

FRBSF ECONOMIC LETTER

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Banking and the Business Cycle

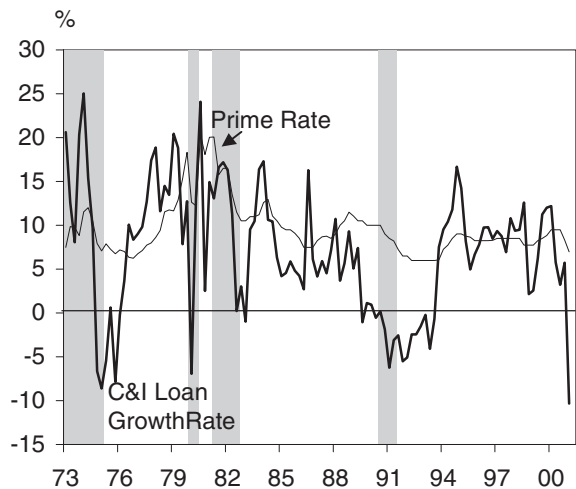
The banking industry performed exceptionally well during the strong economic expansion of the past five years. Strong demand for loans and banking services and the strong supply of quality customers helped boost bank earnings. But how will banks fare given the recent weakening of national economic conditions? Will we see a repeat of their performance in the last downturn, in 1991, when depressed earnings, high failure rates, and contracting loan portfolios inflicted significant damage on banks and the economy in general? So far this year, we have seen signs of a beginning of a contraction in bank lending. While earnings have held up through the second quarter, bank stocks have started to dip along with the rest of the market.

This *Economic Letter* addresses the question of how banks will fare during an economic slowing by revisiting bank performance over previous business cycles. The analysis shows that lending and bank earnings tend to droop during a downturn, but that the relationship between performance and macroeconomic variables, such as GDP growth, is not particularly strong at other points in the cycle. I also point out how the 1991 recession was a vastly different experience for the banking industry compared to previous recessions.

Lending, pricing, and performance over the cycle

In theory, banks can compensate for a riskier environment by tightening their lending standards—by charging higher interest rates on their loans, by demanding more collateral, and by simply refusing to lend to marginal customers. This behavior is fairly well documented over the business cycle (see Lown and Morgan 2001). The effects of credit tightening (as well as of lower demand, which, of course, also occurs during downturns) are shown in Figure 1. The quarterly (annualized) growth rate of commercial and industrial loans is quite volatile, but tends to dip when the economy enters into recession (marked with shaded bars). Like loan volumes, loan prices—proxied here by the prime rate—tend to rise as the economy enters into recession. These interest rate changes probably understate the price response by banks, as the spreads over prime charged to the riskiest borrowers can rise.

Figure 1
Lending and pricing at U.S. commercial banks



Source: Federal Reserve Board of Governors

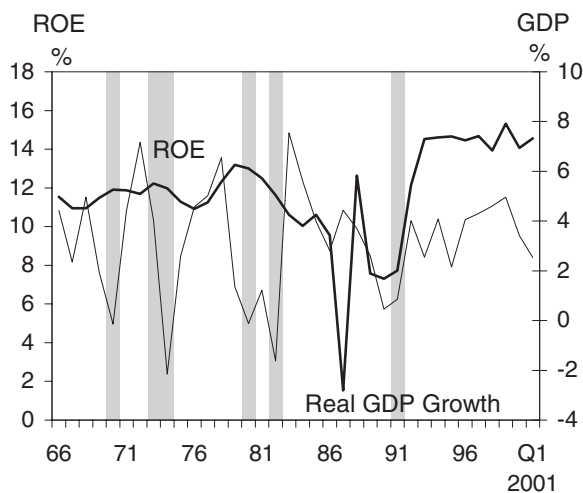
While the primary response of banks to a slowing economy is to adjust credit standards on new loans, the main impact on banks of a slowing economy is impaired credit quality of existing loans. Figure 2 plots return on equity (ROE) for the banking sector. This commonly used accounting measure of performance calculates the percentage of industry earnings to industry equity capital. Once again, ROE tends to dip during recessions. However, the contemporaneous correlation between ROE and real GDP growth is low—just 0.03. There are no leads or lags of real GDP growth with which this average ROE series is significantly correlated. (The relationship between performance and the economy is slightly stronger when we substitute the percentage changes in a banking stock index for the performance variable, indicating that market valuations tend to move more than accounting measures of earnings.)

Why is the relationship between bank performance and the economy not as strong as might be expected? First, although banks are likely to be exposed to the downside risks associated with economic fluctuations—as the economy slows and firms fail, the firms will default on their bank loans—the upside is capped for traditional banks, which depend

WESTERN BANKING

Western Banking is a quarterly review of banking developments in the Twelfth Federal Reserve District. It is published in the *Economic Letter* on the fourth Friday of January, April, July, and October.

Figure 2
U.S. commercial banks: return on equity vs. real GDP growth



Source: Federal Reserve Board of Governors and FDIC

on earnings from debt instruments. Once a loan has been made, the best a bank can hope for is full repayment of interest and principal. Competition, market discipline from bank funding sources, and regulation all ensure that banks do not make wildly risky but possibly profitable loans in good states of the world.

Second, the performance of the banking sector over the 1980s and during the 1991 recession was vastly different from the performance over the course of other business cycles. The banking crisis of the 1980s was a protracted affair that left the sector in an extremely weak position to weather the recession. For example, the competitive environment for banks changed dramatically during this period (see Furlong 2001). Interest rates were deregulated, the prohibition on banking organizations expanding over state lines began to weaken, thrifts were allowed greater latitude to compete against banks, and capital markets emerged to draw away many of the banks' best customers. In addition, in the early 1980s, banking was buffeted by loan defaults from developing economies and, in the late 1980s, by the U.S. commercial real estate crisis. These trends culminated in a stunning number of bank failures, peaking at 280 in 1988 alone. As shown

in Figure 2, the trend in ROE was downward for the entire decade of the 1980s. Not only did earnings drop, but bank capital positions had decayed to the point where some banks had difficulty making new loans, even after the economy had emerged from recession.

The current environment

In the current banking environment, there already is some evidence of a tightening of conditions as reported in the Federal Reserve's senior loan officer survey (see Federal Reserve Board of Governors 2001). The percentage of domestic banks reporting a tightening of standards for commercial loans started to rise in the beginning of 2000 and remains at elevated levels. Approximately 60% of the large domestic banks surveyed reported that they were increasing their prices over their cost of funds. So far, industry earnings seem to be holding up; the ROE for the banking sector in the second quarter of 2001 was 13.7%. In addition, an important point to note in Figure 2 is that industry ROE is at a high level by historical standards. Following the 1991 recession, banks that survived the crisis emerged as much more productive and profitable enterprises. The banking sector has rebuilt its capital base and, perhaps just as important for the outlook, has embraced the push towards implementing risk management systems. Thus, while an economic slowing could lead to slower loan and earnings growth, there is no reason to expect the banking sector as a whole to encounter the same degree of difficulties experienced during the last downturn.

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BANKS HEADQUARTERED BY REGION

JUNE 30, 2001

(NOT SEASONALLY ADJUSTED, PRELIMINARY DATA)
(BANKS WITH ASSETS LESS THAN OR EQUAL TO \$1 BILLION ARE DEFINED AS SMALL)

		UNITED STATES			TWELFTH DISTRICT		
		ALL	SMALL	LARGE	ALL	SMALL	LARGE
ASSETS AND LIABILITIES — \$ MILLION							
ASSETS	TOTAL	6,305,979	1,015,370	5,290,609	630,013	94,531	535,482
	FOREIGN	757,649	920	756,729	4,800	21	4,778
	DOMESTIC	5,548,329	1,014,450	4,533,879	625,213	94,510	530,704
LOANS	TOTAL	3,828,262	656,231	3,172,031	398,436	62,888	335,548
	FOREIGN	282,486	1,026	281,460	3,739	46	3,693
	DOMESTIC	3,545,776	655,206	2,890,571	394,697	62,842	331,855
	REAL ESTATE	1,691,057	415,671	1,275,386	193,648	39,442	154,206
	COMMERCIAL RE	475,662	148,620	327,042	71,462	20,523	50,939
	SINGLE FAMILY RES	936,927	182,302	754,625	83,578	8,653	74,925
	COMMERCIAL	859,751	117,918	741,833	94,133	14,202	79,931
	CONSUMER	560,776	78,306	482,470	76,702	6,673	70,028
	CREDIT CARDS	251,122	10,208	240,915	55,284	1,775	53,509
	AGRICULTURAL	47,770	30,689	17,081	6,182	1,694	4,488
	OTHER LOANS	386,423	12,622	373,802	24,033	830	23,203
INV. SECURITIES	TOTAL	1,037,511	225,649	811,863	115,873	16,125	99,748
	U.S. TREASURIES	54,185	12,461	41,725	3,460	800	2,659
	U.S. AGENCIES, TOTAL	614,417	149,500	464,917	46,401	9,780	36,621
	U.S. AGENCIES, MBS	435,452	64,566	370,886	34,551	4,940	29,611
	OTHER MBS	74,967	3,542	71,426	21,123	545	20,578
	OTHER SECURITIES	293,941	60,146	233,795	44,889	4,999	39,890
LIABILITIES	TOTAL	5,745,118	912,750	4,832,368	565,967	84,011	481,956
	DOMESTIC	4,987,469	911,830	4,075,639	561,167	83,989	477,178
DEPOSITS	TOTAL	4,212,282	834,936	3,377,345	430,998	76,490	354,507
	FOREIGN	679,458	1,656	677,802	17,256	46	17,210
	DOMESTIC	3,532,824	833,280	2,699,543	413,741	76,444	337,297
	DEMAND	499,871	113,305	386,566	55,804	11,776	44,029
	MMDA & SAVINGS	1,543,559	224,056	1,319,503	225,112	26,296	198,816
	SMALL TIME	772,147	271,617	500,529	58,173	16,993	41,180
	LARGE TIME	567,709	138,449	429,260	65,154	16,420	48,735
	OTHER DEPOSITS	149,538	85,853	63,685	9,497	4,960	4,537
OTHER BORROWINGS		451,385	22,515	428,870	38,841	1,083	37,758
EQUITY CAPITAL		553,320	102,562	450,758	63,944	10,518	53,426
LOAN LOSS RESERVE		65,362	9,277	56,085	8,826	1,213	7,614
LOAN COMMITMENTS		4,667,167	583,389	4,083,779	738,215	284,263	453,952
TIER1 CAPITAL RATIO		0.097	0.137	0.090	0.105	0.134	0.100
TOTAL CAPITAL RATIO		0.124	0.148	0.120	0.131	0.147	0.128
LEVERAGE RATIO		0.077	0.097	0.074	0.087	0.106	0.084
LOAN LOSS RESERVE RATIO		1.707	1.414	1.768	2.215	1.928	2.269
QUARTERLY EARNINGS AND RETURNS — \$ MILLION							
INCOME	TOTAL	143,161	22,482	120,680	16,054	2,443	13,611
	INTEREST	103,253	18,707	84,547	11,377	1,894	9,483
	FEES & CHARGES	6,703	1,085	5,618	592	76	516
EXPENSES	TOTAL	112,238	18,277	93,961	12,333	1,925	10,408
	INTEREST	50,558	8,743	41,815	4,753	732	4,021
	SALARIES	23,042	4,294	18,748	2,238	498	1,740
	LOAN LOSS PROVISION	8,764	810	7,954	1,427	159	1,268
	OTHER	29,874	4,430	25,444	3,916	537	3,379
TAXES		9,950	1,155	8,796	1,337	181	1,156
NET INCOME		19,012	2,953	16,059	2,169	337	1,833
ROA (% ANNUALIZED)		1.219	1.182	1.225	1.425	1.456	1.420
ROE (% ANNUALIZED)		13.744	11.518	14.250	13.570	12.804	13.721
NET INTEREST MARGIN (% ANNUALIZED)		3.378	3.989	3.261	4.352	5.027	4.231
ASSET QUALITY — PERCENT OF LOANS							
NET CHARGEOFFS (% ANNUALIZED)	TOTAL	0.820	0.344	0.918	1.403	0.735	1.528
	REAL ESTATE	0.123	0.058	0.144	0.074	0.049	0.080
	COMMERCIAL	1.219	0.692	1.289	1.870	1.374	1.956
	CONSUMER	2.520	1.361	2.693	4.302	3.421	4.386
	CREDIT CARDS	8.586	9.976	8.527	9.602	18.347	9.311
	AGRICULTURAL	0.446	0.221	0.832	1.242	0.682	1.453
PAST DUE & NON-ACCRUAL	TOTAL	2.463	2.292	2.498	2.325	2.244	2.340
	REAL ESTATE	2.013	1.950	2.034	1.626	1.517	1.654
	CONSTRUCTION	2.080	2.194	2.041	2.702	2.122	2.903
	COMMERCIAL	1.634	1.740	1.586	1.173	1.209	1.159
	FARM	2.693	2.351	3.452	4.485	4.559	4.440
	HOME EQUITY LINES	1.241	1.173	1.250	1.346	1.054	1.399
	MORTGAGES	2.482	2.154	2.568	1.714	1.822	1.702
	MULTI-FAMILY	0.956	1.092	0.919	0.937	0.724	1.015
	COMMERCIAL	2.955	2.984	2.951	3.173	2.986	3.206
	CONSUMER	3.549	3.254	3.593	3.310	4.910	3.159
	CREDIT CARDS	4.231	6.385	4.140	3.733	10.671	3.503
	AGRICULTURAL	2.494	1.623	3.986	4.262	2.148	5.060
NUMBER OF BANKS		8,158	7,775	383	581	508	73
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES		1,675,307	389,297	1,286,010	156,502	37,247	119,255

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INTEREST RATES ON LOANS

TYPE OF LOAN		MAY 1999	AUG 1999	NOV 1999	FEB 2000	MAY 2000	AUG 2000	NOV 2000	FEB 2001	MAY 2001	AUG 2001
COMMERCIAL and INDUSTRIAL LOANS											
TOTAL	U.S.	6.52	6.78	7.03	7.44	7.78	8.28	8.15	7.19	6.22	5.61
	DISTRICT	6.54	6.69	6.98	7.04	7.42	7.90	7.85	7.04	5.94	5.22
BY RISK RATING:											
MINIMAL RISK	U.S.	5.59	6.05	6.01	6.47	6.82	7.42	7.54	6.23	6.01	4.50
	DISTRICT	4.88	7.19	6.36	6.49	6.19	7.25	6.66	6.54	4.98	4.46
LOW RISK	U.S.	5.70	5.90	6.52	6.87	7.15	7.55	7.57	6.54	5.44	4.81
	DISTRICT	5.91	6.20	6.74	6.79	6.99	7.65	7.68	6.53	5.42	4.66
MODERATE RISK	U.S.	6.74	6.93	7.22	7.54	7.97	8.41	8.33	7.28	6.38	5.57
	DISTRICT	7.08	7.15	7.15	7.15	7.57	8.06	8.04	7.51	6.35	5.54
OTHER	U.S.	7.13	7.55	7.71	8.24	8.63	8.95	8.85	7.97	6.82	6.16
	DISTRICT	6.92	6.66	6.93	7.23	7.57	8.00	7.79	7.70	6.64	6.35
BY MATURITY/REPRICING INTERVAL:											
DAILY	U.S.	5.87	6.15	6.43	6.84	7.21	7.74	7.84	6.88	5.94	5.15
	DISTRICT	6.44	6.65	7.08	6.87	7.59	7.94	7.85	7.22	6.03	5.33
2 TO 30 DAYS	U.S.	6.01	6.62	6.80	7.42	7.60	8.18	7.60	6.94	5.80	5.84
	DISTRICT	6.35	6.56	6.86	7.00	7.37	7.83	7.78	6.96	5.87	5.16
31 TO 365 DAYS	U.S.	6.82	6.88	7.58	7.67	8.04	8.13	8.04	7.22	5.90	5.42
	DISTRICT	7.14	6.97	6.85	6.96	7.05	7.70	7.68	6.39	5.47	4.72
OVER 365 DAYS	U.S.	7.44	7.73	8.02	8.81	8.37	8.84	8.37	8.48	7.61	7.02
	DISTRICT	7.07	8.43	8.28	7.90	4.64	8.72	9.03	7.36	7.70	7.30
CONSUMER, AUTOMOBILE	U.S.	8.30	8.44	8.66	8.88	9.21	9.62	9.63	9.17	8.67	8.31
	DISTRICT	8.92	8.98	9.07	9.28	9.23	9.87	9.87	9.94	9.34	8.34
CONSUMER, PERSONAL	U.S.	13.26	13.38	13.52	13.76	13.88	13.85	14.12	13.71	13.28	13.25
	DISTRICT	12.83	13.62	14.45	14.41	14.89	13.25	13.25	13.67	12.48	13.22
CONSUMER, CREDIT CARD	U.S.	15.21	15.08	15.13	15.47	15.39	15.98	15.99	15.66	15.07	14.60
	DISTRICT	15.41	15.73	15.63	15.60	15.76	16.16	16.25	16.94	15.54	15.28

SOURCES: SURVEY OF TERMS OF BUSINESS LENDING AND TERMS OF CONSUMER CREDIT