

# ”Autopsy of a regime change: International effects of New Deal financial Acts”

by Marc Flandreau

Discussion by Øyvind Eitrheim, Norges Bank

Past Present and Policy 4th International Conference: ”The sub-prime crisis and how it changed the past”, Geneva, 3-4 February 2011

Disclaimer: The views expressed are those of the discussant and do not necessarily reflect those of my colleagues or the official views of Norges Bank

3 February 2011

# Key research questions

- What's new? Why care? How can we tell?
- Reassessment of New Deal Financial Acts of 1933-34
- .. and their effects in the short run (1930s) and the long run (1980s onwards)
- A counterfactual story about financial globalization
- .. with focus on financial intermediaries, their incentives and constraints
- Testing ground: the market for foreign government debt over almost two centuries

# Key research questions

- What's new? Why care? How can we tell?
- Reassessment of New Deal Financial Acts of 1933-34
- .. and their effects in the short run (1930s) and the long run (1980s onwards)
- A counterfactual story about financial globalization
- .. with focus on financial intermediaries, their incentives and constraints
- Testing ground: the market for foreign government debt over almost two centuries

# Key research questions

- What's new? Why care? How can we tell?
- Reassessment of New Deal Financial Acts of 1933-34
- .. and their effects in the short run (1930s) and the long run (1980s onwards)
- A counterfactual story about financial globalization
- .. with focus on financial intermediaries, their incentives and constraints
- Testing ground: the market for foreign government debt over almost two centuries

# Key research questions

- What's new? Why care? How can we tell?
- Reassessment of New Deal Financial Acts of 1933-34
- .. and their effects in the short run (1930s) and the long run (1980s onwards)
- A counterfactual story about financial globalization
- .. with focus on financial intermediaries, their incentives and constraints
- Testing ground: the market for foreign government debt over almost two centuries

# Key research questions

- What's new? Why care? How can we tell?
- Reassessment of New Deal Financial Acts of 1933-34
- .. and their effects in the short run (1930s) and the long run (1980s onwards)
- A counterfactual story about financial globalization
- .. with focus on financial intermediaries, their incentives and constraints
- Testing ground: the market for foreign government debt over almost two centuries

# Key research questions

- What's new? Why care? How can we tell?
- Reassessment of New Deal Financial Acts of 1933-34
- .. and their effects in the short run (1930s) and the long run (1980s onwards)
- A counterfactual story about financial globalization
- .. with focus on financial intermediaries, their incentives and constraints
- Testing ground: the market for foreign government debt over almost two centuries

# Key research questions (cont'd)

- Backbone: the London market for foreign government bonds during the Pax Britannica period 1820-1914
- .. followed by a transplant of the London insights to the New York market 1920-1930
- .. with focus on the role of prestige/reputation and market discipline
- Main issue: how the New Deal Financial Acts affected the underwriting business (prestige vs. regulation)



# Key research questions (cont'd)

- Backbone: the London market for foreign government bonds during the Pax Britannica period 1820-1914
- .. followed by a transplant of the London insights to the New York market 1920-1930
- .. with focus on the role of prestige/reputation and market discipline
- Main issue: how the New Deal Financial Acts affected the underwriting business (prestige vs. regulation)

# Key research questions (cont'd)

- Backbone: the London market for foreign government bonds during the Pax Britannica period 1820-1914
- .. followed by a transplant of the London insights to the New York market 1920-1930
- .. with focus on the role of prestige/reputation and market discipline
- Main issue: how the New Deal Financial Acts affected the underwriting business (prestige vs. regulation)

## Key research questions (cont'd)

- Backbone: the London market for foreign government bonds during the Pax Britannica period 1820-1914
- .. followed by a transplant of the London insights to the New York market 1920-1930
- .. with focus on the role of prestige/reputation and market discipline
- Main issue: how the New Deal Financial Acts affected the underwriting business (prestige vs. regulation)

## Key research questions (cont'd)

- Autopsy details: how did incentives, division of labour and degree of commitment and involvement by intermediaries change as a consequence of the New Deal Financial Acts?
- .. and to what extent did the New Deal Financial Acts permanently change the market for foreign government debt?
- .. why did the regime change? how did the changes come about? and which institutions changed ?
- .. also, shed new light on the roles of bondholder committees (CFBs), rating agencies, and the Bretton Woods institutions in the post-WW2 period
- ⇒ Contribution to understand long run developments in international financial markets and regulations

## Key research questions (cont'd)

- Autopsy details: how did incentives, division of labour and degree of commitment and involvement by intermediaries change as a consequence of the New Deal Financial Acts?
- .. and to what extent did the New Deal Financial Acts permanently change the market for foreign government debt?
- .. why did the regime change? how did the changes come about? and which institutions changed ?
- .. also, shed new light on the roles of bondholder committees (CFBs), rating agencies, and the Bretton Woods institutions in the post-WW2 period
- ⇒ Contribution to understand long run developments in international financial markets and regulations

## Key research questions (cont'd)

- Autopsy details: how did incentives, division of labour and degree of commitment and involvement by intermediaries change as a consequence of the New Deal Financial Acts?
- .. and to what extent did the New Deal Financial Acts permanently change the market for foreign government debt?
- .. why did the regime change? how did the changes come about? and which institutions changed ?
- .. also, shed new light on the roles of bondholder committees (CFBs), rating agencies, and the Bretton Woods institutions in the post-WW2 period
- ⇒ Contribution to understand long run developments in international financial markets and regulations

## Key research questions (cont'd)

- Autopsy details: how did incentives, division of labour and degree of commitment and involvement by intermediaries change as a consequence of the New Deal Financial Acts?
- .. and to what extent did the New Deal Financial Acts permanently change the market for foreign government debt?
- .. why did the regime change? how did the changes come about? and which institutions changed ?
- .. also, shed new light on the roles of bondholder committees (CFBs), rating agencies, and the Bretton Woods institutions in the post-WW2 period
- ⇒ Contribution to understand long run developments in international financial markets and regulations

## Key research questions (cont'd)

- Autopsy details: how did incentives, division of labour and degree of commitment and involvement by intermediaries change as a consequence of the New Deal Financial Acts?
- .. and to what extent did the New Deal Financial Acts permanently change the market for foreign government debt?
- .. why did the regime change? how did the changes come about? and which institutions changed ?
- .. also, shed new light on the roles of bondholder committees (CFBs), rating agencies, and the Bretton Woods institutions in the post-WW2 period
- ⇒ Contribution to understand long run developments in international financial markets and regulations



# What to do as discussant of Marc's paper?

- Read the paper,
- start with the references ... ,
- then read five more papers by Flandreau and his co-authors ..
- the process is similar to that of peeling an onion ..
- hopefully I have ascended some steps up the learning curve ..

# What to do as discussant of Marc's paper?

- Read the paper,
- start with the references ... ,
- then read five more papers by Flandreau and his co-authors ..
- the process is similar to that of peeling an onion ..
- hopefully I have ascended some steps up the learning curve ..

# What to do as discussant of Marc's paper?

- Read the paper,
- start with the references ... ,
- then read five more papers by Flandreau and his co-authors ..
- the process is similar to that of peeling an onion ..
- hopefully I have ascended some steps up the learning curve ..

# What to do as discussant of Marc's paper?

- Read the paper,
- start with the references ... ,
- then read five more papers by Flandreau and his co-authors ..
- the process is similar to that of peeling an onion ..
- hopefully I have ascended some steps up the learning curve ..

# What to do as discussant of Marc's paper?

- Read the paper,
- start with the references ... ,
- then read five more papers by Flandreau and his co-authors ..
- the process is similar to that of peeling an onion ..
- hopefully I have ascended some steps up the learning curve ..

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the



# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market, outperformed the rest, could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market. outperformed the rest. could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance

- The saga starts with the (old) lords of finance (R & B)
- A modern take on international financial markets (The IO view on IO) (2010, with Flores)
- The role of reputation, a hierarchal market in London (Rotchild > Baring > others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. a separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period, (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. and was transplanted to the New York market (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza)
  - ▶ Customer market view, relationship banking, asymmetric information, signalling and control, bond sellers provided stronger discipline than bondholders
  - ▶ Rotchild-Morgan dominated the London-New York market. outperformed the rest. could cherry-pick the

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance (cont'd)

- The end of gatekeeping... long run changes in the market for foreign bonds (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)
- To err is human.. the quality of rating agencies (2009, 2010 BIS WP, with Gaillard and Packer, forthcoming EREH)
- Autopsy of a regime change: International effects of New Deal financial Acts (THIS PAPER)

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance (cont'd)

- The end of gatekeeping... long run changes in the market for foreign bonds (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)
- To err is human.. the quality of rating agencies (2009, 2010 BIS WP, with Gaillard and Packer, forthcoming EREH)
- Autopsy of a regime change: International effects of New Deal financial Acts (THIS PAPER)



# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance (cont'd)

- The end of gatekeeping... long run changes in the market for foreign bonds (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)
- To err is human.. the quality of rating agencies (2009, 2010 BIS WP, with Gaillard and Packer, forthcoming EREH)
- Autopsy of a regime change: International effects of New Deal financial Acts (THIS PAPER)

# Author's research agenda: The nuts and bolts of global finance (cont'd)

- The end of gatekeeping... long run changes in the market for foreign bonds (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)
- To err is human.. the quality of rating agencies (2009, 2010 BIS WP, with Gaillard and Packer, forthcoming EREH)
- Autopsy of a regime change: International effects of New Deal financial Acts (THIS PAPER)

# The arguments of this paper

- Combines anecdotal and statistical evidence for global financial markets since the early 19th century
- 1820-1914: the London market for foreign government debt is dominating, Rotchild lead in a hierarchical market
- Post WW1: the focus of the London market changed from being international to become more domestic
- 1900-20s: the New York market became gradually more important for foreign government debt, with JP Morgan in the lead in a hierarchical market
- 1933-34: main conjecture: the New Deal Financial Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt

# The arguments of this paper

- Combines anecdotal and statistical evidence for global financial markets since the early 19th century
- 1820-1914: the London market for foreign government debt is dominating, Rotchild lead in a hierarchical market
- Post WW1: the focus of the London market changed from being international to become more domestic
- 1900-20s: the New York market became gradually more important for foreign government debt, with JP Morgan in the lead in a hierarchical market
- 1933-34: main conjecture: the New Deal Financial Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt

# The arguments of this paper

- Combines anecdotal and statistical evidence for global financial markets since the early 19th century
- 1820-1914: the London market for foreign government debt is dominating, Rothschild lead in a hierarchical market
- Post WW1: the focus of the London market changed from being international to become more domestic
- 1900-20s: the New York market became gradually more important for foreign government debt, with JP Morgan in the lead in a hierarchical market
- 1933-34: main conjecture: the New Deal Financial Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt

# The arguments of this paper

- Combines anecdotal and statistical evidence for global financial markets since the early 19th century
- 1820-1914: the London market for foreign government debt is dominating, Rothschild lead in a hierarchical market
- Post WW1: the focus of the London market changed from being international to become more domestic
- 1900-20s: the New York market became gradually more important for foreign government debt, with JP Morgan in the lead in a hierarchical market
- 1933-34: main conjecture: the New Deal Financial Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt

# The arguments of this paper

- Combines anecdotal and statistical evidence for global financial markets since the early 19th century
- 1820-1914: the London market for foreign government debt is dominating, Rothschild lead in a hierarchical market
- Post WW1: the focus of the London market changed from being international to become more domestic
- 1900-20s: the New York market became gradually more important for foreign government debt, with JP Morgan in the lead in a hierarchical market
- 1933-34: main conjecture: the New Deal Financial Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt

# The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system



# The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system

# The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system

# The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system

# The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system

# The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system

## The arguments of this paper (cont'd)

- 1930s: the hierarchical model breaks down with the collapse of the foreign debt market, reputational capital is withdrawn after Glass-Steagall
- 1980s onwards: after 50 years of sleeping beauty
- The role of underwriting banks has changed, certification outsourced to rating agencies
- The Securities and Securities Exchange Acts deprived prestigious banks from their informational advantages
- The dominant business model for underwriters is changed from "firm commitment" to "best efforts"
- The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking in foreign government debt
- Default rates in the post-1980 era unrelated with who were the underwriting intermediary .. in contrast with the hierarchical system

# Background results

- A separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. with a clear hierarchy among international underwriters (Rotchild  $\succ$  Baring  $\succ$  others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. the top of the pyramid prevailed, invested in their reputation and intervened actively, small turnover, [strongly concave Lorenz curves of defaults]
- 1920s: a similar hierarchy in New York (JP Morgan  $\succ$  National City and others),
- .. concern for reputation, but no evidence of "banksterism" (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza),
- 1980s onwards: linear Lorenz curves of defaults (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)

## Background results

- A separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. with a clear hierarchy among international underwriters (Rotchild  $\succ$  Baring  $\succ$  others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. the top of the pyramid prevailed, invested in their reputation and intervened actively, small turnover, [strongly concave Lorenz curves of defaults]
- 1920s: a similar hierarchy in New York (JP Morgan  $\succ$  National City and others),
- .. concern for reputation, but no evidence of "banksterism" (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza),
- 1980s onwards: linear Lorenz curves of defaults (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)



## Background results

- A separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. with a clear hierarchy among international underwriters (Rotchild  $\succ$  Baring  $\succ$  others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. the top of the pyramid prevailed, invested in their reputation and intervened actively, small turnover, [strongly concave Lorenz curves of defaults]
- 1920s: a similar hierarchy in New York (JP Morgan  $\succ$  National City and others),
- .. concern for reputation, but no evidence of "banksterism" (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza),
- 1980s onwards: linear Lorenz curves of defaults (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)

## Background results

- A separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. with a clear hierarchy among international underwriters (Rotchild  $\succ$  Baring  $\succ$  others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. the top of the pyramid prevailed, invested in their reputation and intervened actively, small turnover, [strongly concave Lorenz curves of defaults]
- 1920s: a similar hierarchy in New York (JP Morgan  $\succ$  National City and others),
- .. concern for reputation, but no evidence of "banksterism" (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza),
- 1980s onwards: linear Lorenz curves of defaults (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)

## Background results

- A separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. with a clear hierarchy among international underwriters (Rotchild  $\succ$  Baring  $\succ$  others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. the top of the pyramid prevailed, invested in their reputation and intervened actively, small turnover, [strongly concave Lorenz curves of defaults]
- 1920s: a similar hierarchy in New York (JP Morgan  $\succ$  National City and others),
- .. concern for reputation, but no evidence of "banksterism" (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza),
- 1980s onwards: linear Lorenz curves of defaults (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)

## Background results

- A separating equilibrium prevailed throughout the Pax Britannica period (2011, EHES WP with Flores, forthcoming EREH)
- .. with a clear hierarchy among international underwriters (Rotchild  $\succ$  Baring  $\succ$  others), (2009, JEH with Flores)
- .. the top of the pyramid prevailed, invested in their reputation and intervened actively, small turnover, [strongly concave Lorenz curves of defaults]
- 1920s: a similar hierarchy in New York (JP Morgan  $\succ$  National City and others),
- .. concern for reputation, but no evidence of "banksterism" (2010, IHEID WP, with Gaillard and Panizza),
- 1980s onwards: linear Lorenz curves of defaults (2009, 2010, NBER with Flores, Gaillard and Nieto-Parra)

# Lorenz curves for bond defaults

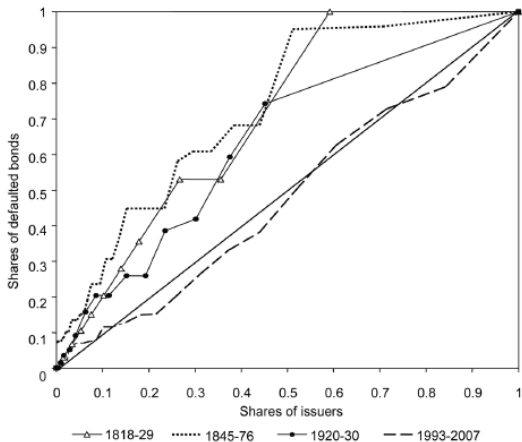


Fig. 5. Lorenz curves: three debt crises (1820s, 1840s–70s, 1920s) versus today. The straight line (diagonal) is the 45° line. Sources: Authors' database; see appendix A.

# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system

# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system

# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system



# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system

# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system

# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system

# Main findings

- The New Deal Acts fundamentally changed the market for foreign government debt
- 1930s: the hierarchy model breaks down
  - ▶ Glass-Steagall crowded out reputational capital
  - ▶ Facing less monopoly power prestigious banks were discouraged from actively stabilizing markets
  - ▶ The wave of defaults throughout the 1930s is consistent with a view that the old regime had been destroyed
  - ▶ shifting powers from bankers, now deprived of their prestige, to the government, from personal to impersonal exchange
  - ▶ Public authorities took over some of the tasks, e.g. bondholder committees (CFBs)
  - ▶ Rating agencies took over the certification of foreign government debt, substituting (soft) private information with a public grading system

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking



# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Main findings (cont'd)

- More details from the autopsy
  - ▶ More transparency ⇒ less returns to prestige
  - ▶ Certification outsourced to rating agencies (entailing more specialization)
  - ▶ A narrower "best efforts" product replaces the broader "firm commitment" product
  - ▶ The market became less concentrated, with more competition, and the hierarchy disappeared
  - ▶ The "originate and distribute" model took over and modern intermediaries acted more like "banks" than "issuing houses"
  - ▶ .. with less reputational capital available to collateralize foreign government debt
  - ▶ Probability of default could no longer be associated with the underwriter
  - ▶ The crowding out of the international banker led to more, not less, investors' risk taking

# Bond grades before/after regime shift

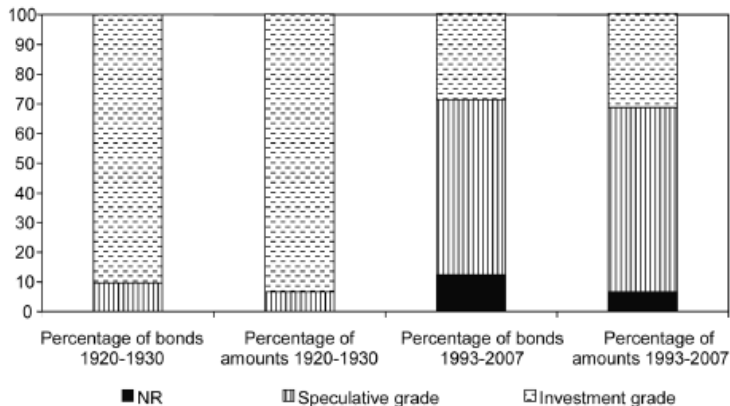


Fig. 7. Percent investment grade and speculative grade securities (interwar period and now). Sources: Authors' database; see appendices A and C.

# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative? (bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)

# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative? (bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)



# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative? (bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)

# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative? (bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)

# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative? (bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)

# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative?  
(bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)

# Questions and Comments

- My Q's & C's fall into two main categories
  - ▶ The hierarchical model
  - ▶ The regime shift
- First some general comments
  - ▶ Commend the author (and all his co-authors) for the compilation of a very interesting international data-set.
  - ▶ But, uneven balance of narrative evidence before and after the regime shift? .. more details from post WW2-period?
  - ▶ .. and more comparative evidence, before and after the regime change
  - ▶ .. could measures of (il)liquidity be informative? (bid/ask spreads or price impact measures across bonds with unequal quality)

# The hierarchical model

- Are these results specific to foreign government borrowing? Insights from other types of lending?
- Development from aristocracy to more democracy and openness is predominantly thought of as a good thing?
- Given that the prestigious houses could cherry-pick, how severe was credit rationing?
- Was the London hierarchy transplant to New York complete? anti-trust concerns?
- Insights from within the market leaders (Rotchild, Baring and JP Morgan)?

# The hierarchical model

- Are these results specific to foreign government borrowing? Insights from other types of lending?
- Development from aristocracy to more democracy and openness is predominantly thought of as a good thing?
- Given that the prestigious houses could cherry-pick, how severe was credit rationing?
- Was the London hierarchy transplant to New York complete? anti-trust concerns?
- Insights from within the market leaders (Rotchild, Baring and JP Morgan)?

# The hierarchical model

- Are these results specific to foreign government borrowing? Insights from other types of lending?
- Development from aristocracy to more democracy and openness is predominantly thought of as a good thing?
- Given that the prestigious houses could cherry-pick, how severe was credit rationing?
- Was the London hierarchy transplant to New York complete? anti-trust concerns?
- Insights from within the market leaders (Rotchild, Baring and JP Morgan)?



# The hierarchical model

- Are these results specific to foreign government borrowing? Insights from other types of lending?
- Development from aristocracy to more democracy and openness is predominantly thought of as a good thing?
- Given that the prestigious houses could cherry-pick, how severe was credit rationing?
- Was the London hierarchy transplant to New York complete? anti-trust concerns?
- Insights from within the market leaders (Rotchild, Baring and JP Morgan)?

# The hierarchical model

- Are these results specific to foreign government borrowing? Insights from other types of lending?
- Development from aristocracy to more democracy and openness is predominantly thought of as a good thing?
- Given that the prestigious houses could cherry-pick, how severe was credit rationing?
- Was the London hierarchy transplant to New York complete? anti-trust concerns?
- Insights from within the market leaders (Rotchild, Baring and JP Morgan)?

# The hierarchical model

- Are these results specific to foreign government borrowing? Insights from other types of lending?
- Development from aristocracy to more democracy and openness is predominantly thought of as a good thing?
- Given that the prestigious houses could cherry-pick, how severe was credit rationing?
- Was the London hierarchy transplant to New York complete? anti-trust concerns?
- Insights from within the market leaders (Rotchild, Baring and JP Morgan)?

# The regime shift

- Was the shift so abrupt? What happened during the 50 years sleeping beauty period? Did we miss anything? .. more work remain
- The post WW2 world is different in many respects, colonial hegemonies were dismantled, more countries gained from market access, corporate structure based on limited liability
- Markets were reinvented in the 1980s ... but were inherently more risky, this may be less than fully understood
- This feature parallels what we know from the history of deregulation of financial markets in the 1980s (e.g. in the Nordic countries).

# The regime shift

- Was the shift so abrupt? What happened during the 50 years sleeping beauty period? Did we miss anything? .. more work remain
- The post WW2 world is different in many respects, colonial hegemonies were dismantled, more countries gained from market access, corporate structure based on limited liability
- Markets were reinvented in the 1980s ... but were inherently more risky, this may be less than fully understood
- This feature parallels what we know from the history of deregulation of financial markets in the 1980s (e.g. in the Nordic countries).

# The regime shift

- Was the shift so abrupt? What happened during the 50 years sleeping beauty period? Did we miss anything? .. more work remain
- The post WW2 world is different in many respects, colonial hegemonies were dismantled, more countries gained from market access, corporate structure based on limited liability
- Markets were reinvented in the 1980s ... but were inherently more risky, this may be less than fully understood
- This feature parallels what we know from the history of deregulation of financial markets in the 1980s (e.g. in the Nordic countries).

# The regime shift

- Was the shift so abrupt? What happened during the 50 years sleeping beauty period? Did we miss anything? .. more work remain
- The post WW2 world is different in many respects, colonial hegemonies were dismantled, more countries gained from market access, corporate structure based on limited liability
- Markets were reinvented in the 1980s ... but were inherently more risky, this may be less than fully understood
- This feature parallels what we know from the history of deregulation of financial markets in the 1980s (e.g. in the Nordic countries).

# The regime shift

- Was the shift so abrupt? What happened during the 50 years sleeping beauty period? Did we miss anything? .. more work remain
- The post WW2 world is different in many respects, colonial hegemonies were dismantled, more countries gained from market access, corporate structure based on limited liability
- Markets were reinvented in the 1980s ... but were inherently more risky, this may be less than fully understood
- This feature parallels what we know from the history of deregulation of financial markets in the 1980s (e.g. in the Nordic countries).



# The regime shift (cont'd)

- A main lesson from this episode was the importance of stricter capital requirements and improved risk management procedures implemented after the (local) banking crisis in the early 1990s.
- The paper offers a narrative interpretation with little discussion of policy implications
- .. may be too much focus have been placed on the benefits from New Deal regulations?
- .. and may be the water in the bath tub was less dirty than seen in the midst of the dust storm of the early 30s?

# The regime shift (cont'd)

- A main lesson from this episode was the importance of stricter capital requirements and improved risk management procedures implemented after the (local) banking crisis in the early 1990s.
- The paper offers a narrative interpretation with little discussion of policy implications
- .. may be too much focus have been placed on the benefits from New Deal regulations?
- .. and may be the water in the bath tub was less dirty than seen in the midst of the dust storm of the early 30s?

# The regime shift (cont'd)

- A main lesson from this episode was the importance of stricter capital requirements and improved risk management procedures implemented after the (local) banking crisis in the early 1990s.
- The paper offers a narrative interpretation with little discussion of policy implications
- .. may be too much focus have been placed on the benefits from New Deal regulations?
- .. and may be the water in the bath tub was less dirty than seen in the midst of the dust storm of the early 30s?

# The regime shift (cont'd)

- Incentives and responsibilities changed, and intermediaries with them, less "firm commitment", more "originate and distribute",
- .. new division of labour left intermediaries with less "skin in the game", the blame game could shift focus to rating agencies for mistakes.
- Could eventual shortcomings of the new system have been mitigated? And preserved better market discipline?
- What are the welfare implications of the findings?
- Post-1980 investors may have taken on more risk, but improved access to international borrowing has also promoted economic growth, risk sharing, and the capacity to take on more risk?

# The regime shift (cont'd)

- Incentives and responsibilities changed, and intermediaries with them, less "firm commitment", more "originate and distribute",
- .. new division of labour left intermediaries with less "skin in the game", the blame game could shift focus to rating agencies for mistakes.
- Could eventual shortcomings of the new system have been mitigated? And preserved better market discipline?
- What are the welfare implications of the findings?
- Post-1980 investors may have taken on more risk, but improved access to international borrowing has also promoted economic growth, risk sharing, and the capacity to take on more risk?

# The regime shift (cont'd)

- Incentives and responsibilities changed, and intermediaries with them, less "firm commitment", more "originate and distribute",
- .. new division of labour left intermediaries with less "skin in the game", the blame game could shift focus to rating agencies for mistakes.
- Could eventual shortcomings of the new system have been mitigated? And preserved better market discipline?
- What are the welfare implications of the findings?
- Post-1980 investors may have taken on more risk, but improved access to international borrowing has also promoted economic growth, risk sharing, and the capacity to take on more risk?

## The regime shift (cont'd)

- Incentives and responsibilities changed, and intermediaries with them, less "firm commitment", more "originate and distribute",
- .. new division of labour left intermediaries with less "skin in the game", the blame game could shift focus to rating agencies for mistakes.
- Could eventual shortcomings of the new system have been mitigated? And preserved better market discipline?
- What are the welfare implications of the findings?
- Post-1980 investors may have taken on more risk, but improved access to international borrowing has also promoted economic growth, risk sharing, and the capacity to take on more risk?

## The regime shift (cont'd)

- Incentives and responsibilities changed, and intermediaries with them, less "firm commitment", more "originate and distribute",
- .. new division of labour left intermediaries with less "skin in the game", the blame game could shift focus to rating agencies for mistakes.
- Could eventual shortcomings of the new system have been mitigated? And preserved better market discipline?
- What are the welfare implications of the findings?
- Post-1980 investors may have taken on more risk, but improved access to international borrowing has also promoted economic growth, risk sharing, and the capacity to take on more risk?



# Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

# Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

# Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

## Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

## Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

## Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

## Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature

## Wrapping up

- Nice paper and highly relevant for this PPP conference
- A thought-provoking story, putting New Deal innovations in perspective.
- The paper synthesizes insights from the author's extensive research programme (wow!)
- .. but has it been thoroughly tested? (.. convincing story or fairy tale?)
- Main take out: new regulations need to be thoroughly thought through,
- .. and we need to understand implications for the economy and for the financial markets (at the micro as well as the macro level).
- In sum: the papers' focus on incentives and constraints faced by underwriters, governments and investors over almost two centuries makes this a nice contribution to the literature