

An evening with Anat Admati.

Location: Swedish House of Finance.

Monday, October 15, 2018. 6:00 – 8:00 pm.

Banking, Governance, and Politics

Anat Admati

Stanford Graduate School of Business

Swedish House of Finance and Stanford GSB Alumni Chapter Stockholm, October 15, 2018







"

My daughter came home from school one day and said, 'daddy, what's a financial crisis?'

And without trying to be funny, I said, 'it's the type of thing that happens every five, seven, ten years.'

Jamie Dimon, January 2010 (to Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission)

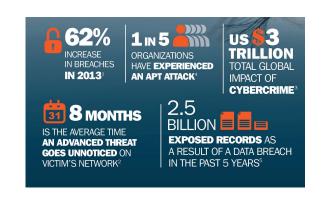


"The Sequel to the Financial Crisis is Here" Frank Partnoy, *Financial Times*, July 31, 2017

"The Next Financial Crisis is Closer than You Think," Tim Lee, Washington Post, October 10, 2018

Italy political crisis hits financial markets BBC News, May 29, 2018



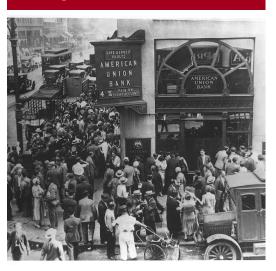




A Liquidity Problem?

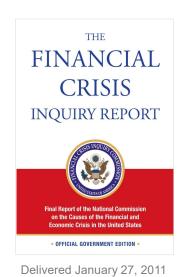


"A Classic Bank Run?"









The financial crisis was avoidable

Widespread failures in financial regulation

Breakdown in corporate governance

Explosive and excessive borrowing.

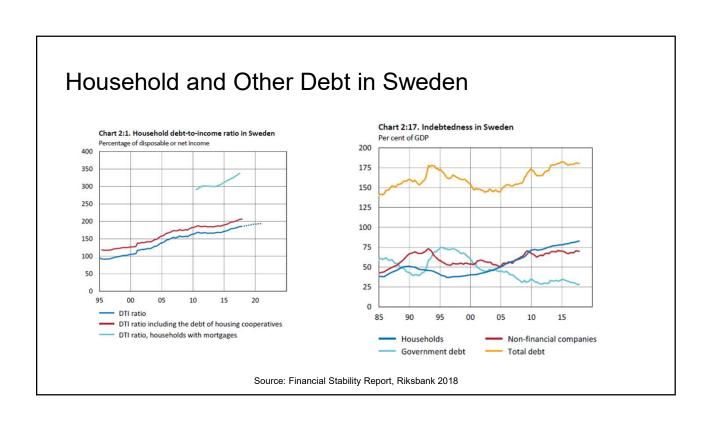
Lack of transparency

Government was ill-prepared and responded inconsistently

Widespread breaches in accountability at all levels.

The crisis reflected distorted incentives and failure of rules and governance.





To Spot the Next Financial Crisis, Look Who Was Spared by the Last One James Mackintosh, *Wall Street Journal*, April 26, 2018





Leading the list are Australia, Canada and Sweden.

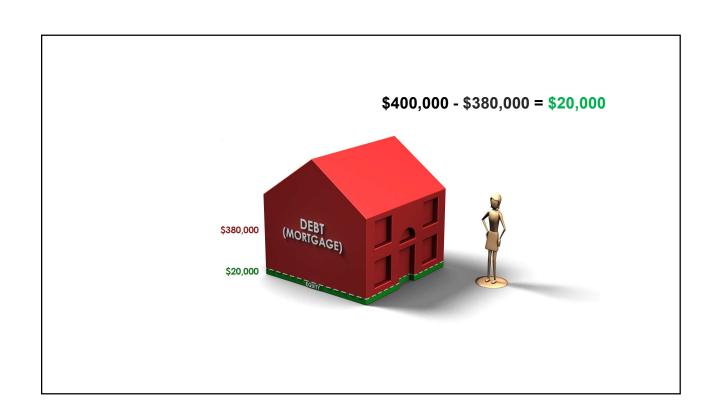
Sweden offers a case study in financial crises.

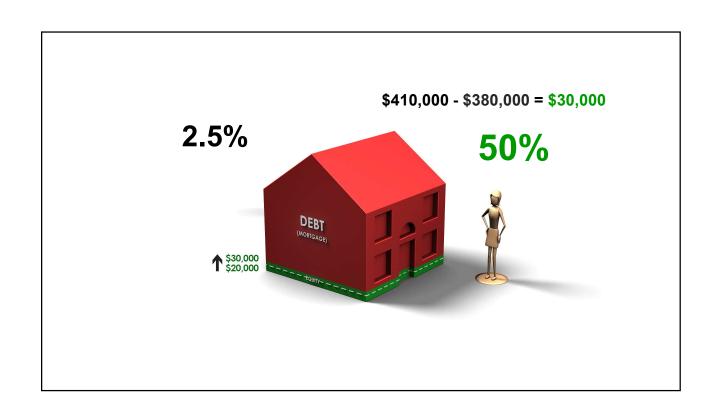
Private debt in general and mortgage debt in particular is one of the most reliable indicators of trouble ahead.

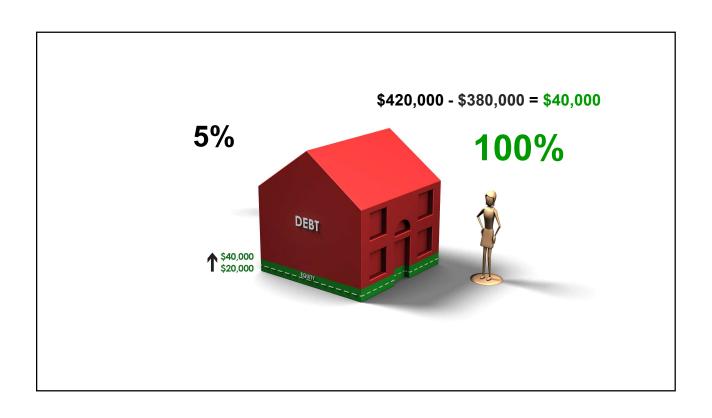
Sweden's indicator of financial vulnerability is higher than ahead of its 1992 crisis.

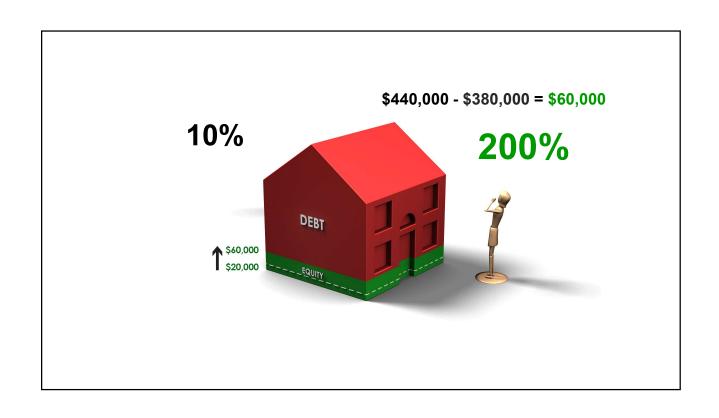
Riksbank, Sweden's central bank, has been warning about the risks from the housing market, and worrying in public about the strength of its banks.

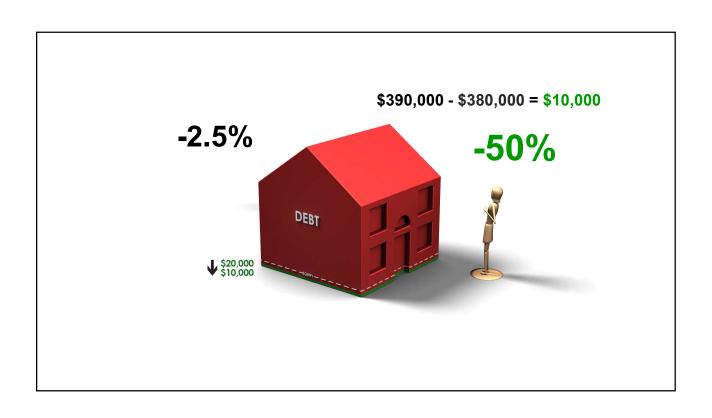


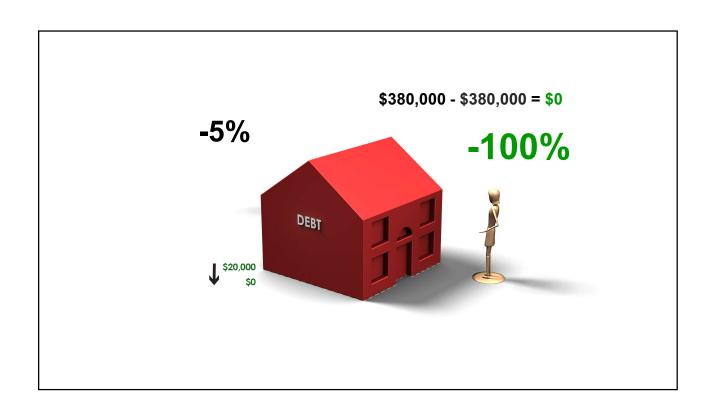






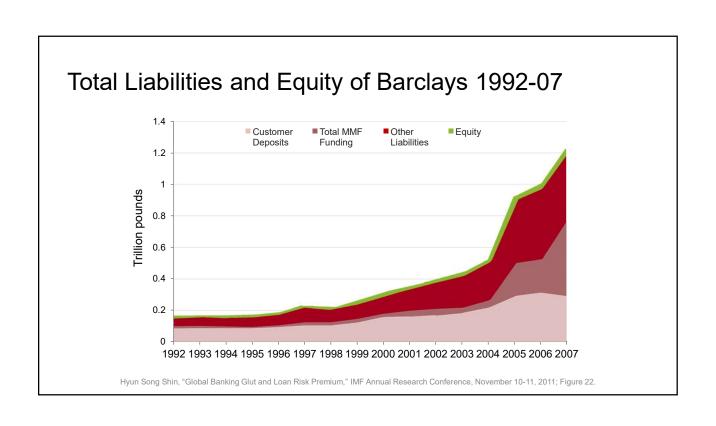




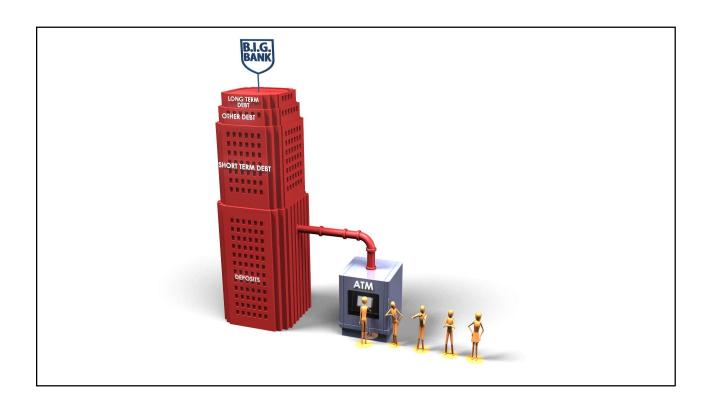


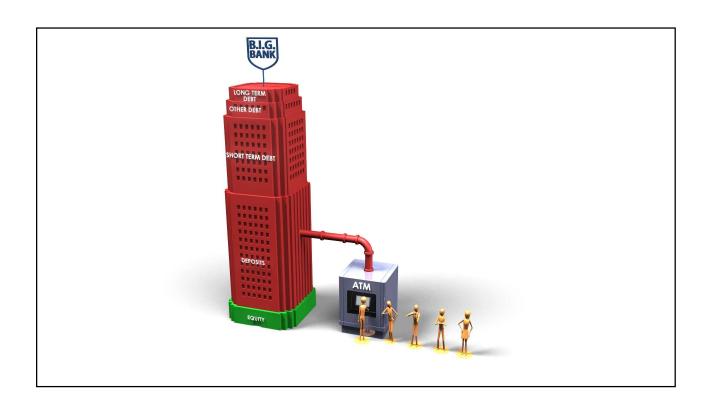






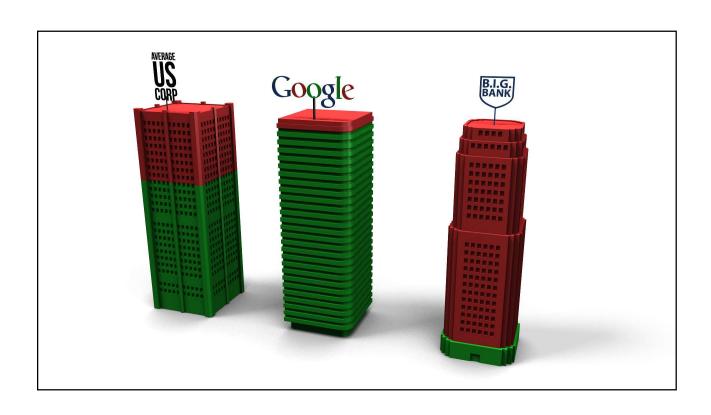


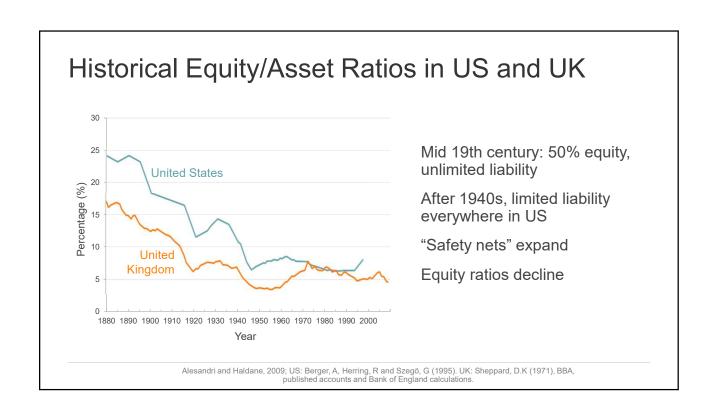


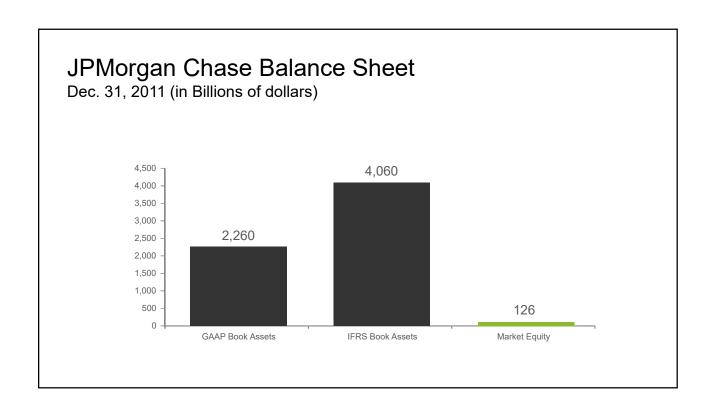


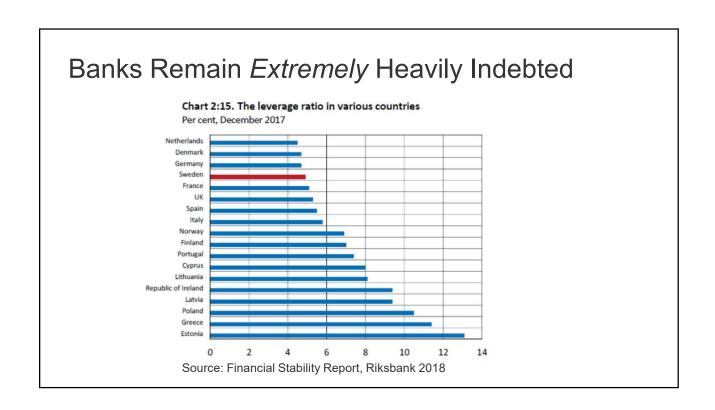


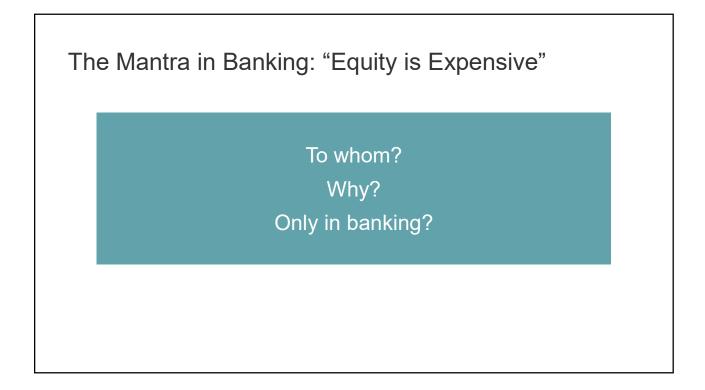












Fallacies, Irrelevant Facts and Myths in the Discussion of Capital Regulations: Why Bank Equity is Not Socially Expensive

August 2010 (revised 2013)

The Leverage Ratchet Effect

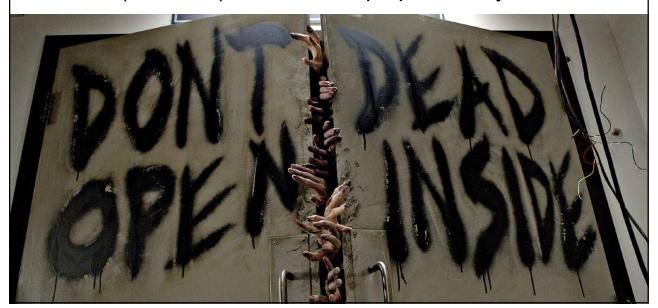


Journal of Finance, 2018

Anat Admati, Peter DeMarzo, Martin Hellwig and Paul Pfleiderer

https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/faculty-research/excessive-leverage

Zombie (Insolvent) Borrowers: Opaque and Dysfunctional



Zombie (Insolvent) Borrowers: Opaque and Dysfunctional



Unable to raise equity

"Gamble for resurrection"

Anxious to take cash out

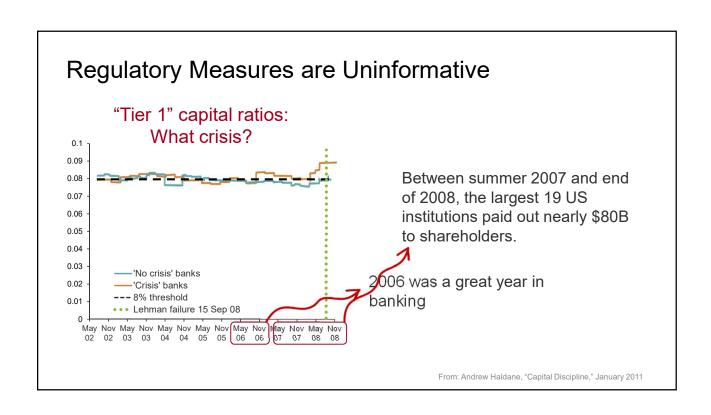
Avoid equity

Sell assets, even at fire-sale prices

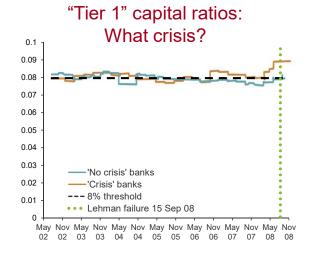
Underinvest in worthy "boring" assets

Try to hide insolvency in disclosures

Lobby policymakers for supports



Regulatory Measures are Uninformative

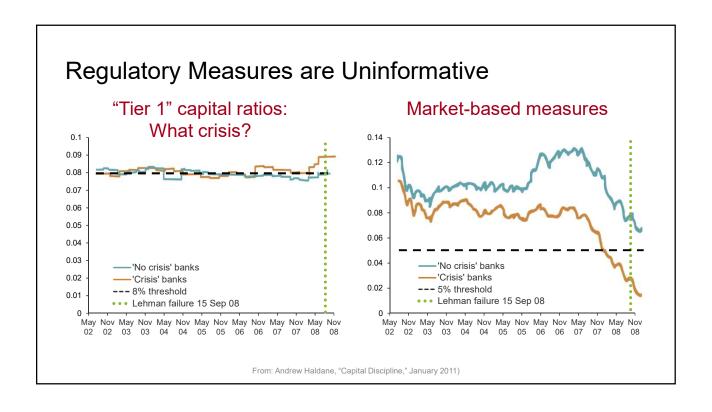


Largest 19 institutions received ≈\$160B under TARP.

Fed committed \$7.7 trillions in below-market loans to 407 banks.

Tier 2 capital proved useless to absorb losses (except Lehman).

From: Andrew Haldane, "Capital Discipline," January 2011

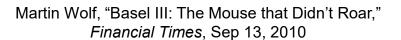


Basel "Capital Regulation" (No proper justification)

Basel II (pre-crisis)	Basel III (reformed rules)
"Common equity Tier 1 capital" to risk-weighted assets: 2%	"Common Equity Tier 1 Capital" to risk-weighted assets (RWA): 4.5% » Plus 2.5% conservation buffer » Plus 1.5% "Tier 1" to RWA
	Leverage Ratio: "Tier 1" to total » Basel III: 3% » US: BHC: 5%, insured banks: 6%
"Tier 2" Loss-absorbing debt	"Tier 2"/TLAC ("loss-absorbing debt").

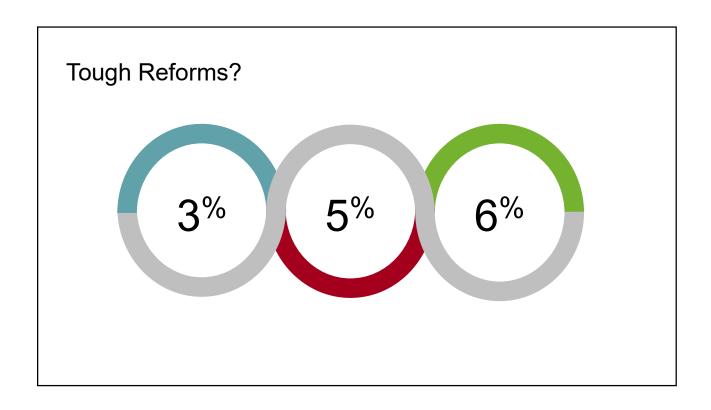


Tripling almost nothing does not give one very much.









"

If **at least 15%** of banks' total assets were funded by equity, the social benefits would be substantial. And the social costs would be minimal, if any.

Temporarily restricting bank dividends is an obvious place to start.

Anat R. Admati, Franklin Allen, Richard Brealey, Michael Brennan,
Markus K. Brunnermeier, Arnoud Boot, John H. Cochrane, Peter M. DeMarzo, Eugene
F. Fama, Michael Fishman, Charles Goodhart, Martin F. Hellwig,
Hayne Leland, Stewart C. Myers, Paul Pfleiderer, Jean Charles Rochet,
Stephen A. Ross, William F. Sharpe, Chester S. Spatt, Anjan Thakor

Financial Times, November 9, 2010

"

Don't Believe Reassurances

The system is too complex, opaque, and dangerous; "systemic (contagion) risk" is significant.

This situation reflect policy failures





"

Investors can't understand the nature and quality of the assets and liabilities... The disclosure obfuscates more than it informs.

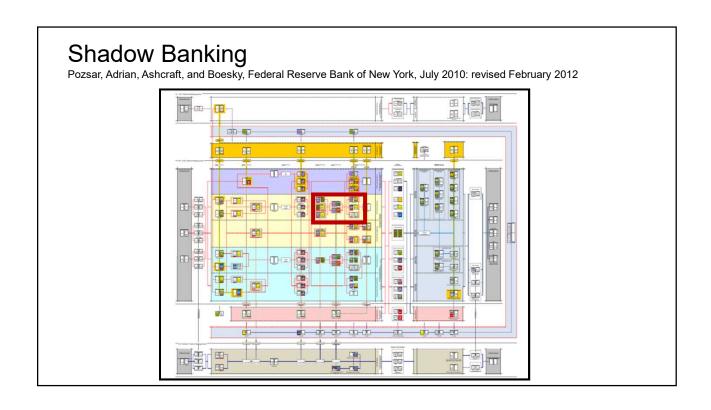
Kevin Warsh, Jan. 2013

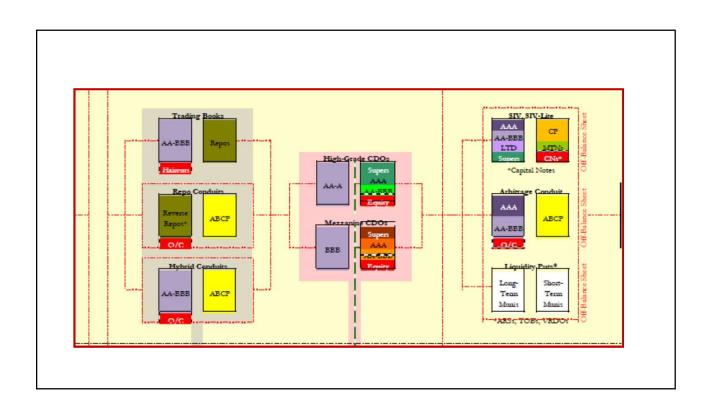
The unfathomable nature of banks' accounts make it impossible to know which are sound. Derivatives positions, in particular, are difficult for outside investors to parse.

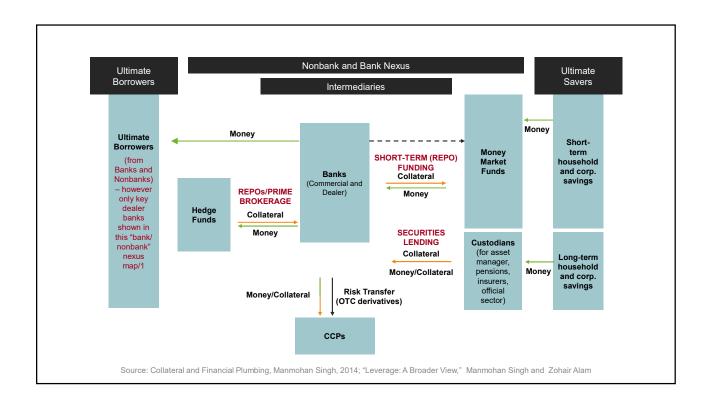
Paul Singer, Elliot Management, Jan. 2014

"

Wells Fargo: Quaint? "What's Inside America's Banks?" Eisinger and Partnoy, Atlantic, Jan 2013









The omission of off-balance sheet items in the standard measures implies a substantial underestimation of bank leverage

Off-balance sheet funding is higher now than in 2007

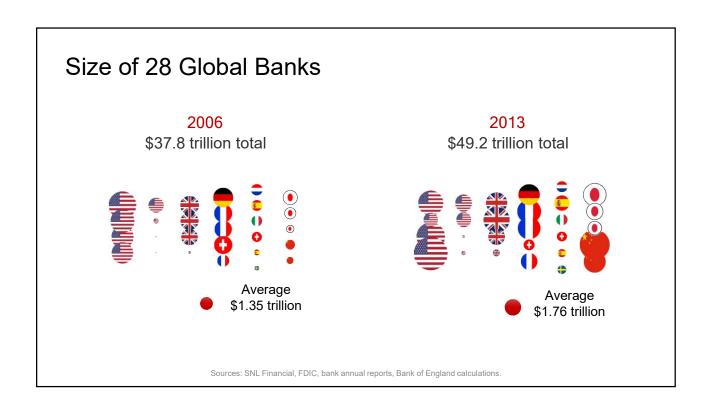
"Leverage, a Broader View," Singh and Alam, IMF, March 2018

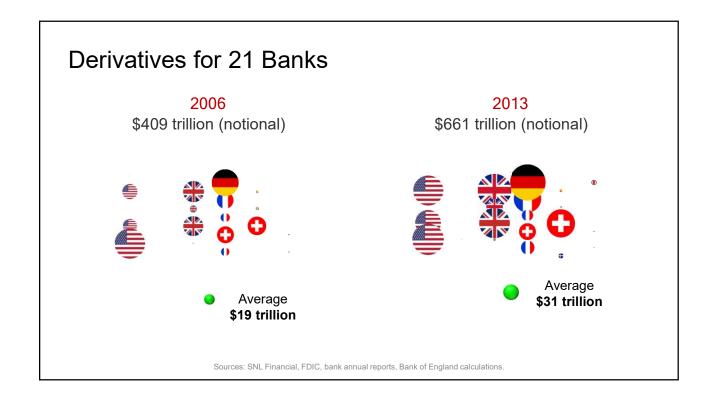
"

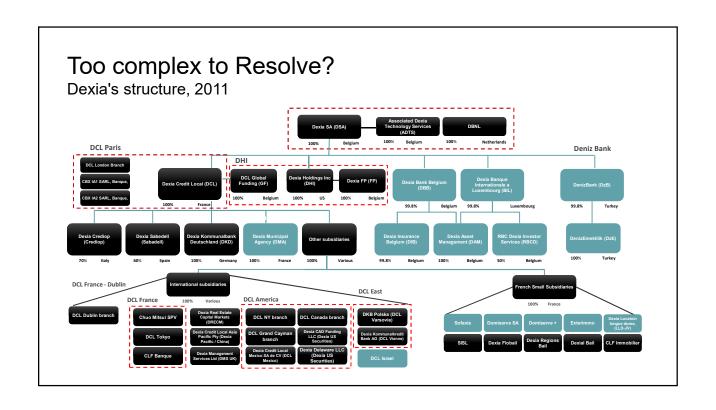
Monstrous global institutions are a symptom of failed markets and rules

"Let fail" defies credibility

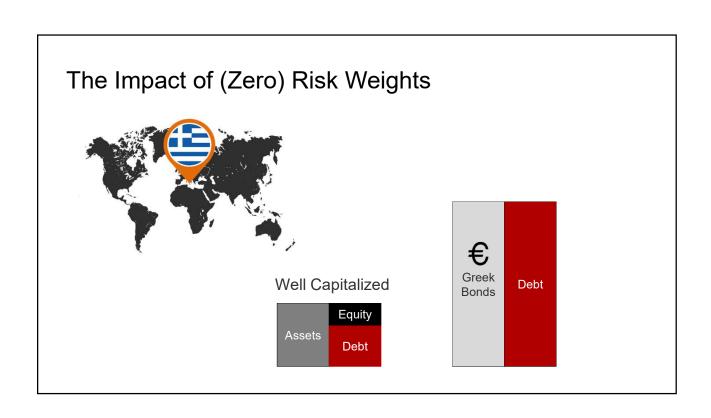


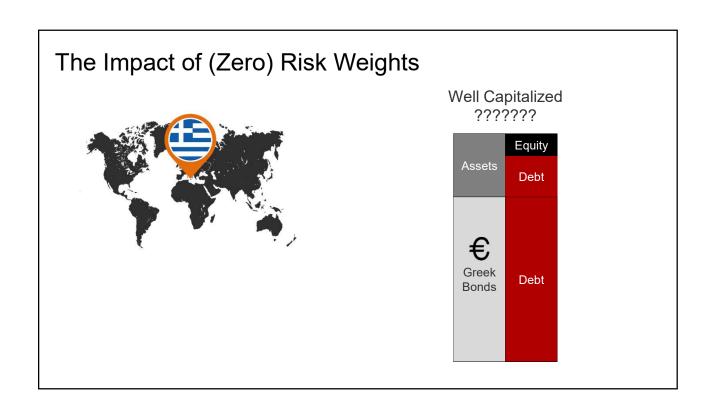




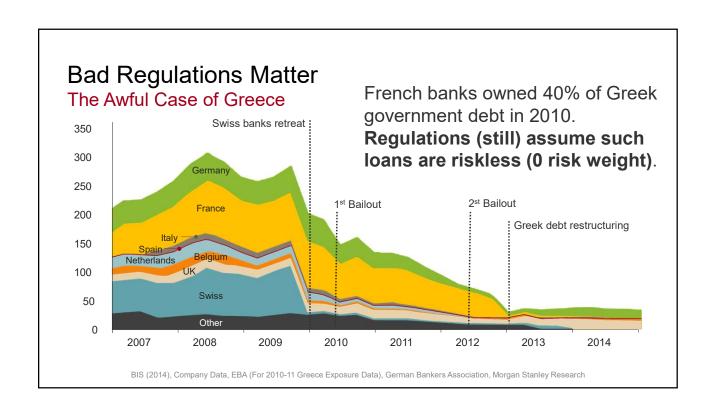


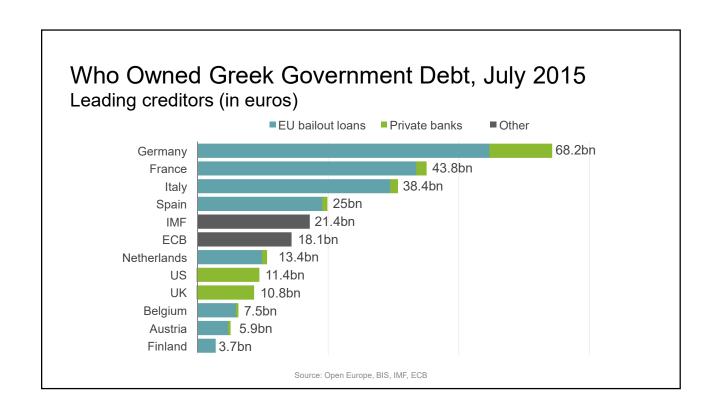


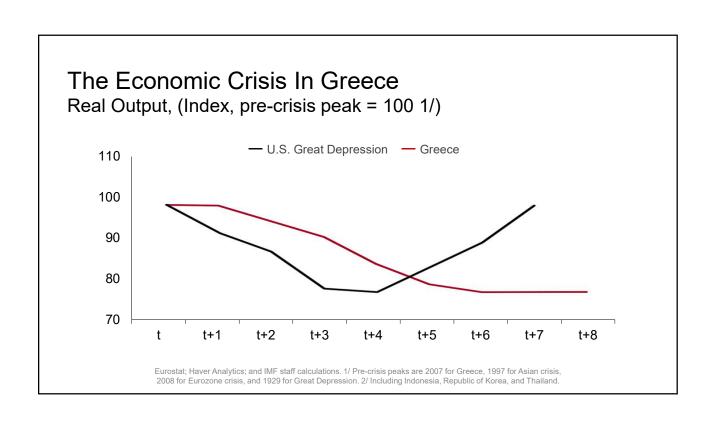


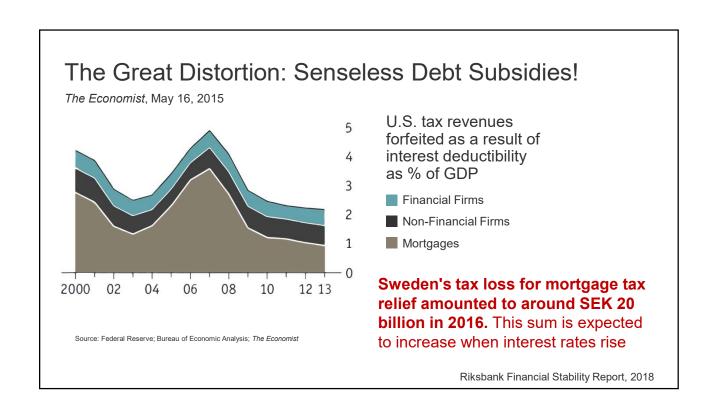


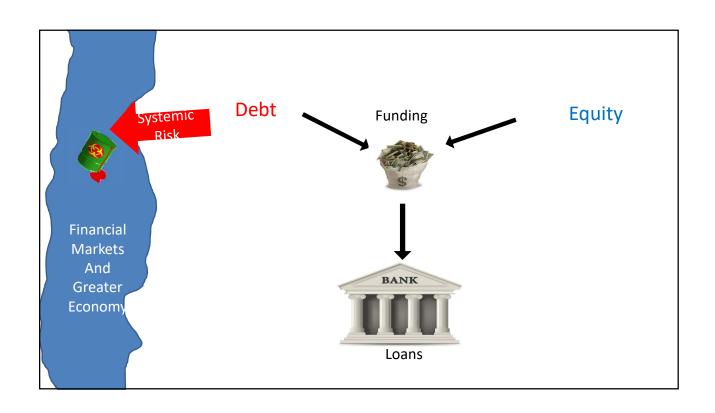


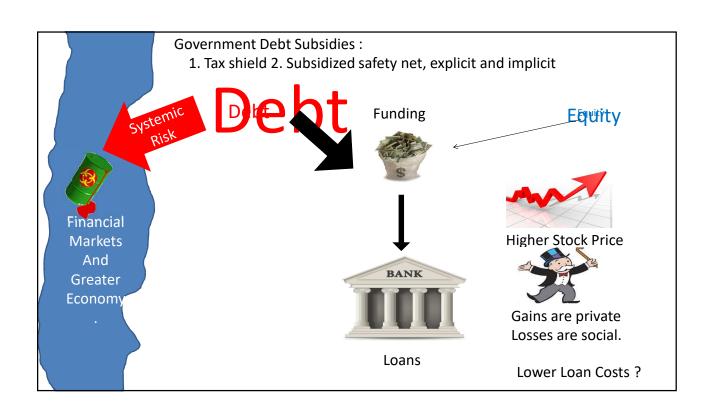














Toxic Mix of Confusion and Politics



http://bankersnewclothes.com/

https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/faculty-research/excessive-leverage

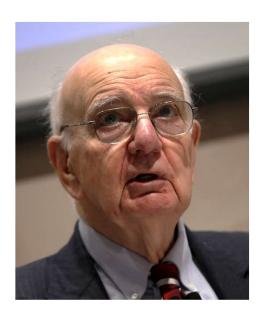


"More equity might increase the stability of banks. At the same time, however, it would restrict their ability to provide loans to the rest of the economy. This reduces growth and has negative effects for all."

Josef Ackermann, Deutsche Bank CEO, November 20, 2009 interview)









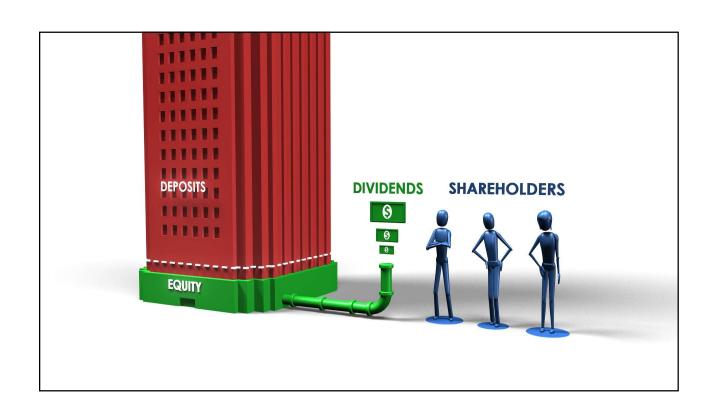
Just about whatever anyone proposes... the banks will claim that it will restrict credit and harm the economy....

It's all bullshit

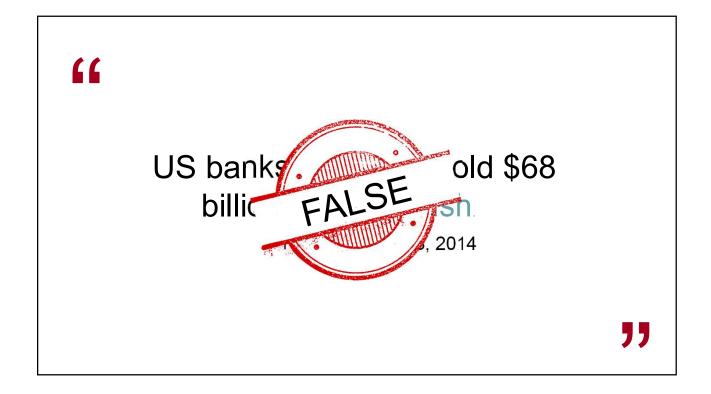
Paul Volcker, January 2010

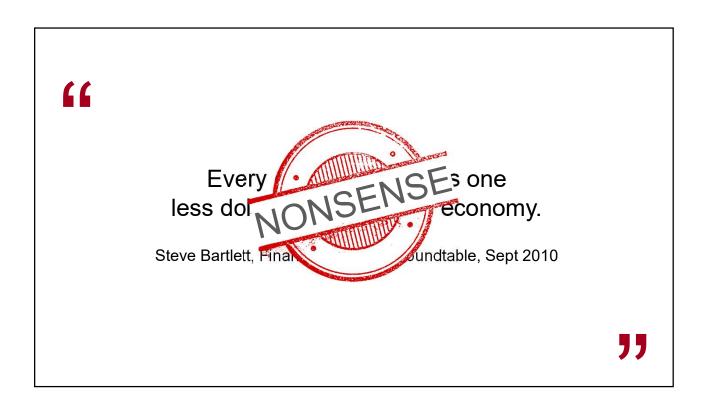
(From Payoff: Why Wall Street Always Wins, Jeff Connaughton, 2012)



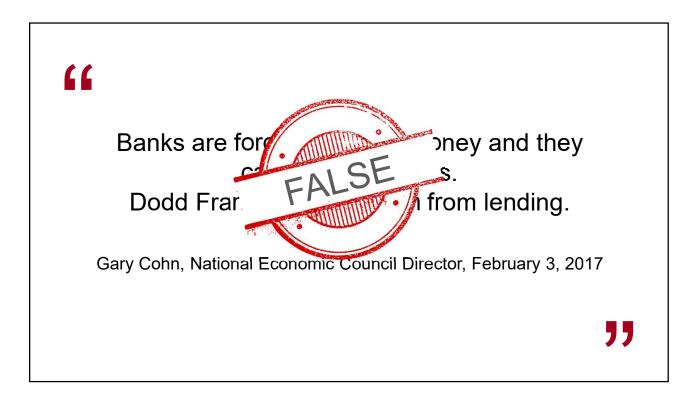


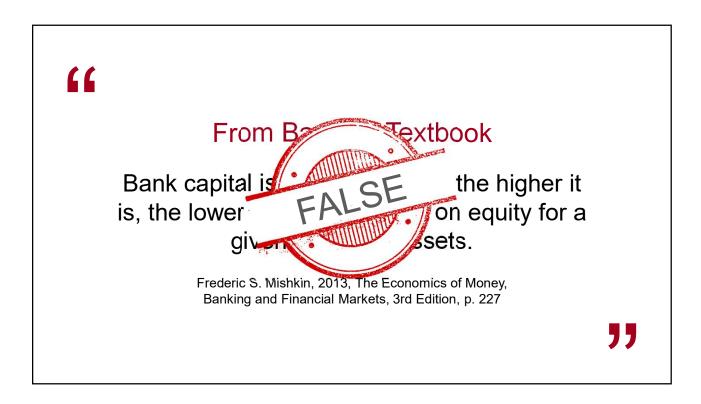












Because we have substantial selffunding with consumer deposits, we don't have a lot of debt...

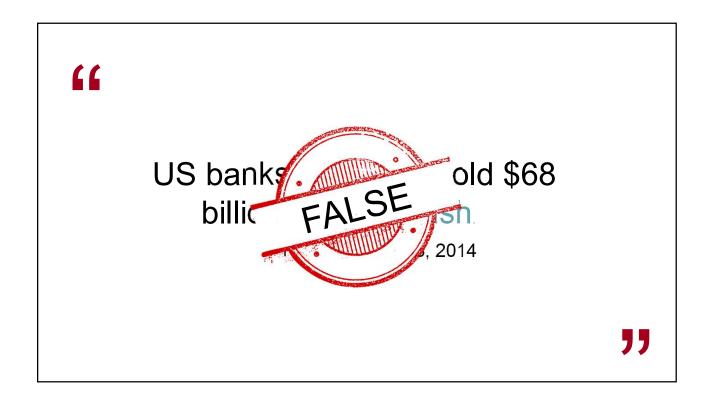
John Stumpf, Wells Fargo Bank CEO, 2013

"



US banks forced to hold \$68 billion in extra cash.

Telegraph. April 8, 2014



This rule will keep billions out of the Economy

Tim Pawlenty, Financial Services Roundtable, July 2015

"



Key Person on Economic Policy (ex Goldman Sachs COO)

Banks are forced to hoard money because they are force to hoard capital and they can't take any risks.. Dodd Frank prohibits them from lending.

Gary Cohn, Director of National Economic Council, February 3, 2017

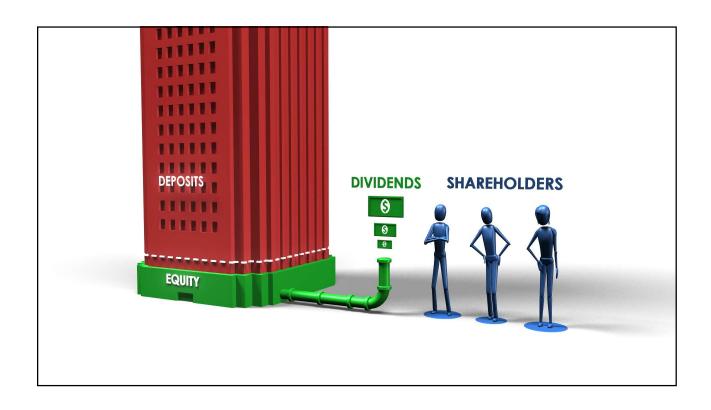
"

"

Key Person on Economic Policy (ex Gold Scool)

Banks are for they are for FALSE ney because they are for FALSE ney because and they can't take are them. Frank prohibits them.

Gary Cohn, Director of National Economic Council, February 3, 2017



From Banking Textbook

Bank capital is costly because, the higher it is, the lower will be the return on equity for a given return on assets.

Frederic S. Mishkin, 2013, The Economics of Money, Banking and Financial Markets, 3rd Edition, p. 227





Frederic S. Mishkin, 2013, The Economics of Money, Banking and Financial Markets, 3rd Edition, p. 227



Good or Bad?

Meaningless distinctions



Credit



Proper questions

Are worthy investments funded?

Is more credit always good?

- ✓ Wasteful investments in boom
- ✓ Booms are key predictors of bust/crisis
- Debt overhangs exacerbate recession

Why subsidies debt over other funding?

- Debt subsidies create unnecessary distortions and risk
- Find better delivery for desirable subsidies!

Banks are still the most powerful lobby on Capitol Hill. And they frankly own the place.

Senator Richard Durbin (D-III), 2009

"

"

It is difficult to get a journalist to understand something when his access to news depends on not understanding it.

Upton Sinclair, author

Excuses, Diversions, and Spin (Flawed Claims)



Much has been done
It's very complicated
There will be "unintended consequences"
There are tradeoffs
We must maintain level playing field
etc., etc....

"The Parade of Bankers New Clothes Continues: 31 Flawed Claims Debunked," Admati and Hellwig, revised 2015

Politics of Banking

Symbiosis and "bargains" banks-governments

- "Banks are where the money is"
- "National champions"
- Guarantees appear free, invisible social cost, willful blindness
- Central banks support governments and private banks
- Banks seem sources of funding, not risk

Banks get away with inefficient recklessness.

Many Enablers

- Financial sector ★ employees (sell side)
- Institutional investors (buy side)
- Executives and boards *
 of financial/other firms
 - Auditors and rating * agencies



- Supervisors and regulators
- ★ Central bankers
- ★ Politicians
- ★ The media
- ★ Researchers/ Economists, including in academia

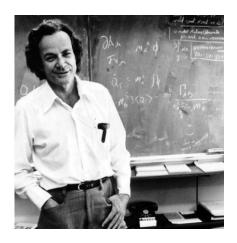


With such friends [as academics], who needs lobbyists?

Risk manager in a major systemic institution, 2016



"It Takes a Village to Maintain a Dangerous Financial System," Anat Admati, in *Just Financial Markets: Finance in Just Society*, Lisa Herzog (ed.), 2017





Science is what we have learned about how to keep from fooling ourselves.

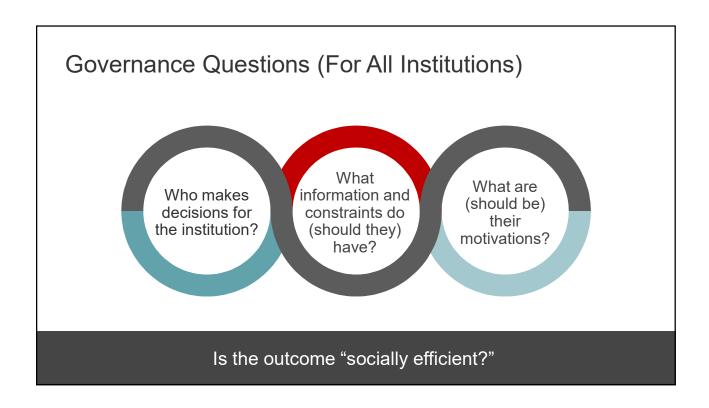
Richard Feynman



"Chameleons: The Misuse of Theoretical Models in Finance and Economics," Paul Pfleiderer, 2014 (forthcoming, *Economica*, 2018)

Banking is an extreme example of governance and policy failures

Political bargains can exacerbate market failures



Corporations: Key Features



Abstract legal entities

Separate from stakeholders

Derive existence and legal rights from governments

- ✓ Property rights
- √ "Locked in" capital
- ✓ Limited liability
- ✓ Political speech (?)
- ✓ Religious (?)



The social responsibility of managers is to make as much money as possible while conforming to the basic rules of the society, both those embodied in law and those embodied in ethical custom.



Milton Friedman (1970)





In theory, the goal of the firm should be determined by the firm's owners....

Shareholders agree they are better off if managers maximize the value of their shares.

Corporate Finance, Berk and DeMarzo, 2016



Standard View of Corporate Governance

Corporations "owned" by shareholders



Main governance challenge:

Align managers with shareholders

Financialized compensation
Stock value
Accounting profits
Return on Equity,

Who are shareholders? What do they want?



Individuals or institutions?

What are their other investments?

Also employees or customers?

Ultimately citizens and taxpayers?

The Standard Approach to Corporate Governance...

Assumes

All markets are competitive

Contracts and "rules of society" (laws, ethics) protect all impacted others

- + Employees
- + Customers
- + Creditors
- + The public

Ignores

Shareholders are taxpayers, may be employees, customers, creditors...

Corporations are involved in shaping rules and enforcement

The opacity of corporations

Diffuse corporate responsibility

Incentives within government institutions

Regulatory capture, revolving doors, conflicted experts ("thin political markets")



"Yes, the planet got destroyed. But for a beautiful moment in time we created a lot of value for shareholders."

Governments "vs" Markets?

False Contrast





Market

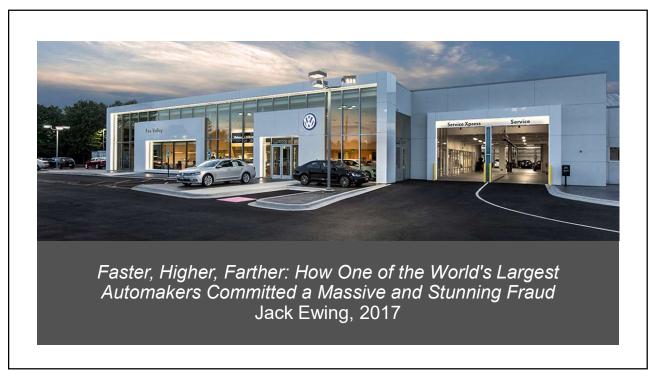
Government

Proper questions

Which activities are best done by private sector vs public sector?

How do we ensure that governments

- + design and enforce effective rules to enable markets to work properly
- + prevent abuse of power



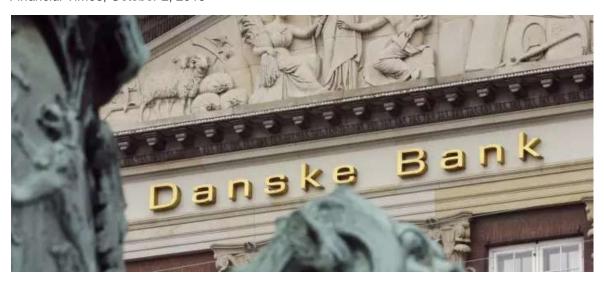
"Purdue Pharma Knew Its Opioids Were Widely Abused" (and the US government failed to intervene more aggressively)

New York Times, May 29, 2018



Danske's €200bn 'dirty money' scandal

Financial Times, October 2, 2018

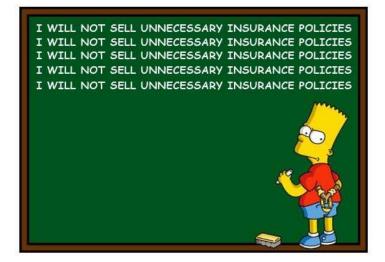


"Wells Fargo Leaders Reaped Lavish Pay Even as Account Scandal Unfolded"

New York Times, March 16, 2017



"Wells Fargo Hit with \$1 Billion Fines Over Home and Auto Loan Abuses" NPR, April 20, 2018



Is the justice system working in the corporate context?



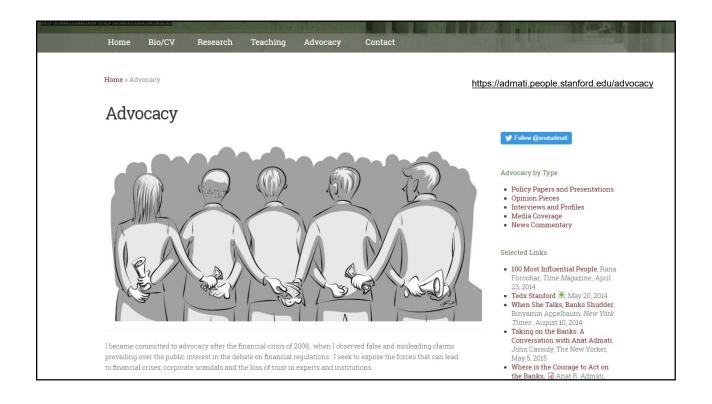






Focus on Corporations (Finance) and Society

Research, teaching, advocacy, GSB Initiative



THE HUFFINGTON POST

WHAT JAMIE DIMON **WON'T TELL YOU**

12/04/2010 11:14 pm ET



THE HUFFINGTON POST THOMSON REUTERS ACCELUS™

An open letter to JPMorgan Chase Board of Directors

Jun 14 2011 Anat Admati

Why the bank dividends are a bad idea

March 14, 2012 @ 4:35 pm



The New York Times Opinion | OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR We're All Still Hostages to the Big Banks

By ANAT R. ADMATI AUG. 25, 2013







BloombergView

OPINION | ECONOMICS

Where's the Courage to **Act on Banks?**

Ben Bernanke and the Fed seem to have missed a key lesson of the financial crisis.

By Anat R. Admati

55 October 12, 2015, 4:00 AM PDT

National Institute Economic Review





No. 235 FEB 2016

The Missed Opportunity and Challenge of Capital Regulation

By Anat R. Admati

Journal of Economic Perspectives—Volume 31, Number 3—Summer 2017—Pages 131–150

A Skeptical View of Financialized Corporate Governance

Harvard Law School Forum on Corporate Governance and Financial Regulation

Why Financialized Corporate Governance Works Poorly

Posted by Anat R. Admati, Stanford University, on Wednesday, August 9, 2017

Financial crises, corporate scandals and blind spots: who is responsible?

blogs.lse.ac.uk/businessreview/2018/01/25/financial-crises-corporate-scandals-and-blind-spots-who-is-responsible/

January 25, 2018



Corporations and Society Initiative

The Corporations and Society Initiative explores the interactions between private and public sector institutions and the rest of society.

Corporations are key engines of innovation and growth. However, as they engage in their various activities and affect everyone's lives, they raise questions like these:

- What rights and responsibilities should apply to corporations and to those who control them?
- Are society's interests best served by managers focusing on "shareholder value" as measured by metrics such as stock price?
- What are the roles and responsibilities of governments as they interact in markets and as they design and enforce rules affecting everyone?

The Corporations and Society Initiative is devoted to improving our understanding of these critical issues and facilitating informed engagement to shape the future of capitalism.

Faculty Director



Anat R. Admati
Director, Corporations and
Society Initiative
The George G.C. Parker
Professor of Finance and
Economics

