

LAW AND REPUTATION

The legal system affects behavior not just directly, by imposing sanctions, but also indirectly, by producing information on how people behave. For example, internal company documents exposed during litigation will help third parties assess whether they trust a company and want to keep doing business with it. The law therefore affects behavior by shaping reputations. Drawing on economics, communications, and a nascent multidisciplinary literature on reputation, Roy Shapira highlights how reputation works, and how information from the courtroom affects the court of public opinion, with a particular emphasis on the role of the media. By fleshing out interactions between law and reputation, Shapira corrects common misperceptions about the ability of market forces to discipline corporate behavior and adds to timely, ongoing debates such as the desirability of heightened pleading standards or mandatory arbitration clauses. Law and Reputation should interest any scholar who invokes notions of market discipline in their work.

Roy Shapira is at the Harry Radzyner Law School, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya. He has focused on the interactions between law and reputation over the past decade: teaching it at Harvard Economics Department, consulting on it for private firms, and publishing in various law reviews and business publications.



Law and Reputation

HOW THE LEGAL SYSTEM SHAPES BEHAVIOR BY PRODUCING INFORMATION

ROY SHAPIRA

Interdisciplinary Center (Israel)





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107186507

DOI: 10.1017/9781316890653

© Roy Shapira 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Shapira, Roy, 1976– author.

TITLE: Law and reputation: how the legal system shapes behavior by producing information / Roy Shapira, Interdisciplinary Center (Israel)/University of Chicago. DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Based on author's thesis (doctoral – Harvard Law School, 2014). | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2020007266 | ISBN 9781107186507 (hardback) | ISBN 9781316637258 (paperback) | ISBN 9781316890653 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Corporate governance – Law and legislation. | Corporate image. | Corporations – Public relations. | Corporations – Public opinion. | Corporate governance – Law and legislation – United States.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC K1327 .853 2020 | DDC 346/.066–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020007266

ISBN 978-1-107-18650-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-316-63725-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To Moran, Amit, Noya, and Noam



Contents

Ack	nowle	edgments	page xii
	Introduction Overview		1
			3
Overview Methodology Scope PART I THEORY 1 How Reputation Works 1.1 Introduction 1.2 How Reputational Sanctions Work 1.3 Why Reputational Sanctions Are Noisy 1.3.1 Players Who Dispense Sanctions 1.3.2 Players Who Facilitate Sanctions Intermediaries) 1.3.3 Players Who Suffer Sanctions (Constituted in the Implications of Noisy Reputational 2 How the Legal System Affects Reputation 2.1 Introduction 2.2 The Basic Story	hodology	9	
	Scop	pe G.	12
	PART	ΓΙ THEORY	17
1	How	Reputation Works	19
	1.1	Introduction	19
	1.2	How Reputational Sanctions Work	21
	1.3	Why Reputational Sanctions Are Noisy	24
		1.3.1 Players Who Dispense Sanctions (Stakeholders)	24
		1.3.2 Players Who Facilitate Sanctions (Information	
		Intermediaries)	26
		1.3.3 Players Who Suffer Sanctions (Companies)	28
	1.4	The Implications of Noisy Reputational Sanctions	31
2	How	the Legal System Affects Reputation	35
	2.1	Introduction	35
	2.2	The Basic Story	36
		2.2.1 Where Information Comes From	37
		2.2.2 How Information Affects Reputations	39
		2.2.3 First-Opinion and Second-Opinion Effects	42
		2.2.4 Motivating Examples	43
		2.2.5 Ex ante Effects	45



viii Contents

	2.3	Evider		47
		2.3.1	Findings from Tip Sheets, Course Syllabi,	
			and Interviews	48
		2.3.2	Findings from Content Analysis of Prizewinning	
			Investigative Reports	52
	2.4	Refinii	ng the Basic Story: Limitations and Multiple Layers	57
		2.4.1	Limitations	57
		2.4.2	Multiple Layers of Reputation Information	59
	2.5		ion: What Explains the Magnitude and Direction	_
		of Rep	utational Effects	60
		2.5.1	Litigation Affects the Reputation of Individuals	_
			Differently than It Affects Companies	60
		2.5.2	The Process of Litigation Matters More than the	_
			Outcomes	63
		2.5.3	The Information Flow from the Courtroom Gets	"
			Distorted The Property of the Alexander of the Property of the Alexander	66
		2.5.4	The Reputational Impact Depends on the Market	C 0
			Activity and Legal Field in Question	68
		2.5.5	Evidence: Where Is Legal Sourcing More/Less Likely?	70
	PART	'II AP	PLICATIONS	75
3	Priva	ate Litig	gation: Corporate Law's Puzzle	77
	3.1	Introd	·	
	3.2		Fiduciary Duty Litigation Affects Nonlegal Sanctions:	77
	<i>y</i> .=		s and Sinners" Revisited	78
		3.2.1	The Existing Approach: Saints and Sinners	78
		3.2.2	The Reputational Effects of Judicial Scolding	81
	3.3	_	visney Litigation: a Case Study	82
		3.3.1	Information Produced before Litigation Started	84
		3.3.2	Information Produced during the Earlier Stages in	'
		, ,	Litigation	86
		3.3.3	The Real Impact of the Verdict	88
		3.3.4	How Generalizable Are the Lessons from <i>Disney</i> ?	94
	3.4	Implic	ations	96
		3.4.1	The Good Faith Doctrine Leads to More Information	-
			and Richer Interpretations	97
		3.4.2	Judicial Monitoring of Settlements in Class/Derivative	
			Actions Is Key	98



		Contents	ix
		3.4.3 Should Director Liability Be Assessed Individually or Collectively?	99
	3.5	Regulatory Competition: Delaware's Information-Production	,,
		and Ringmaster Abilities	100
		3.5.1 Delaware's Information-Production Advantages3.5.2 Make It Look Like a Struggle: the Difference between	101
		Perceived and Real Enforcement	103
4	Pub	lic Enforcement: The SEC's Settlement Practices	107
	4.1	Introduction	107
	4.2	Neither-Admit-Nor-Deny Settlements: the Existing Debate	108
	4.3	Identifying the Problem: How SEC Settlements	
		Underproduce Information	110
	4.4	Explaining the Problem: Why the SEC Trades Information	
		for Fines	112
	4.5	Recent Changes in SEC Practices Did Not Alleviate	
		the Problem	114
		4.5.1 More Admissions	114
		4.5.2 Filing Administratively	115
	4.6	Solving the Problem	116
		4.6.1 Changes to Judicial Scrutiny	116
		4.6.2 Changes to Enforcement Policy	117
	4.7	Private Litigation vs. Public Enforcement: the	
		Information-Production Perspective	118
5	Cor	porate Philanthropy as Signaling and Co-optation	122
	5.1	Introduction	122
	5.2	The Extant CP Literature: Data and Theory	125
	•	5.2.1 Existing Data	125
		5.2.2 Existing Theory	127
	5.3	CP as a Costly Signaling Mechanism	129
		5.3.1 The Basic Story: Signaling Financial Strength	130
		5.3.2 Refining the Basic Story: Limitations	132
		5.3.3 Other Possible Stories: Signaling Product Quality	
		or Workplace Attractiveness	135
		5.3.4 Adding Complexity	137
		5.3.5 Fit with Evidence	138



x Contents

	5.4	CP as a Co-optation Mechanism	140
		5.4.1 Motivating Examples	140
		5.4.2 Mechanisms of Co-optation	141
	5.5	How the Law Affects CP: the Case for Disclosure	145
		5.5.1 The Existing Regime: a Regulatory Vacuum	145
		5.5.2 The Case against Banning CP	147
		5.5.3 The Case for Disclosure	147
		5.5.4 How Come Disclosure Proposals Never Made	
	_	It into Law?	151
	5.6	Final Thoughts: Corporate Philanthropy	
		as a Reputational Buffer	152
6	Reg	ulators' Reputation	155
	6.1	Introduction	155
	6.2	Regulators' Reputation Concerns	157
		6.2.1 Regulators Care about Reputation	157
		6.2.2 Regulators' Reputations Are Noisy	159
	6.3	How Judicial Review Impacts Regulators' Reputation	164
		6.3.1 The Basic Story	164
		6.3.2 Refining the Basic Story: Limitations	167
		6.3.3 Torts against the Government	171
	6.4	How Private Litigation Impacts Regulators' Reputation	172
	·	6.4.1 The Basic Story	173
		6.4.2 Refining the Basic Story: Information Production	
		vs. Reputation-Shaping	175
	6.5	Implications	178
		6.5.1 Standards of Review	178
		6.5.2 Standing and Redressability	180
		6.5.3 Confidential Settlements	181
		6.5.4 The Role of Judicial Review in Mitigating	
		Regulatory Capture	182
	6.6	Final Thoughts: Public Litigation's Relative Impact	
		on Reputation	183
	PART III IMPLICATIONS		187
7	The	Case for Openness	189
	7.1	Introduction	189
	7 7	D 17:07 1:	100



		Contents	xi
	7.3	Disentangling the Issues	192
	, ,	7.3.1 Judicial Information	192
		7.3.2 Litigant-Centered Information	194
		7.3.3 Mandatory Arbitration Clauses	194
		7.3.4 Pleading Standards	197
	7.4	How to Solve the Information-Underproduction Problem? 7.4.1 Lessons for Judges: Altering the Weighing of Public	198
		Interest and the Language Used 7.4.2 Lessons for Policymakers: Creating Databases and	198
		Information Safety Valves	199
	7.5	Reputation Is Not a Justification for Nonintervention	201
8	The	Case against Mandatory Arbitration	202
	8.1	Introduction	202
	8.2	The Existing Debate	205
		8.2.1 Is Mandatory Arbitration Good Law?	206
		8.2.2 Is Mandatory Arbitration Good Policy?	208
	8.3	How Shifting to Arbitration Affects the Market for Reputation	210
		8.3.1 Media Scrutiny Matters for Corporate Governance	211
		8.3.2 Corporate Litigation Matters for Media Scrutiny	212
		8.3.3 Front-Loaded Information Production	214
	8.4	Can Other Institutions Substitute Litigation's Informational	
		Benefits?	217
		8.4.1 SEC Enforcement	218
		8.4.2 Individual Arbitration	219
		8.4.3 Section 220 Requests and Whistleblowing	220
	8.5	Implications	222
	8.6	Extensions: Arbitration and Reputation in Other Contexts	223
		8.6.1 Arbitration of Workplace Claims: <i>Epic</i> Ramifications8.6.2 How Reputation Affects Arbitration: the #MeToo	224
		Example	226
	Con	clusion	228
	Relation to the Extant Literature		229
	Potential Extensions		231
Apt	bendix	: A Interviews	237
	Appendix B Content Analysis		
Index			241



Acknowledgments

This book's core insight was developed during my SJD years at Harvard Law School, and I am indebted to the many who facilitated my growth there. First and foremost, my academic supervisors – Mark Roe, Lucian Bebchuk, and Robert Clark – were a fantastic source of feedback and inspiration. The school's graduate program provided financial and academic support. And many other faculty members, particularly Jesse Fried and Steve Shavell, were kind enough to offer a constant, high-quality sounding board. The eclectic nature of my work pushed me to interact also with many outside the law school, and I specifically thank the late Richard Hackman for his feedback on the social psychology angles presented here. Finally, Jeff Miron and the Economics Department gave me the opportunity to hone my ideas by teaching a seminar on them at Harvard College for six years.

Following the completion of my doctoral dissertation, I worked as a consultant on corporate reputation, mostly with Reputation Institute. Working there has greatly benefited my perspective on how law and reputation interact, infusing the abstract nature of my ideas with a much-needed reality check. I have also served as a research director at the Stigler Center at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business, and learned many valuable lessons there, both substantive and methodological. I am specifically indebted to Guy Rolnik for his on-the-ground insights on political economy and the role of the media, and to Luigi Zingales, who headed the center, for giving me the opportunity and for providing a rare blueprint for academic work that is both rigorous and accessible. In the last couple of years I have been a part of the Interdisciplinary Center's (IDC) Law School in Israel, where I enjoyed the support of Dean Amnon Lehavi and all other faculty members, with Amir Licht providing constant feedback on all matters corporate governance and beyond.



Acknowledgments

xiii

Numerous colleagues have read drafts or offered advice in various stages of the project. I especially benefited from the contributions of: Craig Carroll Mike Hatcliffe, Yuri Mishina, Rowena Olegario, Rupert Younger, and Batia Wiesenfeld (for the insights developed in Chapter 1, regarding how reputation works); John Coates, Jonathan Glater, James Hamilton, Shay Lavie, Ariel Porat, and Dean Starkman (Chapter 2, on how the law affects reputation); Jennifer Arlen, Tamar Frankel, Renee Jones, Kobi Kastiel, Vic Khanna, and Edward Rock (Chapter 3, on corporate law); Howell Jackson, Harvey Pitt, and Andrew Tuch (Chapter 4, on securities regulation); Yochai Benkler, Scott Hirst, and Rick Cohen (Chapter 5, on corporate philanthropy); Adam Shinar, Oren Tamir, Adrian Vermeule, and Wendy Wagner (Chapter 6, on administrative litigation); Laurie Dore and Verity Winship (Chapter 7, on the openness of dispute resolution); and John Armour, Brian Fitzpatrick, Jesse Fried, Joel Friedlander, Jill Gross, and Ann Lipton (Chapter 8, on mandatory arbitration). I am also thankful to many research assistants, especially Bernat Nasca and Dor Marinovsky for their help with content analysis of prizewinning investigative reports.

I also thank the various editorial boards that have published previous iterations of insights I present here, helping me in honing them. Especially relevant articles include: Corporate Philanthropy as Signaling and Cooptation, 80 Fordham L. Rev. 1889 (2012) (an earlier version of the insights developed in Chapter 5 here); A Reputational Theory of Corporate Law, 28 Stan. L. & Pol'y Rev. 1 (2015) (pertinent to Chapters 3, 4, and 8 here); Reputation through Litigation: How the Legal System Shapes Behavior by Producing Information, 91 Wash. L. Rev. 1193 (2016) (Chapters 1, 2); Law as Source, 37 Yale L. & Pol'y Rev. 153 (2018) (Chapters 2, 7); and Mandatory Arbitration and the Market for Reputation, 99 B.U. L. Rev. 873 (2019) (an earlier version of the insights developed in Chapter 8).

Above all, thanks go to my family. To my parents, for who I am. To my kids, for who they are. And to my life partner, Moran, for her never-ending patience and support (and for being an amazing person, regardless). This book is dedicated to them.