## Strategically Staying Small: Regulatory Avoidance and the CRA

Jacelly Cespedes<sup>1</sup> Jordan Nickerson<sup>2</sup> Carlos Parra<sup>3</sup> May 25, 2022

<sup>1</sup>University of Minnesota

<sup>2</sup>University of Washington

<sup>3</sup>PUC-Chile

#### Motivation

- Banks operate in one of the most heavily regulated industries
  - Some objectives: control risk via capital requirements, protect consumers, ensure equal credit access
- ► Textbook example: 1977 Community Reinvestment Act (CRA)
  - Encourages extension of credit to targeted groups in a bank's footprint
  - Prior literature showing extent of CRA-driven risky lending (e.g., Agarwal et al. (2012))
  - However, this only represents one potential cost of the CRA
- Our paper: evaluate the strategic incentives to reduce CRA regulatory costs and the consequences of regulatory avoidance on local markets

## Motivation (cont'd)





English Edition \* | Print Edition | Video | Podcasts | Latest Headlines

Home World U.S. Politics Economy Business Tech Markets Opinion Books & Arts Real Estate Life & Work WSJ. Magazine Sports Search Q

#### ECONOMY | U.S. ECONOMY

# Powell Says Low-Income Lending Rules Should Apply to All Firms Offering Consumer Credit

'Like activities should have like regulation,' Fed chairman says

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

English Edition \* | Print Edition | Video | Podcasts | Latest Headlines

Home World U.S. Politics Economy Business Tech Markets Opinion Books & Arts Real Estate Life & Work WSJ. Magazine Sports

ECONOMY | U.S. ECONOMY

#### Fed Moves to Overhaul Lending Rules for Poorer Communities

Vote marks the latest effort by policy makers to propose new framework for Community Reinvestment Act rules

Bloomberg

#### Redlining's Ugly Legacy Endures. Here's How to Fight It

The Federal Reserve has a smart plan for updating the landmark Community Reinvestment Act. The president and Congress should help make it a reality. **Our "shock":** The 1995 CRA reform which introduced two categories of banks ("small" and "large"), determined by an asset threshold (\$250 million)

Small banks: streamlined CRA evaluation; Large banks: more comprehensive assessment

#### **Research Questions:**

- ► Do banks bunch on the \$250 million asset threshold?
- By what means do banks strategically bunch?
- What are the real effects of exposure to banks that circumvent the CRA?

 Document significant bunching of banks at the \$250M threshold from 1996 to 2004

- ▶ No bunching in the pre-reform period (1986-1993)
- ▶ No bunching at other salient asset values (\$150M and \$350M)
- Confirm bunching using "excess mass" techniques from public finance
- Using a difference-in-differences design, banks with 1994 assets between \$200-\$250M ("bunching banks") experienced post-reform asset growth 4.4pp slower than similarly sized banks
  - Robust to alternate classifications of bunching banks
  - ▶ No evidence of pre-trends; Effect immediately realized in 1995

Bunching banks also:

- reduced growth in different assets (real estate and C&I loans); loan portfolio became more profitable
- experience an increase in rejection rates for LMI-qualifying loans; no evidence void filled by non-bunching banks

Exposure to bunching banks had real effects:

- decline the share of small establishments
- decline in the rate of independent innovation

Our results highlight banks' willingness to strategically avoid greater regulatory burden and the resulting consequences

## Institutional Background

#### Background on the CRA

- The 1977 CRA sought to address discrimination in lending to individuals and businesses from LMI neighborhoods
- The Act mandates that agencies evaluate whether banks offer credit in all communities in which they operate
- 1995 Reform: evaluation components depend on the bank's asset size
- ▶ Banks with assets less than \$250 million were considered "small"
  - small banks evaluated less frequently
  - second reform in 2005; do not consider banks after 2004 for this reason
- Banks that do not comply with CRA cannot expand their operations and participate in M&A

## Background on the CRA (cont'd)

Small banks	Large banks
A) Lending test:	A) Lending test:
Loan-to-deposit ratio	<ul> <li>Number and dollar amount of home mortgage, small business, and small farm loans</li> </ul>
• Percentage of loans in its community	<ul> <li>Geographic distribution of loans and number and dollar amount of loans in LM, and upper income census tracts</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>Record of lending to borrowers at different income levels and farms and businesses of different sizes</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Loans to borrowers at different income levels, including home mortgage loans, small businesses and small farms with annual revenue less than or equal to \$1 million, and small-business and small farm loans by amount at origination</li> </ul>
Geographic distribution of loans	<ul> <li>Community development loans, including their innovativeness</li> </ul>
• Responsiveness to complaints	• Complexity, and innovative or flexible credit practices
	B) Investment & C) Service test

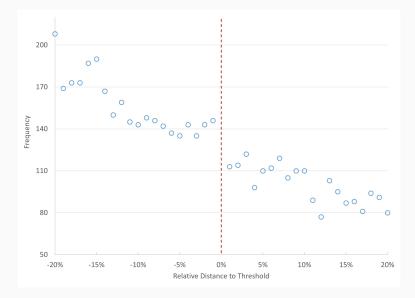
- Bank-level data: Report of Condition and Income (or Call Report) from Philipp Schnabl's website
- ▶ Branch-level data: Summary of Deposits (SOD) from FDIC
- Loan-level mortgage lending: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA)
- Small businesses: County Business Patterns (CBP) from Census Bureau
- ▶ Patent-level grants: PatentsView dataset provided by the USPTO

	Ν	Mean	SD	p25	Median	p75
Assets (\$M)	151,869	534.40	8101.42	32.63	65.12	141.20
Loans (\$M)	151,868	318.90	4427.91	16.67	36.42	85.58
Cash (\$M)	151,868	35.97	551.20	1.62	3.21	7.01
Asset Growth	151,869	0.06	0.19	-0.02	0.03	0.09
Loan Growth	151,867	0.07	0.30	-0.02	0.04	0.12
Cash Growth	151,867	0.01	0.42	-0.21	0.00	0.22
Equity (%)	151,869	9.96	5.63	7.62	8.94	11.00

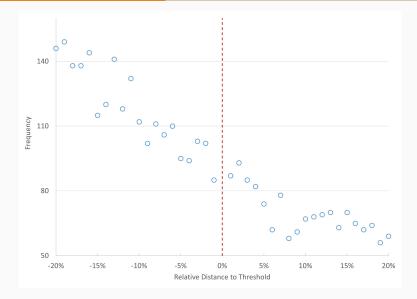
## **Main Results**

# Means of Strategic Avoidance: Bunching Evidence

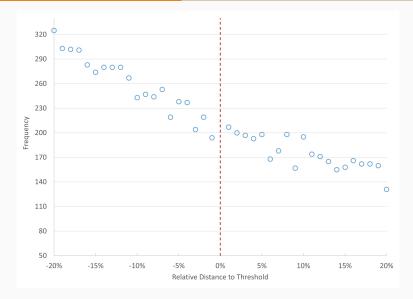
#### Bunching Evidence: Raw Data 1996-2004



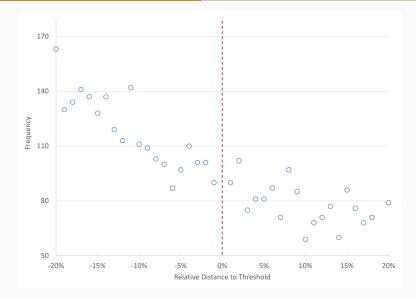
#### Placebos: Assets from 1986-1993



#### Placebos: \$150M Threshold & 1996-2004

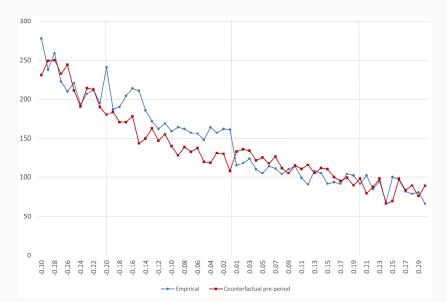


#### Placebos: \$350M Threshold & 1996-2004



- To estimate excess mass, we need the distribution that would have prevailed in the absence of the threshold
- We follow two approaches to construct the counterfactual: fitting a polynomial and exploting the pre-period distribution
- ▶ Pre-period distribution (1986-1993):
  - It alleviates concerns about implicit functional form assumptions (Blomquist et al., 2019)
  - We make a normalization to account for changes in the distribution across periods (DeFusco et al., 2020)

#### Bunching Evidence: Excess Mass Estimation (cont'd)



## Means of Strategic Avoidance

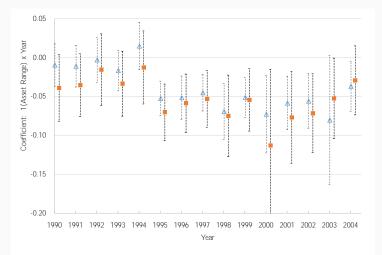
- Reduced-form framework: similar to shift-share design (Bartik, 1991; Blanchard and Katz, 1992)
- Segment banks by pre-reform asset size, test for a differential response following the introduction of the threshold:

$$y_{it} = \eta_i + \phi_t + \beta Assets_{i,LB-250}^{1994} \times 1(t > 1995) + \varepsilon_{it},$$

- y<sub>it</sub>: outcome for bank i in year t
- Assets<sup>1994</sup><sub>i,LB-250</sub>: indicator for end-of-year assets (measured in 1994) in range [LB, \$250M]
- 1(t > 1995): indicator for post-reform years

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$Assets_{200-250} \times 1 (yr > 1995)$	-0.024***	-0.037***	-0.044***			
	(-3.73)	(-5.41)	(-5.76)			
$\textit{Assets}_{220-250}\times1({\sf yr}>1995)$				-0.012	-0.025***	-0.035***
				(-1.55)	(-2.85)	(-3.37)
Sample	Full	< \$500M	< \$350M	Full	< \$500M	< \$350M
Bank FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	137,051	127,192	123,148	137,051	127,192	123,148
<i>R</i> -squared	0.180	0.200	0.216	0.180	0.200	0.216

#### Strategic Avoidance: Asset Growth - Pre-trends



△ 200 < Assets < 250 ■ 220 < Assets < 250

Growth:	Cash	Securities	Loans	R.E. Loans	C&I Loans	Div. Payout
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$Assets_{200-250} \times 1(yr > 1995)$	-0.066***	-0.052***	-0.052***	-0.050***	-0.049***	0.043**
	(-4.82)	(-3.44)	(-3.36)	(-3.24)	(-2.63)	(2.54)
$\textit{Assets}_{220-250} \times 1 (yr > 1995)$	-0.088***	-0.060**	-0.042**	-0.025	-0.044	0.013
	(-4.07)	(-2.36)	(-1.98)	(-1.44)	(-1.56)	(1.28)
Bank FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	123,146	123,148	123,146	123,146	123,148	123,148

	Profitability		Non-Pe	rformance
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$Assets_{200-250} \times 1 (yr > 1995)$	0.027***		-0.001*	
	(3.79)		(-1.88)	
$\textit{Assets}_{220-250}\times1({\sf yr}>1995)$		0.032***		-0.003***
		(3.17)		(-2.72)
Bank	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	123,420	123,420	123,420	123,420
<i>R</i> -squared	0.758	0.758	0.420	0.420

Prev. Bank Growth:	Asset (	Asset Growth		Growth
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1(Below Med. Growth) $ imes$ 1(yr $>$ 1995)	0.014***	0.014***	0.013***	0.013***
	(7.64)	(7.81)	(6.98)	(7.22)
$\textit{Assets}_{200-250}\times1({\rm yr}>1995)$	-0.028***		-0.031***	
	(-3.74)		(-4.05)	
imes 1(Below Med. Growth)	-0.019*		-0.013	
	(-1.87)		(-1.26)	
$Assets_{220-250} \times 1(yr > 1995)$		-0.019**		-0.019**
		(-2.42)		(-2.38)
imes 1(Below Med. Growth)		-0.024*		-0.024*
		(-1.70)		(-1.79)
Bank FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	118,130	118,130	118,130	118,130
<i>R</i> -squared	0.191	0.191	0.191	0.191

Real Effects of Strategic Avoidance of the CRA

Loan application accepted	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$\textit{Assets}_{200-250}\times1({\rm yr}>1995)$	-0.001	0.012**	0.012**			
	(-0.24)	(2.53)	(2.46)			
imes 1(LMI)	-0.022***	-0.019***	-0.018***			
	(-3.15)	(-2.90)	(-2.77)			
$\textit{Assets}_{220-250}\times1({\sf yr}>1995)$				-0.008	0.006	0.005
				(-1.29)	(0.73)	(0.66)
imes 1(LMI)				-0.022**	-0.014*	-0.013
				(-2.51)	(-1.69)	(-1.61)
Bank-LMI FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year-LMI FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County FE	Yes	x Year	× Year	Yes	x Year	× Year
Loan Amt-Year FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Number of observations	1,233,816	1,231,151	1,230,582	1,233,816	1,231,151	1,230,582
<i>R</i> -squared	0.097	0.121	0.125	0.097	0.121	0.125

### Potential Response by Other Banks

#### All Originated Loans

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$TractShare_{200-250} \times 1(yr > 1995)$	-0.004		0.001	
	(-1.33)		(0.35)	
$\mathit{TractShare}_{220-250}  imes 1 (yr > 1995)$		0.002		0.002
		(0.50)		(0.58)
Tract FE	Yes	Yes	imes Bank	imes Bank
Bank-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	11,357,130	11,357,130	8,574,287	8,574,287
R-squared	0.436	0.436	0.734	0.734
LMI-Qualifying Originated Loans				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$\mathit{TractShare}_{200-250}  imes 1 (yr > 1995)$	-0.000		0.005*	
	(-0.01)		(1.85)	
$\textit{TractShare}_{220-250}\times1(\text{yr}>1995)$		-0.001		0.002
		(-0.27)		(0.63)
Tract FE	Yes	Yes	imes Bank	imes Bank
Bank-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	5,209,807	5,209,807	3,604,328	3,604,328
<i>R</i> -squared	0.388	0.388	0.671	0.671

$$y_{ist} = \eta_i + \phi_{st} + \beta BranchShare_{i,LB-250}^{1994} imes 1(t > 1995) + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Share:	< 20 employees		< 50 er	mployees	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
$BranchShare_{200-250}  imes 1(yr > 1995)$	-0.057***		-0.009		
	(-2.73)		(-0.88)		
$\mathit{BranchShare}_{220-250}  imes 1 ({ m yr} > 1995)$		-0.068***		-0.016*	
		(-3.32)		(-1.65)	
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
State-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Number of observations	43,480	43,480	43,480	43,480	
<i>R</i> -squared	0.917	0.917	0.891	0.891	

Sample:	All Counties		Has <	\$350M	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
$BranchShare_{200-250}  imes 1(yr > 1995)$	-0.041**		-0.042**		
	(-1.97)		(-2.02)		
$\textit{BranchShare}_{220-250}  imes 1 (yr > 1995)$		-0.044***		-0.046***	
		(-3.15)		(-3.23)	
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
State-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Number of observations	51,611	51,611	48,495	48,495	
<i>R</i> -squared	-	-	-	-	

Note: We estimate a Poisson count model

## Conclusion

#### Conclusion

- The 1995 CRA reform added various regulatory requirements for banks above the \$250 Million asset size threshold
- We show that the CRA asset threshold distorts banks' growth in an economically meaningful way, which in turn, has real effects on local markets
  - At the bank level, lower growth in assets and loans but also greater profitability
  - At the local level, lower mortgage approval rates in LMI neighborhoods, share of small firms, and independent innovation
- Banks took costly actions to avoid the regulatory cost of the CRA, and costs were partially borne by borrowers the CRA seeks to benefit
  - In stark contrast to the CRA's objective of "encourage institutions to help meet the credit needs of the communities in which they operate"

## Thank you!