

COMMENT ON "SURVIVAL OF THE BIGGEST"

NAOMI LAMOREAUX

YALE UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LAW SCHOOL, AND NBER



Strong Argument (p. 40):

We show that large banks account for a rising share of the aggregate financial cycle, take more risk during pre-crisis credit booms and have higher losses during the crisis. We also show that large banks grow their market shares over the boom-bust cycle due to lower failure rates and by acquiring smaller banks. Our results are consistent with theories of excessive risk taking of large banks and implicit bailout guarantees and shows that large banks have been at the epicenter of financial instability and risk taking throughout history.

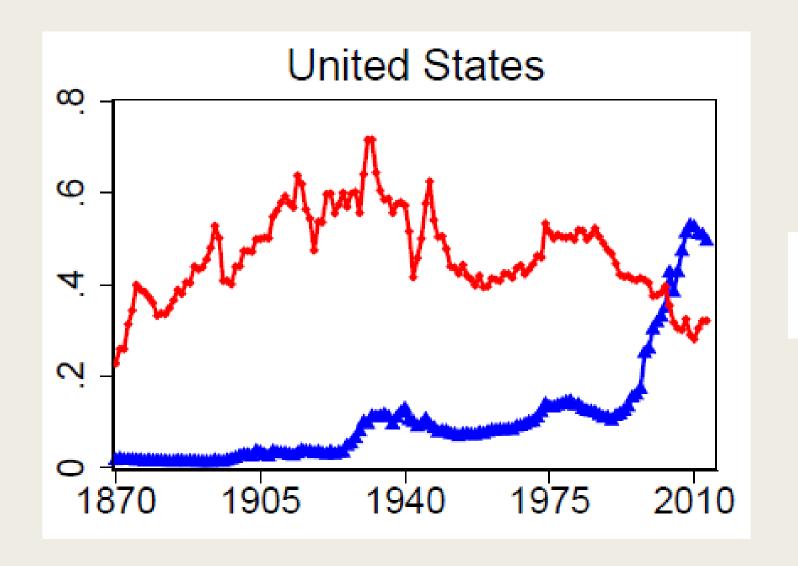


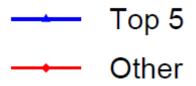
Why are large banks so dominant?

- The authors consider two alternative hypotheses:
 - 1. Market forces, such as economies of scale or advantages in crises
 - 2. Government policy, such as bailouts of large but not small banks
- Claim evidence supports the second. Find:
 - "[L]arge banks typically take more, not less, risk than smaller banks in the runup to crises, and ... suffer bigger equity losses and contract their lending more in the aftermath of crises" (2).
 - Yet large banks' market share tends to grow in crises, in part because they are more resilient but also because of the way governments reorganize the banking sector in the aftermath of crises.
- As a matter of logic, the authors' findings can be true and the first hypothesis can also be true.



Ratio of Bank Assets to GDP







What is a banking crisis?

- The authors define banking crises as "country-year observations that are the first years of aggregate credit crunches"—that is, "the past three-year change in the ratio of bank credit-to-GDP is less than -1 s.d. relative to that country's history" (11).
- They reject previous chronologies of bank crises to avoid bias because the chronologies "are more likely to call an episode a banking crisis if it involves distress of one or several of the largest banks in a country" (11).
- But worry that their definition is also biased. Given the extent of concentration in the banking sector, it's difficult to conceive of a credit crunch of that magnitude without massive involvement of the largest banks.

TABLE 2—New Series on Banking Panics, 1825–1929

Major banking panic	Nonmajor banking panic	
Nov. 1833–Apr. 1834 Mar.–May 1837 Oct. 1839		
	Jan.–April 1841 (Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, Illinois) March 1842 (Pennsylvania) May–June 1842 (New Orleans) Oct. 1851 (New York, New Jersey, Maryland) Sept. 1854–Feb. 1855 (Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, New York, California)	
AugOct. 1857		
	Nov. 1860 (suspension of specie payments by banks in the South)	
Sep. 1873	Dec. 1861 (generalized suspension of specie payments)	
·	May 1884 (New York City, Pennsylvania, New Jersey) Nov. 1890 (New York City)	
May–Aug. 1893	Dec. 1896 (Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin) Dec. 1899 (Boston and New York City) June–July 1901 (New York: Buffalo and New York City) Oct. 1903 (Pennsylvania, Maryland) Dec. 1905 (Chicago)	BSZ Year of Credit Boom Peak Before Credit Crunch in US 1875
OctNov. 1907	Jan. 1908 (New York City) Aug.—Sept. 1920 (Boston) Nov. 1920—Feb. 1921 (North Dakota) July 1926 (Florida, Georgia) March 1927 (Florida) Jul.—Aug. 1929 (Florida)	1892 1920 1930 1989 2007



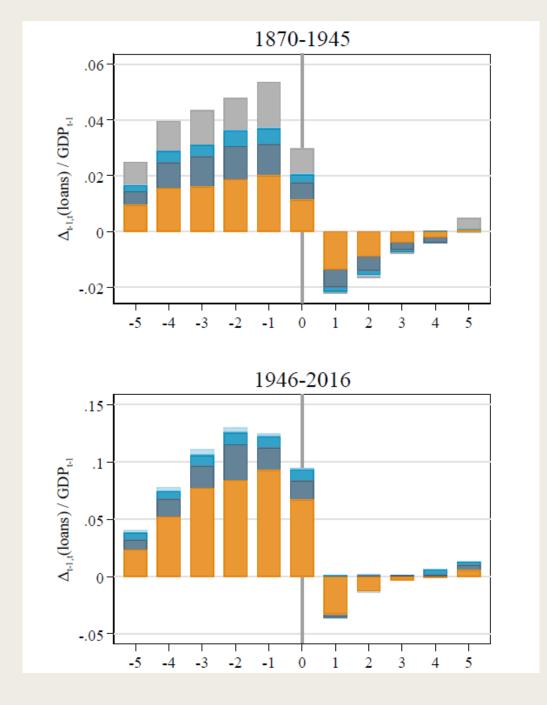
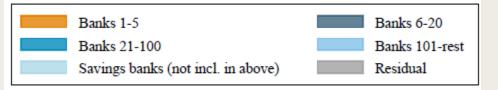


Figure 5. Large bank's contribution to credit booms preceding banking crises



CINCINNATI CHECKS SMALL BANK RUNS

Four There, Linked With Suspended National Bank of Kentucky, Bought Up.

CHEMICAL SUES ON ITS LOAN

Eleven Arkansas Closings Put Total in State at 54 — Caldwell Receivers Active.

NASHVILLE BANK SUSTAINS LONG RUN

Hermitage Institution Pays Out
Money All Day, With
Officials Confident.

KNOXVILLE MERGER HELPS

Fiscal Agents Here of Tennessee
Offer Loan of \$5,000,000
to the State.

Contagion sparked by collapse of Caldwell & Co. in early November, 1930.

CALDWELL & CO. PUT INTO RECEIVERSHIP

Lee Douglas Named by Federal Court to Take Charge of Banking House's Assets.

ANOTHER BANK IS CLOSED

Business at Knoxville Again Nearly
Normal and the Banking Public
is Calmer.



Failure of the Bank of United States in New York, December 11, 1930





Chronology of the Savings & Loan Crisis:

- More than 1000 S&Ls collapsed in late 1980s—cost the Federal government more than \$100 billion—doesn't include cost to states.
- Some highlights
 - 1985 Home State Savings Bank collapsed in Ohio—led to runs that drained the state's insurance fund and the closure of many S&Ls in the state (failure of Old Court Savings and Loan in Maryland had similar effect)
 - 1987 FSLIC deemed insolvent—Congress recapitalized it.
 - 1988 Peak year for failures (spread outward from epicenter in Texas)
 - 1988 Silverado Savings and Loan collapsed in Colorado—cost the federal government \$1.3 billion
 - 1989 Lincoln Savings and Loan collapsed in California—cost federal government \$3.4 billion
- 1989 Congress passes the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act
 - abolished FSLIC (moved the sector to FDIC)
 - abolished the Federal Home Bank Board and created the Office of Thrift Supervision
 - Set up Resolution Trust Corporation to handle troubled S&Ls