# A Theory of Regulatory Fine Print

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Diets rich in whole grain foods and other plant foods and other plant foods and low in saturated fat and cholester, may help reduce the risk of heart discase.

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US banks ( + Add to myFT)

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# Stress tests drive higher capital requirements at 3 biggest US banks

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Fine print: measurement of capital ratio (capital/risk-weighted assets)

- Which assets count as "capital"?
- How are assets risk-weighted to compute the denominator?

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By David Shepardson

**REUTERS®** 

July 31, 2023 1:30 PM GMT+2 · Updated 24 days ago



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#### Fine print:

- Different requirements for different vehicle types ("weight notches").
- "Mpg bonuses" for certain vehicle types (e.g. "flexible fuel vehicles")

## Why do we care about the regulatory fine print?

- The regulatory fine print may
  - reduce the effectiveness of the regulation
    - do not reduce bank risk / emissions sufficiently
  - lead to distortions
    - banks may load on certain assets with excessively low risk weights (e.g., sovereign debt in Europe pre-crisis (Pagano, 2014))
    - inefficient technological choices by automakers (e.g., vehicle size (Ito and Sallee, 2018), wasteful flexible fuel (Anderson & Sallee, 2011))
  - reduce regulator accountability

#### Research questions & how we address them

How does the possibility of hiding regulation in the fine print affect regulatory outcomes and regulator accountability?

What can regulatory reform do about it?

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What can regulatory reform do about it?

#### Model:

- Regulator with reputational concerns
- Can hide some regulatory items in the fine print

### The model

#### Timeline, players, and actions

- Dynamic model: t=1,2,3,...
- In period t,
  - the period-t "voter" (legislature / elected official) reelects / replaces the regulator
  - the period-*t* regulator sets the period's regulation

#### Observable regulation and the fine print

- The regulator sets the regulation of a "firm" (sector / supplier)
- The regulation has two dimensions:
  - l (lump sum transfer to the firm)  $\rightarrow$  observable by the voter
  - q (quality standard)  $\rightarrow$  set in the fine print (not observable by the voter)
- The regulation determines:
  - Voter's utility: v(l,q) = w(q) l (w' > 0, w'' < 0)
  - Firm's profits: a(l,q) = l c(q) (c' > 0, c'' > 0)
  - (l,q) must meet the firm's participation constraint (PC):  $a(l,q) \ge \underline{a}$

#### Good and bad regulators

- The regulator can be in office for up to two terms
- Per-period utility: utility from holding office voter's utility  $v(l,q) + \theta f(a(l,q)) + \delta_{\theta}$ f' > 0, f'' < 0firm's profits
- "Good" and "bad" regulators:
  - $\theta \in \{g, b\}$ ,  $0 \le g < b$
- Regulator's ideal regulation (preferred regulation satisfying firm's PC):
  - $q_a^* = q_b^* = q^*$  (surplus-maximizing quality standard)
  - $l_h^* > l_q^* \rightarrow v_q^* = v(l_q^*, q^*) > v_h^* = v(l_h^*, q^*)$

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- If regulator can serve one more term, the voter observes past l's and decides whether to reelect / replace the regulator
- We model the voter's choice using a standard probabilistic voting approach  $\rightarrow$  voter's choice determined by
  - difference  $\Delta$  between expected utilities from reelection / replacement
  - random bias for the incumbent  $i \sim U\left[-\frac{1}{2A}, \frac{1}{2A}\right]$
- Probability of reelection  $\rho = \Pr(\Delta + i > 0) = \int_{-\Delta}^{\frac{1}{2A}} A di = \frac{1}{2} + A\Delta$
- A = accountability

# Equilibrium

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- Choice of q by regulator:
  - not observable
  - takes time to impact the voter's utility
  - $\rightarrow$  choice of q does not affect regulator's reputation
  - $\rightarrow \theta$ -regulator sets q that maximizes her utility given her choice of l:  $q(l,\theta)$
  - $\rightarrow$  the only strategic variable is l

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  - We can reduce the model to one in which the only action by the regulator is the choice of first-term l
  - $v_g^* > v_b^* \rightarrow$  voter prefers to reelect the good regulator  $\rightarrow$  reputational concerns
    - $\rightarrow$  lowering l is less costly for g (single-crossing condition of regulator's preferences)  $\rightarrow g$  will try to signal her type by reducing l

#### Equilibrium definition

- Regulator could condition choice of l on history of l's and voters' choices
- We restrict regulator's strategies to be stationary (Banks and Sundaram (1998), Duggan (2017), Kartik and Van Weelden (2019)): first-term choice of l depends only on regulator's type  $\rightarrow$  regulator's strategy simply  $(l_g, l_b)$
- Equilibrium definition: PBE satisfying criterion D1
  - Voters' belief  $\mu(l)$  that the regulator is good is correct on the equilibrium path (and satisfies criterion D1 off-path)
  - Voters' vote according to  $\rho$  given beliefs  $\mu$  and regulator's strategy
  - $l_{\theta}$  maximizes  $\theta$ -regulator's expected utility given  $\rho$

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Good regulator (**not** the **bad** one) uses the **fine print** to distort the quality standard to offset public signaling

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  - for any choice of l, g leaves firm at its reservation profit (PC binding)
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- If g > 0, there can be good reputation in equilibrium (voter better off)

#### Signaling and reelection probability

- Signaling by the good regulator affects the voter's expected utility from replacing the incumbent  $\rightarrow$  attractiveness for the voter of replacing the regulator
- With bad (good) reputation, voter's incentive to replace the incumbent decreases (increases) → incumbent's reelection probability increases (decreases)

# Implications for regulatory reform

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  - Perfectly aligned regulator  $(g = 0) \rightarrow$  voter worse off and offsetting effect on reelection probability of bad regulator

#### Transparency

- We model transparency as the number of observable regulatory dimensions
- Opaque regime: one observable dimension, two unobservable dimensions
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    unobservable dimensions in the fine print)
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- Increased transparency
  - $\rightarrow$  greater cost of mimicking  $\rightarrow$  easier for g to separate  $\rightarrow$  smaller reduction in l:
    - good (bad) for voters if bad (good) reputation
    - less need to compensate the firm in the fine print, but more costly compensation
    - net effect depend on whether good / bad reputation and the extent of signaling

#### Conclusions

- Reputational concerns by regulators
  - Lead "good" regulators to signal their type through public part of the regulation
  - But introduce offsetting distortions in the fine print
  - Net effect on voter may be positive (good reputation) or negative (bad reputation)
  - Reputation is bad when good regulators care only about voters
  - Signaling by good regulators also affects incumbents' reelection probability (dynamic effect)
- Implications for regulatory reform → accountability, transparency have side effects:
  - change extent of signaling through public dimension
  - offsetting changes in the fine print and regulators' reelection probability

## Thanks!

#### Contribution to the literature

- Political economy literature on "pandering" and populism
  - Acemoglu et al. (2013), Canes-Wrone et al. (2001), Maskin and Tirole (2004), Kartik and Van Weelden, (2019a,b)
  - → add unobservable fine print
- Collusion in three-tiered contracting relations (principal (representative voter) supervisor (regulator) – agent (firm))
  - Tirole (1986), Laffont and Tirole (1991),... Hiriart and Martimort (2012), Khalil et al. (2013), Kundu and Nilssen (2020)
  - → no reputation, focus on (possibly complex) contracts for regulator
  - Leaver (2009) (reputation about competence and "squacking" by regulated firms)
- Hidden executive pay
  - Dasgupta and Noe (2019), Ruiz-Verdú and Singh (2021)
  - → different context, dynamic model