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**ROSS SCHOOL OF BUSINESS** 

## How finance reshaped America

Jerry Davis March 13, 2009



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### An eventful summer and fall...



LEHMAN BROTHERS



**FAILED** 







**SEIZED BY GOV'T** 





**SOLD UNDER DURESS** 





CONVERTED TO COMMERCIAL BANKS

## How did we get into this mess?

"There's no question about it. Wall Street got drunk"

G.W. Bush, 7/08

## **CORRECTION:**

The American economy got drunk. Wall Street was just the bartender.



#### Wall Street is Main Street now

- Half of US households are invested in the stock market through mutual funds and 401(k) plans
- Thanks to mortgage securitization and low interest rates, most homeowners with mortgages refinanced them during the first half of this decade
- The personal savings rate (employment income spending) in the US turned negative in 2005 for the first time since the Great Depression
- But don't worry:

"The decline in an often-cited aggregate personal saving rate may not be cause for much alarm for retirement preparedness. Much of this decline can be attributed to spending triggered by wealth increases from capital gains on housing and financial assets." (Economic Report of the President 2006)



## Due to this "wealth effect," the housing bubble disguised weaknesses in the real economy

- Americans extracted perhaps \$800 billion per year in home equity from 2004-2006 – about 9% of US disposable income (Greenspan and Kennedy, 2008)
- Housing price increases fueled economic activity and job creation in retail and housing sectors
  - One-quarter of new jobs created between 2003-2006 were in housing-related industries
  - There were 400,000 mortgage brokers in 2006
  - And 1.2 million real estate agents
  - Roughly \$300B/year went for personal consumption, promoting growth in retail employment

## Was the housing crash utterly unpredictable?

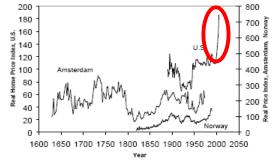


Figure 1. Real home price indexes for the United States 1890-2005 (Shiller 2005), Amsterdam 1628-1973 (Eichholtz 1997) and Norway 1819-1989 (Eitheim and Erlandsen 2004) "The magnitude of the current boom is practically unique in history, making it difficult to predict what comes next based on historical examples...It's notable that until the recent explosion in home prices, real home prices in the United States were virtually unchanged from 1890 to the late 1990s."

Robert Shiller, March 2006



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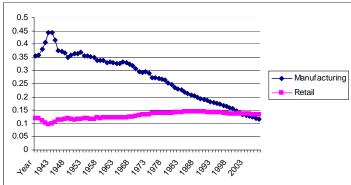
## The mortgage crisis is a symptom of a broader transition in economic institutions

- The US has shifted from an industrial to a postindustrial economy
- Employees are less tied to particular employers located in particular places
- Households are more tied to financial markets through college and retirement savings invested in mutual funds, credit card payments tied to LIBOR, and mortgages ultimately owned by dozens of different financial institutions

Post-industrialism (def. 1): "the majority of the labor force is no longer engaged in agriculture or manufacturing but in services" (Daniel Bell, 1973)



## Manufacturing employment is increasingly rare in the US



Proportion of US private labor force employed in manufacturing and retail, 1939-2008 (Source: BLS)

Since January 2001, the US has shed 4.8 million jobs in manufacturing— more than one in four

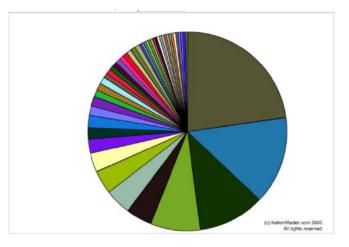
As of last month, more Americans were unemployed than were employed in manufacturing

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11

## The US still leads in manufacturing value-added...

#### US global share of value added in manufacturing





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1

## ...it just doesn't require employees to do it (cf. agriculture)

#### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

WOJ.COM

CAREERS MARCH 9, 200

## Lean Factories Find It Hard to Cut Jobs Even in a Slump

By TIMOTHY AEPPEL and JUSTIN LAHART

SPARTANBURG, S.C. -- At a factory here that churns out plastic parts for everything from spray cans to blasting caps, laying off just one worker can be more trouble than it's worth.

The plant, owned by Cleveland-based Parker Hannifin Corp., has become so lean over the past decade that many assembly lines run with only a handful of highly trained workers.

So while mass layoffs have driven the U.S. unemployment rate to its highest in 26 years, Parker and other companies like it are responding to the slump in more surgical ways, mainly by cutting hours and shedding temporary workers.

"Because of productivity gains, every one of my people carries more dollars in sales today," says Donald Washkewicz, Parker's chief executive. In 2000, the average Parker worker represented about \$125,000 a year in sales. Today, that figure tops \$200,000. "If I need to cut back, I have to cut back fewer people to achieve the same goal."

Similar trims are taking place at each of Parker's nearly 300 factories. And to varying degrees, this is happening at thousands of other large and small factories across the U.S.



## The largest US employers have shifted from manufacturing to retail and other services

#### 10 Largest US Corporate Employers, 1960-2009

<u>1960</u>	<u>1980</u>	<b>2009</b>
GM	AT&T	<b>WAL-MART</b>
AT&T	GM	<b>TARGET</b>
FORD	<b>FORD</b>	UPS
GE	GE	KROGER
US STEEL	<b>SEARS</b>	<b>SEARS HLDGS</b>
<b>SEARS</b>	<b>IBM</b>	"AT&T"
A&P	ITT	<b>HOME DEPOT</b>
EXXON	<b>KMART</b>	WALGREEN
BETH. STEEL	<b>MOBIL</b>	<b>VERIZON</b>
ITT	GTE	<b>SUPERVALU</b>

Wal-Mart now employs roughly as many Americans as the 20 largest manufacturers combined

Manufacturing Oil Services



### Ten industries with most-tenured employees

Industry	<u>Tenure</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>%</u>
Agriculture	14	47	1.6
Utilities	13	45	0.9
Petroleum and coal products mfg	11	45	0.1
Forestry, logging, fishing, hunting	10	44	0.2
Electrical equipment, appliance mfg	10	46	0.3
Public administration	9	45	4.9
Transportation equipment manufacturing	8	44	1.4
Beverage and tobacco products	8	38.5	0.1
Paper and printing	8	43	0.9
Primary metals and fabricated metal prods.	7	43	1.4

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**Source: 2004 Current Population Survey** 

10

15

## Ten industries with least-tenured employees

<u>Industry</u>	Avg tenure	Age	<u>%</u>
Internet publishing and broadcasting	0.5	42.5	0.0
Food services and drinking places	1.5	26	5.0
Private households	2	40	0.6
Retail trade	<u>3</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>11.9</u>
Motion picture and sound recording	3	34	0.3
Rental and leasing services	3	36	0.4
Administrative and support services	3	40	3.3
Social assistance	3	41	2.2
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	3	38	1.8
Accommodation	3.5	40	1.3

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**Source: 2004 Current Population Survey** 

14

## Ties between companies and employees have frayed

"The whole labor force of the modern corporation is, insofar as possible, turned into a corps of lifetime employees, with great emphasis on stability of employment," and thus "membership in the modern corporation becomes the single strongest social force shaping its career members..."

Carl Kaysen, 1956

"If there's one thing you'll learn—and dot-coms have learned it in the last year—is no one can guarantee lifetime employment... You can give lifetime employability by training people, by making them adaptable, making them mobile to go other places to do other things. But you can't guarantee lifetime employment."

Jack Welch, 2001

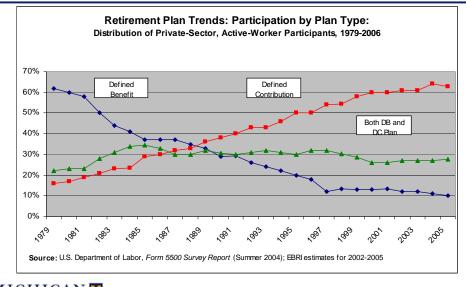
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## Long-term attachments to employees can be costly...

"Our legacy costs in pensions and health care are an area of significant competitive disadvantage for us... We're now subject to global competition. We're running against people who do not have these costs, because they are funded by the government."

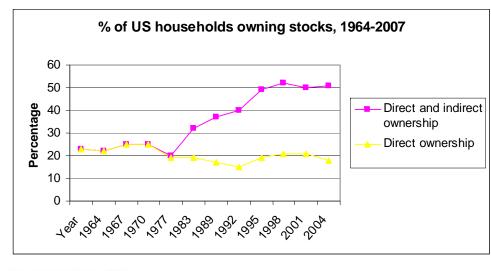
Rick Wagoner, CEO of GM, Feb. 2006

## ...so most employers have abandoned traditional company pensions in favor of relatively portable 401(k) plans



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## As a result, households became increasingly invested in the stock market during the 1980s and 1990s



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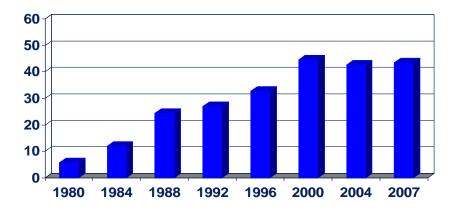
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19

Source: Federal Reserve Survey of Consumer Finances (various years)

18

## **Specifically: investors in mutual funds**

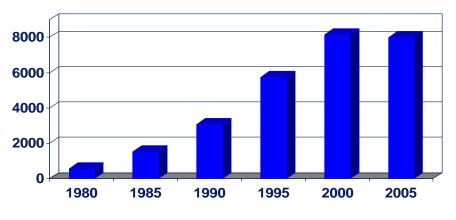


Proportion of households allegedly owning mutual funds

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Source: Investment Company Institute 2008 Investment Company Fact Book

## There are many more US mutual funds now

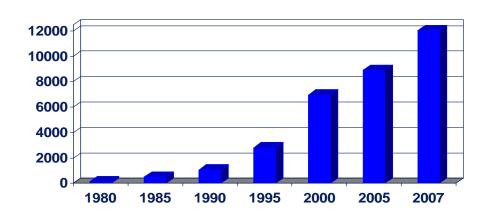


**Number of US mutual funds** 



Source: Investment Company Institute 2008 Investment Company Fact Book

## And they gathered a lot of assets



Billions of dollars in assets held by US mutual funds

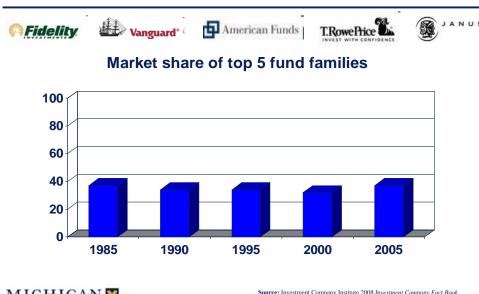
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Source: Investment Company Institute 2008 Investment Company Fact Book

21

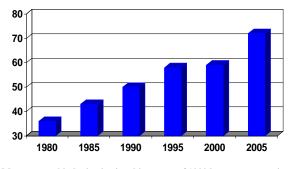
## But 'name brand' funds got most of the benefit



MICHIGAN M ROSS SCHOOL OF BUSINESS Source: Investment Company Institute 2008 Investment Company Fact Book

22

## Leaving US corporate ownership largely 'intermediated' by a few mutual funds



Corporate ownership by mutual funds

1950: **3**%

1990: 8%

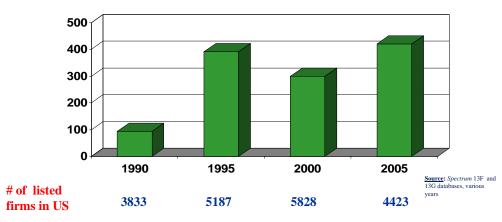
2005: 28%

Mean ownership by institutional investors of 1000 largest corporations

Source: Spectrum 13F database, various years

## Fidelity is now the largest shareholder of one in ten US corporations

#### Number of US-listed firms in which Fidelity is largest shareholder







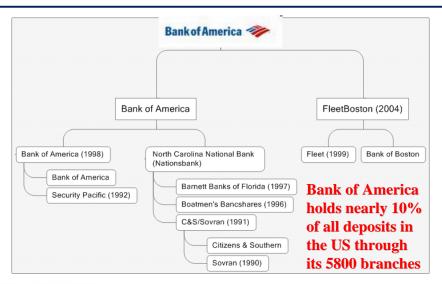
# Q: If household savings have moved to mutual funds, what happened to the banks?

## A: They got acquired by Bank of America or JP Morgan Chase



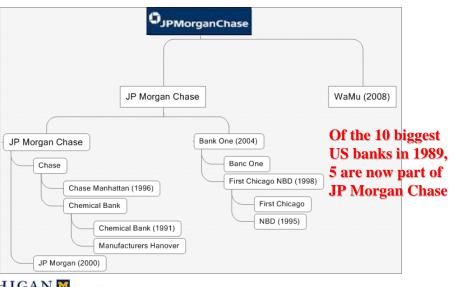
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#### **How North Carolina National Bank became Bank of America**



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## How (almost) every New York-based commercial bank became JP Morgan Chase



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27

## The surprising new geography of banking

#### Ten largest US-based traditional commercial banks

Bank	Location
JP Morgan Chase	New York
Bank of America	Charlotte, NC
Citibank	New York
Wells Fargo	San Francisco
State Street	Boston
PNC/National City	Pittsburgh
US Bank	Minneapolis
Bank of NY/Mellon	New York
Suntrust	Atlanta
Regions Bank	Birmingham, AL

7 of the 10 largest US cities no longer have a major local commercial bank.



## The basic business of banking has changed



"No, but you . . . you . . . you're thinking of this place all wrong. As if I had the money back in a safe. The money's not here. Your money's in Joe's house . . . right next to yours. And in the Kennedy house, and Mrs. Macklin's house, and a hundred others. Why, you're lending them the money to build, and then, they're going to pay it back to you as best they can. Now what are you going to do? Foreclose on them?"

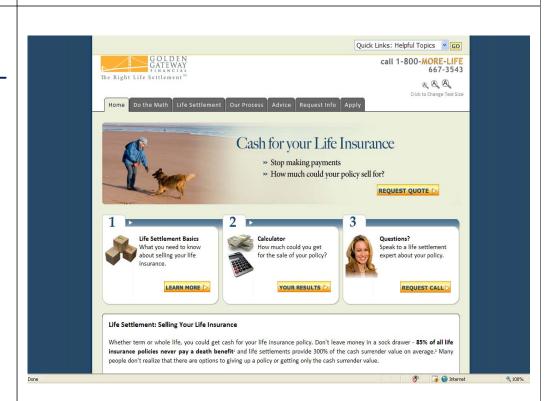
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## Securitization:

## or, What can be bundled together and sold as bonds?

- Mortgages
- Auto loans
- Student loans
- Corporate loans
- Credit card receivables
- Business receivables (even in distress)
- Settlements of tobacco lawsuits
- David Bowie's royalties
- Blends of the above (CDOs)
- Your neighbors' life insurance policies





31



## A Copernican shift in American society

