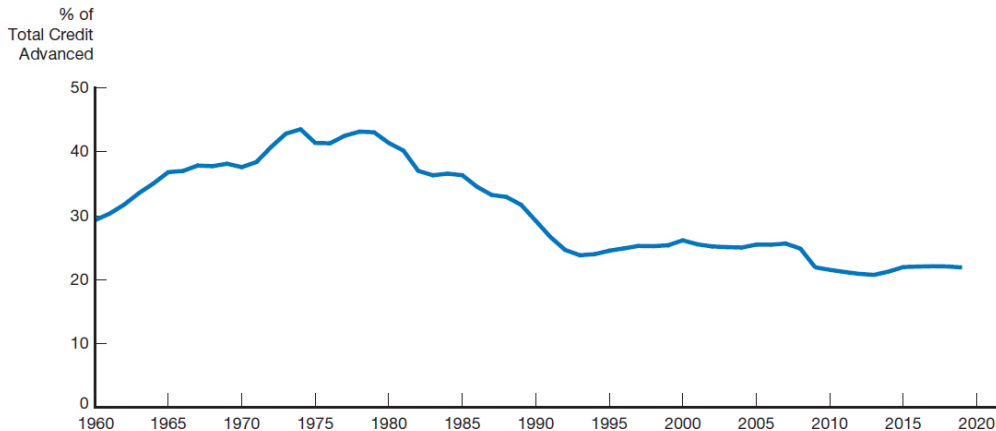
Innovation and competition eroded banks' traditional role as the dominant intermediary.

- ▶ Commercial banks' share of total financial-intermediary assets has *fallen*.
- ▶ Their share of nonfinancial borrowing has *fallen* (next slide).
- ▶ But **profitability has not collapsed** — banks replaced lost interest income with *off-balance-sheet* fee income.

“Decline” means a shrinking *traditional* business, not a dying industry.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.2.

Figure 2 — Bank share of total nonfinancial borrowing, 1960–2020



Mishkin Ch. 11, Figure 2. Banks' share peaked ≈ 1974 and fell from $\approx 40\%$ to $\approx 22\%$. Source: Federal Reserve, FRED.

Why traditional banking declined

Loss of cost advantage on the liability (funding) side:

- ▶ Rising inflation $\Rightarrow$ higher rates $\Rightarrow$ disintermediation out of low-rate deposits.
- ▶ Cheap checkable deposits shrank as a share of funding.

Loss of income advantage on the asset (lending) side:

- ▶ Information technology let borrowers tap markets directly (commercial paper, junk bonds).
- ▶ The same technology lowered costs for *competitors* — finance companies, securitizers — intensifying competition for loans.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.2.

How banks responded — and the risk

- ▶ **Expand into riskier lending:** commercial real estate, corporate takeovers, leveraged buyouts.
- ▶ **Pursue off-balance-sheet activities:** fee and trading income (Ch. 9).

The concern

Reaching for yield to defend profits pushed banks toward *more* risk — a recurring prelude to crises. The same decline of traditional banking appears in other industrialized countries.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.2.

PART 4

Structure and Consolidation

Why so many banks? Branching restrictions

The defining feature of U.S. banking: an unusually *large number* of banks. The cause is legal, not economic.

- ▶ **McFadden Act (1927)** and state laws *prohibited branching across state lines* and often within states.
- ▶ This protected small local banks from competition — so thousands survived.
- ▶ **Workarounds: bank holding companies** (own multiple banks) and **ATMs** (not legally “branches”) let banks expand despite the rules.

When the restrictions fell, consolidation accelerated.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.3.

Size distribution of FDIC-insured banks (2020)

Assets	# banks	% banks	% assets
Less than \$100 million	1,124	22.0	0.5
\$100 million–\$1 billion	3,168	61.9	6.7
\$1 billion–\$10 billion	680	13.3	10.0
\$10 billion–\$250 billion	131	2.6	32.3
More than \$250 billion	13	0.3	50.4
Total	5,116	100.0	100.0

The smallest 84% of banks hold $\approx 7\%$ of assets; **13 banks** hold *half*.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Table 1. Source: FDIC Quarterly Banking Profile, Mar. 31, 2020.

The ten largest U.S. banks (2020)

Bank	Assets (\$tn)	% of all bank assets
1. J.P. Morgan Chase	2.74	15.4
2. Bank of America	2.38	13.4
3. Citigroup	1.96	11.0
4. Wells Fargo	1.89	10.6
5. Goldman Sachs	0.93	5.2
6. Morgan Stanley	0.88	4.9
7. U.S. Bancorp	0.48	2.7
8. PNC Financial Services	0.39	2.2
9. TD Group US	0.38	2.1
10. Capital One	0.37	2.1
Top 10 total	12.40	69.6

Mishkin Ch. 11, Table 2. Source: Bankrate.com, 2020.

Consolidation and nationwide banking

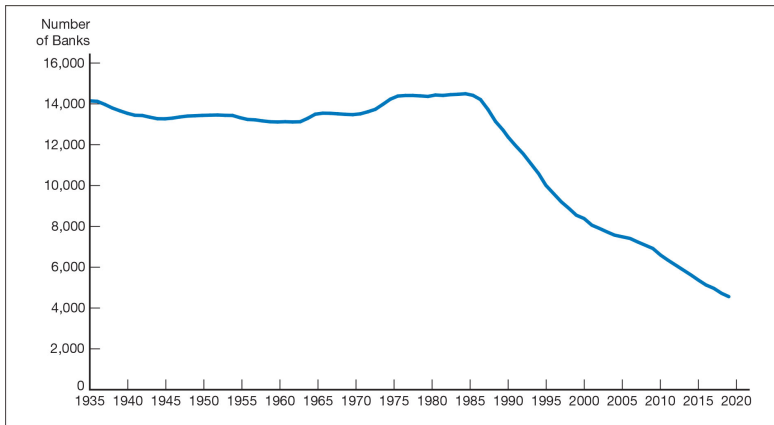
The number of banks has fallen *dramatically* over the past 30+ years.

- ▶ **Bank failures** (1980s–90s) plus mergers thinned the ranks.
- ▶ **Deregulation:** the **Riegle-Neal Act (1994)** overturned the ban on interstate banking and branching.
- ▶ **Economies of scale and scope** from information technology favor larger banks.

Result: not just *fewer* banks, but a *shift of assets toward very large* banks (see Table 1).

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.3.

Figure 3 — Number of commercial banks, 1934–2019



Mishkin Ch. 11, Figure 3. From $\approx 14,000$ (≈ 1985) to $\approx 4,500$. Source: Federal Reserve, FRED.

Is consolidation a good thing?

Benefits

- ▶ More competition — drives out inefficient banks.
- ▶ Economies of scale and scope $\Rightarrow$ greater efficiency.
- ▶ More *diversified* portfolios $\Rightarrow$ lower failure probability.

Costs

- ▶ Fewer community banks $\Rightarrow$ possibly less small-business lending (relationship lending, Ch. 8).
- ▶ Banks entering new areas may take *more* risk and fail.
- ▶ Larger banks $\Rightarrow$ more “too big to fail” (Ch. 10).

The U.S. structure is slowly *converging* toward the European/Japanese pattern of a few large banks — though it still has far more banks than any peer.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.3.

PART 5

Separation of Banking and Other Services

The rise and fall of Glass-Steagall

- ▶ **Glass-Steagall (1933)** *separated* commercial banking from investment banking — banks could not underwrite corporate securities or run brokerages.
- ▶ **Erosion:** the Fed permitted “**Section 20** affiliates” to underwrite securities up to a revenue cap; the Supreme Court upheld this in 1988.
- ▶ **Repeal:** the **Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act (1999)** abolished the separation, allowing banking, securities, and insurance under one roof.

Post-repeal regulatory split

States regulate insurance; the SEC oversees securities; the OCC oversees bank securities subsidiaries; the Fed oversees the holding company. GLB *stimulated* further consolidation.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.4.

Separation around the world, and the 2008 endgame

- ▶ **Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland:** *no* separation — full **universal banking**.
- ▶ **Great Britain:** universal banking via separate legal subsidiaries; banks rarely hold equity in commercial firms.
- ▶ **Japan:** a middle ground, historically closer to separation.

The demise of the free-standing investment bank, 2008

In just six months (March–September 2008), all five major independent U.S. investment banks vanished in their old form — Bear Stearns and Merrill Lynch were absorbed, Lehman failed, and Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley became bank holding companies. The universal-bank model won, faster than anyone expected.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.4.

PART 6

Thriffs and International Banking

The thrift industry

“Thrifts” are depository institutions distinct from commercial banks, with their own charters and regulators.

- ▶ **Savings & loan associations (S&Ls).** Federal or state charter; most belong to the Federal Home Loan Bank System; historically focused on mortgages.
- ▶ **Mutual savings banks.** Owned by depositors; mostly state-chartered and state-regulated.
- ▶ **Credit unions.** Tax-exempt, member-owned cooperatives; regulated by the **NCUA**; deposits insured by the NCUSIF.

Deposit insurance and the lessons of the 1980s S&L crisis (Ch. 8) shaped today’s thrift regulation.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.5.

International banking and the Eurodollar market

Why banks went global: growth in international trade and multinational firms, lucrative global investment banking, and access to the **Eurodollar market**.

Eurodollars

Dollar-denominated deposits held in banks outside the United States. Born partly from Cold-War politics; the dollar is the dominant trade currency. These offshore deposits escape U.S. reserve requirements — a key, cheap funding source for U.S. banks.

U.S. banks abroad: shell branches, Edge Act corporations, and International Banking Facilities (IBFs) — lightly regulated, but barred from lending to U.S. residents.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Section 11.6.

Foreign banks in the U.S., and the world's largest banks

How foreign banks operate here:

- ▶ **Agency office** — can lend, cannot take domestic deposits.
- ▶ **Subsidiary U.S. bank** — fully subject to U.S. regulation.
- ▶ **Branch** — governed by the International Banking Act of 1978.

Largest banks in the world, 2020	Assets (\$tn)
1. ICBC (China)	4.32
2. China Construction Bank	3.82
3. Agricultural Bank of China	3.70
4. Bank of China	3.39
5. JPMorgan Chase (US)	3.14

Four of the five largest banks on earth are Chinese; the largest U.S. bank ranks fifth.

Mishkin Ch. 11, Table 3 (top 5). Source: FXSSI, 2020.

PART 7

Wrap-up

Key terms from Chapter 11

- ▶ dual banking system; OCC
- ▶ financial innovation / engineering
- ▶ adjustable-rate mortgage
- ▶ disintermediation
- ▶ money market mutual fund; sweep account
- ▶ securitization; shadow banking system
- ▶ decline of traditional banking
- ▶ off-balance-sheet activities
- ▶ McFadden Act; bank holding company
- ▶ Riegle-Neal Act; consolidation
- ▶ Glass-Steagall; Gramm-Leach-Bliley
- ▶ thrifts; credit unions; Eurodollar market

The one idea to take away

Structure is the residue of regulation and innovation

The U.S. has thousands of banks because old laws *blocked branching*; it is now consolidating because those laws fell and technology rewards scale. Every innovation — ARMs, MMMFs, securitization — was a profit-seeking response to a change in the environment or a way around a rule.

- ▶ Next: **Chapter 12** — Financial Crises, where securitization, the shadow banking system, and too-big-to-fail come together in 2007–09.