### PUBLIC BANKING IN SPAIN: GONE WITH THE WIND

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RES Panel IDB Annual Meeting in Lima, Peru

March 28, 2004

## Outline of the presentation

Three key issues on public banking:

- 1. Appropriateness for promoting development and stability in the financial system?
- 2. Government financing
- 3. If considered appropriate, how to reduce public banks' share in the financial system?

## 1. Appropriateness for promoting development and stability

# Important to distinguish between public commercial banks and development banks

- 1. Public commercial banks tend to be linked to:
  - Lower financial development and economic growth, reduced creditor's rigths protection
  - Higher bank spreads and reduced efficiency in intermediation.
- However, evidence not totally conclusive
- 2. Development banks are generally found useful if:
  - Market imperfections justify government intervention
  - Complements of private banks, not competitors
  - Good governance key

# 1. Appropriateness for promoting development and stability (Cont')

#### The **Spanish case** with public banking:

- 1. Nationalized in 1960s
  - 4 development banks for priority sectors
- 2. Financial liberalization from 1970s
  - Market principles introduced in public banks
  - Public credit complement not substitute for private credit
  - Increased competition between public and private banks
- 3. Full privatization in 1990s. At present only ICO:
  - More of an intermediary than a direct loan supplier

#### In any case:

- Small size of public banks: at its peak (1986) 10.7% of private credit, today 3.6% (excluding EIB).
- No evidence of contractionary effect on credit from privatization

## 2. Government financing

- 1. Public (commercial) banks more likely to finance the government:
  - The higher their size
  - The higher the fiscal deficit
  - The lower the alternatives for public financing

#### 2. Consequences:

- Crowding out
- Excessive indebtedness if financing costs below equilibrium
- Excessive exposure to sovereign risk, increasing the vulnerability of the financial system (relevant for EMEs)
- Difficult to mitigate through regulation and supervision (moral suasion)

#### The Spanish case:

- Small size and sectoral specialization of public banks limited government financing (peak was in 1993 with 9.8% of total financing)
- For whole banking system crowding out in the past through liquidity coefficients and investment coefficients. No longer the case

## 3. How to reduce public banks' share in the financial system

If consensus that public (commercial) banks do not play a role in a country's financial system:

How can their share be reduced minimizing the transition costs?

#### 3 choices:

- 1. After a **banking crisis**, if no will or no resources for recapitalization, privatize (e.g. C. and E. Europe)
- 2. In a process of **financial liberalization**, margins compressed: private banks enter into public banks' niches.
- 3. Equal treatment with private banks as regards regulation, supervision and accounting

# 3. How to reduce public banks' share in the financial system (Cont')

### The Spanish case:

- Following liberalization, share of public banks reduced
- Same rules of the game introduced
- Importance of:
  - Gradualism
  - Consolidation before privatization to withstand competition
- Privatization was only one of the steps taken to modernise the Spanish financial system. Other crucial steps were:
  - Full liberalization: interest rates, tariffs, branches
  - Opening up to foreign competition
  - Introduction of same regulatory and supervisory rules for banks and savings banks
  - Internationalization of the domestic banking system

# 3. How to reduce public banks' share in the financial system (Cont')

#### Other related issues:

- Whom to privatize banks? Foreign banks vs domestic banks
  - Ownership should not determine choice but capital and business plans
  - Is it unavoidable to increase public banks' share as a consequence of a crisis?
  - Nationalization is specially appealing when banks are too big to fail. However
    - Openness to foreign ownership may reduce this argument
    - Fast but very costly way of recovering confidence and hard to reverse

# 3. How to reduce public banks' share in the financial system (Cont')

### The Spanish case:

Bank crisis in 1978–1985 (thereafter Banesto 1993)

- Costs minimised: crisis affected half the banks (20% deposits), but cost was relatively mild (5% of GDP)
- Partial socialization of costs, but shareholders lost their capital, no bail-outs, and private banks contributed, particularly, with M&A's
- All in all, a successful experience: almost 100 institutions affected, but no further interventions

### **Conclusions**

- 1. Consensus on limited role for public banks due to inefficiency and crowding out. Better intervention through regulation and supervision
- 2. BUT role for development banks if market imperfections (be careful about introducing government failures)
- 3. The Spanish experience endorses these conclusions:
  - Low share and reduced importance of public banks led to privatization
  - Private banks took up public banks' business: no reduction in credit
  - Despite low government financing, significant distorsions
  - Bank crisis resolved not through nationalization; no bailouts but some socialization of costs