Money Markets and Financial Intermediation

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Money Market(s)

- Wholesale market for low-risk, highly liquid, shortterm debt (< 1 yr)
- Treasuries, agency debt, CDs, commercial paper, bankers' acceptances, notes, repos, ABCPs,....
- Huge daily volume (dwarfs stock markets)
- Lots of innovation (used to be lightly regulated)

Common view of causes of crisis

- Wall Street greed and wrong incentives
- Securitization created complex, opaque ABS
- Poor, complicit ratings

Michael Lewis "The Big Short"

- How could Wall Street trade without knowing really anything?
- Universal call for more transparency

An alternative view

• In Money Markets

"No Questions Asked" = Liquidity

- Bagehot: "Every banker knows that if he has to prove he is worthy of credit, in fact his credit is gone"
- Ignorance is (almost) bliss

Road map

- 1. The logic of money markets
- 2. Evidence of logic
- 3. Policy implications of logic

A common but false inference

Widely agreed:

Symmetric information about payoffs => liquidity

But: Transparency ≠> symmetric information

Two ways to symmetric information:

(i) Investors know everything of relevance (EMH in stock mkts)

(ii) Symmetric ignorance (over-collateralized debt)

Obviating need for price discovery

- Pawn shop
 - Haggling over price of sale is costly
 - Solution: give seller right to buy back pawn at same price plus interest
 - No need for price discovery
 - Age old, robust logic
- Repo
 - Modern day version of pawning
 - Wholesale funding market secured by collateral
 - Huge market (est 3 Tr); efficient "parking space" for money

Debt is information insensitive







Multiple roles of debt

- Ex ante: bridging disagreements through overcollateralization (pawn shop, pecking order)
- Ex post: avoiding verification of payoff (Costly State Verification, conditional price discovery)
- Interim: debt resilient to public and private information (debt-on-debt)

Two polar systems

Stock markets

- provide risk sharing
- Equity
- Continuous price discovery
- Transparent
- Information sensitive
- Centralized
- Not urgent

Two polar systems

Stock markets

- provide risk sharing

Money markets - provide safety

- Equity
- Continuous price discovery
- Transparent
- Information sensitive
- Centralized
- Not urgent

- Debt
- Obviating price discovery
- Opaque
- Information insensitive
- Bilateral
- Urgent

Expensive liquidity

Cheap liquidity

Examples of purposeful opacity

- DeBeers (wholesale diamonds)
- Securitization (benchmark pricing, TBA market)
- Coarse credit ratings
- MMMFs (delayed info release)
- Central bank secrecy (discount window, etc.)

2. Evidence of logic: panics

The dark side of opacity

• Relying on debt, securitization, coarse ratings, mechanical rules... makes sense in good times

But....

- pushes risk into tail
- hides systemic risk

The social trade-off: Coarse information (opacity) enhances liquidity, but increases the risk and cost of a crisis



Trading in AA Home Equity Loan tranches Aug 2006-Jan 2008

- Ex ante: shared understanding (NQA, benchmark pricing)
- Bear Fund collapse Jul 2007 releases "trapped information"
- Ex post: Private information relevant => price heterogeneity



AA-Rated Home Equity Loan ABS Tranches

Perraudin-Wu (2008)

AAA rated ABX spreads



(Stanton-Wallace, 2011)

3. Policy implications of information logic

Getting out of a crisis

- Get back to "No Questions Asked" state; don't try to value toxic assets
- Regain trust by recapitalizing (explicitly and implicitly)
 - "Lend without limit, to solvent firms, against good collateral, at 'high rates'" (Bagehot)
 - "Whatever it takes" (Draghi)
- Reduce transparency
 - Bad banks in Scandinavian crisis 1991-92
 - Clearinghouses in 19th century

Clearing Houses in 19th Century

Normal times

Crisis





- Decentralized
- Individual debt
- Transparent

- Centralized
- Mutualized debt
- Opaque

Preventing crises

- More transparency => less liquidity
 - Maybe good in good times (MMMF)
- Stress tests and transparency
 - US vs EU experience
- Market discipline (tricky)
 - CDS/ABX, CoCo's
- Higher capital requirements (simple, robust)
 - Limited help in crisis
- Liquidity Coverage Ratio
 - A worrisome boom in covered bonds

When is opacity good for liquidity?

- Good if public and private information complementary
 - Keeping complementary information secret reduces expert's informational advantage
- Bad if public and private information substitutes
 - Revealing substitute information makes expert information less relevant
- Aggregate, processed information tends to keep information more symmetric than "raw data"
 - Supports shared understanding (elevator test)

Concluding remarks

- Don't use stock markets as a reference and guide for regulating money markets
- Limited information in money markets is a logical consequence of its purpose NQA
- Financial crisis is an information event when public abandons NQA
- How should we handle systemic risk in a system designed to be information sparse?
 - Paradox: the safer the system, the less attentive and riskier the behavior of investors
 - Government role critical (both before and in crisis)

Thank You !