



EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK

EUROSYSTEM

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# 10 years since the banking crisis: what has changed?

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- I** Preamble – What happened 10 years ago?
- II** What were the underlying vulnerabilities, in retrospect?
- III** What reforms have been implemented since then?
- IV** Closing remaining gaps
- V** Concluding remarks

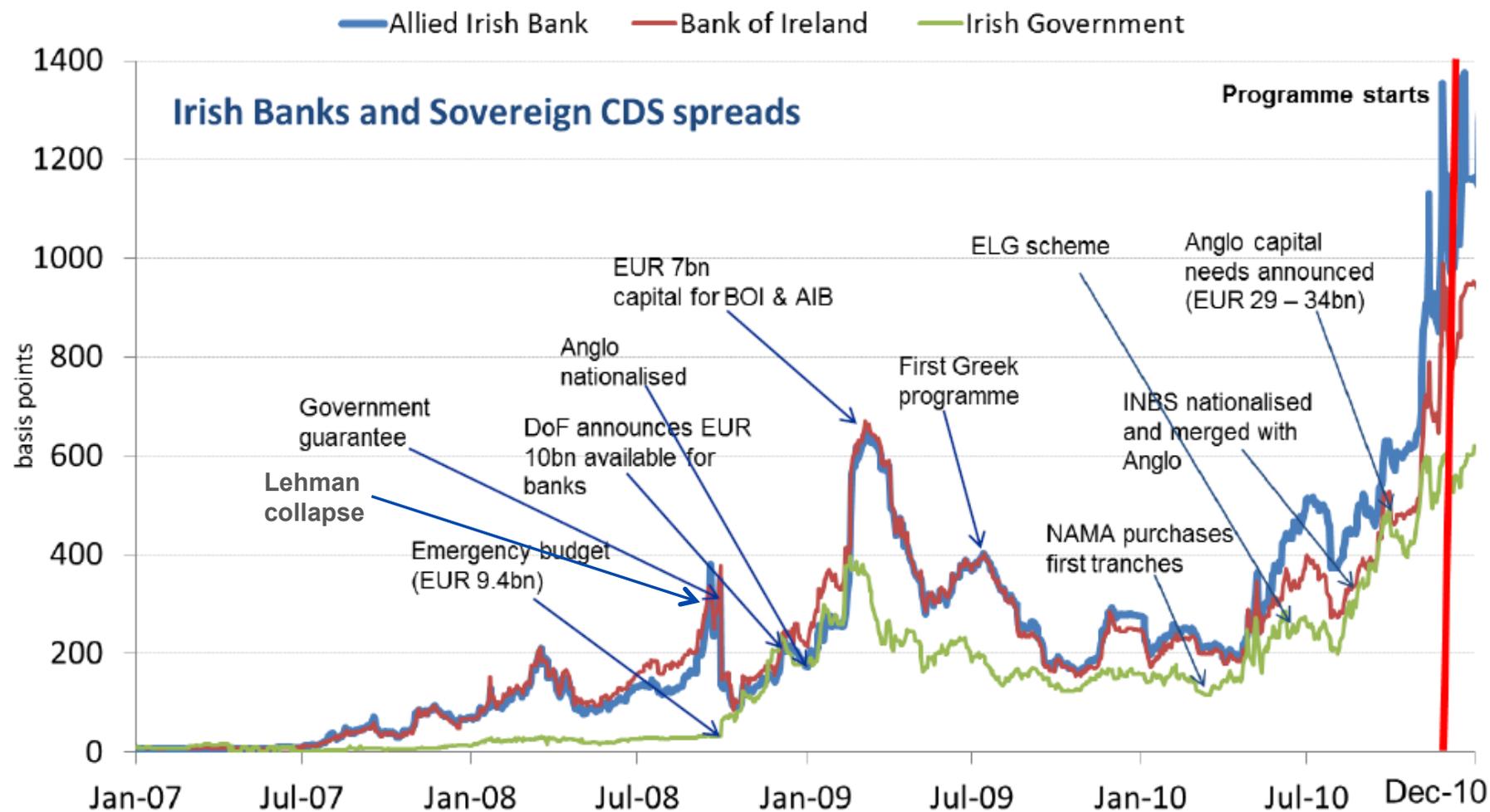
# **I. Preamble – What happened 10 years ago?**

## I. Preamble – What happened 10 years ago?

# The sovereign-bank nexus: too big to rescue

Sovereign-bank feedback loop emerged in late 2008 and deepened in 2010...

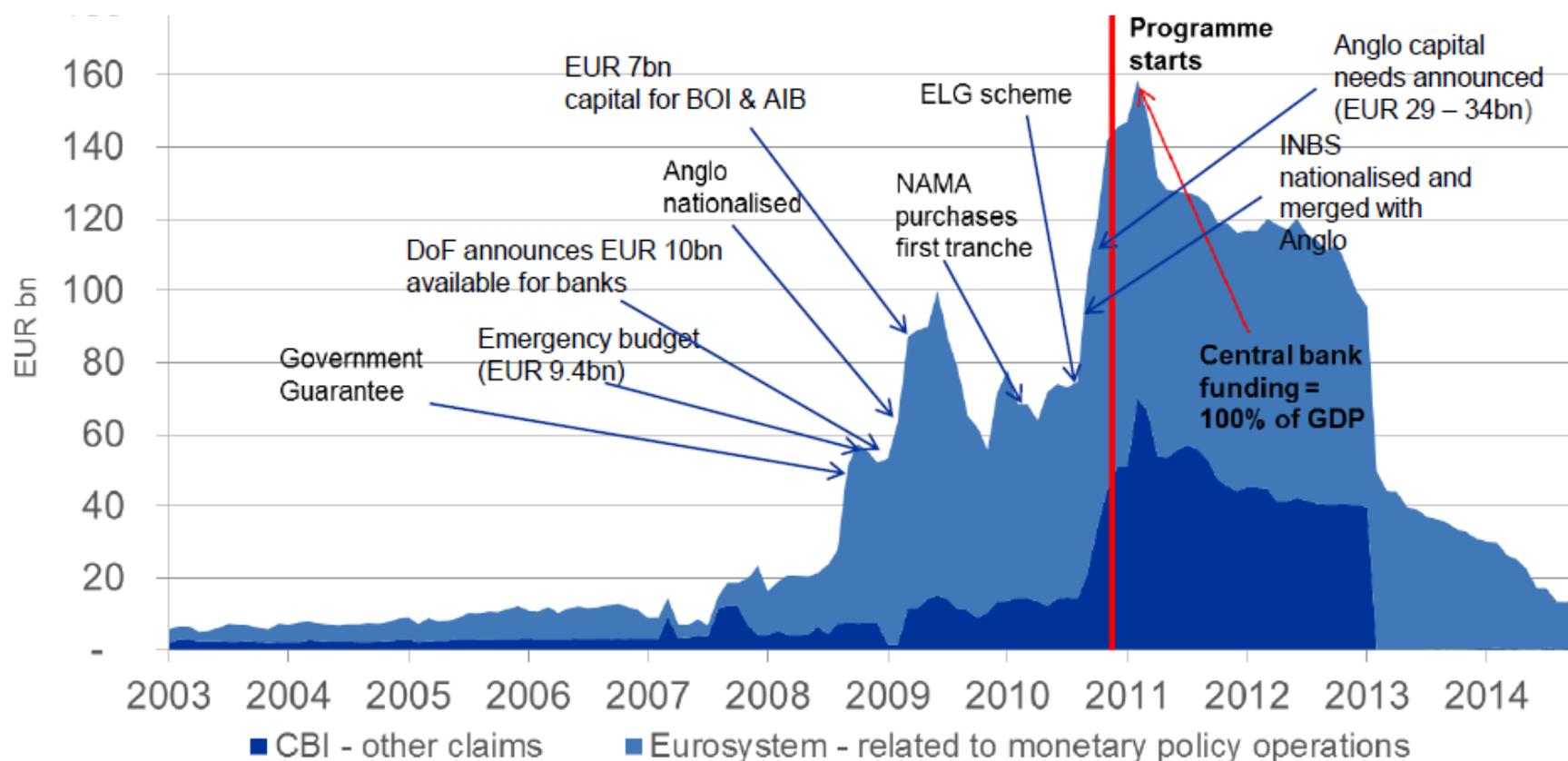
...as fears for ever-growing losses from the banking sector impacted the sovereign



## I. Preamble – What happened 10 years ago?

### A funding-solvency nexus emerged as well

- funding vulnerabilities were unearthed by global risk aversion;
- which the guarantee could not fully offset;
- asset quality concerns (including of sovereign) impacted collateral availability;
- fears over contingent liabilities of the State added to the funding challenges;
- central bank funding, which surged to 100% of Irish GDP, avoided fire-sales



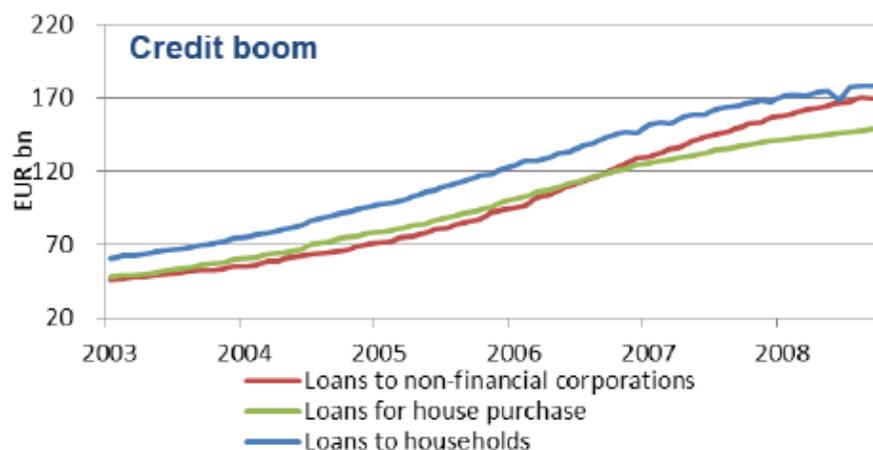


## **II. What were the underlying vulnerabilities, in retrospect?**

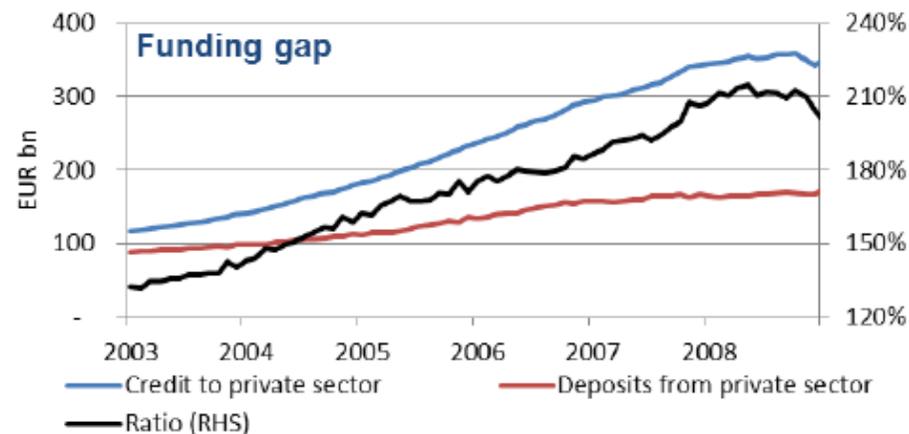
## II. Underlying vulnerabilities: rapid build-up of Irish financial imbalances

### A debt-financed real-estate boom that ultimately proved unsustainable

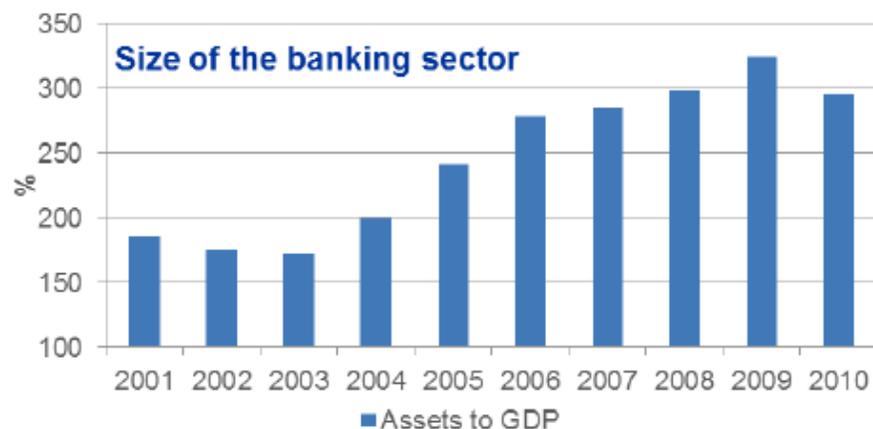
Unsustainable credit growth opened up a burgeoning funding gap, leading to severe funding vulnerabilities



Source: Central Bank of Ireland. Note: outstanding loans to Irish residents, including securitised loans.



Source: Central Bank of Ireland. Note: domestic market group, loans and deposits to Irish residents.



Source: Central Bank of Ireland, Financial Measures Programme Report. Note: data for six covered banks.

#### Wholesale funding as % of total liabilities (2010)

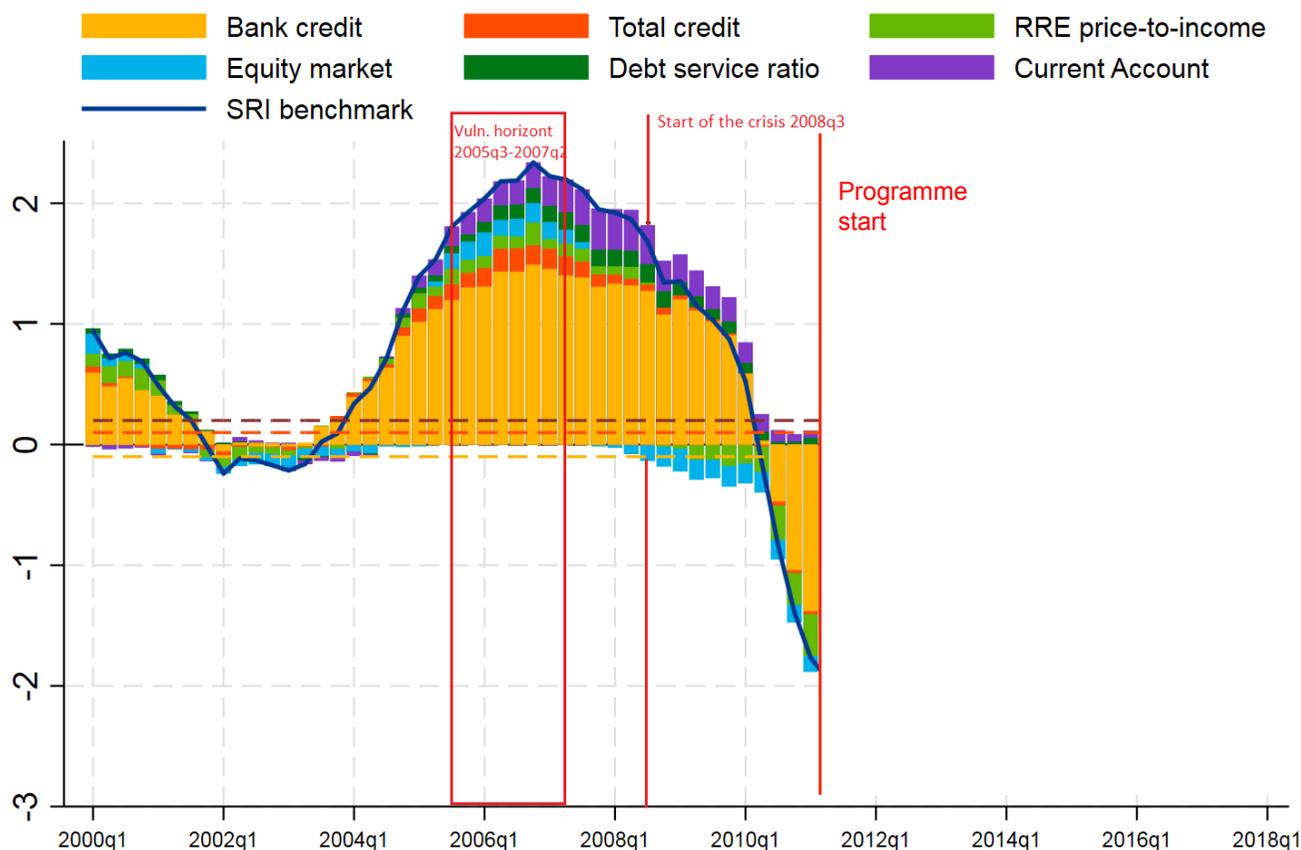
ILP	64%
Anglo	62%
EBS	49%
INBS	41%
AIB	39%
BOI	35%

Source: Central Bank of Ireland.

## II. Underlying vulnerabilities: rapid build-up of Irish financial imbalances

# An Early Warning monitoring system would have signaled the build-up of systemic risk vulnerabilities

### Contribution to systemic risk



Note: Domestic Systemic Risk Indicator and its subcomponents. See details of methodology in: ECB Financial Stability Review Special Feature B, May 2018. The y-scale axis measures standard deviations from the historical euro area median.

## II. Underlying vulnerabilities: Inadequate European institutional framework

### No financial stability framework existed ...

#### Crisis prevention:

- European supervision of banks
- European Deposit Insurance
- Common macro-prudential framework
  - Surveillance
  - Assessment (incl. banking sector stress tests)
  - Policy instruments



#### Crisis management:

- European bank crisis management framework
- European Emergency Liquidity Assistance



Euro area had **insufficient tools** at its disposal to, on the one hand, **prevent crises**...

...and, on the other hand, **mitigate their impact** if they occurred

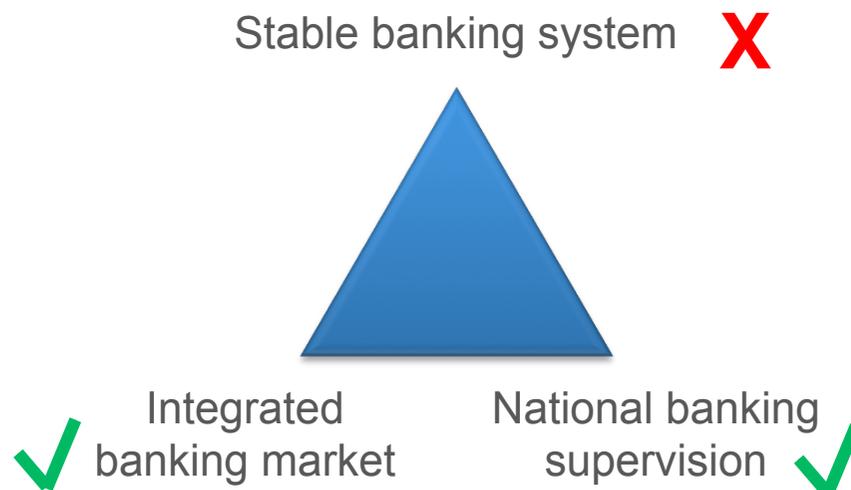
### **... instead, there was reliance on cooperation across national authorities...**

- Challenges of a decentralised approach were clear from the beginning of EMU (Prati and Schinasi, 1999)
- Principle of '**home country control**', plus cooperation: Memoranda of Understanding – soft tools, ignored when most needed, i.e. during the crisis; ex-post burden sharing and “improvised cooperation” not effective (Freixas, 2003; Goodhart and Schoenmaker, 2009)  
**In short: decentralization, segmentation** (multiple authorities), **and cooperation** (Nieto and Schinasi, 2007)
- **Fallacy of composition**: illusion that focus on micro stability would be sufficient to also ensure macro stability

## II. Underlying vulnerabilities: Inadequate European institutional framework

### ...leading to a “financial trilemma”

- **Asymmetry** between the national nature of supervision and crisis management and the increasingly integrated, pan-European nature of banks  
    ➔ risks of financial instability
- **Financial trilemma** (Schoenmaker, 2005 and 2011): financial stability, financial integration and national supervision – only two can be achieved at the same time. National supervision with financial integration led to financial instability



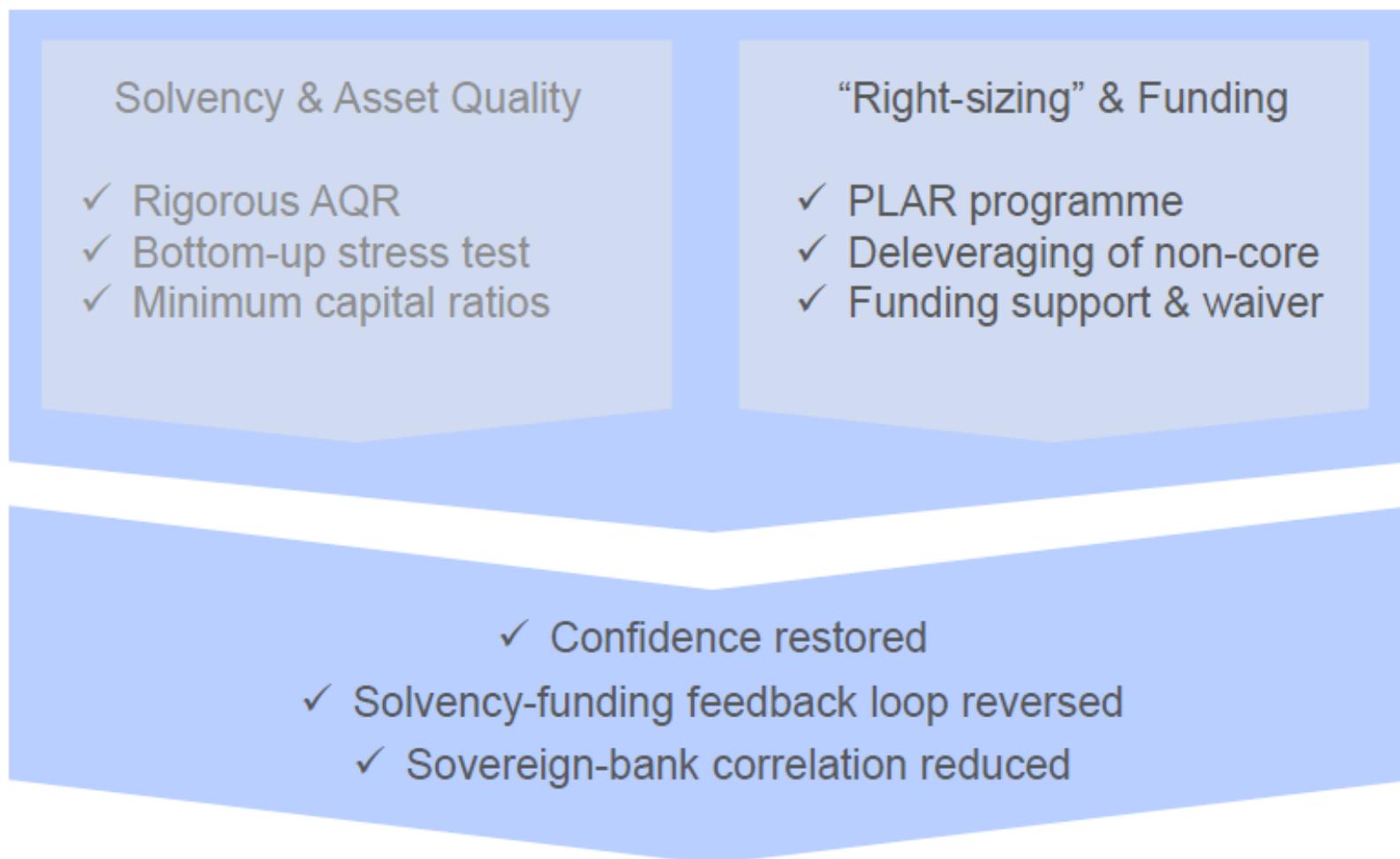
### **The lack of a European economic and fiscal policy coordination framework was also at odds with the monetary union**

- **Governance of economic and financial policies** remained a national competence
- **No fiscal policy at the European level** (no stabilisation function to deal with asymmetric shocks that may exacerbate fragmentation and create redenomination risk)
- **No mechanism of financial assistance** for Member States at the European level when the crisis struck



### **III. What reforms have been implemented since then?**

## The financial measures programme was successful in restoring confidence



## International regulatory response aimed at lowering both probability and potential impact of crises

- **Increasing resilience and reducing the probability of crises**
  - **Basel III (2010)**: increase of minimum quantitative and qualitative levels of regulatory capital and new liquidity requirements
- **Reducing Loss Given Default, if crisis occurs**
  - **Financial Stability Board (2011)**: principles for new resolution frameworks, to make failure possible, even for the largest, most complex and global financial firms, with no burden on taxpayers and no systemic impact – tackling too-big-to-fail
  - Shifting burden from taxpayers to private creditors
  - Minimum requirements for banks' loss-absorbing capacity – TLAC for G-SIBs (2015) – to ensure effective functioning of bail-in

## Reform of the euro area institutional set-up and financial regulatory framework...

### Crisis prevention:

- European **supervision of banks**
- European **Deposit Insurance**
- **Common macro-prudential framework**
  - Surveillance
  - Assessment (incl. stress test)
  - Policy toolkit



### Crisis management:

- European bank **crisis management framework**
- European **Emergency Liquidity Assistance**



Better ex ante regulation of the financial systems with both **macroprudential and microprudential policies ...**

... and, ex post, better **resolution/crisis management framework**

### III. Reforms: Redesign of the EU micro-macro institutional set-up

**... aimed at fixing the fallacy of composition with a framework for both micro and macro supervision...**

#### European System of Financial Supervision

##### Microprudential



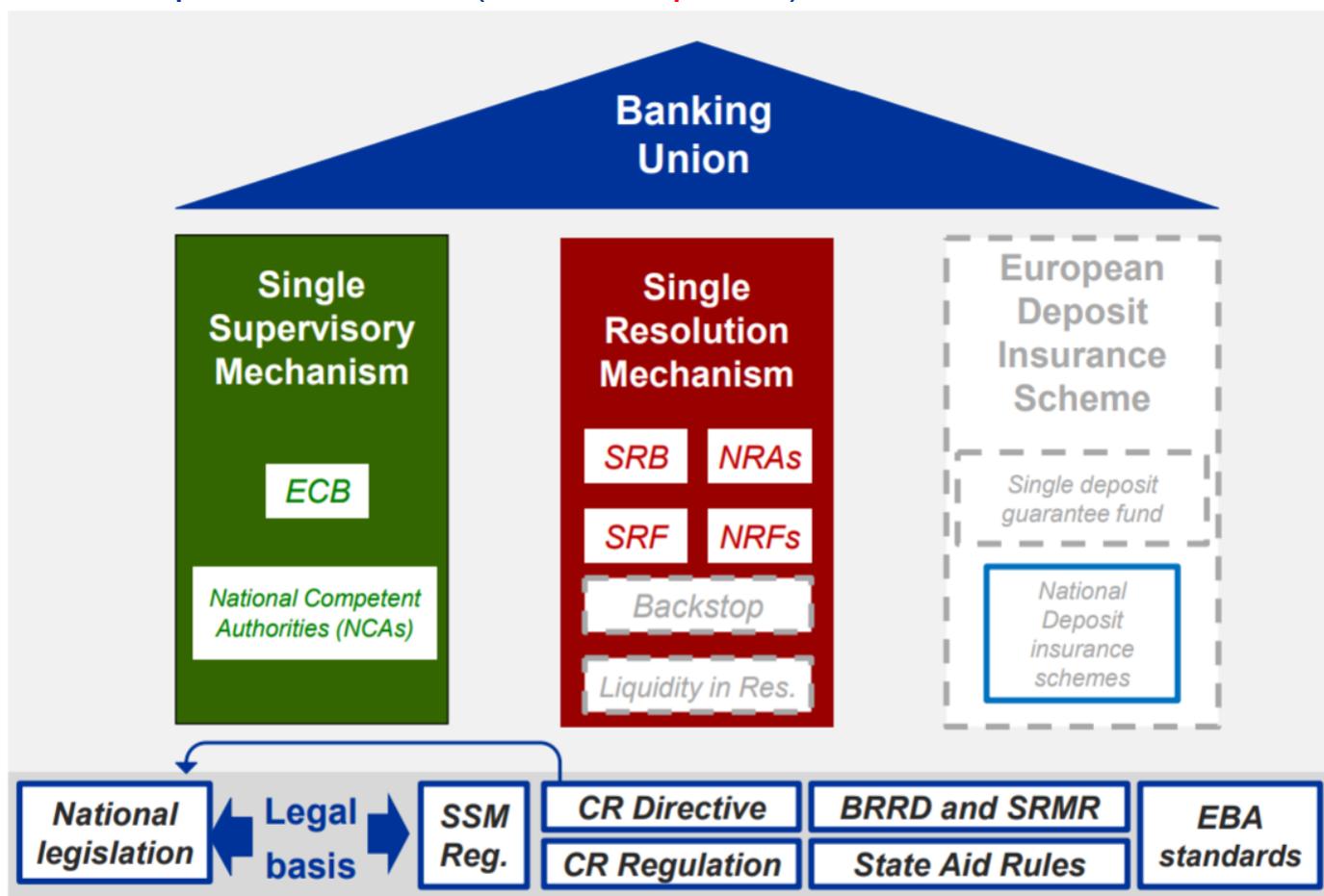
##### Macroprudential



### III. Reforms: Banking Union

## ... and fixing the financial trilemma with the establishment of a Banking Union...

- Three pillars:
  - common supervision (completed)
  - common crisis management/resolution framework (almost complete)
  - common deposit insurance (to be completed)



#### ... with the following objectives:

- **Tackling asymmetry** between European nature of banks and national dimension of supervision/crisis management
- Ensuring **level playing field** and **fostering integration**
- Tackling the **sovereign-bank nexus**
- Tackling the “**too-big-to-fail**” problem with the new resolution framework, also through the new bail-in tool
- Avoiding the risks related to ex-post burden sharing and creating **ex-ante, predictable crisis resolution mechanism**
- **Solving the financial trilemma** by targeting financial integration and financial stability and giving up national supervision

## The EMU's economic governance framework was also improved

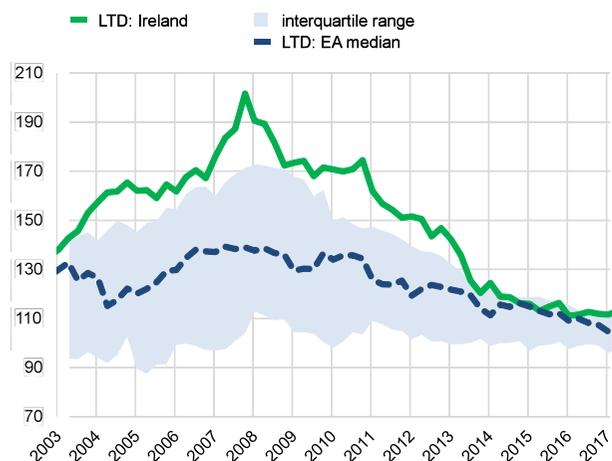
- Establishment of a **European Stability Mechanism (ESM)** for crisis management
- Strengthening of **the rules and coordination of national fiscal and economic policies**
- Introduction of a macroeconomic surveillance tool (**Macroeconomic imbalance procedure**)
- On-going discussions in the context of “**Deepening EMU**” consider the possibility to (i) enhance the ESM; (ii) introduce a Eurozone budget and potential stabilisation function

## **IV. – Closing remaining gaps**

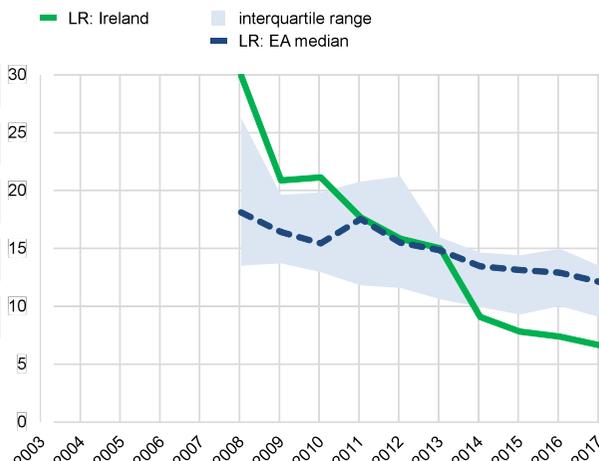
## IV. Closing remaining gaps: more resilient Irish banks

# For most indicators, Irish banks are close to euro area norms, although legacies remain

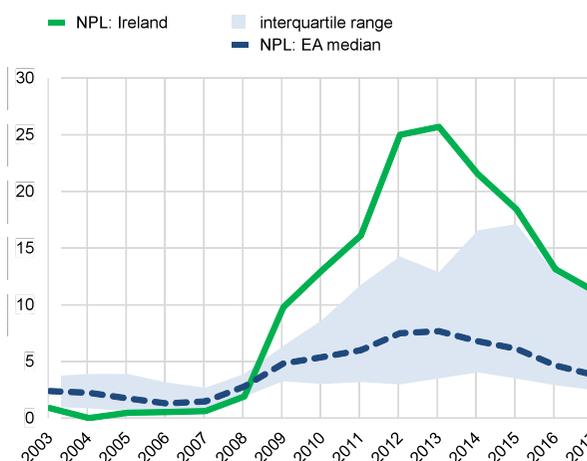
### Loan-to-deposit ratio



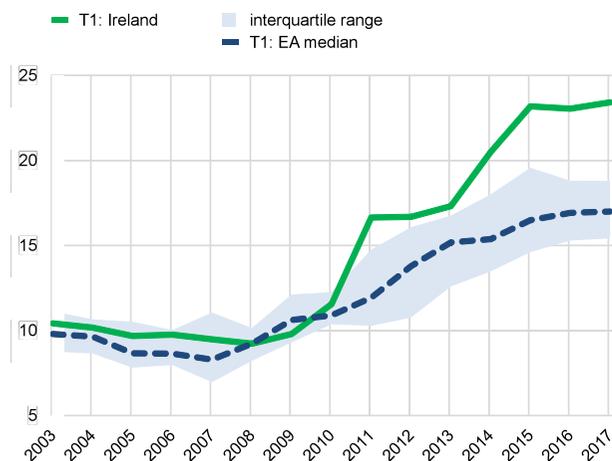
### Leverage ratio (total assets / equity)



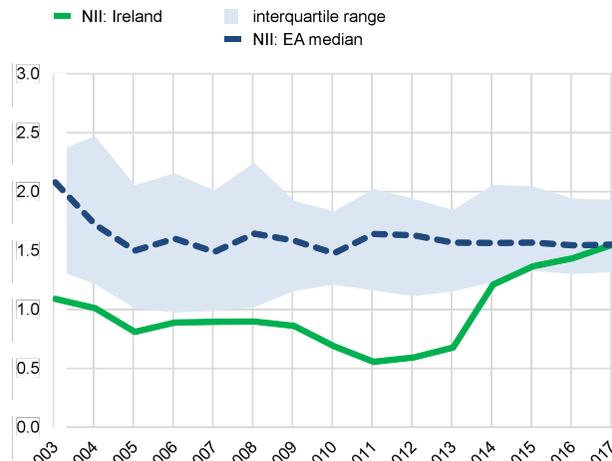
### NPL ratio



### Capital ratio (Tier 1)



### Net interest income

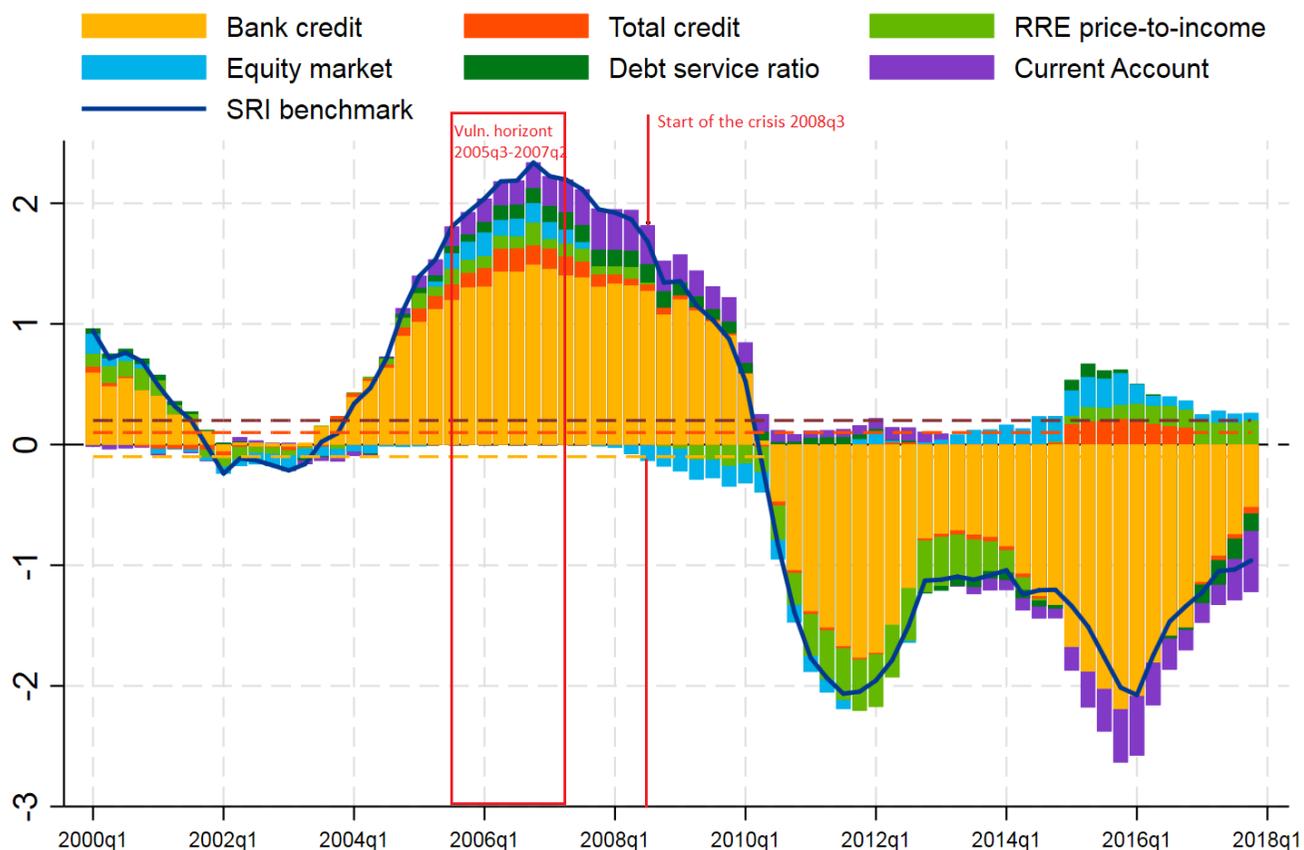


Sources: ECB SDW, IMF  
 Note: Euro area (EA) medians and interquartile ranges are computed across the 19 euro area countries

## IV. Closing remaining gaps: more resilient Irish banks

# Latest readings of ECB Early Warning monitoring system shows the financial cycle is recovering

### Contribution to systemic risk



Note: Domestic Systemic Risk Indicator and its subcomponents. See details of methodology in: ECB Financial Stability Review, Special Feature B, May 2018. The y-scale scale measures standard deviations from the historical euro area median.

### **Banking Union still to be completed...**

- First two pillars of banking union on supervision and resolution built very rapidly
- However, **Banking Union still to be completed** with:
  - The finalisation of the resolution pillar, with a **common backstop to the Single Resolution Fund (SRF)** to ensure the credibility of the resolution framework;
  - The establishment of a **framework for liquidity in resolution** to support orderly resolution.
  - The establishment of the third pillar, a European Deposit Insurance Scheme (EDIS) to ensure harmonised depositor protection and to avoid bank runs;

# Much has already been achieved, but the work is not yet complete

We will be confronted with financial crises again...

*“A fundamental characteristic of our economy is that the financial system swings between robustness and fragility and these swings are an integral part of the process that generates business cycles.” – Hyman Minsky*

... and the next crisis is likely to be different to the last one, but post-crisis reforms have strengthened the banking system and the EMU's institutional framework in all key areas:

- The **probability of occurrence** of a crisis should now be lower
- Should a crisis happen, its **impact** should be lower
- There are **tools and frameworks** in place to both prevent and to react to crises

But, several key reforms still have to be completed and implemented – **there is no room for complacency**

- In IE, action by macroprudential authorities to pre-emptively prevent the build-up of vulnerabilities is welcome
- At the EU level, completing the Banking Union and continuing reforms to strengthen EMU are of the essence
- At the international level, pressure to de-regulate should be resisted