Committee: Historical Security Council (HSC)

Issue: The mortgage crisis of 2007

Student Officer: Sofia Bozani

Position: Deputy President

PERSONAL INTRODUCTION

Dear Delegates,

My name is Bozani Sofia, I am a Junior at Anatolia College and it is my greatest honour to serve as Deputy President in the Historical Security Council of the 5th ACG Model United Nations conference.

First and foremost, allow me to congratulate you for deciding to engage in the MUN world. As challenging as it might be, I can assure you that through this fun experience you gain valuable knowledge while familiarising yourself with public speaking skills. Having experience as a press member, delegate, judge, advocate, and chair, I guarantee to all newcomers that MUN is a unique adventure that has had a great impact on my life in many different aspects. Aside from getting acquainted with politics and the concept of international relations, I have also established new, lifelong friendships, revaluated my opinions and perspectives, and most importantly have become more confident in myself.

When it comes to the Historical Security Council, I must admit that I am beyond excited to participate. Ever since my first MUN experience a few years ago, the Security Council has been my favourite committee, as I find the procedure extremely entertaining and captivating. In addition, participating in a historical committee has always intrigued me and has been an aspiration of mine. Being a chair in the Historical Security Council is a dream coming true and I cannot wait for the conference. In addition, both topics we will be debating upon are very interesting and I am sure you will find them exciting as well.

This study guide is discussing the issue of the mortgage crisis of 2007. Keep in mind that this should only be your starting point. You must conduct your own research, starting with your country's background, further information on the agenda, your country's policy, and then produce your clauses accordingly. I understand that this sounds overwhelming, so if you have any concerns or need further guidance and clarification on the topic or the committee as a whole, do not hesitate to contact me at this email; @20171092@student.anatolia.edu.gr.

I hope you are as excited as I am, and I am looking forward to meeting you all!

Kind Regards

Bozani Sofia

TOPIC INTRODUCTION

The Mortgage Crisis of 2007-2010, also known as the Subprime Mortgage Crisis, was a severe contraction liquidity crisis in the global financial market that erupted in the United States and later progressed to the rest of the world. It started as a result of the collapse of the mortgage/housing market in the U.S. and it imposed a significant threat to the nationwide economy. It was the greatest threat the international financial system has experienced. Some of the worst and most impactful complications it caused were the failure of certain investment plans, commercial banks, insurance, savings, and loan associations and it most definitely crashed the mortgage system in the U.S.

The financial crisis was already years in the making, and by the summer of 2007, the markets began to show evident signs of the issue whose solutions were already long overdue. Some of the signs include the collapse of two of the Bear Stearns' hedge funds, requests for support in funding of US banks from British ones, and warnings from BNP Paribas that they would be unable to provide investors with funds. Despite all the signs, only a few experts suspected the problem and as a result, some of the biggest economic giants in the world were destroyed and the Great Recession began. The crisis cost not only instability to the market itself, but in addition, it cost many people their houses, jobs, savings, etc.

When it comes to this year's ACGMUN theme, "Decent Work and Economic Growth", a distinct relation is seen with the issue of the mortgage crisis. The mortgage crisis put an end to the economic growth and prosperity of the entire global community for many years and it led to damages of a great extent to the society, including the ethics of the worker's rights. In order to provide for themselves, many fell back on surpassing the set hours of work by a lot, resorted to unregistered occupation positions, and of course many were left unemployed.

Be reminded that as we are in the Historical Security Council and the year the committee is held is 2007, so please refrain from using information from later years. All statements that will be made and discussed during the debate and the lobbying should include events and information only up to December 2007, so please be careful with your research and if there are any concerns feel free to send me an email!

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Mortgage

The term mortgage stands for a loan that is used to purchase, rent, maintain a house, land, or any other property of the real estate. Typically, what happens is that the lender and the borrower

decide on the latter to pay back the loan over the course of some time period in small parts each time. The property is collateral in order to secure full payment of the land and there are certain requirements the borrower must meet to apply for such a loan (for example, minimum credit score).¹

Liquidity crisis

Liquidity crisis is an economic situation in which a lack of cash and assets easily convertible into cash both in the hands of businesses and economic institutions are seen. This results in an increase in demand and a decrease in availability, as the "liquids' ' are already few and buyers request more cash which is usually triggered by an economic shock, like the mortgage crisis. Liquidity issues can occur to a simple economic institution, though in order for it to be considered a crisis simultaneous lack of liquidity needs to occur across an entire financial system.²

Collateral

In economics, collateral is an item of proportionate value to the loan given (in the case of the mortgage crisis; the house) that the lender and borrower have agreed on for the lender to seize if the borrower fails to meet the loan terms; in simpler terms, if the borrower fails to pay back the loan. Usually, the banks use the borrower's accommodation as collateral and it acts as a guarantee that the lender will receive the money they spend, even if it is not in the form of payment.³

Housing Market

The housing market, also known as the real estate market and the mortgage market, is the network in which properties are being sold, purchased, and rented either directly to the buyer or through real estate companies. It is a process that brings together the homeowners, the investors, the potential buyers, contractors, and brokers who act like a facilitator in this buying operation.⁴

¹ Kagan, Julia. "What Is a Mortgage?" *Investopedia*, Investopedia, 30 Dec. 2021, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/mortgage.asp.

² Team, The Investopedia. "Liquidity Crisis Definition." *Investopedia*, Investopedia, 8 Sep. 2021, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/l/liquidity-crisis.asp.

³L European Central Bank. "What Is Collateral?" *European Central Bank*, 18 Nov. 2021, https://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/educational/explainers/tell-me/html/collateral.en.html.

⁴ "What Is the Housing Market? - Definition: Meaning: Example." My Accounting Course, https://www.myaccountingcourse.com/accounting-dictionary/housing-market.

Credit

Credits in the financial industry is the transaction between two parties where one (usually called the creditor) supplies services, money, supplies, etc, to the other in return for a promised future payment. They might also include the payment of interest to the creditor. The lender decides whether or not to fund the other party based on two factors; a) the importance and nature of the project and b) the capacity and intention to repay. Of course, there is collateral involved and banks can extend credit based on the current financial situation.⁵

Commercial Banks

This term refers to the financial institutions that most people use for their banking. These banks deal with accepting deposits, offering loans, and protecting the savings accounts of individuals and small-scale cooperations. Through customer deposits, commercial banks acquire and secure sufficient cash in order to provide loans to potential customers. This process is defined as the financial system⁶

Subprime loan

A subprime loan is a loan offered to an individual at an interest rate that is not prime (the interest rate is much higher than the normal). That is justified because of the low credit rate of the borrowers (meaning that the borrower usually does not qualify for the loan due to low or unstable income). They are usually given to people with limited credit history and for a specific use, like real estate, and it is based on an assumption that the borrower will repay. Though, in cases of subprime loans, it is much more likely for the borrower to default in the repayment.⁷

Inflation

Inflation is a term commonly used in economics to measure how much more expensive a product/service has become over a given period of time, usually the course of a year. It describes the rate at which the price is rising which shows certain patterns that help experts predict trends.⁸

⁵ "Credit." Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., https://www.britannica.com/topic/credit.

⁶ Kagan, Julia. "Understanding Commercial Banks." *Investopedia*, Investopedia, 30 Dec. 2021, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/commercialbank.asp.

⁷ "Subprime Loan." *Corporate Finance Institute*, 30 Jan. 2021, https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/knowledge/credit/subprime-loan/.

⁸ Oner, Ceyda, and CEYDA ONER is a deputy division chief in the IMF's Finance Department. "F&D Article." *Inflation: Prices on the Rise*, https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/basics/30-inflation.htm.

Rating Companies

Rating Companies or Agencies is a company that assesses the strengths and abilities of a company, government entity, or even people and especially their capability to meet and pay off debt payments and interest rates. The statistics that are produced show the level of confidence of the borrower to repay the lender.⁹

Interest Rate

Interest Rate is the amount, usually, in the form of a percentage of the original debt, the lender charges the borrower on top of the loan given and it is usually annual. Simple interest is when the percentage is calculated only from the loan that is given, but in a few cases of mortgage lending, the interest is calculated from the loan plus the interest rate of the previous years. It can also be defined as the proportion of an amount given which the lender charges the borrower as interest, normally expressed as an annual percentage.¹⁰

Foreclosures

Foreclosure is the legal process in which the lender attempts to recover the price of the loan from a borrower who no longer submits payments by forcing the borrower to return the asset used as collateral. In the cage of the mortgage crisis, this asset was the house.

Hedge funds

Hedge Funds are actively risky alternative investment choices, where the managers use different strategies, even the borrowing and trading with esoteric assets, to beat and improve investment returns from their clients.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

What is a mortgage and how was the idea created?

The idea of mortgage was first introduced centuries back, and while the purpose is mostly the same as then, they have evolved significantly, just like the general financial system. From a simple repayment plan, it now consists of complex transactions. They first originated in England because people were unable to afford the purchase of land. No other financial institution was involved,

⁹"Rating Agency." *Corporate Finance Institute*, 31 May 2021, https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/knowledge/finance/rating-agency/

¹⁰"Interest Rate." Investopedia, 1 Sep. 2021, www.investopedia.com/terms/i/interestrate.asp.

the sellers would directly give loans to the borrowers to repay by a day they would set between them. In the 1900s, they started becoming more complex and long-term, the borrower just paid the monthly interest and saved up for the original sum. It was first led by the government, though over the 2000s, it became a mostly private sector with rating companies and commercial banks taking the lead.

Causes of the mortgage crisis of 2007

Contrary to popular belief the crisis was not caused by a decision of the United States Federal Government, it was caused by the unregulated private financial entities and institutions that did not cautiously distribute the amount of money when giving out loans for real estate. They rather passed out the money to everyone who was in need, without ensuring they could repay fast enough. For over 80 years the government supported mortgage lending through different programs and entities, which enabled the rise of the middle class and assisted families in buying houses. In the early 2000s, the market transformed to a mostly private one, and a dramatic expansion of loans going into housing was noted and the biggest part of this was going into subprime loans. As a result, what caused the big mortgage crisis in simple terms, was the extensive amount of spending on loans, without carefully considering the ability of the borrower to repay in time for the economy to flow circularly effectively, meaning the unsustainable distribution of money.

Hedge funds played a significant role in the shaping of the crisis. They set a demand for mortgage-backed securities through the pairing of them with guarantees called credit default swaps. What went wrong is that those with adjustable-rate mortgages (originally set below the market rate, and then the rate rises as time goes on) could not make the higher payments. Demand then fell, subsequently the prices of houses fell and when the houses could not be solved, they defaulted, and the houses became worthless.

Another factor that played a big role was the fact that subprime and interest-only mortgages cannot mix. Supreme borrowers are those in need and with a small credit history which are thus more likely to default. Lenders charge more interest when they are unsure of the lender's ability to return the money given, which makes the loan greater and too expensive for the borrower to cover, thus creating a vicious cycle of borrowers unable to repay due to the system's fault. The creation of interest-only loans lowered the monthly/annual payments so borrowers could afford them, though the increased the risk of lenders as the initial rate and price is reset after some years, so even if the borrower sold the asset, it would not be enough to cover both the initial price plus the loan given.

The ultimate cause of the crisis falls again to be human greed and desire for more profit. The key factors were (commercial) banks, rating agencies, hedge funds, homeowners and investors.

Banks lent to those who could not afford to repay, people bought even when they were not financially stable and when the market started to crash and the interest increased because banks were out of funds, people were not able to cover their necessities.

Mechanism and the Role of Credit Companies

Credit Rating Agencies (CRAs) also were a catalyst to the crisis. As defined above, CRAs provide an insight on actors' ability to repay loans and their general financial state. Over the first half of the 2000s decade, they did that in a more careless manner that led to them recommending to banks people that were supposedly able to repay their loans, when in reality they did not have the assets for such a thing. The big three agencies, Moody's Investors Service, Standard & Poor's, and Fitch Ratings came under heavy criticism after the global financial crisis for giving favourable ratings to institutions like Lehman Brothers in return for a small payment, like the S&P case explained later on. They were also blamed for failing to spot or ignoring risky mortgage-backed securities that led to the collapse of the real estate market in the United States. This criticism has existed for years now, and they have been accused of conflict-of-interest scandals before, so the emergence of the crisis confirmed such claims.

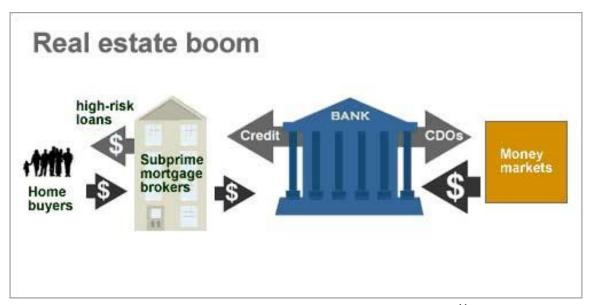


Figure 1: Diagram explaining the real estate market¹¹

¹¹Figures 1 and 2 are from; "The Causes of the Crisis -- China.Org.Cn." Financial Crisis, www.china.org.cn/business/financial-crisis/2008-11/12/content_16754156.htm.

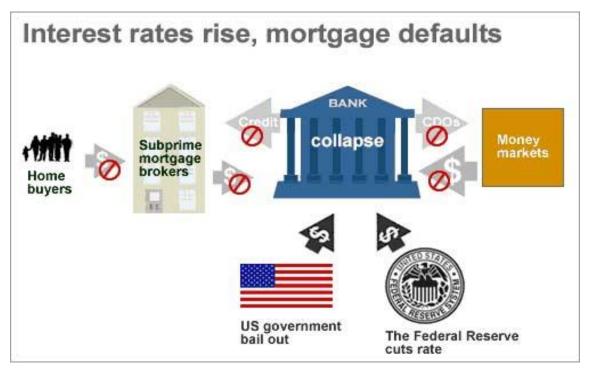


Figure 2: Diagram explaining how the mortgage crisis occurred

Great Recession

The crisis stemmed from a substantial decline in home prices, resulting in the rise of mortgage foreclosures nationwide and helping to bring about a nationwide recession lasting from 2007-2009. It slowly moved from the USA to the rest of the world, and it is considered to be the longest and the worst downturn since the 1920s Great Depression. Due to the subprime crisis, many lost their jobs, property, savings, etc so the poverty rate skyrocketed, from 2007 at 12.5%, to 2010 being over 15%. Altogether, between the years 2007-2010 poverty amongst children and young adults surpassed 22% and US stocks lost much wealth dropping by around 57% in the years 2007-2009¹². There is a general agreement that the Great Recession worsened economic class inequalities as the wealthiest prior to the crisis suffered the least and needed almost no time to recover.

Western European banks that had invested in American ones also suffered transferring the crisis and as a result the recession to Europe as well. Most industrialized countries, with the exceptions of India and China, suffered greatly and some even faced political repercussions, such as Ireland, whose government collapsed and the three head banks were nationalized. Almost all of the European countries suffered greatly, similarly to the US, and the European Union alongside the

¹² "The Great Recession Definition." Investopedia, 23 Oct. 2020, www.investopedia.com/terms/g/great-recession.asp.

European Central Bank interfered. The only countries that somehow benefitted would be India and China as the halt in the world's growth allowed for them to run much ahead of their competition. The Great Recession recovered in all countries slowly and unevenly and the socioeconomic differences were accelerated.

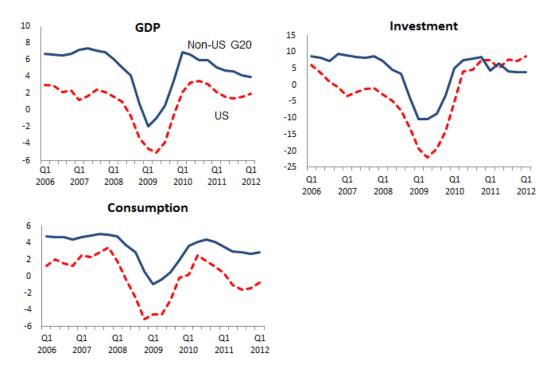


Figure 3: Graphs of the Global Growth broken down into different aspects and quarters throughout the years¹³

¹³Figures 3 and 4 are from; "Explaining the Global Great Recession." VOX, CEPR Policy Portal, https://voxeu.org/article/explaining-global-great-recession

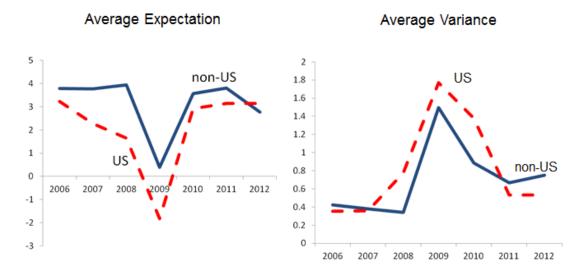


Figure 4: Graphs indicating the difference between the Expectation and the Variance in GDP

The results of the crisis

The biggest result of the mortgage crisis was the 2008 banking/financial crisis. After the USA, Europe was the first region that was affected and in contagion, it spread to the rest of the world. American households lost \$16 trillion in net worth; one-quarter of households lost at least 75 percent of their worth, and almost all at least 25 percent. As house prices dropped, bankers were reluctant in trusting each other so they would refrain from lending to each other. The banks were no longer interconnected with one another so naturally, the entire financial system started to collapse. In addition, once prices started to drop, they were unable to put a specific value on these assets, further worsening the situation. This absence of security and precise information caused much uncertainty and anxiety to the big financial actors.

Through an avalanche of foreclosures, previously prosperous suburban areas vacated and saw a sharp rise in poverty, with about a third of them living below the poverty line. Furthermore, the mortgage is the main financial asset of most individuals/families so its loss of value alongside the damage in the credit score spoiled any chance people had of a comfortable retirement. In regard to the housing market, the banks and the lenders were now unable to provide loans and the credits tighten significantly, making the process of purchasing a house unattainable. Needless to say, companies closed down and the ones who survived had to cut employees off, leaving millions unemployed.

TIMELINE

Date	Event
21 st February 2003	First warning of the danger of mortgage- backed securities and other derivatives by Buffet Warner
25 th -27 th August 2005	At the Economic Policy Symposium of central bankers at the Jackson Hole, Wyoming meeting of 2005, Dr. Raghuram Rajan, the chief economist of the World Bank of that year, officially warned that the inter-bank market could freeze up.
March 2006	Home prices fall 4.1 percent from fourth quarter of 2005 to first quarter of 2006
25 th September 2006	Home prices fall rapidly for the first time in more than a decade.
27 th February 2007	Mortgage giant Freddie Mac refuses to buy the riskiest loans.
31st July 2007	Investment bank Bear Stearns liquidates two hedge funds that invested in risky securities.
9 th August 2007	The day the Mortgage Crisis went Global
16 th August 2007	Fitch Ratings cuts the credit rating of giant mortgage lenders' third-lowest investment-grade rating.
18 th September 2007	The Federal Government starts the lowering of the interest rates
30 th October 2007	Merrill Lynch's chief is forced to resign after a \$7.9 billion exposure to bad debt is unveiled.

MAJOR COUNTRIES, ORGANISATIONS, AND PEOPLE INVOLVED

United States of America

The USA has had the greatest role in the 2007 mortgage crisis. It was the starting point of the climax and the country that was also most affected by it considering the fact that the key major factors that eventually led to the crisis were American banks and rating companies. The issue is often referred to as the US. Mortgage Crisis, proving the country's significance. The household debt to disposable personal income rose from 77% to 127% from the 1990s¹⁴ to the end of 2007 as a result of the prolonged recession and the trend of accepting high-risk mortgage lending. The USA was the centre of the crisis with most parties involved being US companies and officials.

President George W. Bush

More specifically, the American President was a key player in the crisis. While it is debatable how much power and influence a president has on the economy and especially in times of a financial crisis, the fact that Bush was in this position during the crisis and the lead-up to the crisis gives him a certain role. His administration implemented tax cuts and deficits, but he was still unsuccessful in dealing with the root cause. His actions on the crisis were limited to such cuts due to his lack of time in the office (he was dismissed in 2008). For his case to be made, the economic problems that led to the crisis started over the previous administrations and specifically the Clinton administration. His treasury secretary, Henry "Hank" Paulson also played an important role as he was the one in charge of America's economy and allowed the Lehman Brothers, a financial service firm, to fail.

Lehman Brothers CEO Richard Fuld

Richard Fund being the last CEO of the Lehman Brothers reminds everyone of the financial crisis. He steered Lehman right into the mortgage world and quickly became one of the leading financial institutions, merging the debts into bonds that were then given to investors. While other commercial banks were supported and bailed out by the government from the mess of the mortgage crisis, Paulson allowed the bank to fail.

Lehman Brothers, established in 1847, was the fourth-largest company in the US with about 25,000 employees worldwide. They dealt with issues of equity, private banking, trading, and

¹⁴ The Economist. "The End of the Affair." The Economist, 11 Dec. 2008, www.economist.com/united-states/2008/11/20/the-end-of-the-affair.

investment management, and transactions. Lehman was the first Wall Street big bank to deal with the mortgage world in 1997 when they bought West Coast subprime mortgage lender BNC Mortgage LLC. The company grew greatly though commercial real estate holdings were at high risk so a single change to the sector would destroy them, which is what happened with the mortgage crisis.

International Monetary Fund

"The International Monetary Fund is an organization 190 countries working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world." ¹⁵It was established as a result of the Great Depression in 1944 and its main course of action includes capacity building, lending and surveillance. With few exceptions, agencies failed to predict the size of the subprime crisis and its impact, and the IMF is one of these agencies. Critics have raised the question of how an organisation with such a great insight in the worldwide economy could not have foreseen a crisis of that level. Of course, the IMF had no active role and was not a catalyst to the crisis, though many are to blame for their incapability to foresee and thus prevent the crisis. Even though they failed to do so, they assisted with dealing with its consequences and the direct effects to the citizens through the creation of programs that could help the sufferings of people and the easier restoration of the system.

Standard & Poor's rating company

Standard and Poor's rating company, also known as S&P, is a company known worldwide as the creator of financial indices used in investment and credit transactions. Such indices in this case refer to credit rating through a data source, which as explained before is used to evaluate a person's ability to repay a loan. S&P is known to be a risk taker over the credit history which is why they have been so significant over the crisis. The role of rating agencies in the crisis, as explained before, is evident in S&P.

Their president at that time, Kathleen Corbet, was one of the most high-profile people at that time in the mortgage industry and she was named by "Times Magazine" to be one out of the 25 people to blame for the crisis. While before the 2000s, S&P was one of the most reliable agencies for rating statistics, there was a scandal over that period saying that due to a conflict of interest, the company was accepting money from other companies to lower the riskiness of their products, services, etc. Corbet left the company in the following year shamefully, though the company was fined by the US government \$1.5 billion, which were later used to cover people's debts.

¹⁵ "About the IMF." *IMF*, https://www.imf.org/en/About.

Buffett Warren

Buffet Warren is an investor and a business magnate and genius, chairing and serving as the CEO of Berkshire Hathaway, since 1970. He held the same position during the 2007 crisis, and it would have been an oversight to not consider his impact on what happened. Warren called Paulson on a random night and proposed that it would make more sense to give more capital to the banks, rather than buy the assets. Not all of them needed the money and some CEOs were reluctant as it would be an indicator of weakness, though in the end almost \$250 billion went into the system for tax and credit relief. He was heavily criticised as the working class protested saying he was bailing out the rich and his acquaintances in Wall Street, rather than helping the people in need. Though, this proposal may have saved the world's economy.

RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES, AND EVENTS

UN Department of Economics and Social Affairs (UN DESA)

The department at the period of the crisis served as the Secretariat of the United Nations Conferences on Financing for Development, which was then trying to create an action plan through regular meetings with experts and Bush. While other actors dealt more directly with the issue proposing credit relief plans and dealing with more emergency related questions, DESA, alongside the UN International Review Conference on Financing for Development, dealt with the long-term consequences of the crisis and proposed solutions for this issue. They highlighted the need to redefine financial architecture and structure and created closer ties with rating agencies and commercial banks of the US, as well as Buffet Warren, to force them to be more transparent and provide them with the resources needed for the resolution of the crisis.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

Secretary General; Ban Ki-Moon

The Secretary General of the period, Ban Ki-Moon, held many meetings with the US government, the IMF and the World Bank to create an action plan and credit/loan relief programs for US citizens. In addition, he called for the G-7 ministers to meet with Bush, and he then called for the first official G-20 meeting, which until then was simply a forum. Ban supervised and the ministers agreed that new regulations were needed on the mortgage sector which the G-20 committee is working on. The meeting concluded with the decision that the ministers would need to try to deal with credit relief on their own until a further G-20 order is taken.

President of the General Assembly; Miguel d' Escoto Brockman

Similarly, to Ban Ki-Moon, Brockman called for plenty of GA meetings on the issue with a very similar agenda to that of the G-20, with guest speakers such as finance professors and observing members like the IMF and the World Bank. This meeting led to the establishment of a high-level task force, the "Commission of Experts on Reforms of the International Monetary and Financial System" to regulate, evaluate and oversee possible reforms that would be proposed by the G-20 or even, later on, the Security Council.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

One of the main reasons regulators, officials, and the UN has been unable to deal with the housing crisis is the lack of transparency by the banks/lenders in the market industry, so when delegates are tackling this issue, ensuring transparency and by consequence enhancing monitoring is more than imperative. There are many ways to achieve this, for example having Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) publicize news related to companies, having the companies report back to the UN on the process and progress, and applying certain protocols.

Acknowledging the fact that the main cause of the crisis is the unsustainable and fair distribution of money in loans, implementing certain worldwide standards for mortgage lending as well as penalising the companies that do not adhere to those standards could not only solve the issue but also help prevent a future crisis. The poverty rate also needs to be handled, which can be achieved through means such as funds on cutting back on the credit/loans and of course implementing a support system for the unemployed. Particular focus should be placed on the effect towards the young adults as due to their small credit history they struggled the most while recovering. Those are only a fraction of the solutions that can be implemented, acting simply as an inspiration so that delegates can use them and adjust them to their country's policy. A more indirect, maybe risky decision would be the temporary purchase of the banks by the government until they recover from their debts.

LINKS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

I recommend that you look at the websites in the footnotes of the definitions for a more detailed insight as well as some of the bibliography that you deem to be important

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"Subprime Mortgage Crisis." Federal Reserve History, https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/subprime-mortgage-crisis.

This is a quite long one, but there was a film created for the crisis and I recommend you watch it; "Panic: The Untold Story of the 2008 Financial Crisis | Full VICE Special Report | HBO." YouTube, uploaded by Council on Foreign Relations, 1 May 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=QozGSS7QY_U.

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