

**What Went Wrong?:
The Puerto Rican Debt Crisis and the “Treasury Put”**

Robert Chirinko*
University of Illinois at Chicago, CESifo

Ryan Chiu
University of Illinois at Chicago

Shaina Henderson
University of Illinois at Chicago

June 2018

**PRELIMINARY
COMMENTS WELCOME**

* Corresponding author. Very useful comments and suggestions have been received from seminar participants at the Einaudi Institute of Economics and Finance (especially Francesco Lippi), the 35th International Symposium on Money, Banking and Finance (especially Clément Mathonnat), the University of Chicago (especially Luigi Zingales), and the University of Illinois at Chicago (especially Chang Lee and Dermot Murphy) and from John Chalmers, Itay Goldstein, Helen Ladd, David Merriman, John Miller, Michael Pagano, Alan Schankel, Barnet Sherman, David Sjoquist, Chris Sims, Sally Wallace, and Pierre Yared. The first author thanks the Booth School/University of Chicago and the Einaudi Institute of Economics and Finance for most hospitable environments in which to complete most of this research. All errors and omissions remain the sole responsibility of the authors, and the conclusions do not necessarily reflect the views of the organizations with which they are associated.

What Went Wrong?: The Puerto Rican Debt Crisis and the “Treasury Put”

Table Of Contents

Abstract

Introduction

1. The “Treasury Put”
2. Estimating The Risk Premium
 - A. Model
 - B. Potential Biases
 - C. Alternative Approaches
3. Data
4. Results
 - A. Before Detroit
 - B. After Detroit
 - C. Misallocation Costs
5. Summary And Conclusions

References

Appendices

- A. Computing The Debt/GDP And Unfunded Pension Liabilities/GDP Ratios
- B. Puerto Rican Government Deficits
- C. Moody’s Rating Scale – Long-Term Debt
- D. Comments On Data Collection For Puerto Rican Bonds And Interest Rates
- E. Computing The Marginal Income Tax Rate For The Marginal Municipal Bond Investor

Figures

Tables

What Went Wrong?: The Puerto Rican Debt Crisis and the “Treasury Put”

Abstract

What went wrong? Why did seemingly rational bond investors continue to purchase Puerto Rican debt with only a modest risk premium, even though the macroeconomic fundamentals were dismal? Given gloomy macroeconomic fundamentals and relatively low risk premia, investors were either stunningly myopic or Puerto Rican debt was implicitly insured by the U.S. Treasury. The rational investor model rules out the former hypothesis.

This project examines the latter hypothesis, which we label the “Treasury Put.” The expectation of a federal bailout was perfectly reasonable given past behavior by the Federal Government, especially the prior bailout of the city of New York. Evaluating the Treasury Put hypothesis with a minimal set of assumptions is possible given two fortuitous features – a unique characteristic of Puerto Rican bonds and a “seismic shock.” Puerto Rico issued both uninsured and insured general obligation bonds. These bonds were issued on the same day and, in many cases, with the exact same maturity. These features allow us to compute accurately the risk premia on Puerto Rican bonds. The second feature was the non-bailout of the city of Detroit in 2013 that effectively extinguished the Treasury Put. Puerto Rican risk premia were stable before the Detroit bankruptcy and bracketed by the risk premia on Corporate Aaa and Baa bonds. However, after the Detroit bankruptcy, risk premia rose dramatically, thus documenting the existence of a sizeable Treasury Put and a significant misallocation of capital to Puerto Rico.

Keywords: Puerto Rican Debt Crisis; Government Guarantees, Capital Misallocation, Bond Interest Rates

JEL Codes: H81 (Loan Guarantees)
H74 (State and Local Borrowing)
G18 (Government Policy)
G01 (Financial Crises)

What Went Wrong?: The Puerto Rican Debt Crisis and the “Treasury Put”

After years of propping up a struggling economy with unsustainable borrowing, Puerto Rico’s financial reckoning was inevitable.

New York Times (January 24, 2018)

[Puerto Rico’s] economic and financial woes don’t appear to be reflected in its bond yields.

Barron’s (August 27, 2012)

Current general obligation credit spreads [on Puerto Rican debt], with yields about 200 basis points above AAA benchmarks, do not reflect bondholder risk.

Schankel (July 27, 2012)

Introduction

What went wrong? Why did seemingly rational bond investors continue to purchase Puerto Rican debt with only a modest risk premium, even though the macroeconomic fundamentals were dismal? Since 2002, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (which is a territory of the United States, not a state per se) has run a budget deficit each year. Starting in 2006, population growth turned negative and the decline accelerated in recent years (Figure 1). Between 2005 and 2016, population fell by 11%. The employment-to-population ratio also declined sharply (Figure 2).¹ Not surprisingly given these developments, real GDP began to contract severely (Figure 3). Between 2005 and 2013 (the last year of available data), real GDP declined by 15%. In 2006, a very favorable tax credit for U.S. corporations operating in Puerto Rico was finally eliminated.² In its July 2012 report on the Puerto Rican economy, the Federal

¹ Interestingly, this pattern for Puerto Rico follows very closely the pattern for the United States, suggesting some common cause perhaps linked to demographics. In any event, the sharp drop in this employment ratio impaired the ability of Puerto Rico to meet its debt obligations.

² Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code allowed for a tax credit for U.S. corporations operating in Puerto Rico. This tax credit was repealed by the Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996. However transition rules allowed firms, which had been credit claimants in 1996, to continue to receive the credit for income generated in Puerto Rico through the end of 2005. From 2006 onward, the tax credit was

Reserve Bank of New York (2012) concluded that “[t]he task of putting the Island on a path of robust, sustainable, and inclusive growth remains a work in progress.” Per the above quotation from the *New York Times*, the outcome was “inevitable.” On January 4, 2016, Puerto Rico began to default on some of its bond commitments; bankruptcy was effectively declared on June 30, 2016.³

The fiscal situation has been precarious for many years. As shown in Figure 4 (see Appendix A for details) the ratio of government liabilities -- debt plus unfunded pension liabilities -- to nominal GDP has grown dramatically over the past 15 years. (Unless otherwise stated, GDP and GNP are in nominal terms.) In 2000, it was 70%; by 2015, this ratio had increased by more than half to 109%. Figure 5 shows that budget deficits were persistent and growing. The 2013 figure of 6.3% is much larger than the comparable figure of 4.1% for the U.S. federal government. This graph is on a budgetary (or cash) basis. Krueger, Teja, and Wolfe (2015, p. 11) have noted several concerns with these figures, including not being on an accrual basis and omitting capital expenditures and the deficit-creating activities of several government agencies. When some of these concerns are addressed, the adjusted deficit rises by about 84% in recent years (calculations are presented in Appendix B). This figure includes debt service. To present data closer to an operating deficit, which is a standard measure for assessing fiscal health, we remove the expenditures associated with debt service. This downward adjustment nearly cancels the upward adjustments to the deficit noted above. Thus, at least for

completely eliminated. The extent to which this elimination contributed to the slowdown in economic activity is not clear. In 1995 (the year before repeal), there were 440 companies claiming the tax credit with gross income over \$40 billion. In the final year of the 10 year transition interval, the comparable figures are 157 companies and \$18 billion (GAO, 2018, p. 32). Note that the Puerto Rican price level was approximately constant between 1995 and 2005.

³ It is important to distinguish between default -- failing to honor contractually mandated payments -- and bankruptcy -- a legal status determined by a court of law usually after a creditor or debtor initiates a legal proceeding. For a complicated set of reasons related to the Commerce Clause in the U.S. Constitution, states and territories (such as Puerto Rico) cannot file for bankruptcy and a possible reconfiguration of their contractual obligations and other liabilities. (However, municipalities (e.g., Detroit, New York City) can seek protection under Chapter 9 of the bankruptcy code.) In light of this restriction, the Puerto Rico Oversight, Management and Economic Stability Act (PROMESA) was enacted on July 1, 2016, and the PROMESA board was empowered to suspend debt payments and renegotiate debt contracts on behalf of Puerto Rico, thus mimicking traditional bankruptcy procedures that facilitate reorganization. PROMESA was not created to provide any direct fiscal assistance to Puerto Rico, but rather “The purpose of the Oversight Board is to provide a method for a covered territory to achieve fiscal responsibility and access to the capital markets” (U.S. Congress, 2016, p. 5).

the latter years, Figure 5 approximates the operating deficit, though it may be somewhat overstated because it is difficult to remove all debt payments from publicly available sources. A more important omission that severely understates the reported deficit is the failure to account for financing gaps in legacy liabilities stemming from, among other sources, employee retirement plans. By any measure, the fiscal picture has been dismal and deteriorating for many years.

These persistent deficits reflect a limited fiscal capacity. In 2016, the Puerto Rican median household income was \$19,606. Comparable figures for the United States and its poorest state (Mississippi) are \$55,322 and \$40,528, respectively. Moreover, the demographics are very unfavorable, owing in part to the absence of restrictions for migrating to and working in the United States (Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens). As shown in Table 1 for 2015, the median age of 36.4 years in Puerto Rico is well above the median age for the Caribbean region and only slightly below that for the United States. The projected growth rate over the next 25 years is also relatively unfavorable. By 2040, Puerto Rico will have an older population than the Caribbean region, the United States, and the more developed and less developed groups of countries. With falling real GDP, ongoing government operating deficits, and an aging population, the debt level was clearly unsustainable and default inevitable.

The risk premium on Puerto Rican government debt did not reflect these economic realities, per the other two quotations above. For example, based on a matched pair of uninsured and insured bonds issued in April 2012 with the exact same maturity of 10 years (entry number 37 in Table 2), the Puerto Rican risk premium was greater than that on Corporate Aaa bonds by 41 basis points and less than that on Corporate Baa bonds by 85 basis points. Baa bonds are quite creditworthy; “[o]bligations rated Baa are subject to moderate credit risk; they are considered medium-grade and as such may possess speculative characteristics” (see Appendix C for further information on Moody’s ratings). The Puerto Rican risk premium was much lower than that for Non-Investment grade (“junk”) bonds, 428 basis points, though this comparison should be done with caution due to the substantial liquidity premium for junk bonds. The official statement associated with this bond issue was pessimistic, reporting that growth in employment and an economic activity index were both negative in 2011 and 2012. Notwithstanding this latter pessimism, the risk premium for Puerto Rican bonds is surprisingly

low in the face of overwhelming doubts about Puerto Rico's ability to honor its financial obligations.

Given these gloomy macroeconomic fundamentals and relatively low risk premium, either investors were stunningly myopic or Puerto Rican debt was implicitly insured by the U.S. Treasury. While some myopia and misjudgments are surely possible, the overwhelming weakness of the Puerto Rican economy rules out the former explanation. This paper examines the latter hypothesis, which we label the "Treasury Put." Three important features allow us to identify and measure the implicit guarantee from the U.S. Treasury as perceived by investors:

1. The dire fiscal and economic situations of Puerto Rico,
2. The simultaneous issuance of insured and uninsured bonds that allows us to estimate the risk premium,
3. A seismic event – the absence of federal assistance to Detroit in the face of its bankruptcy – that extinguished the Treasury Put in July 2013 and allows us to estimate its magnitude.

In effect, we are estimating a difference-in-difference model on uninsured vs. insured bonds based on the "Detroit treatment," though, given the extraordinarily three favorable circumstances listed above, the analysis can be successfully executed in a narrative format and with simple statistics. The approach taken in this paper is no less powerful than formal econometric methods that are needed to separate signal from noise in a less favorable empirical environment.

Our quantitative evaluation of the Treasury Put hypothesis proceeds as follows. Section 1 documents the Treasury Put. Starting with the 1975 bailout of New York City, a long list of government rescue plans of distressed borrowers led investors to the expectation of a bailout in the event of a Puerto Rican default. We carefully examine the historical record to construct the information set for Puerto Rican bond investors before the Detroit bankruptcy.

Section 2 describes the model for estimating the risk premium, a task made relatively easy because Puerto Rico issued both uninsured and insured general obligation bonds. These bonds were issued on the same day and, in many cases, with the exact same maturity. These features allow us to compute accurately the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds and to avoid several potential biases arising from an imprecise estimate of the marginal income tax rate for the marginal municipal bond investor, the "municipal puzzle" of an excessively upward sloping yield curve, differential liquidity between uninsured and insured bonds, the creditworthiness of

insurers, and general shocks to the municipal market. Our procedure for estimating the risk premium is then compared to several other more parametric approaches.

Section 3 discusses data requirements. Only five series are needed to estimate the risk premium: the yield to maturity for uninsured and insured Puerto Rican bonds, the yield curve for U.S. Treasury securities, the Corporate Aaa yield, and the marginal income tax rate for the marginal municipal bond investor.

Section 4 presents results based on the risk premium for Puerto Rican bonds both before and after the seismic shock of the Detroit bankruptcy. The risk premium is relatively low before Detroit, but increases sharply thereafter. The increase in borrowing costs following the elimination of the Treasury Put is used to measure the extent of resource misallocation associated with this implicit government guarantee.

Section 5 summarizes our results and relates them to ongoing discussions about the role of government guarantees in financial markets.

1. The “Treasury Put”

The “Treasury Put” is the implicit guarantee by the federal government to provide support in the event of financial distress by the issuer of Puerto Rican bonds as perceived by investors.⁴ In the event of a default by Puerto Rico, investors would, in effect, “place” their debt with the federal government, which, in turn, would return to investors the value of the securities at near face value through a bailout, either a direct payment or government guarantee.

Measuring perceptions at a point in time is a difficult matter. In this section, we review a set of historical circumstances that allow us to infer the perceptions of a “reasonable investor.” In effect, we are reconstructing investors’ information sets during the years prior to the Puerto Rican default.

The expectation of a federal bailout was perfectly sensible given past behavior. In 1975, the New York City was on the verge of bankruptcy.⁵ Initially, the federal government explicitly refused to offer any financial assistance. Republican president Gerald Ford stated that “[t]he people of this country will not be stampeded. They will not panic when a few desperate New York officials and bankers try to scare New York’s mortgage payments out of them” (*New York Times*, December 28, 2006). President Ford’s position was encapsulated in a famous (though perhaps dubious) headline in the *New York Daily News* of October 30, 1975: “Ford to City: Drop Dead. Vows He’ll Veto Any Bail-Out.” However, the federal government relented, and financial assistance was authorized on December 10, 1975 in the form of \$2.3 billion in loans. This bailout is equivalent to between \$7.8 and \$15.5 billion in 2013 if adjusted for growth in the GDP price deflator or current dollar GDP per capita, respectively). What is particularly noteworthy about that bailout is that New York City was led by a liberal Democratic mayor, while the administration of President Ford was Republican and fiscally conservative.

In the face of financial crises, federal financial assistance has been the norm:

1. Lockheed, 1971: federal guarantee of \$0.25 billion of Lockheed debt (*New York Times*, 1979). [\$2.35 : \$1.12]. Figures in brackets are the nominal figure adjusted to 2013 dollars by the growth rate in nominal GDP : growth rate in the implicit GDP price deflator, respectively.

⁴ As a technical matter, contractual obligations for bond payments reside with the “obligor,” who is frequently but not always the issuer.

⁵ Municipalities like New York City can file for bankruptcy. This protection is not available to U.S. states and territories; cf. fn. 3.

2. Chrysler, 1980: federal guarantee of \$1.5 billion of Chrysler debt (*Washington Post*, 1984). [\$6.29 : \$3.61].
3. Savings and Loan Crisis, 1986 to 1995: resolution costs to taxpayers of \$124 billion (Curry and Shibut, 2000, Table 4). [\$273 : \$199, computations based on 1990 values].
4. Brady Bonds, 1989 to the present: federal guarantee that facilitated the swapping of impaired U.S. bank loans to Latin American firms and countries for tradable bonds guaranteed by the U.S. Treasury (Investopedia, 2018a). No dollar figure is available.
5. Mexican Peso Crisis, 1995: federal guarantee of \$20 billion of Mexican government debt, part of a total aid package exceeding \$50 billion with additional contributions from the IMF, BIS, Canada, and several Latin American countries (Lustig, 1995, p. 20). [\$37 : \$28].
6. Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), 2007-2008: authorization for the U.S. Treasury to spend \$700 billion to support institutions and individuals affected by the Financial Crisis, though only \$466 billion was dispersed: \$245 billion to banks, \$80 billion to General Motors and Chrysler (again), \$68 billion to AIG, \$46 billion to foreclosure prevention programs, and \$27 billion to programs to increase credit availability (Investopedia, 2018b). [\$508 : \$502].

Mervyn King, former head of the Bank of England, noted that “[a]ll banks, and large ones in particular, benefited from an implicit taxpayer guarantee, enabling them to borrow cheaply to finance their lending” (2016, p. 96). This view was confirmed formally by Kelly, Lustig, and van Nieuwerburgh (2016); using data on options, they document government guarantees of the U.S banking industry as a whole, though not individual banks, during the financial crisis. The “Geithner Doctrine” – “no significant financial institution would be allowed to fail” (Kay, 2015, p. 256) – coupled with the calamitous events that followed the Lehmann Brothers bankruptcy when the Doctrine was disregarded, led rational investors to expect government support of the \$100+ billion in Puerto Rican debt liabilities.

Government willingness to use its position to assist investors in recent times extends to other countries. When speaking about the fragility of the Euro, ECB President Mario Draghi (2012) offered the following famous remark (*emphasis added*),

But there is another message I want to tell you. Within our mandate, the ECB is ready to do whatever it takes to preserve the euro. And believe me, it will be enough.

During the European debt crisis, several severely impaired economies received bailouts from the ECB and the other two members of the Troika, the European Commission and the IMF. In September 2007, Northern Rock bank, a substantial presence in the British mortgage market, faced a liquidity crisis. Motivated by a desire to avoid setting a precedent and cultivating moral hazard, the Bank of England initially declined Northern Rock's request for assistance. This refusal of a bailout was immediately followed by a classic bank run. The Bank of England relented within 24 hours and provided funds (initially £10 billion, eventually rising to £37 billion) to Northern Rock, earning the Governor of the Bank of England the appellation "Swervin' Mervyn."

Government intervention on behalf of investors has a long tradition. Foreign interference in U.S. politics is not solely a 21st century phenomenon. In the aftermath of the debt default by eight U.S. states and one territory circa 1840, British financial interests aggressively lobbied for intervention by the U.S. federal government (Jenks, 1938, pp. 105-106):

Baring Brothers [a British merchant bank] began an agitation to persuade the federal government to assume the responsibility for the state debts. ... London merchants easily gathered the impression that Whigs of the Webster school [a faction of a U.S. political party at the time] were likely to carry out this policy. And so the Whig cause in the campaign of 1840 received generous support from England.

The non-Webster faction of the Whigs won the election but then enacted the Bankruptcy Act of 1841. This act was detrimental to the interests of British bondholders and other creditors because it allowed for the first time debtors to initiate bankruptcy, resulting in over 33,000 bankruptcy filings in less than 17 months (Federal Judicial Center, n.d.) and "extinguish[ing] mercantile debts to foreign creditors running into millions of pounds" (Jenks, 1938, p. 106). This relief was temporary, and the 1841 Act was repealed two years later, a pattern of legislation that parallels a "tax holiday." Note that U.S. States were not covered by the 1841 Act; nonetheless, somewhat over half the delinquent debts were repaid voluntarily, presumably to maintain future access to foreign capital markets (English, 1996). The British government was also actively involved in supporting British business interests, as described 80 years ago by Hobson (1938, p. 56, emphasis added, quoted in Goetzmann, 2016, p. 418) in his book on *Imperialism*,

Investors who have put their money in foreign lands, upon terms which take full account of risks connected with the political conditions of the country, desire to use the resources of their Government to minimize these risks, and so to enhance the capital value and the interest of their private investments.⁶

Based on a plethora of past precedents, investors would surely have expected that, given the size of the outstanding Puerto Rican debt, it benefited from an implicit government guarantee that would dampen risk premium. Puerto Rican bond investors held a Treasury Put.

⁶ Hobson has rather harsh words for creditor-initiated arrangements such as PROMESA (cf. fn. 3): “But more frequently the insufficient guarantee of an international loan gives rise to the appointment of a financial commission by the creditor countries in order to protect their rights and guard the fate of their invested capital. The appointment of such a commission literally amounts in the end, however, to a veritable conquest” (p. 54, emphasis added).

2. Estimating The Risk Premium

This section presents the model for estimating the risk premium on Puerto Rican general obligation bonds. Key to the derivation is the existence of both uninsured and insured bonds issued on the same day with maturities that are equal or nearly equal. Potential biases with our procedure are then examined. We conclude by comparing our procedure for estimating the risk premium to several others taking more parametric approaches.

A. Model

Municipal bonds generally enjoy a favorable tax status. All municipal bonds issued in the United States are exempt from federal income tax and, in most cases, they are also exempt from income taxes assessed in the state in which they are issued. Puerto Rican bonds enjoy the most favorable tax status of any municipal bond, as they are “triple tax-free” -- exempt from all federal, state, and local income taxes (though the latter exemption is of minor importance). Given this favorable tax status, the taxable-equivalent-yield (TEY) on a bond issued by Puerto Rico (P), uninsured (uni), and with a maturity m years is modeled as the yield-to-maturity observed in the bond market, stated on a pre-tax basis by dividing by one minus the marginal income tax rate for the marginal municipal bond investor (τ),

$$(1) \quad \frac{r^{P,uni,m}}{(1-\tau)} \equiv r^f + s + \ell + \mu^m + \sigma .$$

The TEY depends on five factors: the risk-free rate (r^f), an aggregate or municipal market-wide shock (s), and three premia for liquidity (ℓ), maturity (μ^m), and risk (σ).⁷ The object of the analysis in this section is to isolate the latter in terms of observables.

The companion TEY on an insured (ins) Puerto Rican bond with maturity of n years is modeled in a similar manner,

⁷ Longstaff (2011) documents that the liquidity premium is quantitatively important for short-term municipal securities in a rather liquid segment of the market, and it averages 56 basis points for the period 2001-2009.

$$(2) \quad \frac{r^{P,ins,m}}{(1-\tau)} \equiv r^f + s + \ell + \mu^n + \phi .$$

Equation (2) differs from equation (1) by allowing the bond to have a different maturity ($n \neq m$) and replacing the risk premium on the uninsured bond by a default risk premium for the bond insurer (ϕ). Equations (1) and (2) do not include time subscripts because both bonds are matched exactly by issue day (known as the dated date).

The risk premium on uninsured bonds is obtained in three steps. First, equation (2) is subtracted from equation (1), thus eliminating the risk free rate, the liquidity premium and aggregate/market-wide shock,

$$(3) \quad \left(\frac{r^{P,uni,m}}{(1-\tau)} \right) - \left(\frac{r^{P,ins,m}}{(1-\tau)} \right) = (\mu^m - \mu^n) - \phi + \sigma .$$

Second, a Treasury bond of maturity k ($r^{T,k}$) is modeled as the sum of the risk-free yield and a maturity premium (μ^k , $k = \{m, n\}$), where k extends over the entire Treasury yield curve,

$$(4) \quad r^{T,k} = r^f + \mu^k .$$

Subtracting equation (4) from equation (3) twice with k equal to m and n and rearranging, we eliminate the maturity premia,

$$(5) \quad \left(\frac{r^{P,uni,m}}{(1-\tau)} - r^{T,m} \right) - \left(\frac{r^{P,ins,n}}{(1-\tau)} - r^{T,n} \right) = -\phi + \sigma$$

Third, the risk premium for insurers is modeled as the difference between the yields on a 20-year Corporate Aaa bond ($r^{C,Aaa,20}$) and a 20-year Treasury bond ($r^{T,20}$),

$$(6) \quad \phi = r^{C,Aaa,20} - r^{T,20} .$$

Using equation (6) to eliminate ϕ in equation (5), we obtain the following final expression defining the risk premium on uninsured Puerto Rican bonds in terms of observables,

$$(7) \quad \sigma = \left(\frac{r^{P,uni,m}}{(1-\tau)} - r^{T,m} \right) - \left(\frac{r^{P,ins,n}}{(1-\tau)} - r^{T,n} \right) + \left(r^{C,Aaa,20} - r^{T,20} \right) .$$

B. Potential Biases

This sub-section evaluates the impact of five potential biases with using equation (7) to estimate the risk premium. First, a bias will occur if the marginal income tax rate for the elusive “marginal investor” used in this study differs from the true tax rate. While τ is an important variable in computing the gross-of-tax return, it is of second-order importance in computing the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds because it enters the yields for both the uninsured and insured bonds. As we shall see in Section 4, the difference between the uninsured and insured yields is small, and hence so is the potential bias. Our procedure is based on the highest possible marginal income tax rate. Using different methodologies on very different samples, Feenberg and Poterba (1991) and Longstaff (2011) both find that the marginal tax rate for the marginal municipal investor is close to the maximum statutory federal tax rate, though this issue remains unsettled (Longstaff, 2011, fn. 1). Notwithstanding this evidence, it is nonetheless useful to assess the bias if the appropriate marginal tax rate is lower. From equation (7), σ rises for higher values of τ . If the “true” tax rate is less than the maximum rate used in our procedure, estimates of σ reported below would be biased upward, a bias that would militate against our assertion that the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds was too low.

Second, when studying municipal bonds, a bias may arise because of the well-documented “municipal puzzle” of an excessively upward sloping yield curve for municipals. A consensus solution to this puzzle does not exist. Kalotay and Dorigan (2008) claim it is due to the callability of municipals with maturities of 10 or more years, but Chalmers (1998) finds no support for this hypothesis when comparing Treasuries to municipal bonds backed by Treasuries via advanced refunding (so called defeased bonds). Our results are not sensitive to this puzzle and potential bias since our estimate of the risk premium is based on bonds with exact or nearly

exactly maturities. The effect of the “municipal puzzle” from whatever source cancels due to differencing (cf. μ^m and μ^n in equation (3)).

Third, the derivation was based on the assumption that the liquidity premia on uninsured and insured bonds was identical, and hence cancelled in step 1. Since insured bonds may appeal to a broader set of investors, it is possible that their liquidity premium is lower than that for uninsured bonds. In this case, an additional term would be subtracted from equation (7),

$(\ell^{\text{uni}} - \ell^{\text{ins}}) \geq 0$. Thus, as with the marginal tax rate, the estimates of σ reported below would be biased upward in the face of a positive liquidity differential, a bias that would again weigh against our central thesis that the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds was too low relative to macroeconomic fundamentals.

Fourth, the results are sensitive to a proper specification of the creditworthiness of bond insurers, as represented by ϕ . In econometric parlance, σ is identified by its exclusion from equation (2), conditional on ϕ (as well as the other variables appearing in both equations (1) and (2)). During the financial crisis, several bond insurers experienced severe financial difficulties largely due to an expansion of their insurance activities into derivative securities. If the solvency of companies insuring bonds is seriously questioned, then equation (6) underestimates the true insurers’ risk premium and, per equation (7), this underestimate will lead to a downward bias in the estimate of σ . Such a potential bias would not seem of concern here. As will be discussed in more detail in the next section, the insured bonds in our sample were backed by five insurers. As of January 2007, all five insurers had AAA ratings from S&P. All of the bonds in our sample issued since October 2004 (with one exception) have been insured by only two of these companies. They have maintained their AAA ratings through September 2010. The next month, their ratings were lowered a notch to AA+. In November 2016, Moody’s examined these two insurers and concluded that “[o]ur two pro-forma analyses support our belief that, despite Puerto Rico’s financial stress and uncertainty about the ultimate outcome of the negotiation between Puerto Rico and its creditors, the capital positions of our rated guarantors are supportive of their current ratings” (Moody’s, 2016, p. 2). The same study reports that total Puerto Rican exposures represent only 41% of total claims paying resources.⁸ The default risk of insurers

⁸ See Moody’s (2016, Exhibit 7, p. 6). The 41% figure is a weighted-average of the entries for AGM and AGC.

appears to be adequately captured by equation (6). Consistent with the safety afforded by the insurers of the bonds studied here, as of May 2018, scheduled payments for defaulted bonds have been covered in full.

Fifth, concern about the financial stability of some insurers of municipal securities can affect the municipal market as a whole and is an example of a sector-specific shock. Other shocks that have important impacts on municipal yields are anticipated changes in statutory income tax rates and the stance of monetary policy. These important drivers of municipal yields are accounted for in our estimate of σ by the shock variable, s , eliminated in our procedure through differencing.

C. Alternative Approaches

Our procedure for identifying and estimating the Treasury Put relies on the unique circumstances surrounding the Puerto Rican debt market. Its simplicity is its strength. In this sub-section, we contrast it to three parametric approaches.

One approach forecasts defaults with a procedure similar to the Z-score method (Altman, 2000). The risk premium is measured by the difference between the bond return consistent with this expected default and the actual bond return. While Z-scores are a mainstay for corporate credit analysis, it is quite difficult to implement this approach for municipal bonds because of their very low default rates.

An alternative method to measure the value of government guarantees uses option price data and an explicit pricing model. Kelly, Lustig, and van Nieuwerburgh (KLN, 2016) combine the powerful insights from the Black-Scholes option pricing formula and out-of-the-money options prices for a basket of bank stocks and an index for the financial sector as a whole to estimate changes in risk premia during the financial crisis. The latter index did not rise *pari passu* with the former. They link this differential to implicit insurance for the financial sector as a whole and conclude that, during the financial crisis, this government guarantee lowered “the insurance premium for financial index crash insurance by 73 percent on average” (KLN, p. 1280). This parametric approach relies on the correct specification of a somewhat complicated jump-diffusion pricing model. For example, Bai, Goldstein, and Yang (2017) have argued that a “leverage effect” impacting equity volatility needs to be considered. In this expanded model, the financial crisis has a differential impact on the two options prices considered by KLN, and this

differential could explain their results independent of any government guarantee. This concern aside, an options-based approach is not feasible in the current situation because there is insufficient liquidity in the market for out-of-the-money options on Puerto Rican uninsured bonds.

In a recent paper, Atkeson, d'Avernas, Eisfeldt, and Weill (AAEW, forthcoming) also estimate the value of the government guarantee for banks. They decompose the market/book equity ratio into the fair value and a residual. If book equity and fair value are measured accurately and the latter captures the value of all future “cash flows associated with bank assets and liabilities not considering the contribution to bank value from government guarantees” (p. 3), then the residual is the value of government guarantees. Based on their forecasting equations, AAEW find that, from 2008 to 2017, approximately one-half the movement in the bank valuations (as measured by market to book equity) can be accounted for by variations in the value of government guarantees.

Neither approach dominates in estimating the value of government guarantees. Rather, these four approaches depict the fundamental tradeoff between simple, non-parametric models (such as the one used in the current study) that are relatively robust but less efficient and more complicated procedures relying on an explicit theory and parameterization that are more efficient but fragile in the face of possible model misspecification.⁹

⁹ In the econometrics literature, a similar tradeoff exists between robustness and efficiency. Consider estimating a coefficient of interest in a single equation that is part of a set of simultaneous equations and choosing between 2SLS and 3SLS techniques. The latter is relatively more efficient, but the coefficient of interest may be estimated inconsistently if any of the equations in the system are misspecified. The 2SLS technique trades off these efficiency gains for robustness.

3. Data

Our estimate of the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds requires five time series. The primary data source for municipal bond market data is the Electronic Municipal Market Access database (EMMA, <http://www.emma.msrb.org>) published by the Municipal Securities Rulemaking Body (MSRB). We restrict our search to government general obligation (GO) bonds, those that are backed by the full faith and credit of the Puerto Rican government and do not have any specific revenue streams associated with them. We thus avoid problems with having to evaluate those revenue streams. The yields on Puerto Rican uninsured and insured GO bonds ($r^{P,uni,m}$ and $r^{P,ins,n}$, respectively) are obtained from a careful review of all GO bonds from January 1, 2000 to December 13, 2013. Our initial exploration of the EMMA data identified 279 uninsured and 205 insured GO bonds since January 2000. Entries without sufficient information to compute the yield or determine the issue date or maturity are excluded. A tedious examination of the remaining GO bonds (reading the Official Statements, for each bond offering, cross-checking with online data sources, and resolving discrepancies) identified 45 uninsured bonds that could be matched to 45 insured bonds.

Details are provided in Table 2. (Specific comments on data collection are in Appendix D.) The quality of the matches is quite good. For each of the 45 matched pairs, the uninsured and insured bonds were issued on the same day (column 5). Call features are very similar among the paired bonds (column 8). Maturities tend to be long: 26 are greater than 20 years; 18 are between 11 and 20 years, and one is less than 10 years (column 9). The maturity matches are exact for 33 pairs (columns 10). For the remaining 12 pairs, the average discrepancy in maturities is two years. The resulting bias on our estimate of σ is likely to be modest (column 11; cf. note 6, Table 2 for a definition of bias). What bias exists is likely to raise σ (an upward bias exists in seven cases, a downward bias in five cases), a result that weighs against the proposition that the risk premium was too low.

The Corporate Aaa yield and Treasury yield curve are obtained from the FRED database. Data for the Treasury yield curve does not always match exactly the maturities of the Puerto Rican bonds. We address this problem with the following two-step procedure. For a Puerto Rican bond of maturity m at time t , we examine the Treasury yield curve at that t (this match on a date can be done exactly) and determine the points on the yield curve immediately below and above maturity m . We then compute a linear approximation based on the location of the Puerto

Rican bond maturity relative to the interval defined by the low and high Treasury yields.¹⁰ For example, if the period t Puerto Rican bond has a maturity of 8+ years, we compute the appropriate point on the yield curve as the yield on the 7 year Treasury bond plus the difference in yields on the 10 and 7 year Treasury bonds, divided by the number of days over this 3 year interval, all multiplied by the number of days the Puerto Rican bond with a maturity of 8+ years exceeds the number of days of the 7 year Treasury bond.

The FRED database also provides the yields on Corporate Baa and Non-Investment grade bonds used to compute risk premia for comparative purposes.

The fifth series is the marginal income tax rate for the marginal municipal bond investor (τ). Recall that income from Puerto Rican bonds is triple-tax free. In order to facilitate comparisons between tax-free Puerto Rican and taxable bonds, the latter is grossed-up for income taxation. Several steps are involved; see Appendix E for details. Most importantly, we must distinguish between regular and alternative minimum tax (AMT) regimes. In either case, we assume that the marginal investor has a high income and is subject to several taxes applicable to high-income investors (generally, adjusted gross income above \$200,000).¹¹ The following discussion is keyed to the entries in Table E1 in Appendix E with row numbers indicted in brackets.

For a taxpayer in the regular tax status, the income from a Treasury bond is subject to taxation at the federal [1] and state levels [2]. The latter is usually deductible against the former, and this deductibility lowers the effective tax rate. Thus, the combined federal and state tax rate is the summation of the two preceding rates less the product of the two rates [3]. We assume that the marginal investor is subject to the highest marginal statutory tax rates at the federal and state levels. Given our assumption that the marginal investor has a high income, Treasury interest

¹⁰ We believe that his linear approximation between the two points closest to the maturity date on the Puerto Rican bond is likely to be more accurate than using approximations based on the entire yield curve, such as the six-point approximation of Gürkaynak, Sack, and Wright (2007) because of the flatness of the Treasury yield curve at the longer maturities that populate our sample. Note that this adjustment for the maturity premium is not of quantitative importance in this study because, per equation (3), the exact ($m = n$) or near-exact (m close to n) maturity matches for most pairs of uninsured/insured bonds.

¹¹ Note that we focus on “high,” not the “highest” income. In the latter case for very wealthy individuals, several of the phase-outs discussed below will have been exhausted, and the marginal tax rate for very wealthy individuals will be lower than that for the merely prosperous. That is, for a potential municipal bond investment, the marginal income tax rate for a household consisting of two full economics professors (filing jointly) will be higher than the marginal income tax rate for Bill Gates.

income is subject to a three additional taxes: the net investment income tax surcharge [4, known as the “Medicare tax”] and phase-outs of the personal exemption [5] and select itemized deductions [6, known as the “Pease Limitation”]. These phase-outs increase the tax on Treasury interest income. The regular marginal tax rate on interest income is the summation of these four effective marginal tax rates, items [7].

The AMT regime imposes a different set of marginal income tax rates, and two marginal income tax rates from the regular regime. We again assume that the marginal investor faces the highest tax rate [8] and, given this high income, is subject to a phase-out of the AMT exemption [9]. As in the regular tax regime, the AMT investor is also subject to the state income tax [2] and the net investment income tax surcharge [4]. The AMT marginal tax rate on interest income is the summation of these four effective marginal tax rates [10].

In order to compute a single marginal tax rate, we form a weighted average of the regular and AMT marginal tax rates [14], where the weights are the percentage of select returns filed in the two regimes [11, 12, 13]. Since financial assets are disproportionately held by higher income taxpayers, we count only those returns with AGI in excess of a threshold of \$200,000.¹² This marginal tax rate varies from 42.7% in 2000 to a low of 39.0% in 2010 and a high at the end of the sample of 46.3% in 2016.

¹² Ideally, we would have varied the threshold level by year, but such a refined calculation was not feasible given the presentation of the IRS data. The modest rate of inflation during this period and the presence of the bias in both the numerator and denominator of the percent of returns filed under regular tax status suggest that this omission will not result in a large error.

4. Results

This section contains our empirical results divided into three sections: before the Detroit bankruptcy of July 2013, after the Detroit bankruptcy when the Treasury Put was extinguished, and misallocation costs associated with the Treasury Put and inappropriately low interest rates on Puerto Rican securities.

A. Before Detroit

The Detroit bankruptcy occurred in July 2013. We examine the 13 bond issue dates comprising 45 sets of matched GO bonds that occurred between January 1, 2000 and the bankruptcy. We study Puerto Rican matched bonds at the initial offering price on or near the issue date. This is the period when bonds are most liquid, and hence prices should be most accurate. The risk premium for Puerto Rican bonds is presented in column 12 of Table 2 for all 45 matched bonds. Table 2 also contains information about each issue including issue (dated) date, bond insurer, amount of the issue, call year, maturity, quality of and, if any, bias from the maturity match. The risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds is uniformly quite low – relative to Baa bonds -- with two exceptions. The 13th issue has a high risk premium of 2.35 driven by a very low yield on the matched insured bond. This low yield is difficult to understand and out-of-line relative to the other insured bond issued on the same day (#14) and insured bonds issued five months earlier (#12). Contributing factors for this low yield may be the non-callability of the insured bond (however, since this bond matures in 10 years, the benefit of non-callability would seem to be modest) or a reflection of the “municipal puzzle” discussed in Section 2.B. The second occurrence of a relatively high risk premium is for bonds issued in May 2008 (#17 to #22). This month is at the beginning of the financial crisis (the Bears Stearns collapse occurred in March 2008) when markets were severely disrupted.

The results are summarized in Table 3, which aggregates the 45 risk premia into their 13 issue dates and compares them to the risk premia on Corporate Aaa, Corporate Baa, and Non-Investment Grade bonds computed as the difference between the bond yield for a given asset class and the date-comparable yield on a 20-year Treasury bond. The risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds (column 2) generally lies between the risk premia for Corporate Aaa and Baa bonds (columns 1 and 3, respectively), apart from the two exceptions noted above. Averaged over all 45 matched GO bonds issued since 2000, the risk premium on Puerto Rican GO bonds exceeds

the comparable risk premium on Corporate Aaa bonds by 68 basis points. Relative to Corporate Baa bonds, the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds is lower by 31 basis points. That gap widens considerably when computed with respect to Non-Investment grade bonds, and it is a substantial 310 basis points. Table 3 documents that the compensation for default risk on Puerto Rican bonds was exceptionally low, an outcome that was eminently reasonable given the expectation of financial support from the U.S. Treasury.

B. After Detroit

However, this expectation was upended by a seismic shock to the municipal bond market. On July 18, 2013, Detroit filed for bankruptcy with liabilities of \$18 to \$20 billion. No federal assistance was forthcoming. The absence of a bailout is particularly surprising when compared to the New York City bailout of \$2.3 billion. A comparable bailout in 2013 would have been between \$7.8 to \$15.5 billion (using growth in the GDP price deflator or current dollar GDP per capita as the scaling variable, respectively).

That a bailout was expected was clear. Detroit mayor Dave Bing, speaking on ABC's *This Week*, seemed to leave the door open for federal assistance, saying that he has engaged in talks with the Obama administration for assistance (ABC, 2013) and noting the Chrysler and GM had received federal aid when in financial distress. When asked "no federal bailout?," Mayor Bing responded "not yet." *Rollcall* reported that "[s]oon after Detroit filed for protection under Chapter 9 of the bankruptcy code, the Obama Administration made it clear it would not seek a bailout similar to the \$2.5 billion [sic] New York City loan package enacted in 1975" (Ota, 2013, p. 2) The Obama Administration's reluctance was echoed in Congress concerning pension obligations. Eight days after Detroit filed for bankruptcy, Senator Lindsay Graham introduced an amendment to a bill with the following provisions (Graham, 2013):

- No federal funds may be used to purchase or guarantee any asset or obligation of any municipal, local, or county government if that locality has defaulted, is at risk of defaulting, or likely to default absent such federal assistance.
- In addition, the federal government would also be prohibited from issuing lines of credit or providing direct or indirect financial aid to prevent bankruptcy.

The amendment failed by a 14 to 16 vote. Other legislation was introduced in July 2013 to specifically exempt the federal government from any liability for state and local pension obligations (Ota, 2013, p. 2). This no-bailout sentiment was echoed by Morningstar (2013, p. 13): “[g]iven the current political climate in Washington, D.C., we also think it is unlikely that the federal government will offer any sort of financial bailout for Puerto Rico.” The 2013 Detroit bankruptcy and the federal government’s truancy regarding a rescue package for debtors or creditors was a watershed event extinguishing the Treasury Put.

The Detroit bankruptcy allows us to identify and quantify the Treasury Put. The effective termination of the Treasury Put will be reflected in a marked increase in the risk premium on Puerto Rican bonds on and shortly after July 2013. No new bonds were issued after this date, so we cannot repeat the analysis in Section 4.A measuring risk premium on the issue date. Instead, to assess the impact of the removal of the Treasury Put, we track the trading of matched bonds and compute the yield-to-maturity on a monthly basis. The focus on a monthly interval is necessitated by the thinness of the Puerto Rican bond market. Using equation (7) to compute the risk premium for matched Puerto Rican bonds, we examine whether the Detroit bankruptcy led to a substantial increase in the risk premium.¹³

Consistent with the Treasury Put hypothesis, the risk premium rises sharply after the Detroit bankruptcy. For example, in May 2013, the average risk premium computed from trading data is 256 basis points. The Detroit bankruptcy filing occurred on July 18, 2013. The rise in the risk premium accelerated slowly. In September 2013, the average risk premium rose to 423 basis points. This rise halted by the end of 2013, where the average risk premium stood at 606 basis points. The difference between the risk premium in May and December of 350 basis points is our estimate of the Treasury Put.

C. Misallocation Costs

The Treasury Put misallocates capital. It lowers finance costs, shifts-out the demand curve for capital, and thus directs capital to inefficient uses. The removal of the Treasury Put is effectively an inward shift of the demand curve. Given our estimate of the Treasury Put and an estimate of the slope of the supply curve for municipal bonds, the extent of this misallocation can

¹³ Owing to the nature of the computer programming, it was not possible to correct for any differential in maturities.

be estimated. The 350 basis point increase in the risk premium leads to approximately a 45% increase in the cost of capital.¹⁴ When multiplied by an estimate of the slope of the supply curve for municipal capital of 0.365 (Joulfaian and Matheson, 2009), the implied decrease in the stock of capital is 16%, approximately \$16 billion.

¹⁴ The average yield on uninsured Puerto Rican bonds before Detroit for the period January 2000 to April 2012 (the last issue before the Detroit bankruptcy) is 7.862. This yield is the cost of capital influencing the flow of debt to Puerto Rico. The removal of the Treasury Put, estimated here to be 3.500, would have increased this yield to 11.362, a 45% increase.

5. Summary And Conclusions

To answer the question posed in the title of this paper -- “What Went Wrong?” -- the fault lies in financial markets, which systematically failed to control the flow of capital to Puerto Rico. That fundamental cause of that failure was an implicit guarantee of the Puerto Rican liabilities, the “Treasury Put.” Evaluating the Treasury Put hypothesis is made possible in the case of Puerto Rico given two fortuitous features of the empirical environment – 1) pairs of uninsured and insured bonds issued on the same day with the same maturity and other characteristics and 2) the “seismic shock” of the Detroit bankruptcy and the unexpected absence of federal support. Our identification of the Treasury Put is based on five pillars [supporting evidence listed in brackets]:

1. Macroeconomic fundamentals were dismal [Introductory Section, Figures 1-5, and Table 1],
2. The Treasury Put existed [Section 1],
3. Default risk was too low [Sections 2 and 4.A and Table 3],
4. The Treasury Put was extinguished [Section 4.B],
5. Default risk rose [Section 4.B].

The conclusion of this study differs from that offered by the GAO (2018). This well-researched document concludes that the misallocation of capital was due largely to information failures. Which view is correct has important implications for the appropriate policy. Under the Information Failure hypothesis, capital flows can be improved by requiring better quality and more timely information, as recommended by the GAO.

By contrast, the Treasury Put hypothesis raises the question how does the Treasury extinguish its implicit guarantee?¹⁵ There is a sizeable literature studying the problem of how governments can make binding, credible commitments while providing a safety net.¹⁶ Karaken and Wallace (1978) was one of the earlier contributions in the context of deposit insurance.

¹⁵ The existence of a quantitatively important Treasury Put also raises questions about the proper specification of bond pricing formula, which usually ignore the important role for implicit government guarantees documented in this paper.

¹⁶ Bornstein and Lorenzoni (forthcoming) question the wisdom of a commitment strategy. They argue that a firm commitment to forbearance can lead to an aggregate demand externality. Discretionary interventions eliminate the latter and may lead to better outcomes, even in the face of moral hazard.

They concluded that regulation of the assets and liabilities of insured financial intermediaries is essential. More recently, Kehoe and Chari (2016) analyze government bailouts as an inefficient but unavoidable intervention into otherwise efficient markets. They focus on “sustainably efficient” policies and also conclude that regulation is important; in their case, they advocate controlling leverage and taxing size to achieve a second best outcome. A third approach is “exemplary non-intervention,” as has been pursued with the Detroit and Puerto Rican defaults.

Whether any of these policies can be sustained in the future is debatable. One solution -- attempted unsuccessfully by several in Congress immediately after the Detroit bankruptcy -- is to enact restrictive legislation. Of course, legislation that is passed can be revoked, but extant legislation creates friction in the system that may temper changes and ultimately intervention. Unfortunately, recent events offer a bleak prognosis. The Dodd-Frank legislation passed in the United States after the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis involved a number of stringent regulations. However, over time, they have been relaxed by actions of the Executive and Judicial branches. Korea adopted a no-bailout policy after the 1997 financial crisis. This policy was explicitly stated by the Korean government, resonated with the political position of the incoming president, and was confirmed in a Letter of Intent to the IMF (Gormley, Johnson, and Rhee, 2015, pp. 492-493). These authors conclude that the no-bailout policy was not enforced, as the largest Korean firms received an exceptional amount of aid during the crisis. The history of government policy during the Euro Crisis paints an equally uninviting picture. The no-bailout clause in the Maastricht Treaty creating the European Monetary Union, coupled with explicit statements of support of this clause by German Chancellor Kohl, were insufficient to prevent massive bailouts during the Euro crisis by the European Union and the ECB (Sinn, 2014, pp. 19-22). In the end, there may be a Gordian Knot connecting unfettered markets, restrictive policies, and political interests (Rajan and Zingales, 2003; Morck, Wolfenzon, and Yeung, 2005). How to extinguish the Treasury Put on an ongoing basis in a democratic society remains an open question.

References

- ABC, *This Week With George Stephanopoulos* (July 21, 2013). See <https://abcnews.go.com/ThisWeek/video/detroit-mayor-dave-bing-week-interview-citys-bankruptcy-19727824>.
- Altman, Edward I., “Predicting Financial Distress Of Companies: Revisiting The Z-Score And Zeta® Models,” <http://pages.stern.nyu.edu/~ealtman/Zscores.pdf> (July 2000).
- Atkeson, Andrew G., d’Avernas, Adrien, Eisfeldt, Andrea L., and Weill, Pierre-Olivier, “Government Guarantees and the Valuation of American Banks,” *NBER Macroeconomics Annual 2018* (forthcoming). Draft dated April 7, 2018.
- Bai, Jennie, Goldstein, Robert S., and Yang, Fan, “The Leverage Effect and the Basket-Index Put Spread,” Georgetown/Minnesota/Connecticut (September 9, 2017).
- Barron’s, “State of the States,” *Barron’s* (August 27, 2012).
- Bornstein, Gideon, and Lorenzoni, Guido, “Moral Hazard Misconceptions: The Case of the Greenspan Put,” *IMF Economic Review* (forthcoming).
- Chalmers, John M.R., “Default Risk Cannot Explain the Muni Puzzle: Evidence from Municipal Bonds that are Secured by U.S. Treasury Obligations,” *The Review of Financial Studies* 11 (1998), 281-308.
- Chari, V.V., and Kehoe, Patrick, “Bailouts, Time Inconsistency and Optimal Regulation: A Macroeconomic View,” *American Economic Review* 106 (9) (September 2016), 2458-2493.
- Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, *Financial Information and Operating Data Report* (November 6, 2015).
- Curry, Timothy, and Shibut, Lynn, “The Cost of the Savings and Loan Crisis: Truth and Consequences,” *FDIC Banking Review* 13, No. 2 (2000), 26-35.
- Draghi, Mario, Speech at the Global Investment Conference, London (July 26, 2012).
- English, William B., “Understanding the Costs of Sovereign Default: American State Debts in the 1840's,” *The American Economic Review* 86 (March 1996), 259-275.
- Federal Judicial Center, “Jurisdiction: Bankruptcy,” <https://www.fjc.gov/history/courts/jurisdiction-bankruptcy> (n.d.).
- Federal Reserve Bank of New York, “Report On The Competitiveness of Puerto Rico’s Economy,” (June 29, 2012).

Feenberg, Daniel, and Poterba, James M., “Which Households Own Municipal Bonds? Evidence from Tax Returns,” *National Tax Journal* 44 (December 1991, Part 1), 93-103.

Flannery, Mark J., and Sorescu, Sorin M., “Evidence of Bank Market Discipline in Subordinated Debenture Yields: 1983-1991,” *Journal of Finance* 51 (1996), 1347-1377.

FRED, Federal Reserve Economic Data. See <https://fred.stlouisfed.org>.

GAO, U. S. General Accounting Office, “PUERTO RICO: Factors Contributing to the Debt Crisis and Potential Federal Actions to Address Them,” GAO Report to Congressional Committees, GAO-18-387 (May 2018).

Goetzmann, William N., *Money Changes Everything: How Finance Made Civilization Possible* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Gormley, Todd A., Johnson, Simon, and Rhee, Changyong, “Ending ‘Too Big To Fail’: Government Promises Versus Investor Perceptions,” *Review of Finance* 19 (2015), 491-518.

Graham, Lindsey, “Lindsey Graham: A Conservative Leader Who Gets Things Done.” Press Release (July 26, 2013).

Gürkaynak, Refet S., Sack, Brian, and Wright, Jonathan H., “The U.S. Treasury yield curve: 1961 to the present,” *Journal of Monetary Economics* 54 (2007), 2291-2304.

Hobson, J.A., *Imperialism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1938 (second printing 1967)).

Hotchkiss, E. S., John, K., Mooradian, R. M. and Thorburn, K. S., “Bankruptcy and the Resolution of Financial Distress,” in *Handbook of Corporate Finance: Empirical Corporate Finance* (Amsterdam: Elsevier/ North.Holland, 2008).

Investopedia, “Brady Bonds,” See <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/bradybonds.asp>, accessed May 18, 2018a.

Investopedia, “Troubled Asset Relief Program – TARP,” See <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/t/troubled-asset-relief-program-tarp.asp>, accessed May 18, 2018b.

Jenks, Leland Hamilton, *The Migration of British Capital To 1875* (New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938).

Joulfaian, David, and Matheson, Thornton, “The Supply Elasticity of Tax-Exempt Bonds,” *National Tax Association Proceedings* (2009), 136-142.

Kalotay, Andrew J., and Dorigan, Michael P., “What Makes the Municipal Yield Curve Rise?,” *The Journal of Fixed Income* (Winter 2008), 1-7.

Kareken, John H., and Wallace, Neil, “Deposit Insurance and Bank Regulation: A Partial-Equilibrium Exposition,” *Journal of Business* 51, No. 3 (1978), 413-438.

Kay, John, *Other People’s Money* (New York: Public Affairs, 2015).

Kelly, Bryan, Lustig, Hanno, and van Nieuwerburgh, Stijn, “Too-Systematic-to-Fail: What Option Markets Imply about Sector-Wide Government Guarantees,” *American Economic Review* 106 (2016), 1278-1319.

King, Mervyn, *The End of Alchemy: Money, Banking, and the Future of the Global Economy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016).

Krueger, Anne O., Teja, Ranjit, and Wolfe, Andrew, “Puerto Rico – A Way Forward,” Report (June 29, 2015).

Longstaff, Francis A., “Municipal Debt and Marginal Tax Rates: Is There a Tax Premium in Asset Prices?” *The Journal of Finance* 66, No. 3 (June 2011), 721-751.

Lustig, Nora, “The Mexican Peso Crisis: The Foreseeable and the Surprise,” Brookings Institution (June 1995).

Miller, Marcus, Weller, Paul, and Zhang, Lei, “Moral Hazard and the US Stock Market: Analyzing the ‘Greenspan Put’,” *The Economic Journal* 112 (March 2002), C171-C186.

Moody’s, “Assured Guaranty, Ltd. and National Public Finance Guarantee Corp: Scenario Analysis Highlights Assured Guaranty’s Greater Resilience to Puerto Rico Losses,” *ISSUER IN-DEPTH* (November 2, 2016).

Moody’s. “Rating Scale and Definitions,” (no date; n.d.). See https://www.moodys.com/sites/products/ProductAttachments/AP075378_1_1408_KI.pdf

Morck, Randall, Wolfenzon, Daniel, and Yeung, Bernard, “Corporate Governance, Economic Entrenchment, and Growth,” *Journal of Economic Literature* 43 (2005), 655-720.

Moretti, Enrico, and Wilson, Daniel J., “The Effect of State Taxes on the Geographical Location of Top Earners: Evidence from Star Scientists,” *American Economic Review* 107(7) (July 2017), 1858-1903.

Morningstar, “Morningstar Special Report: Puerto Rico Fiscal Strain: Implications for Investors.” (October 16, 2013).

New York Times, “Lockheed Bailout Largest by U.S.,” (August 2, 1979).

New York Times, “Infamous ‘Drop Dead’ Was Never Said By Ford,” (December 28, 2006).

New York Times, “Hurricane-Torn Puerto Rico Says It Can’t Pay Any of Its Debts for 5 Years,” (January 24, 2018).

Nosal, Jaromir B., and Ordoñez, Guillermo, “Uncertainty as commitment,” *Journal of Monetary Economics* 80 (2016), 124-140.

Pensions & Investments, “Puerto Rico Bankruptcy Pits Investors Against Pensioners,” (May 15, 2017).

Rajan, Raghuram G., and Zingales, Luigi, *Saving Capitalism from the Capitalists: Unleashing the Power of Financial Markets to Create Wealth and Spread Opportunity* (New York: Crown Business/Random House, 2003).

Ota, Alan K., “Detroit’s Woes Put New Spotlight on Pension Overhaul Proposals,” *Rollcall* (July 24, 2013).

Rajan, Raghuram G., and Zingales, Luigi, *Saving Capitalism from the Capitalists: Unleashing the Power of Financial Markets to Create Wealth and Spread Opportunity* (New York: Crown Business/Random House, 2003).

Schankel, Alan, “Puerto Rico’s Debt Overload,” *Janney Fixed Income Strategy* (July 27, 2012).

Sinn, Hans-Werner, *The Euro Trap: On Bursting Bubbles, Budgets, and Beliefs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

United Nations, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision, Medium fertility variant, 2015 – 2100*. DVD Edition. See <https://www.un.org/development/desa/publications/world-population-prospects-the-2017-revision.html> . Data retrieved May 6, 2018.

U.S. Congress, “Puerto Rico Oversight, Management, and Economic Stability Act” or “PROMESA,” Public Law 114-187 (June 30, 2016).

Veronesi, Pietro, and Zingales, Luigi, “Paulson’s Gift,” *Journal of Financial Economics* 97 (2010), 339-368.

Washington Post, “When the Taxpayers Saved Lee Iacocca’s Bacon, What Did They Get Out of It?,” (May 13, 1984).

Appendix A. Computing The Debt/GDP And Unfunded Pension Liabilities/GDP Ratios

The fiscal situation of a sovereign state –a nation, a sub-national unit (e.g., a U.S. state or city), or a territory (e.g., the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) -- is often evaluated by the ratio of outstanding liabilities to some measure of economic activity. The two most frequently used measures of economic activity are gross domestic product (GDP) and gross national product (GNP). (Unless otherwise stated, GDP and GNP are in nominal terms.) GDP measures the value of economic activity within the borders of a sovereign state regardless if it is undertaken by citizens (both persons and businesses) or foreigners. GNP equals GDP plus the economic activity of its citizens working abroad less the economic activity of foreigners working within its borders. (GNP is sometimes labeled gross national income.) For most countries, the two measures are quite close. But when there is a large foreign presence, GDP will exceed GNP. Such a situation holds, for example for Ireland, Luxembourg, and Puerto Rico. Since the measure of economic activity is meant to capture the ability of a sovereign state to repay its debts, GDP is the more appropriate concept because the activities it measures can be taxed.

A sovereign state's liabilities are the sum of outstanding debt plus unfunded pension liabilities. Data on the outstanding debt of Puerto Rico has been collected by Krueger, Teja, and Wolfe (2015) but it was stated relative to GNP. The debt/GDP data reported in Figure 4 (column 3) are computed as the product of debt/GNP (column 1) multiplied by the GNP/GDP ratio (column 2) in Table A1,

**Table A1 -- Computing The Debt/GDP And
Total Liabilities/GDP Ratios**

Year	Debt/GNP (%)	GNP/GDP	Debt/GDP (%)	Total Liabilities/GDP (%)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2000	63.2	0.671	42.4	70.2
2005	71.2	0.649	46.2	76.5
2010	90.9	0.658	59.8	99.0
2015	100.2	0.658	65.9	109.1

Notes And Sources:

Column 1: Krueger, Teja, and Wolfe (2015, p. 9); unfunded pension obligations are excluded.

Column 2: University of Pennsylvania, Ratio of GNP to GDP for Puerto Rico [GNPGDPPRA156NUPN], retrieved from FRED; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GNPGDPPRA156NUPN>, February 20, 2018. No data are available for 2015; the 2015 value equals the 2010 value.

Column 3: Transformation: the product of columns 1 and 2.

Column 4: Transformation: column 3 multiplied by 1.654, per the discussion below.

The debt figures in columns 1, 2, and 3 of Table A1 exclude unfunded pension liabilities. We use two different data sources to estimate unfunded pension liabilities. *Barron's* (2012) contains data for 2012 on unfunded pension liabilities, as well as outstanding debt. However, their debt figure of \$51.9 is approximately 17% lower than the implied debt figure in column 3, the latter interpolated linearly between the 2010 and 2015 data (62.3%). We believe that the Krueger, Teja, and Wolfe are more accurate. To attenuate measurement error, we thus use the ratio of unfunded pension liabilities to debt in the Barron's data is 0.638 (= 33.1 / 51.9). The second data source is from *Pensions & Investments* (2017), which reports a ratio of unfunded pension liabilities to debt of 0.670 (= 50.0 / 74.0); we round down slightly since the article mentions that the estimate of unfunded pension liabilities is slightly below 50. We average these two ratios (0.654) and assume that this estimate can be applied to the debt figures in the above

appendix table. These computations are presented in column 4.

These figures may represent a lower bound. Morningstar (2013) reports that debt and unfunded liabilities are \$88.6 (p. 5) and \$37.0 (p. 4), respectively, in 2013, resulting in a Total Liabilities / GDP ratio of 1.23. This ratio is 17% higher than the comparable ratio in Table A1 (based on a linear interpolation between 2010 and 2015).

Appendix B. Puerto Rican Government Deficits

This appendix provides details underlying Figure 5. The figures in columns 1 to 5 are in billions of U.S. dollars. The figures in columns 6 to 9 are stated as percentages.

Year	Deficit				GDP	Deficit As A Percentage Of GDP			
	Budgetary (Cash) Basis	Budgetary (Cash) Basis	Accrual Basis	Operating Basis		Budgetary (Cash) Basis	Budgetary (Cash) Basis	Accrual Basis	Operating Basis
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
2002	1.09				71.62	1.52			
2003	0.94				74.83	1.25			
2004	2.68				80.32	3.33			
2005	3.09				83.91	3.68			
2006	1.81				87.28	2.07			
2007	1.29				89.52	1.44			
2008	4.86				93.64	5.19			
2009	5.04	2.86	3.52	2.68	96.39	5.23	2.97	3.65	2.78
2010	4.48	2.72	4.35	1.81	98.38	4.56	2.77	4.42	1.84
2011	4.30	1.80	3.79	1.09	100.35	4.29	1.79	3.77	1.09
2012	5.94	2.38	5.22	2.75	101.56	5.85	2.34	5.14	2.71
2013	6.43	1.31	3.61	2.55	102.45	6.28	1.28	3.52	2.49
2014	6.18				102.45	6.03			
		.							
Average, 2009 to 2013						5.24	2.23	4.10	2.18
Ratio To The Average in Column 7							1.00	1.84	0.98

Notes And Sources:

Column 1: GAO (2018, Figure 2, p. 9. Data provided via a FOIA request to the GAO. These data are based on a careful analysis of government financial statements by the GAO, and they are compiled from Puerto Rico's publicly available, audited financial statements.

Column 2: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (2015, p. 64).

Column 3: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (2015, p. 66, Total Government).

Column 4: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (2015, p. 66, Total Government less Debt Service less COFINA Debt Service less principal payments (per fn. (1)).

Column 5: World Bank [NYGDPMKTPCDPRI], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/NYGDPMKTPCDPRI>, February 20, 2018.

Column 6: Transformation, column 1 divided by column 5, times 100.

Column 7: Transformation, column 2 divided by column 5, times 100.

Column 8: Transformation, column 3 divided by column 5, times 100.

Column 9: Transformation, column 4 divided by column 5, times 100.

Appendix C. Moody's Rating Scale – Long-Term Debt

Rating	Description
Investment Grade	
Aaa	Obligations rated Aaa are judged to be of the highest quality, with minimal risk.
Aa1	Obligations rated Aa are judged to be of high quality and are subject to very low credit risk.
Aa2	
Aa3	
A1	Obligations rated A are considered upper-medium-grade and are subject to low credit risk.
A2	
A3	
Baa1	Obligations rated Baa are subject to moderate credit risk. They are considered medium-grade and as such may possess speculative characteristics.
Baa2	
Baa3	
Non-Investment Grade	
Ba1	Obligations rated Ba are judged to have speculative elements and are subject to substantial credit risk.
Ba2	
Ba3	
B1	Obligations rated B are considered speculative and are subject to high credit risk.
B2	
B3	
Caa1	Obligations rated Caa are judged to be of poor standing and are subject to very high credit risk.
Caa2	
Caa3	
Ca	Obligations rated Ca are highly speculative and are likely in, or very near, default, with some prospect of recovery in principal and interest.
C	Obligations rated C are the lowest-rated class of bonds and are typically in default, with little prospect for recovery of principal and interest.

Notes: Long-term debt has an original maturity of one year or greater. Source: Moody's (n.d.) Rating Scale and Definitions; https://www.moodys.com/sites/products/ProductAttachments/AP075378_1_1408_KI.pdf

Appendix D. Comments On Data Collection For Puerto Rican Bonds And Interest Rates

Puerto Rican Bonds

The following detailed comments concern various assumptions and procedures used in collecting the Puerto Rican bond data.

1. The Official States (OS) are available on the first author's website. [pending]
2. If a bond has a very short maturity (usually less than one year) and is not insured, it is not included in our list of uninsured bonds for subsequent analysis.
3. Absence of an OS for a particular issue is important. We look for some documentation in an OS about that particular bond. If no information is found, even if data are available on EMMA, this bond is not included in our list (e.g. CUSIP 745145Y55).
4. However, if two or more bonds without an OS are the sum of a bond with an OS, we include these bonds. In some cases, the same bond has two or more CUSIP's. For example,
 - 74514LPY7 and 74514LQA8 refer to the same bond, which is also listed as 74514LKB2;
 - 74514LPZ4 and 74514LQB6 refer to the same bond, which is also listed as 74514LKC0.

We include all bonds because the two or more CUSIP's refer to non-overlapping trading patterns. By including both bonds, we capture all trading activity.

5. For the five items below denoted by Pqr in the penultimate column, we include the issue amount for the comparable security listed above that entry. It appears that the Pqr bond and its preceding information refer to the same security with disjoint trading histories.

2007-10-04	74514LLX3	7/1/2020	5.00	13.700	105
2007-10-04	74514LMP9	7/1/2020	5.00	Pqr	105
2007-10-04	74514LLY1	7/1/2021	5.00	14.400	104.762
2007-10-04	74514LMQ7	7/1/2021	5.00	Pqr	104.762
2007-10-04	74514LLZ8	7/1/2022	5.00	15.100	104.459
2007-10-04	74514LMR5	7/1/2022	5.00	Pqr	104.459
2007-10-04	74514LMA2	7/1/2023	5.00	15.850	104.21
2007-10-04	74514LNH6	7/1/2023	5.00	Pqr	104.21
2007-10-04	74514LMB0	7/1/2024	5.00	16.650	103.561
2007-10-04	74514LMG9	7/1/2025	5.00	17.500	103.21
2007-10-04	74514LMD6	7/1/2026	5.00	18.350	103.324
2007-10-04	74514LNJ2	7/1/2026	5.00	Pqr	103.324

6. For 10.16.07, the data for 74514LNA1 and 74514LNB9 are not consistent in EMMA when compared to the OS. We assume the data in the OS is the correct data. In effect, the data for 74514LNA1 and 74514LNB9 need to be swapped with each other to be consistent with the information in the OS.
7. If EMMA indicates a lower amount at issuance relative to the OS, we use the data for EMMA.
8. If a bond is listed in the OS but does not appear in EMMA, then
 - a) if we have a CUSIP from the OS, we include the bond or
 - b) if we do not have a CUSIP from the OS, we exclude the bond.
9. For the bonds placed on May 18, 2004, the yield figures (0.0383 for all three bonds) reported in the OS have been converted to the equivalent bond prices to ensure reporting uniformity with respect to the other bonds in the table. The bond prices have been computed with a precision of two.

Interest Rates

10. Three Aaa and Baa datapoints were interpolated: 12.31.65, 12.31.71, 11.11.16.
11. Two Municipal 20 datapoints were interpolated: 1.1.71, 9.14.01.

Appendix E. Computing The Marginal Income Tax Rate For The Marginal Municipal Bond Investor

Table E1 lists the tax rates and other variables needed to compute the marginal income tax rate for the marginal municipal bond investor. Investors in Puerto Rican bonds are not assessed these taxes. The data are provided in Table E2.

**Table E1 -- Taxation Of Income From Treasury And Puerto Rican Bonds
Regular And Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) Regimes
Data Sources**

		Tax Regime:		AMT	
		Issuer:		U.S. Treasury	Puerto Rico
Tax Rates		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Federal tax rate [τ^F]	Yes	No	No	No
2	State tax rate [τ^S]	Yes	No	Yes	No
3	Net federal and state tax rate [$\tau^{FS} \equiv \tau^F + \tau^S - \tau^F * \tau^S$]	Yes	No	No	No
4	3.8% (net investment income tax (NII, “Medicare Tax”)) [$\tau^{NII} \equiv 0.038$]	Yes	No	Yes	No
5	2.0% (phase-out of personal exemptions (PPE)) [$\tau^{PPE} \equiv (0.02 / 2,500) * \tau^{FS}$]	Yes	No	No	No
6	3.0% (phase-out of itemized deductions (PID, Pease Limitation)) [$\tau^{PID} \equiv 0.03 * \tau^{FS}$]	Yes	No	No	No
7	Regular marginal tax rate on interest income [$\tau^{REG} \equiv \tau^{FS} + \tau^{NII} + \tau^{PPE} + \tau^{PID}$]	Yes	No	No	No

8	AMT federal tax rate [τ^A]	No	No	Yes	No
9	25.0%*AMT tax rate (phase-out of AMT exemption) [$0.25 * \tau^A$]	No	No	Yes	No
10	AMT marginal tax rate on interest income [$\tau^{AMT} \equiv \tau^A * 1.25 + \tau^S + \tau^{NII}$]	No	No	Yes	No
11	Number of total returns filed with AGI \geq \$200,000 [N^{TOTAL}]	-----	-----	-----	-----
12	Number of AMT returns filed with AGI \geq \$200,000 [N^{AMT}]	-----	-----	-----	-----
13	Percent of returns filed under regular tax status [$\omega^{REG} = (N^{TOTAL} - N^{AMT}) / N^{TOTAL}$]	-----	-----	-----	-----
14	Marginal tax rate on interest income [$\tau \equiv \omega^{REG} * \tau^{REG} + (1 - \omega^{REG}) * \tau^{AMT}$]	-----	-----	-----	-----

Notes And Sources (presented by row number)

Several of the sources below are to the website of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS, <https://www.irs.gov>).

1. Source: IRS (*Statistics of Income* (SOI), Table 23).
2. Source: Daniel Wilson (Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco). Weighted-average of the individual state tax rates, where the individual state data are from the NBER TAXSIM model for the period 1999 to 2011 and the weights are state personal income. For the period 2012 to 2016, values for the weighted-average are assumed equal to the 2011 value. State tax data from the SOI Public Use Files suggests that there is little variation in the average state tax rates for the period 2011 to 2016 (<http://users.nber.org/~taxsim/marginal-tax-rates/as.html>). See Moretti and Wilson (2017) for more details about the source data.
3. Transformation: State taxes are assumed deductible against federal taxes.
4. Source: IRS. This tax began in 2013.

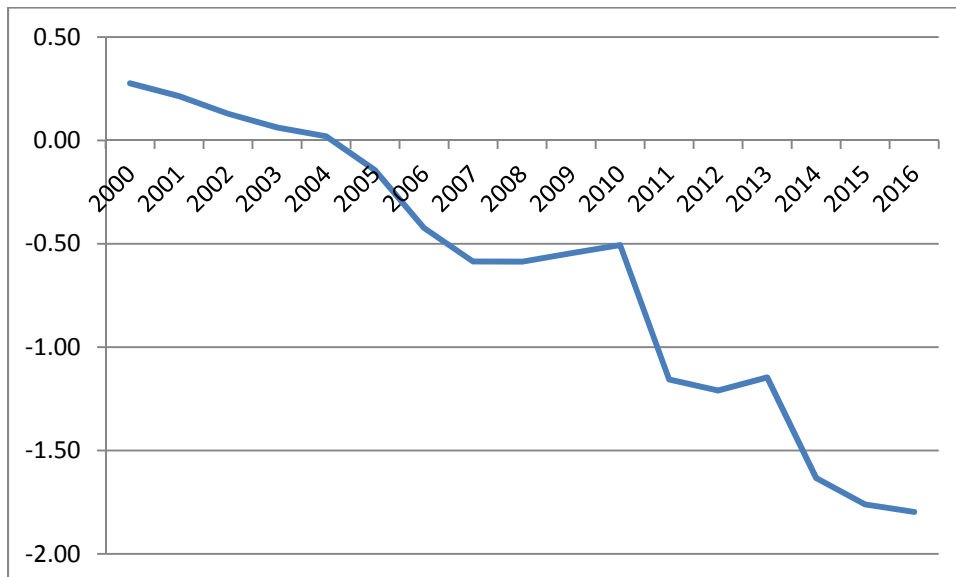
5. Source: IRS. Phase-outs are in effect from 1999 to 2000, eliminated from 2001 to 2012 under the 2001 Bush tax cuts (the *Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001*), and reinstated from 2013 to the present. In 2015, phase-out increments are determined discretely in terms of \$2,500 “steps.” The computation linearizes the step function. The same pattern is assumed for all years in which phase-outs were in effect.
6. Source: IRS. Phase-outs are in effect as follows: 1999-2005, 3%; 2006-2007, 2%, 2008-2009, 1%; 2010-2012, 0%; 2013-present, 3% (*American Taxpayer Relief Act, 2012*). For 2015, the computation is based on the assumption that adjusted gross income (AGI) is too high to permit the deduction of medical/dental and casualty/theft expenses, that there are no gambling losses, and that investment funds are not borrowed.
7. Transformation.
8. Source: IRS. This figure is for the highest marginal income tax rate under AMT.
9. Source: IRS.
10. Transformation.
11. Source: IRS. For 2004 to 2014, data obtained from *SOI Tax Stats – Historic Table 2* (<https://www.irs.gov/uac/soi-tax-stats-historic-table-2>). For 1999 to 2003, only data for total returns are available from *SOI Tax Stats – Individual Income Tax Returns Publication 1304 (Complete Report)* (https://www.irs.gov/uac/soi-tax-stats-individual-income-tax-returns-publication-1304-complete-report#_tbla). For this period, the ratio ω^{REG} in row 13 is estimated directly as the total returns ratio (REG / (REG + AMT)) in year t divided by the total returns ratio in 2004, all multiplied by the high income ratio (REG / (REG + AMT)) for AGI \geq \$200,000) for 2004. A comparison of the total returns data from the two different data sources for 2004 and 2005 indicates a very close match. The data for these computations is contained in the EXCEL file “Computing the REG Weight.”
12. Same as 11.
13. Transformation.
14. Transformation.

**Table E2 -- Taxation Of Income From Treasury And Puerto Rican Bonds
Regular And Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) Regimes
Data Series**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1999	0.3960	0.0519	0.4274	0.0000	0.0000	0.0128	0.4402	0.2800	0.0700	0.4019	-----	-----	0.6481	0.4267
2000	0.3960	0.0519	0.4274	0.0000	0.0000	0.0128	0.4402	0.2800	0.0700	0.4019	-----	-----	0.6468	0.4267
2001	0.3910	0.0519	0.4226	0.0000	0.0000	0.0127	0.4353	0.2800	0.0700	0.4019	-----	-----	0.6477	0.4235
2002	0.3860	0.0518	0.4178	0.0000	0.0000	0.0125	0.4303	0.2800	0.0700	0.4018	-----	-----	0.6439	0.4201
2003	0.3500	0.0518	0.3836	0.0000	0.0000	0.0115	0.3952	0.2800	0.0700	0.4018	-----	-----	0.6417	0.3975
2004	0.3500	0.0517	0.3836	0.0000	0.0000	0.0115	0.3951	0.2800	0.0700	0.4017	3.062	1.735	0.6382	0.3975
2005	0.3500	0.0514	0.3834	0.0000	0.0000	0.0115	0.3949	0.2800	0.0700	0.4014	3.589	2.202	0.6198	0.3973
2006	0.3500	0.0502	0.3826	0.0000	0.0000	0.0077	0.3903	0.2800	0.0700	0.4002	4.076	2.632	0.6076	0.3942
2007	0.3500	0.0499	0.3825	0.0000	0.0000	0.0076	0.3901	0.2800	0.0700	0.3999	4.572	2.923	0.6101	0.3939
2008	0.3500	0.0496	0.3823	0.0000	0.0000	0.0038	0.3861	0.2800	0.0700	0.3996	4.371	2.847	0.6056	0.3914
2009	0.3500	0.0500	0.3825	0.0000	0.0000	0.0038	0.3863	0.2800	0.0700	0.4000	3.930	2.725	0.5905	0.3919
2010	0.3500	0.0499	0.3824	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.3824	0.2800	0.0700	0.3999	4.299	3.031	0.5865	0.3896
2011	0.3500	0.0502	0.3827	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.3827	0.2800	0.0700	0.4002	4.710	3.285	0.5891	0.3899
2012	0.3500	0.0502	0.3827	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.3827	0.2800	0.0700	0.4002	5.274	3.454	0.6043	0.3896
2013	0.3960	0.0502	0.4263	0.0380	0.0000	0.0128	0.4771	0.2800	0.0700	0.4382	5.597	3.214	0.6352	0.4629
2014	0.3960	0.0502	0.4263	0.0380	0.0000	0.0128	0.4771	0.2800	0.0700	0.4382	6.235	3.487	0.6413	0.4632
2015	0.3960	0.0502	0.4263	0.0380	0.0000	0.0128	0.4771	0.2800	0.0700	0.4382	-----	-----	0.6413	0.4632
2016	0.3960	0.0502	0.4263	0.0380	0.0000	0.0128	0.4771	0.2800	0.0700	0.4382	-----	-----	0.6413	0.4632
Avg. 2000 2016	0.3681	0.0507	0.4001	0.0089	0.0000	0.0086	0.4177	0.2800	0.0700	0.4096	-----	-----	0.6230	0.4150

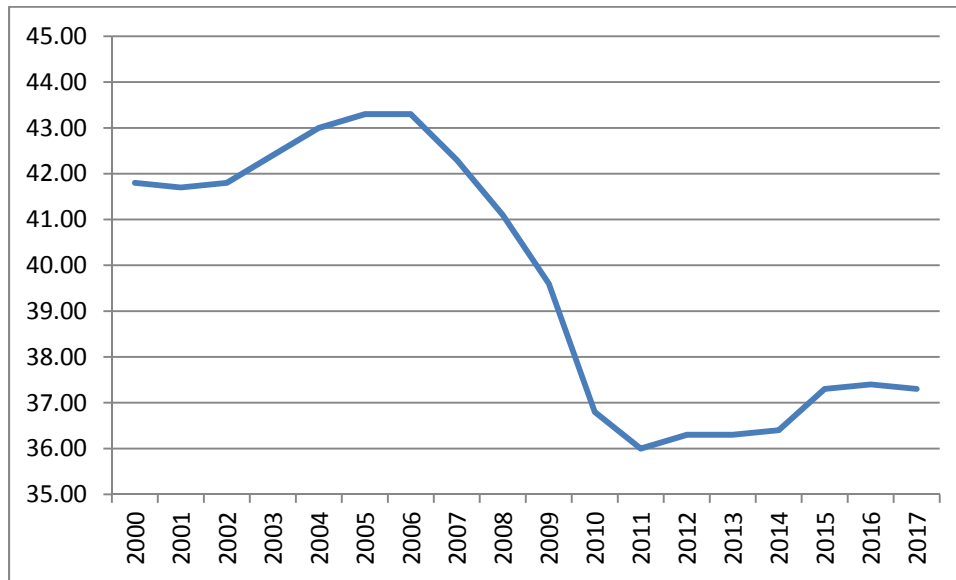
Notes and Sources:

See Notes and Sources to Table E1.

Figure 1. Population Growth, 2000-2016

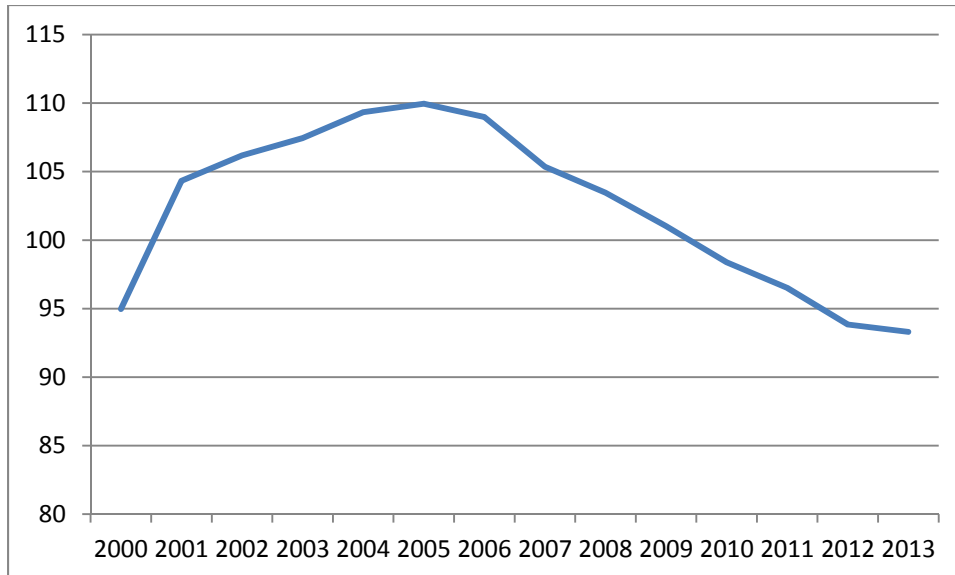
Notes: Annual population growth rate for year t is the exponential rate of growth of midyear population from year $t-1$ to t , expressed as a percentage. Population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship--except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of the country of origin. Source: World Bank, Population Growth for Puerto Rico [SPPOPGROWPRI], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SPPOPGROWPRI>, February 19, 2018.

Figure 2. Employment To Population Ratio, 2000-2017



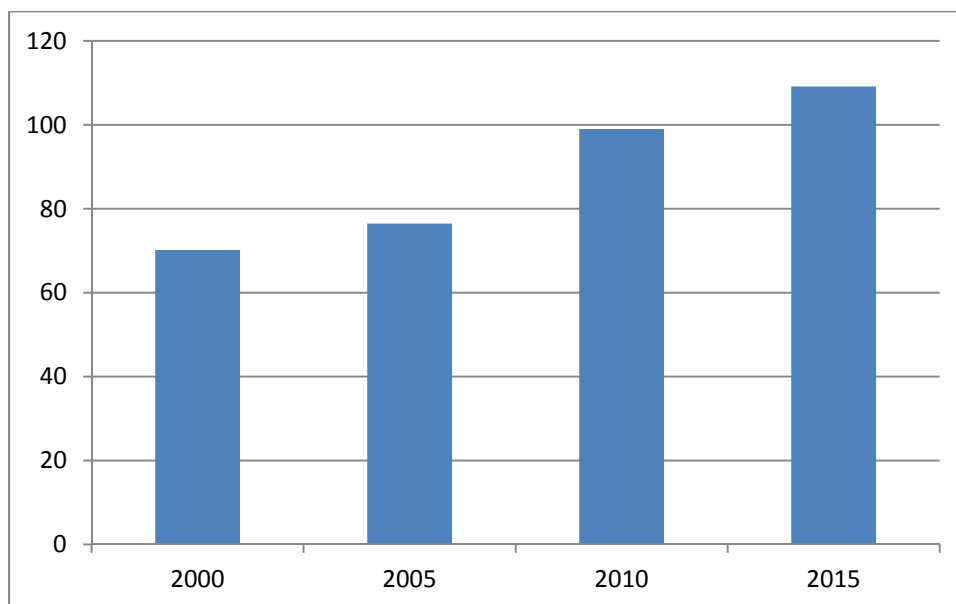
Notes: Employment to population ratio is the proportion of a country's working-age population that is employed. Ages 15 and older are generally considered the working-age population (modeled ILO estimate). Source: World Bank, Employment to Population Ratio for Puerto Rico [SLEMPTOTLSPZSPRI], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SLEMPTOTLSPZSPRI>, February 19, 2018

Figure 3. Gross Domestic Product (constant 2010 US\$), 2000-2013

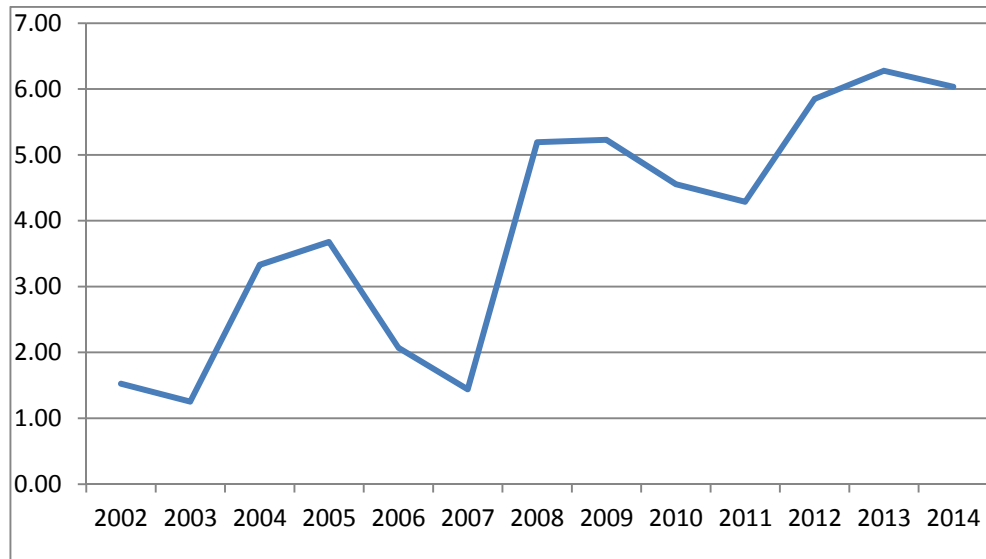


Notes: Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators, retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD> February 21, 2018.

Figure 4. Public Liabilities, As A Ratio To Nominal GDP



Notes: The numerator is the sum of debt and unfunded pension liabilities for the public sector; the denominator is nominal GDP. See Appendix A for details about the construction of the numbers in this Figure: 70.2, 76.5, 99.0, and 109.1 for 2000 to 2015, respectively. Some studies scale by GNP, which substantially increases the ratio. See Appendix A for a discussion of differences between using GDP and GNP as the scaling variable.

Figure 5. Government Deficits, As A Percentage Of GDP

Notes: Sources: Deficit data (GAO, 2018, Figure 2, p. 9; data provided via a FOIA request to the GAO; these data are compiled from Puerto Rico's publicly available, audited financial statements. GDP data, World Bank [NYGDPMKTPCDPRI], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/NYGDPMKTPCDPRI>, February 20, 2018.

Table 1 – Median Age Of the Population

Country	2015	2040	Annualized Growth Rate (%)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Puerto Rico	36.4	45.8	0.923
Caribbean Region	30.3	37.7	0.878
United States	37.6	41.2	0.366
More Developed Countries	41.1	45.5	0.408
Less Developed Countries	27.8	33.1	0.700

Notes: Source: United Nations (2018).

Table 2 -- Summary Information For 45 Matched Uninsured/Insured Bonds

M a t c h #	Spread- sheet Line Number Also Search for “###”	CUSIP Uninsured Bond (Red) ¹	CUSIP Insured Bond (Blue) ¹	Calendar Date Of Uninsured and Insured Matched Bonds	Company Backing The Insured Bond ²	Amount Of Issue Of Insured Bond (millions \$, Blue) ¹	C a l l Y e a r (R/ B) ¹	M A T U R I T Y (Red/ Blue) ¹	Quality Of The Matu- rity Match	Bias For σ From Matu- rity Match ⁶	σ
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1	74	745145QC9	745145QB1	3-15- 2000	MBIA	110.935	05/ 10	29/26	Not Exact	Up- ward	1.69
2	539	745145YN6	745145YR7	10-25- 2001	MBIA	1.000	N ³ / N	16/16	Exact		2.13
3	540	745145YP1	745145YR7	10-25- 2001	MBIA	1.000	N/ N	16/16	Exact		2.13
4	546	745145YX4	745145YY2	10-25- 2001	Ambac	6.770	N/ N	19/19	Exact		2.18
5	546	745145YX4	745145ZA3	10-25- 2001	Ambac	18.190	N/ N	19/19	Exact		2.18
6	548	745145YZ9	745145YY2	10-25- 2001	Ambac	6.770	N/ N	19/19	Exact		2.18
7	548	745145YZ9	745145ZA3	10-25- 2001	Ambac	18.190	N/ N	19/19	Exact		2.18
8	665	745145VT6	745145VU3	4-4- 2002	FGIC	21.190	N/ N	05/05	Exact		1.24
9	784	745145R61	745145R53 745145R79	8-8- 2002	FGIC	130.290/ 19.260	12/ 12	27/ 32&22	Not Exact	Up- ward	1.66
10	1305	7451458M7	7451458N5	5-18- 2004	FSA	29.165	⁴ / N	30/31	Not Exact	Down- ward	1.20

11	1305	7451458M7	7451458P0	5-18-2004	MBIA	40.000	<u>4/</u>	30/31	Not Exact	Downward	1.20
12	1305	7451458M7	7451458Q8	5-18-2004	FGIC	22.315	<u>4/</u>	30/31	Not Exact	Downward	1.20
13	1414	74514LCR6	74514LCS4	10-7-2004	FSA	8.560	12/ N	14/14	Exact		2.35
14	1420	74514LCX3	74514LCW5	10-7-2004	FSA	14.985	14/ 14	19/18	Not Exact	Upward	1.17
15	2261	74514LNB9	74514LNA1	10-16-2007	AG	24.940	N/ N	17/17	Exact		1.39
16	2262	74514LNC7	74514LNA1	10-16-2007	AG & MBIA	53.215 & 24.940	N/ N	18/ 17&19	Not Exact	Upward	1.42
17	2416	74514LSN8	74514LTE7	5-7-2008	AG	36.110	N/ N	14/14	Exact		2.61
18	2416	74514LSN8	74514LTF4	5-7-2008	AG	27.360	N/ N	14/14	Exact		2.61
19	2417	74514LSP3	74514LTG2	5-7-2008	AG	50.220	N/ N	15/15	Exact		2.61
20	2417	74514LSP3	74514LTH0	5-7-2008	AG	15.995	N/ N	15/15	Exact		2.61
21	2426	74514LSQ1	74514LTJ6	5-7-2008	AG	53.955	N/ N	16/16	Exact		2.88
22	2426	74514LSQ1	74514LTL1	5-7-2008	AG	16.605	N/ N	16/16	Exact		2.88
23	2793	74514LVV6	74514LVT1	9-17-2009	FSA	42.790	14/ 20	31/30	Not Exact	Upward	1.90
24	2793	74514LVV6	74514LVU8	9-17-2009	FSA	51.045	14/ 20	31/31	Exact		1.90
25	3154	74514LWK9	74514LWP8	2-17-2011	FSA/AGM	35.420	21/ 21	28/27	Not Exact	Upward	1.30
26	3156	74514LWM5	74514LWL7	2-17-2011	FSA/AGM	42.025	16/ 16	33/33	Exact		1.23
27	3157	74514LWQ6	74514LWT0	2-17-2011	FSA/AGM	15.000	21/ 21	34/34	Exact		1.22
28	3183	74514LXA0	74514LXF9	3-17-2011	FSA/AGM	20.000	16/ 16	32/32	Exact		1.30

29	3184	74514LXB8	74514LXF9	3-17-2011	FSA/AGM	20.000	16/16	32/32	Exact		1.30
30	3185	74514LWZ6	74514LXC6	3-17-2011	FSA/AGM	40.000	16/16	35/36	Not Exact	Downward	1.25
31	3187	74514LXH5	74514LXC6	3-17-2011	FSA/AGM	40.000	35/16	36/36	Exact		1.30
32	3189	74514LWX1	74514LXG7	3-17-2011	FSA/AGM	105.000	N/16	40/37	Not Exact	Upward	1.40
33	3276	74514LZF7	74514LZD2	7-12-2011	FSA/AGM	5.900	16/16	19/19	Exact		1.63
34	3277	74514LZH3	74514LZD2	7-12-2011	FSA/AGM	5.900	16/16	19/19	Exact		2.03
35	3279	74514LZG5	74514LZE0	7-12-2011	FSA/AGM	4.500	16/16	20/20	Exact		1.61
36	3280	74514LZJ9	74514LZE0	7-12-2011	FSA/AGM	4.500	16/16	20/20	Exact		1.94
37	3482	74514LA56	74514LD46	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	20.000	N/N	22/22	Exact		1.46
38	3484	74514LC70	74514LD53	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	5.000	22/22	23/23	Exact		1.54
39	3486	74514LC88	74514LD61	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	5.000	22/22	24/24	Exact		1.46
40	3487	74514LA72	74514LD61	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	5.000	22/22	24/24	Exact		1.59
41	3489	74514LA80	74514LD79	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	5.000	22/22	25/25	Exact		1.43
42	3493	74514LB22	74514LD87	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	11.520	22/22	27/27	Exact		1.77
43	3499 & 3500	74514LC39 74514LB63	74514LD20	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	322.925	22/22	33&37/35	Not Exact	Downward	1.30
44	3503	74514LC62	74514LD46	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	20.000	22/22	22/22	Exact		1.46
45	3504	74514LC70	74514LD53	4-3-2012	FSA/AGM	5.000	22/22	23/23	Exact		1.46

Notes:

¹ “Red” and “Blue” identify uninsured and insured bonds, respectively.

² Insurance companies: Ambac, AG, CIFG, FGIC, FSA, MBIA, Radian, Syncora. FSA was acquired by AG in July 2009 and renamed Assured Guaranty Municipal Corporation (AGM). AG and FSA/AGM were rated A throughout the entire sample period.

³ “N” indicates not callable.

⁴ Both the uninsured and insured bonds are callable at the discretion of and on any Mandatory Tender Date set by the Secretary of the Treasury of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

⁵ See Appendix D for some details concerning the collection of the Puerto Rican data.

⁶ Bias is based on the assumption that the term structure is upward sloping. Thus, a longer maturity bond, ceteris paribus, will have a higher yield. For example, in row 1, the slightly greater maturity for the uninsured bond results in a higher yield than would have occurred if the uninsured bond had the exact same maturity as its insured pair. This positive differential leads to an upward bias in our estimate of the risk premium, σ .

Table 3 -- Risk Premia Across And Issue Dates

Issue Date	Corporate Aaa	Puerto Rican	Corporate Baa	Non-Investment Grade (“Junk”)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. March 15, 2000	1.350	1.690	2.050	5.470
2. October 25, 2001	1.680	2.165	2.560	8.270
3. April 4, 2002	0.900	1.245	2.210	6.040
4. August 8, 2002	1.150	1.662	2.390	8.160
5. May 18, 2004	0.590	1.204	1.300	3.020
6. October 7, 2004	0.590	1.758	1.350	2.480
7. October 16, 2007	0.860	1.402	1.690	3.510
8. May 7, 2008	0.990	2.878	2.310	5.430
9. September 17, 2009	0.960	1.928	2.170	6.220
10. February 17, 2011	0.810	1.249	1.700	2.530
11. March 17, 2011	0.890	1.141	1.800	3.030
12. July 12, 2011	1.000	1.804	1.820	3.480
13. April 3, 2012	1.050	1.497	2.310	4.280
Average	0.986	1.663	1.974	4.763
Differential With Column 2	-0.677	0.000	+0.311	+3.100

Notes: Details concerning data sources and the estimation of the risk premia are discussed in Sections 2 and 3. For Corporate Aaa, Corporate Baa, and Non-Investment grade bonds, the risk premia are the yield on this asset class less the 20-year Treasury yield. The risk premium in column 4 is based on the effective yield of the ICE BofAML U.S. High Yield Master II Index tracking below investment grade corporate debt; these data were retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;

<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SLEMPTOTLSPZSPRI>, February 19, 2018. See FRED for details about the construction of this index.