Nonprofit Organizations as Investor Protection: Explaining the Puzzle of Corporate Law Enforcement in East Asia **RIETI** Conference Jan. 8-10, 2003 Curtis J. Milhaupt **Columbia Law School**

The Puzzle of Corporate Law Enforcement in East Asia

- Why are nonprofit organizations (NPOs) playing the lead role as corporate law enforcement agents in Korea, Taiwan, and Japan?
- NPOs are bound by the nondistribution constraint.
- This form of direct shareholder activism by NPOs is not observable anywhere else in the world.

Relevance

Corporate governance literature --Quality of law enforcement is a key variable in investor protection (LLSV 1997, Black 2001) --Convergence/diversity: formal vs. functional convergence (e.g., Gilson 2001) Corporate governance reform: how to solve the problem of weak enforcement? (e.g., Black & Kraakman 1996; Coffee 2002)

Why is improving investor protection so difficult?

Corporate Law Enforcement as a Public Good
Specific deterrence
General deterrence
Clarity of the common law

The Under-Production of Corporate Law Enforcement in East Asia

- High statutory thresholds and economic risks of exercising shareholders' rights
- Network shareholding structures and passive domestic institutional investors
- Weak institutional infrastructure for private law enforcement
- Constraints on state enforcement

Illustration: Shareholder Derivative Suits in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan

Date of enactment of shareholder derivative suit procedure – 1990			1991-2000
Japan	(1950)	20	494
Korea	(1962)	0	12
Taiwan	(1966)	0	0

Where NPOs Fit: Theory

- Demand-Side Theory: NPOs emerge to fill gaps in supply of public goods created by government and market failures (Weisbrod 1977)
- Contract Failure Theory: NPOs economize on costs of writing and enforcing contracts to supply public goods where consumers cannot evaluate quality (Hansmann 1980)
 - Supply-Side Theory: NPOs need supply of "social entrepreneurs" (James 1987)

Predictions from Theory

Corporate law enforcement/investor protection could be a fertile area for the emergence of NPOs.

NPOs should be most successful where there is an existing stock of high-quality social entrepreneurs, or where the state entrusts NPOs with supplemental enforcement role.

Applying the Theory to East Asia

Spontaneous emergence of an investor protection NPO in each of the three systems to supply corporate law enforcement-related public goods

Differences in organizational structure, strategy and success generally consistent with theory, and demonstrate relevance of local law and politics

Korea: PSPD (PEC)

Filed suit on behalf of numerous plaintiffs in two historic court decisions on managerial responsibility

Fought irregularities in shareholders meetings Lobbied for passage of class action procedure Filed shareholder proposals and proxy solicitations

Japan: Shareholders Ombudsman

- Obtained large monetary settlements in a number of cases
- As part of settlement, obtained commitments from management to improve governance Filed shareholder proposals Lobbied for passage of whistle blower statute

Taiwan: Securities and Futures Institute

Organized de-facto class action suits on behalf of thousands of small investors in securities and corporate fraud cases Filed numerous disgorgement actions against managers for short-swing trading profits

Implications

For Comparative Corporate Governance Debate

For Corporate Governance Reform

Corporate Governance Debate

Novel enforcement mechanisms are possible, even where corporate law is "weak" Novel illustration of spontaneous, functional convergence in corporate governance But deeper analysis reveals continued diversity among the three NPOs tied to local history, law and politics

Corporate Governance Reform

- NPOs may be partial solution to under-enforcement problem in transition economies (esp. China)
- NPOs may be better solution to under-enforcement problem than U.S.-style attorney incentives, due to built-in constraint against frivolous litigation
- NPOs *improve* local enforcement regime, while
 "bonding" through cross-listing or "self-enforcing"
 corporate law may accelerate hollowing out of
 domestic enforcement regime