

# BANKING AND FINANCIAL FRAGILITY

## *Case Study: Deposit Freezes*

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# Deposit freezes

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- ▶ Almost every major banking crisis involves some sort of deposit freeze
- ▶ Terminology has varied over time:
  - ▶ an individual bank may suspend payments
    - ▶ or “suspend convertibility” of deposits into specie (i.e. gold) or currency
    - ▶ common in the U.S. 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century
    - ▶ some deposit contracts explicitly included this option
  - ▶ government may declare a banking holiday
    - ▶ close all banks for some time period
  - ▶ money market mutual funds may now erect gates
    - ▶ prevent redemptions and/or impose a redemption fee

# Theory vs. practice

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- ▶ Diamond & Dybvig (1983) show that self-fulfilling bank runs will not occur if the freeze policy is:
  - ▶ quick: implemented soon after the run is discovered
  - ▶ strict: no further withdrawals allowed
  
- ▶ The deposit freezes we observe in reality tend to be:
  1. implemented relatively late
    - ▶ after a crisis has intensified and other efforts have failed
    - ▶ not at the first sign of trouble (as in the theory)
  2. only partial freezes
    - ▶ allow some additional withdrawals by investors
    - ▶ which requires liquidating some additional bank assets

# U.S. in 1933

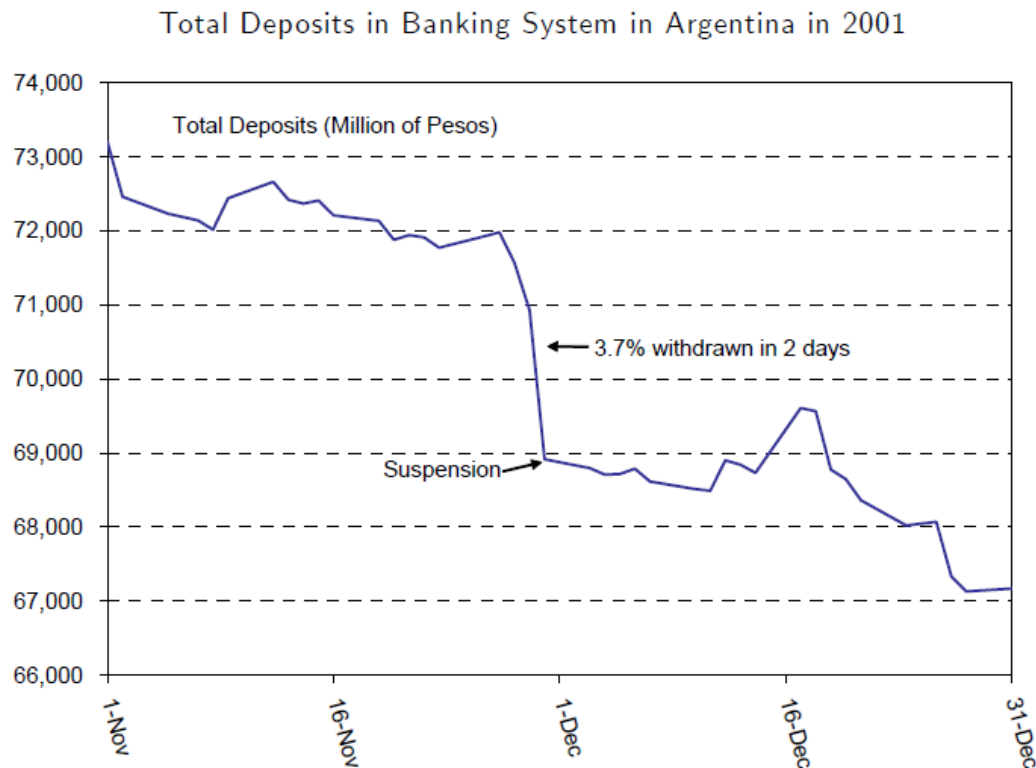
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- ▶ Growing banking crisis in late 1932 – early 1933
- ▶ Policy makers seemed reluctant to freeze deposits as crisis unfolded
  - ▶ fear that doing so would further disrupt real activity
  - ▶ directors of NY Fed urged President Hoover to declare a banking holiday, but he did not
- ▶ A banking holiday was eventually declared ...
  - ▶ by President Roosevelt immediately after his inauguration
- ▶ ... but:

“Suspension occurred after, rather than before, liquidity pressures had produced a wave of bank failures without precedent.”  
(Friedman & Schwartz, 1963)

# Argentina in 2001-2

- ▶ Major banking (and fiscal) crisis in 2001
  - ▶ currency board was in place; 1 peso = 1 US\$
  - ▶ full-fledged run occurs in late November



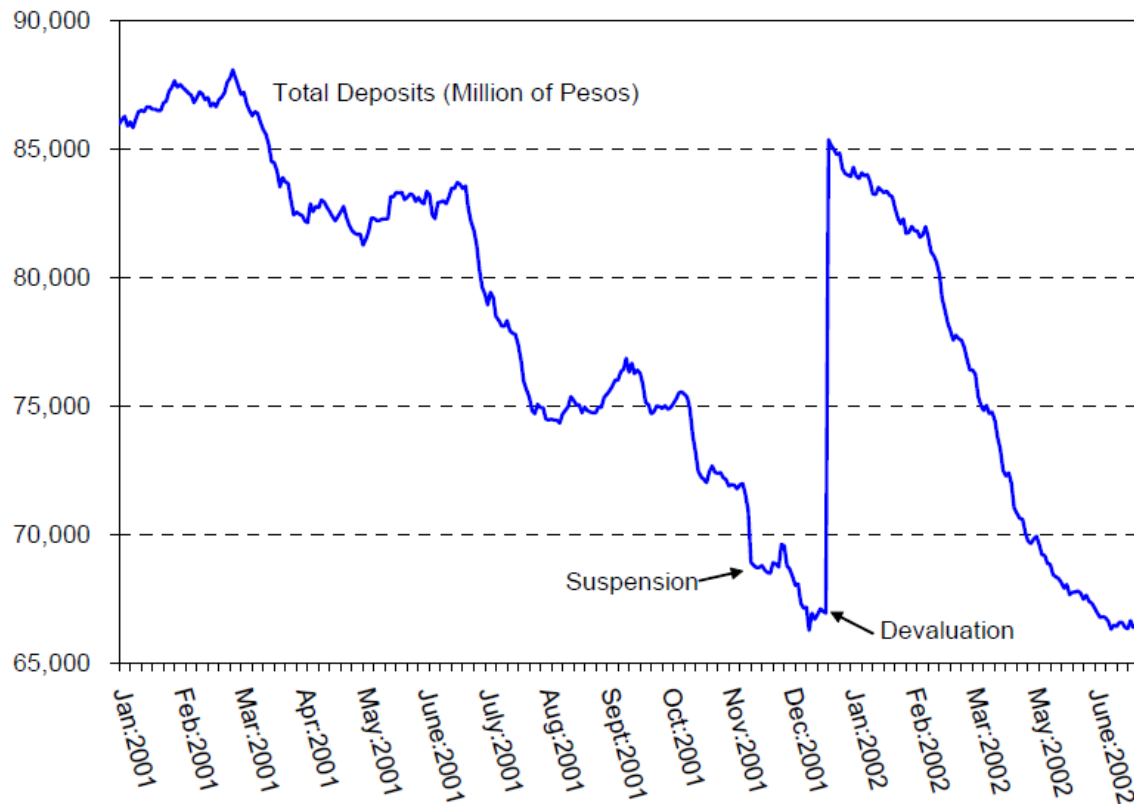
“el corralito”

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- ▶ Deposits are not completely frozen, however
    - ▶ people need access to some money, after all
  - ▶ Depositors could withdraw up to 1,000 pesos per month from each account
    - ▶ and some managed to divide their money across multiple accounts ...
  - ▶ In addition, some depositors filed lawsuits claiming urgent financial needs
    - ▶ examples: illness, hospitalization, etc.
    - ▶ nearly 200,000 cases filed between Dec. 2001 and June 2003
    - ▶ courts awarded over 14 billion pesos to depositors

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## The end result:

Total deposits in banking system, January 2001 – June 2002



Deposits fall by 25% in the 6 months after the freeze

# More recent examples of deposit freezes

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## Florida Local Government Investment Pool (2007)

### Cyprus:

- ▶ banks closed in March 2013 as financial crisis worsened
- ▶ contentious debate over imposing losses on deposits
- ▶ capital controls restricted access to deposits until 2015
  - ▶ transfers/payments within Cyprus allowed
  - ▶ but limits on money flowing out of banking system, country

### Greece:

- ▶ banks closed for three weeks in June-July 2015
  - ▶ ATM withdrawals initially limited to 60 euros/day
  - ▶ capital controls to restrict flows out of country
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# Takeaways

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- ▶ In order to remove the incentive for investors to run ...
  - ▶ ... a deposit freeze must be quick and strict
- ▶ Freezing investors' deposits is costly, however
  - ▶ authorities are often reluctant to freeze, do so relatively late
  - ▶ *and* are lenient with additional withdrawals
- ▶ When investors expect a late and/or lenient freeze ...

## Question:

- ▶ How does a late/lenient freeze affect patient depositors' withdrawal incentives?

# References and further reading

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Dominguez, Kathryn M. E., and Linda L. Tesar (2007) “[International Borrowing and Macroeconomic Performance in Argentina](#),” in *Capital Controls and Capital Flows in Emerging Economies: Policies, Practices, and Consequences*, ed. Sebastian Edwards, University of Chicago Press, 297-342.

Ennis, Huberto M. and Todd Keister (2009) “[Bank Runs and Institutions: The Perils of Intervention](#),” *American Economic Review* 99:1588-1607.

Friedman, Milton, and Anna J. Schwartz (1963) *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960*. Princeton University Press.

- ▶ see especially the section on The Banking Panic of 1933 in Chapter 7, pages 327-331