



EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK

BANKING SUPERVISION

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Is less more? Profitability and consolidation in the European banking sector

**Presentation at the CIRSF Annual
International Conference 2019, Lisbon, 4
July**

Overview

1 The profitability of European banks

2 Is overbanking a problem?

3 Is consolidation a solution?

4 Conclusion

Overview

1 The profitability of European banks

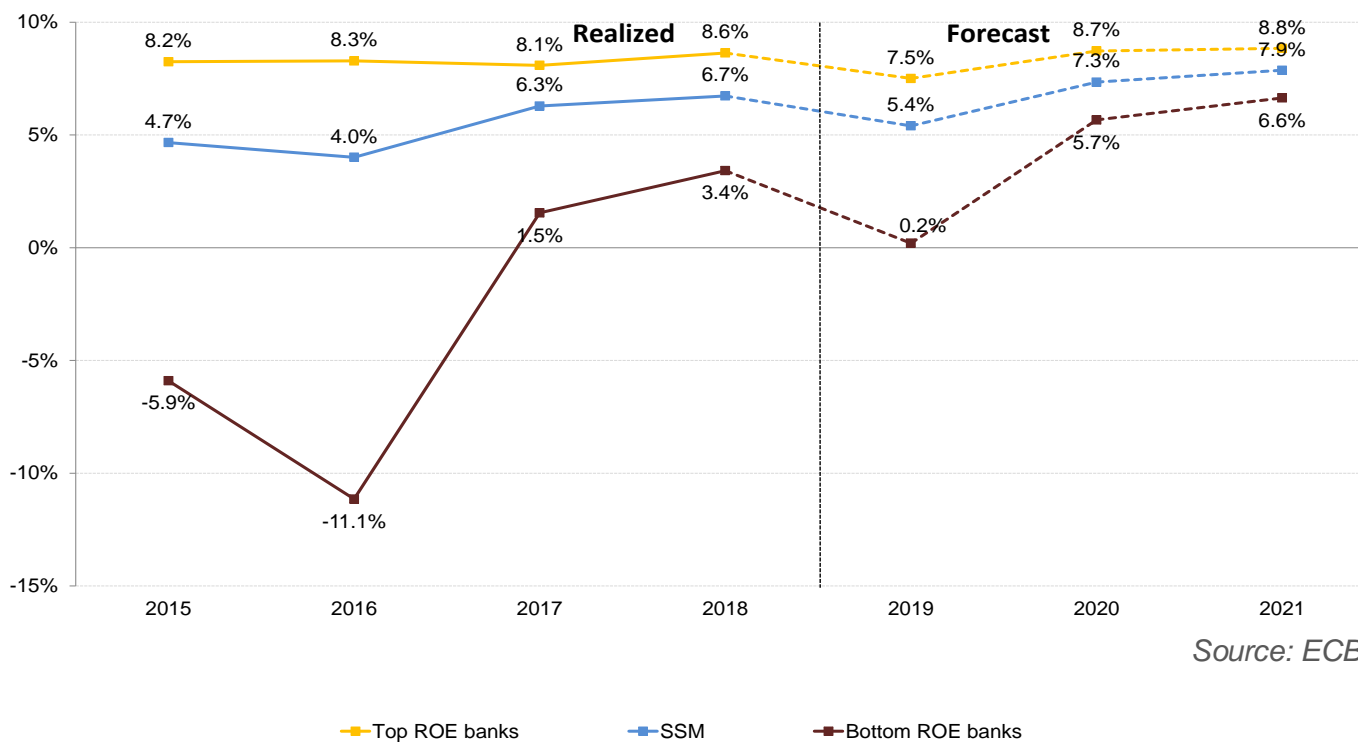
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1. The profitability of European banks

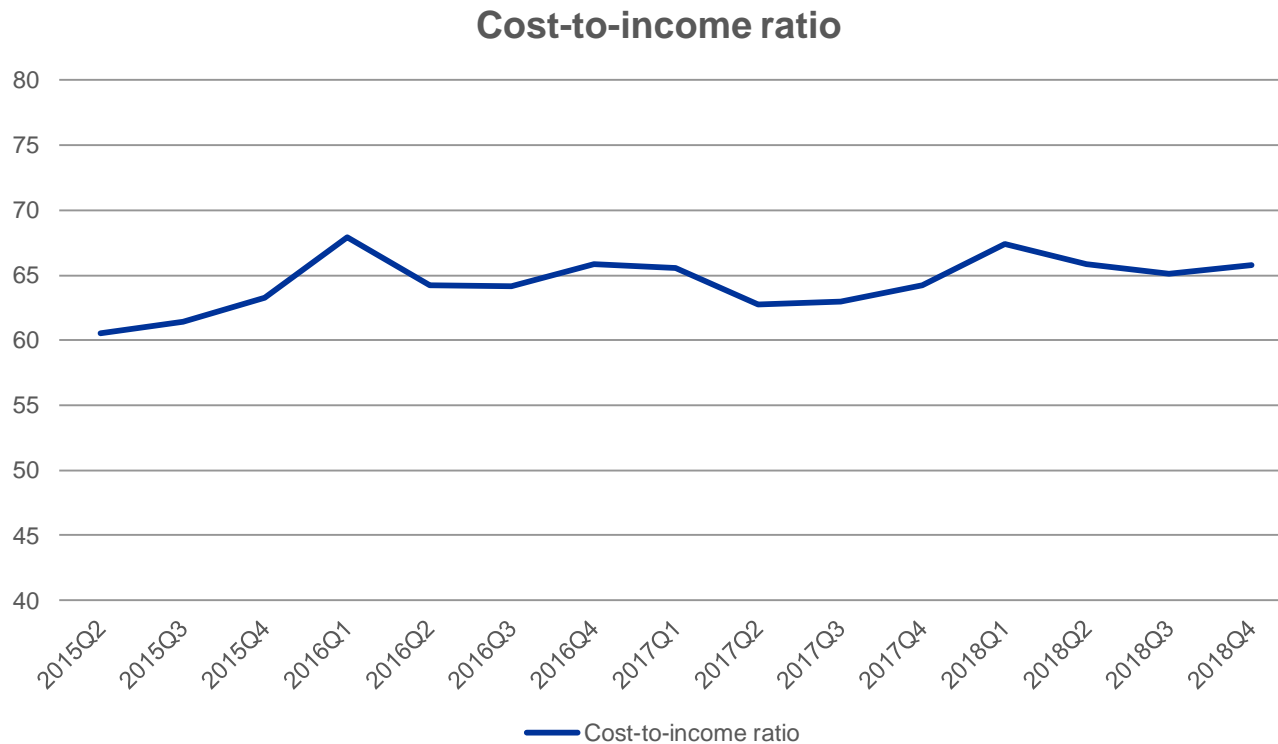
- **Euro area banks have become slightly more profitable...**
 - Return on equity (RoE) increased from 6.3% in 2017 to 6.7% in 2018
 - Main driver: lower impairments
 - Core business also improved (net interest income and net fee and commission income at highest levels since 2015)



Source: ECB

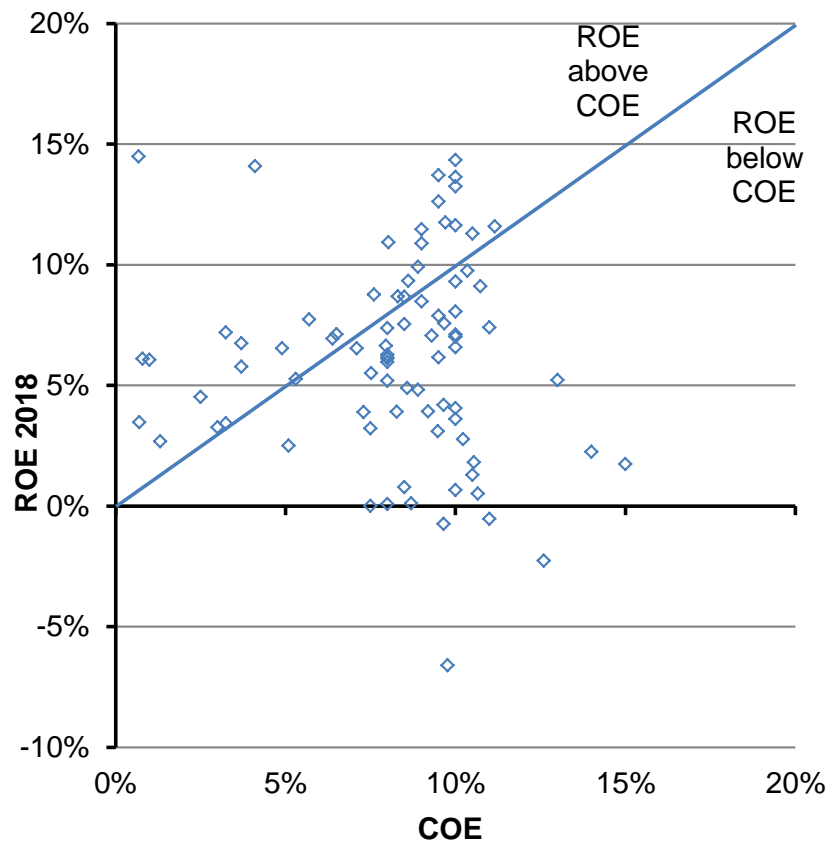
1. The profitability of European banks

- **...and slightly less cost-efficient**
 - In 2018, operating expenses slightly increased



Source: ECB

1. The profitability of European banks



Sources: ECB and ECB calculations

- **But overall, profitability remains subdued...**
 - Price-to-book values for most banks are still below one
 - For many banks, their RoE is still below their cost of equity (CoE)
 - Is the recent improvement in profitability a stable trend?
 - Is “Japanification” a risk for the euro area?

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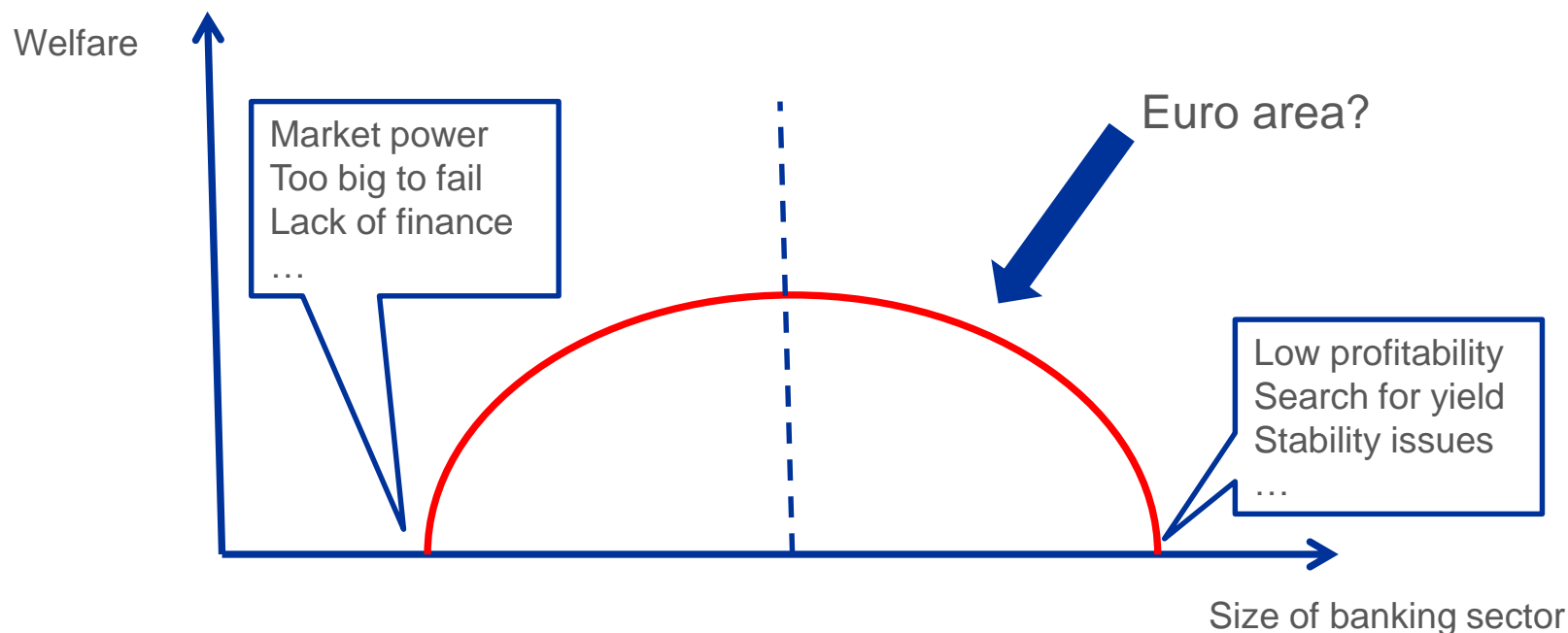
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2. Is overbanking a problem?

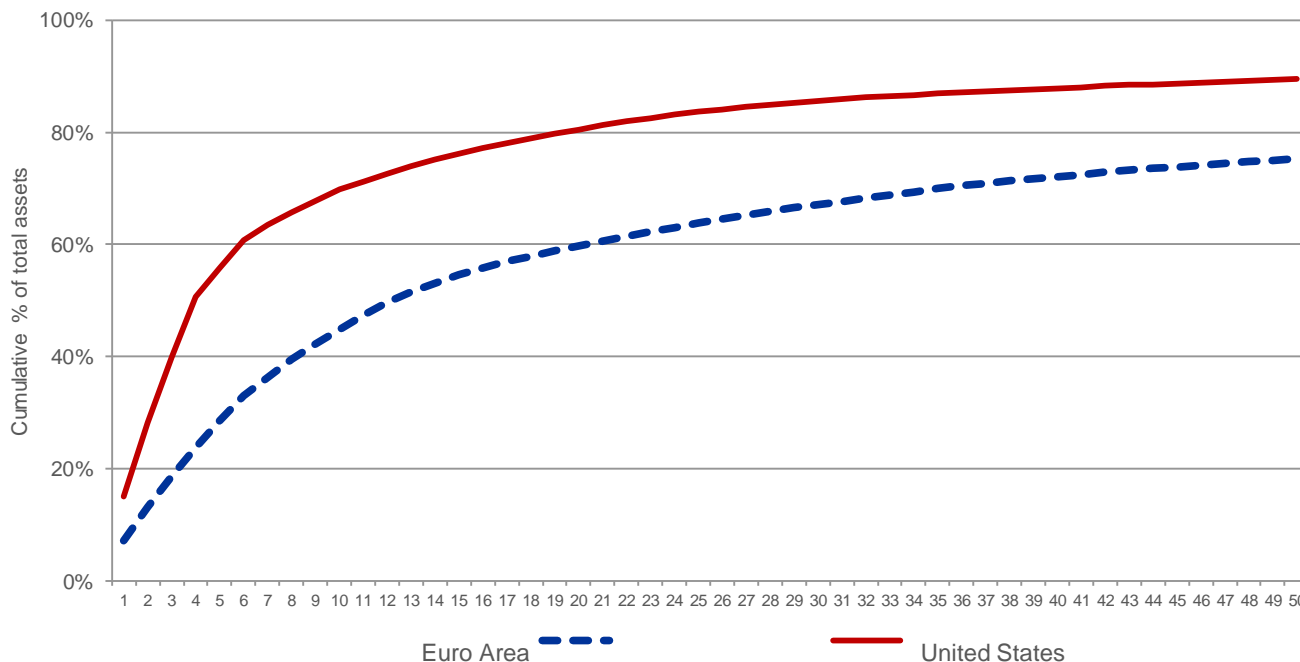
- **Overbanking is often put forward as a reason for low profitability**
 - Banking is a good thing in principle, but you can have too much of a good thing
 - You can also not have enough of a good thing
 - → The relationship is non-linear and there are many dimensions of overbanking



2. Is overbanking a problem?

- **The first dimension of overbanking: too many banks**
 - Fierce competition, but only a few banks exit the market
 - Non-viable banks have an incentive to price aggressively and take on high risks in a gamble for resurrection

Cumulative share of total assets for the largest 50 banks in the Euro Area & United States

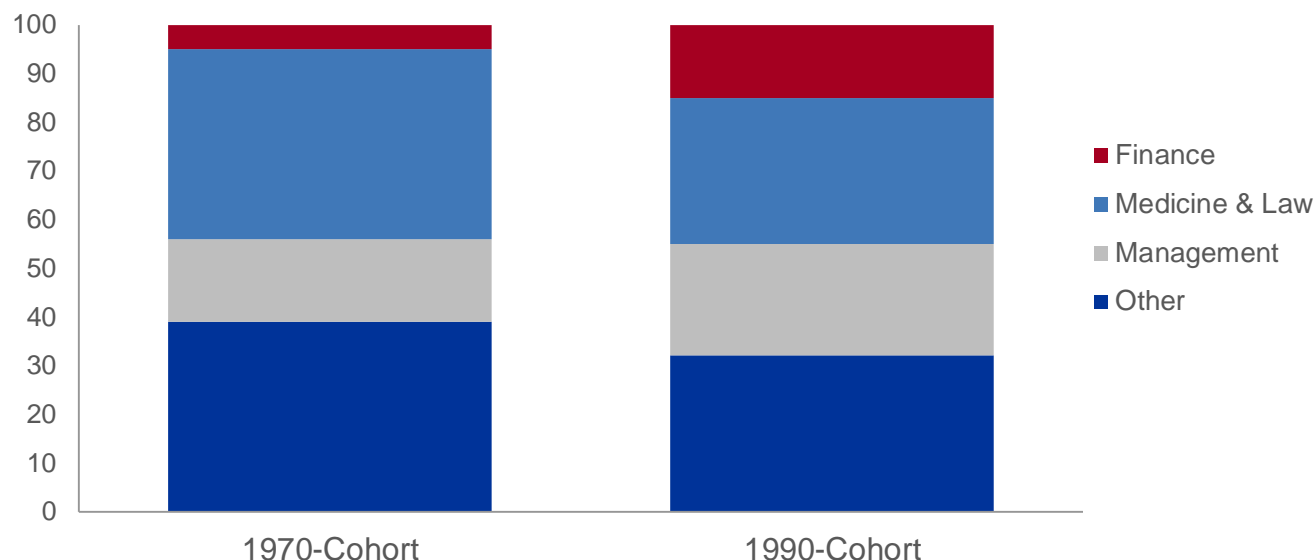


Sources: S&P Market Intelligence and ECB; data as of end-2018

2. Is overbanking a problem?

- **The second dimension of overbanking: the banking sector is too large compared with other sectors**
 - Paying excessive wages might drain talented people from other sectors
 - ➔ inefficient allocation of resources

Occupation of Harvard Graduates 15 years after graduation



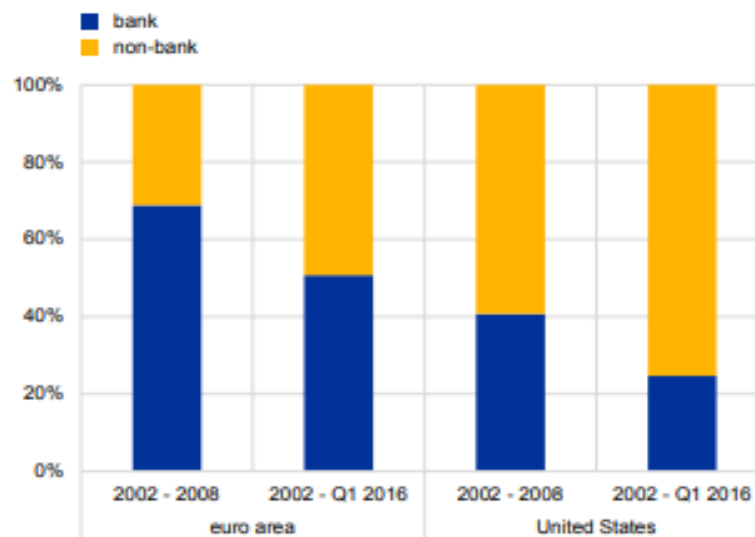
Source: Goldin, C. and Katz, L. (2008), "Transitions: Career and Family Life Cycles of the Educational Elite", American Economic Review, Vol. 98, No 2, pp. 363-369

2. Is overbanking a problem?

- **The third dimension of overbanking: the banking sector is too large compared with other sources of funding**
 - Bank-based economies perform slightly better
 - In crises, however, they suffer more and take longer to recover

Share of bank and non-bank financing in total non-financial corporation financing in the euro area and the United States

(cumulated transactions, percentages)

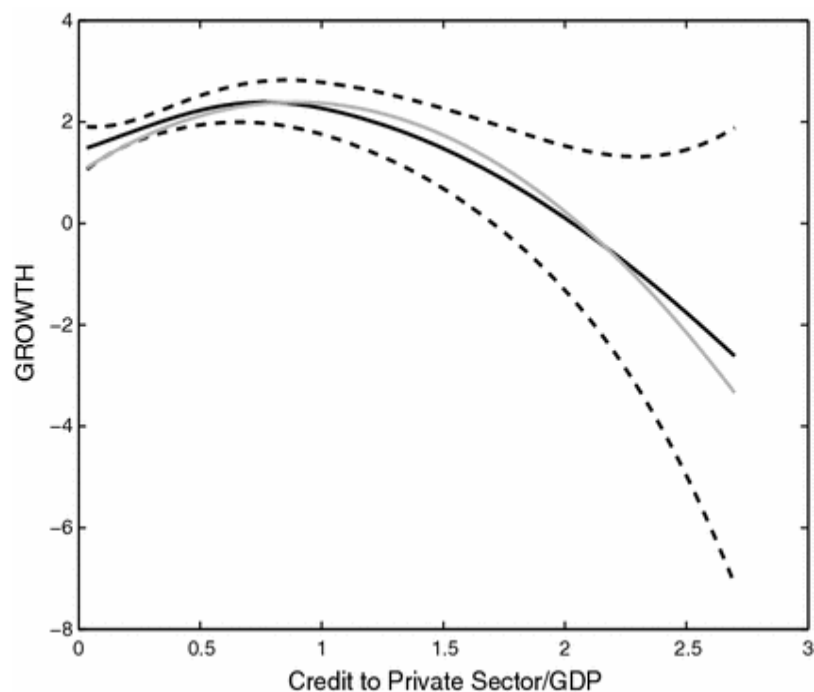


Sources: ECB, Federal Reserve System.

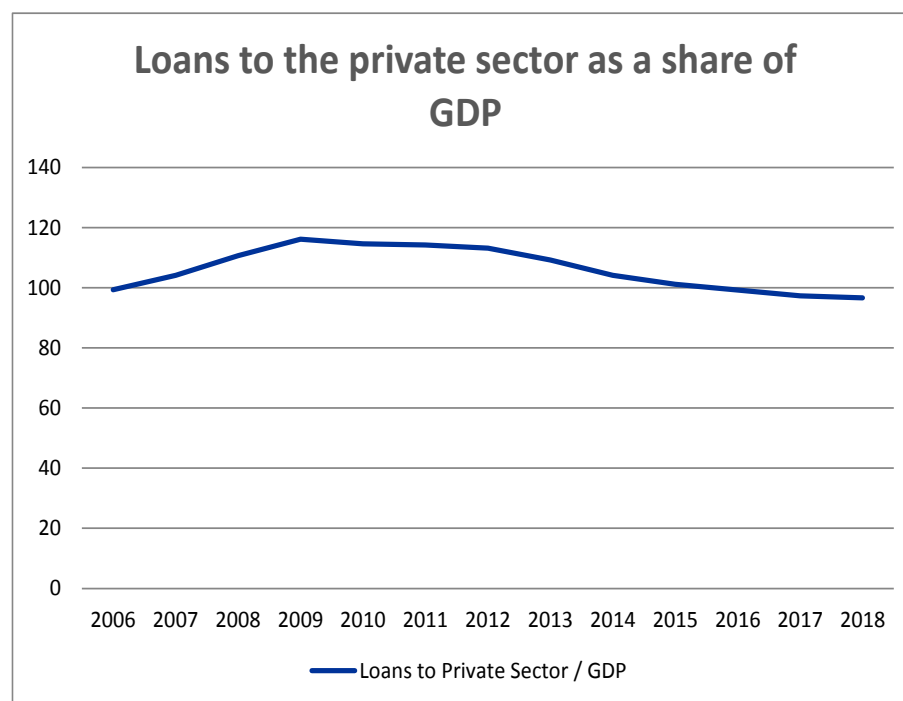
Note: The latest observation is for the first quarter of 2016.

2. Is overbanking a problem?

- **The fourth dimension of overbanking: banking assets are too large**
 - This might imply that the economy is over-indebted
 - Arcand et al. show that growth suffers once credit to the private sector exceeds 100% of GDP



Source: Arcand, J.-L., Berkes, E. and Panizza, U. (2015), "Too much Finance?", *Journal of Economic Growth*, Vol. 20, No 2, pp. 105-148



Sources: ECB and ECB calculations

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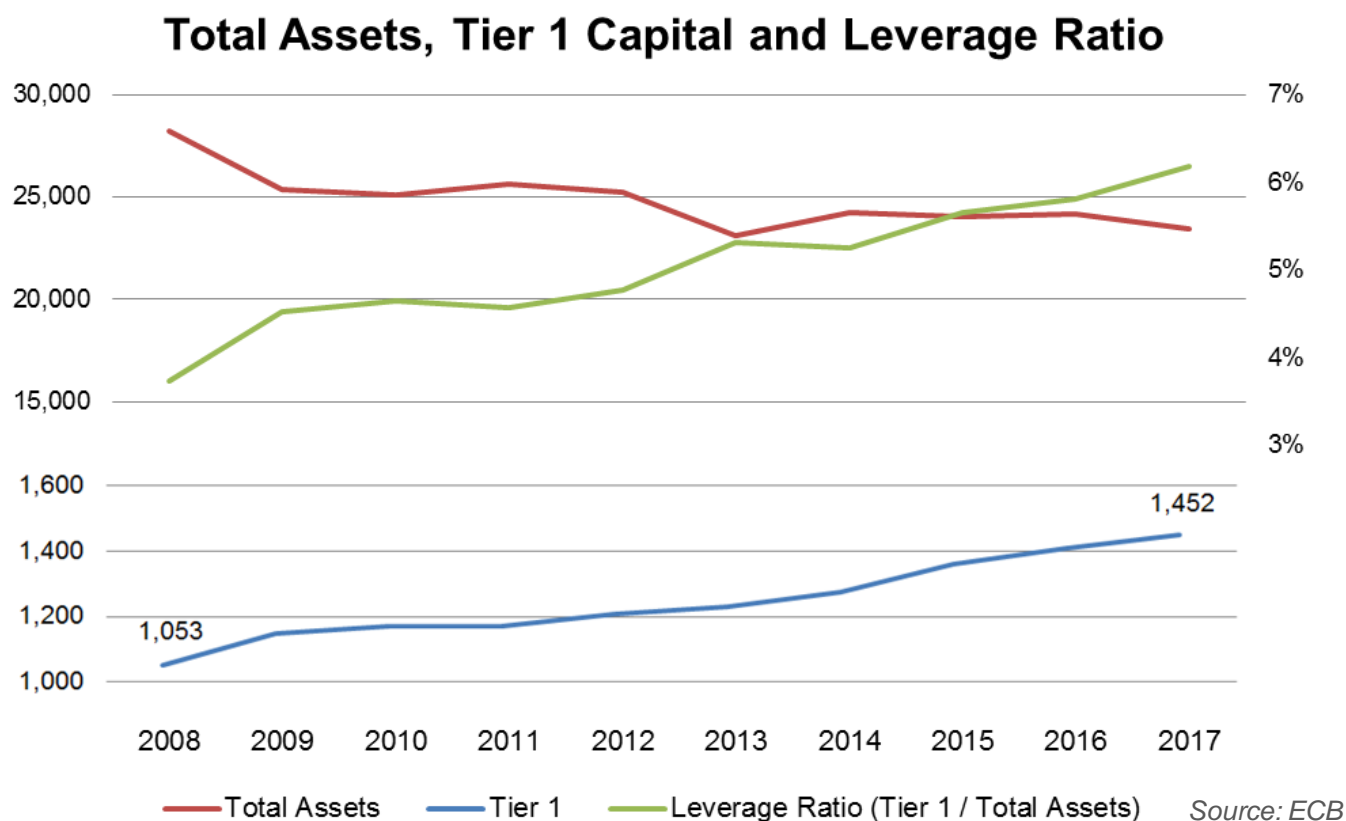
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Consolidation through deleveraging

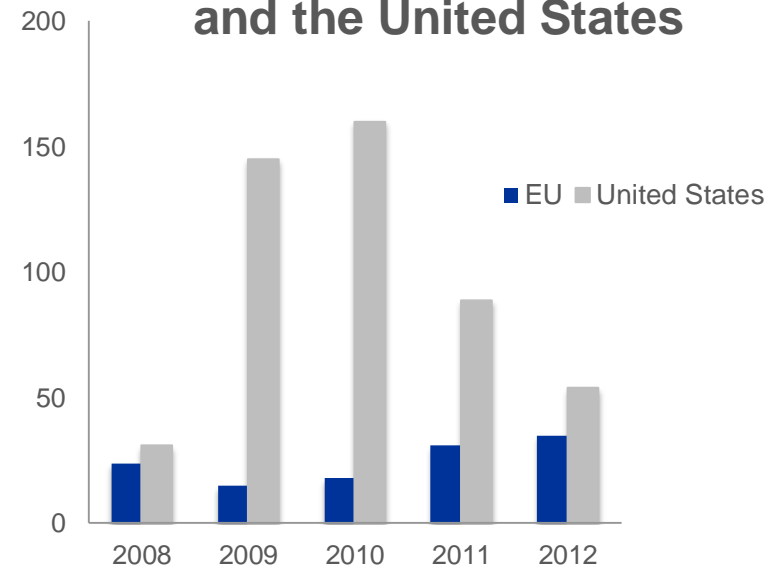
- Euro area banks have deleveraged
- In doing so, they relied mostly on reducing assets and less on increasing capital
- They also mostly reduced assets abroad



Consolidation through failure

- Compared with other jurisdictions, only a few banks exited the market in the euro area
- Many banks were bailed out and kept alive due to a lack of European crisis management tools
- The Single Resolution Mechanism is thus an important step in the right direction

Banks resolved in the EU and the United States



Source: FDIC and Open Economics. Pagano, Marco, et al. *Is Europe Overbanked?*, No. 4. Reports of the Advisory Scientific Committee, European Systemic Risk Board, 2014.

Consolidation through mergers and acquisitions (M&A)

Benefits of M&A

- Economies of scale and scope → banks might become more efficient and more profitable (the empirical evidence is mixed, however)
- Opportunity to scale up technological innovation
- After a crisis, consolidation can help to mop up excess capacity

Costs and challenges of M&A

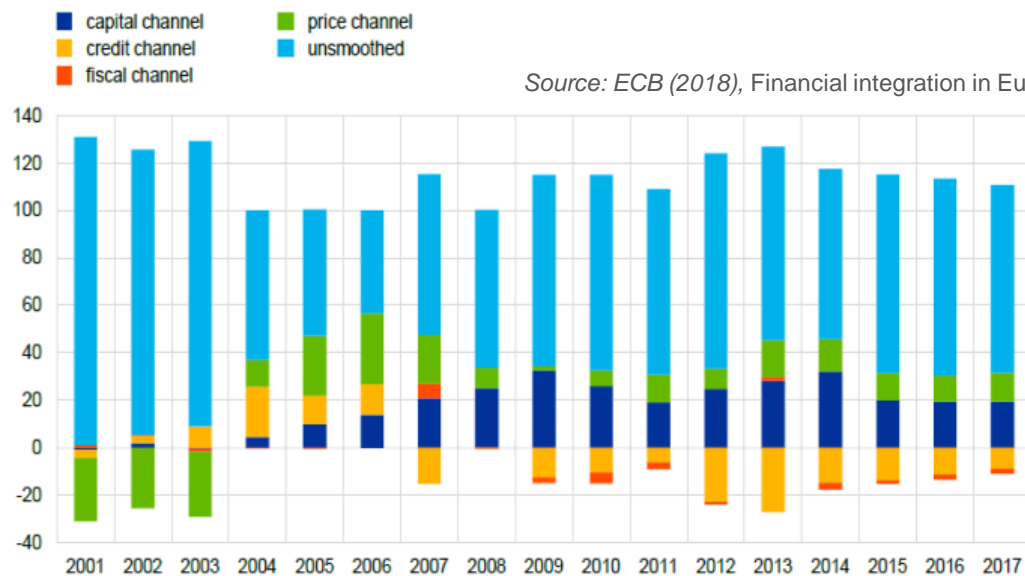
- Governance issues are amplified
- Challenge of integrating cultures, IT systems and other structures

3. Is consolidation a solution?

Additional benefits of cross-border M&A

- Banks could diversify their portfolios across borders → become more resilient
- The sovereign-bank nexus would be weakened
- Private risk-sharing would improve → the entire banking system would become more stable

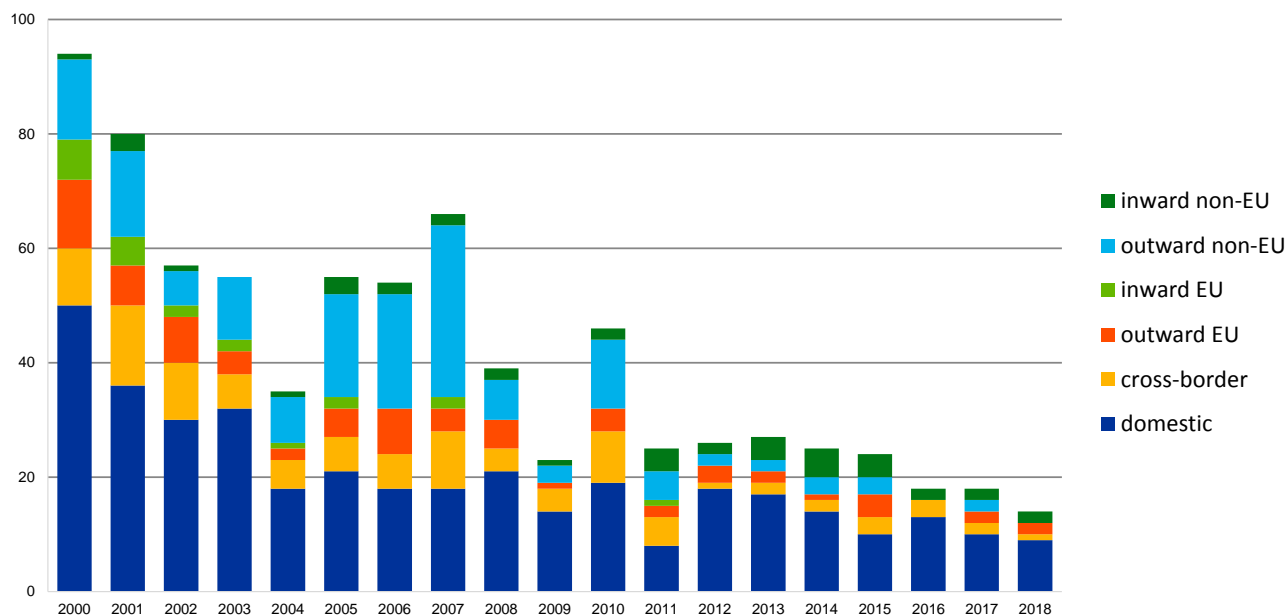
Consumption risk-sharing in the euro area and its channels: % of shock smoothing



What do we see in terms of M&A?

- In Europe, M&A activity has been on a downward trend for some time
 - The few deals we see are mostly domestic (which is already a step in the right direction)...
 - ...and among smaller institutions

Bank M&As in the euro area - number of transactions



Sources: Dealogic and ECB calculations

Why is there so little consolidation?

- **The banking union should facilitate consolidation and cross-border M&A**
 - There is a level supervisory playing field across the euro area
 - The ECB takes a neutral stance towards M&A; we assess each project put forward by banks purely on technical grounds
 - Regulatory uncertainty now coming to an end with the completion of the reform process
- **But the market remains fragmented...**
 - Countries are still ring-fencing liquidity and capital at the national level → limited benefits from being a cross-border bank
 - Despite the single rulebook, the regulatory framework remains fragmented (as do tax and insolvency laws, for instance)
- **...and uncertainty is still high**
 - e.g. about bank valuations (e.g. non-performing loan ratios still high in many countries)

What can be done?

- **Make ring-fencing obsolete by improving risk management and introducing pan-European safety nets**
 - The agreement on the backstop for the Single Resolution Fund was an important step
 - But we also need a European deposit insurance scheme (EDIS) to create more trust and lessen the need for ring-fencing
 - Make intragroup financial support agreements part of banks' recovery plans
- **Continue harmonising the regulatory framework**
- **Continue cleaning up banks' balance sheets**

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To conclude:

- **The optimal size of banking sector is hard to gauge**
 - It seems clear, though, that the European banking sector is still too large
 - So there is a need for consolidation
- **However, this is not about:**
 - Creating ever-larger banks; it's about more efficient banks. The banking sector needs to be diverse
 - Policymakers determining the structure of the banking sector; ultimately, that is up to market forces
 - Seeing only cross-border mergers. They would certainly be a sign of a truly European banking market. But also in a truly European market, domestic mergers might make sense from a cost-efficiency viewpoint