Consumer Protection Regulation: Moving Beyond the Economics of Information to the Economics of Consumer Comprehension

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* The views expressed are those of the presenter. They are not necessarily shared by the Federal Trade Commission or any individual Commissioner.

Introduction

Ι.

Silver lining in financial crisis

Focus on Consumer Protection
Golden Opportunity
Responsibility

What can I contribute?

- Over two decades of experience studying consumer protection regulations as an economist at the Federal Trade Commission
- Then again, this may not be helpful . . .



Where to begin?

Hard to know

"A point in every direction is no point at all."

--Harry Nilsson The Point!

Three points

- Consumer protection policy is often tricky because people are unique
- Consumer protection policy is unlikely to be effective without a joint mandate to promote competition
- Information remedies are generally preferred to product restrictions, iff information policy focuses on consumer comprehension

П.

Economics of Consumer Protection Background

Economics of consumer protection

- Key point of economics and consumer protection: competition in a free market will usually bring greatest benefits to consumers.
- Economics helps identify those areas where intervention may be useful.

Indeed competition and consumer law should be seen as one subject, not two.

Competition is pro-consumer for the simple reason that rivalry among suppliers to serve customers well is good for customers. In such rivalry, the suppliers who serve customers best will prosper and those that serve them poorly will not.

> John Vickers FBA Economics for consumer policy British Academy Keynes Lecture 28 October 2003

Competition and consumer protection

- Competition between sellers
 - price competition lowers prices to consumers
 - quality competition leads to products consumers desire
- Competition means consumers can go elsewhere if they are not happy with a particular seller. This imposes discipline on sellers' behavior.

An important consumer protection mission for government is ensuring a competitive marketplace.

Competition and Information

- Power of competition to benefit consumers depends on honest information.
- Competition can lead to more honest information getting to consumers – competitors have incentives to point out others' lies.
- Government policies should encourage provision of honest information.

Competition is great, but it is not perfect . . .

Asymmetric information can lead to market failures

- Sellers with good products may not be able to convince buyers of good quality.
- Sellers may try to convince buyers that products are better than they really are.
 - Fraud: lying about a worthless product.
 - Deceptive claims: exaggerating quality of product, "stretching truth" about legitimate product.



Government has a role in stopping fraud and deceptive claims.

Things to consider when deciding whether to take action

- Exactly what is the problem?
 - Efficiency issue
 - Equity issue
- Will problem persist if government doesn't take action?
- Is some governmental failure contributing to the problem?
- How much consumer injury is there?
- Is there a viable remedy?

Consumer Policy Remedies

- Inform Consumers
- Educate Consumers
- Nudge Consumers
- Restrict Product Characteristics

Relevant academic literatures

- Traditional economics
 - Household production
 - •Economics of information
- Marketing research
- Behavioral economics
- Law and economics

Evaluating Consumer Issues

Some cases are easy

- Outright fraud provides no benefit to society, so resources permitting, action is warranted, no concern about over-deterrence
- Some cases are hard, and require substantial analysis using all available data, and the collection of new data
 - Advertising substantiation
 - Labeling Rules (appliance labeling)

Differences among people complicates analysis

- Model of Constrained Utility Maximization recognizes
 - Differences in consumer tastes
 - Differences in consumer income constraints
 - Different reactions to time constraints
- People are unique!



Health claims in advertising

Ringold, Debra J. and Janis K. Pappalardo, "Regulating Commercial Speech in a Dynamic Environment: Forty Years of Margarine and Oil Advertising Before the NLEA," *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 19 (1), 74-92, 2000.



Science finds Corn Oil important to health

-because it is rich in "L-plus" factor

Of all leading U.S. Brands only Mazola[•] is Pure Corn Oil

It has been demonstrated repeatedly that Mazola Corn Oil lowers the cholesterol level of the blood stream - considered important in both the prevention and treatment of heart disease.

Mazola is unsaturated, not hydrogenated. Many nutritionists now suggest that from one-third to one-half of the fat we eat should be unsatu-rated vegetable oil-rich in "L-plus" factor. Mazola gives you these important health benefits because it is so rich in the "L-plus" factor.

Mazola makes so many dishes so delicious! Whether you are frying chicken, seafood or making your own salad dressings, Mazola is so good-and so good for you!

• You can season to

The "L-plus" factor The desirable effect of corn oil in decreasing the amount of cholesterol in the blood has been demonstrated repeatedly.

Dector solidorated repeatedly. Doctors believe that the nat-ural substances present in corn oil bring about this desirable effect. For brevity, we call the combination of these sub-riances (including Linokestes) the "Lplus" factor. Mazola Corn Oil has a very high "Lplus" factor content.

Since the body cannot make the complete "L-plus" factor, it should be provided regularly in daily meals.

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CORN OIL

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Mazola[®] Corn Oil is best* for cutting down saturated fats in your diet!

*Modern science proves corn oil best of all leading oils for cutting down saturated fats in the diet, and of *all* leading brands, only Mazola is corn oil!

lies use Mazola for delicate, delicious home-made salad dressings ... for tender, juicier frying too. Remember: Not all "vegetable oils" are corn oil. So always look at the label be-fore you buy. If it doesn't say corn oil, it's not Mazola-the oil that's best for cutting down saturated fats in the diet!



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Financial products

- Particularly difficult to judge choices
- Where is customer in life/earning cycle?
- How much is person willing to sacrifice to buy house in good school district?
- What are expectations about future income?
- So many unobservable factors affect choice

Uniqueness complicates consumer policy analysis

- Even with perfect information, consumers make different choices
- Ask if consumer had full information about product quality, would she buy a product?
 - Exploding Toaster (not good for anyone)
 - Mortgage with pre-payment penalty or adjustable rate (good for some)

Lessons from FTC conference

 "Consumer Information and the Mortgage Market: Economic Assessment of Information Regulation, Mortgage Choice, and Mortgage Outcomes"

• Held on May 29, 2008

• Brought together experts on housing economics, mortgage markets, economics of information, and consumer behavior to exchange knowledge and ideas

Consumer information and the mortgage market conference

Session I: Economic Analysis of Mortgage Product Development, Market Structure, and Mortgage Outcomes

Session Participants:

Susan M. Wachter, University of Pennsylvania Anthony Pennington-Cross, Marquette University Souphala Chomsisengphet, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency Christopher J. Mayer, Columbia University and Visiting Scholar, Federal Reserve Bank of New York Morris Kleiner, University of Minnesota Richard M. Todd, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis Paul Pautler, Federal Trade Commission (Chair and Discussion Leader)

Consumer information and the mortgage market conference

Session II: Economic Analysis of Consumer Information and Mortgage Choice

Session Participants:

David Laibson, Harvard University Jonathan Levin, Stanford University Brent Ambrose, Penn State University Karen Pence, Federal Reserve Board of Governors James Lacko, Federal Trade Commission Janis Pappalardo, Federal Trade Commission Thomas Pahl, Federal Trade Commission (Chair and Discussion Leader)
Consumer information and the mortgage market conference

Session III: Roundtable Examining the Impact of Consumer Information on the Mortgage Market Crisis

Session Participants:

Paul S. Willen, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston John G. Lynch, Jr., Duke University Alex Pollock, American Enterprise Institute David Weil, Boston University Pauline Ippolito, Federal Trade Commission (Chair and Discussion Leader)

Consumer information and the mortgage market conference

Session IV: Developing Disclosures for Real Consumers to Help Prevent Deception, Delinquency, and Foreclosure – Where Should Policymakers Go From Here?

Session Participants:

Jeanne Hogarth, Federal Reserve Board of Governors Vanessa Perry, George Washington University Susan Kleimann, Kleimann Communication Group Annamaria Lusardi, Dartmouth College Sumit Agarwal, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago Susan Woodward, Sand Hill Econometrics Jesse Leary, Federal Trade Commission (Chair and Discussion Leader) Research is showing that nonprime products are not inherently flawed Product restrictions can do more harm than good The Rise in Mortgage Defaults: Facts and Myths

Professor Chris Mayer Paul Milstein Professor of Real Estate; Visiting Scholar, Federal Reserve and & NY Fed

Sources

- Christopher Mayer, Karen Pence, and Shane Sherlund, <u>"The Rise in Mortgage Defaults: Facts and Myths</u>"
- Christopher Mayer, Tomasz Piskorski, and Alexei Tchistyi, "<u>The Inefficiency of Refinancing: Why</u> <u>Prepayment Penalties Are Good for Risky Borrowers</u>"
- Shane Sherlund, "The Outlook for Subprime Mortgages"
- Christopher Mayer and Karen Pence, "<u>Subprime</u> <u>Mortgages: What, Where, and to Whom?</u>"

Takeaways

- **Myths:** Defaults appear *unrelated* to mortgage market innovations, including
 - Prepayment penalties
 - Rate resets on short-term ARMs (2/28 mortgages)
 - Interest-only or "option-ARMs"
- Evidence: Unprecedented rise in defaults and foreclosures primarily due to
 - Stagnation in house prices (driven by subprime collapse?)
 - Slackened underwriting
 - Poor economic conditions in some locations

So where do we go from here?

- Encourage private sector to responsibly replace \$1 trillion in lost mortgage originations
- Consumer protection regulation should be carefully constructed to ensure credit is available to risky borrowers who can afford it

FRM with (well-disclosed) prepayment penalty may be a good product for risky borrowers

 Legal changes that allow cramdowns or require "negotiations" will surely reduce new supply of credit, possibly extending house price declines

Additional research

 Gerardi, Kristopher, Andreas Lehnert, Shane Sherlund, and Paul Willen, "Making Sense of the Subprime Crisis," Brookings Panel on Economic Activity, September 11-12, 2008.

Making Sense of the Subprime Crisis Main findings:

- Explores whether market participants could have or should have anticipated the large increase in foreclosures that occurred in 2007 and 2008.
- While loans originated in 2005 and 2006 did carry extra risk factors (particularly increased leverage), underwriting standards alone cannot explain the dramatic rise in foreclosures.
- Securitization not major driver most uncertainty not about underwriting
 Most uncertainty not about underwriting, but house prices
- Did market participants underestimate the likelihood of a fall in house prices or the sensitivity of foreclosures to house prices?

Source: Willen, P. et al, "Making Sense of the Subprime Crisis", September, 2008.

Making Sense of the Subprime Crisis Main Findings:

- Analysts, on the whole, understood that a fall in prices would have disastrous consequences for the market but assigned a low probability to such an outcome.
- Subprime opened up homeownership opportunities.

Source: Willen, P. et al, "Making Sense of the Subprime Crisis", September, 2008.



Figure 9: Massachusetts House Prices and Foreclosure Rates, January 1990 to December 2007

Year

The foreclosure rate is calculated at a quarterly frequency. The numerator is the total number of foreclosures in MA in a given quarter, and is obtained directly from the Warren Group data. The denominator is the number of residential parcels in a given year, where a parcel is defined as a real unit of property used for the assessment of property taxes, and a typical parcel consists of a plot of land defined by a deed and any buildings located on the land. Information on parcel counts is obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Revenue. Finally, house prices are calculated using the Case-Shiller weighted, repeat-sales methodology using data from the Warren Group.

Source: Willen, P. et al, "Making Sense of the Subprime Crisis", September, 2008.

Informal survey of panelists

Assume that you are a philosopher-king (or queen) with the power to change one consumer policy to improve the mortgage market.

- 1. What, if anything, would you change?
- 2. On a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 being not at all certain, and 100 being absolutely certain, how certain are you that benefits of this change would outweigh the costs?

Informal survey results

- **1 panelist** (out of 17) suggested nudge strategy:
 - "30-yr fixed rate no fees <u>default mortgage</u>. Must opt-out."

Informal survey results

- **71%** suggested reforms to disclosures:
 - "Federal rule, pre-empting state law, that no disclosure could be promulgated without scientific support that consumers make better decisions with the info than without it."
 - "Simply, simplify, simplify as much as possible. People need simplification and a mild guidance."

Informal survey results

- 24% suggested other reforms:
 - *"Improve consumer financial education level."*
 - "I'd improve public property and foreclosure records to include and make accessible the information needed to monitor the track records of brokers, lenders, appraisers and other key participants in loan origination."
 - "Recommendation tool to sort alternatives in an order correlated with that consumer's personal utility function. This allows consideration of 'fitting' options and makes costly consideration of not fitting."

While no-one could doubt the wisdom of banning quacks practicing as doctors, or fraudulent adverts, there eventually comes a point beyond which constraining freedom of contract further brings costs that outweigh benefits. These costs, which consumers ultimately bear and which may be hidden from view, can stem from less choice and competition as well as the cost of regulation itself.

Indeed, the best solutions often involve better consumer information rather than less consumer and producer choice. But improving consumer information is often easier said than done, especially information that is of immediate and direct practical use– for as consumers we are all boundedly rational, and rationally so.

> John Vickers FBA Economics for consumer policy British Academy Keynes Lecture 28 October 2003



Perils and Promise of Information Remedies

Improving Mortgage Disclosures

Consumer Testing of Current and Improved Disclosure Forms

James Lacko and Janis Pappalardo Bureau of Economics, Federal Trade Commission

Consumer Information and the Mortgage Market FTC Bureau of Economics Workshop – May 29, 2008

The views presented here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Federal Trade Commission or any individual Commissioner.

Motivation

- Long history of mortgage disclosure requirements
 - Truth in Lending Act TILA statement (1968)
 - Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act GFE (1974)
- Also long history of concern over the effectiveness of the disclosures
- FTC experience in deceptive lending cases has shown that current disclosures do not prevent deception

Motivation

- Despite these concerns, there had been little empirical evidence on consumer understanding of
 - Current disclosures
 - Mortgage terms
 - Terms of their own loans
- Virtually no evidence on whether better disclosures could actually improve consumer understanding

Study objectives

- How consumers search for mortgages
- How well consumers understand
 - Current mortgage disclosures
 - Terms of their recently obtained mortgages
- Whether it is possible to develop better disclosures

Methodology

Two part study:

- In-depth consumer interviews
 - Detailed picture of real consumer experience
 - Use of the current forms in real mortgage transactions
 - Assess accuracy of consumer knowledge of own loan terms
- Quantitative consumer testing
 - Test actual performance with the disclosures in a controlled, experimental environment

Consumer interviews

- 36 interviews
- About an hour each
- Homeowners in Montgomery County, MD
- Obtained a mortgage within the previous four months
- Approximately half prime, half subprime (based on HUD lender list)
- Most interviews included a review of loan documents from the consumer's recent mortgage

General observations

- Most respondents began the interview happy with their mortgage experience; not a sample of complainers
- Many respondents' attitudes deteriorated during the interview as they recalled problems, or realized they did not understand their loans as well as they thought
- Subprime respondents were more likely to be experiencing financial difficulties

Understanding of recent mortgage

- Most respondents appeared to understand the general type of mortgage they had obtained
- Some also had clearly matched the loan type to their circumstances

Understanding of recent mortgage

- But many were unaware of, did not understand, or misunderstood key costs or features of their loans, including
 - Payment of up-front points and fees
 - Lack of escrow for taxes and insurance
 - Large balloon payments
 - Adjustable interest rates
 - Prepayment penalties

Understanding of recent mortgage

- Misunderstandings were present among:
 - Both prime and subprime respondents
 - Both those who had done extensive comparison shopping and those who had not done any

Understanding of current disclosures

- Many respondents had not been able to understand the disclosures on their own, but relied on their loan originators to explain them
- Many were confused by various fees itemized on the GFE form; did not understand how they differed
- Few understood the APR; many believed it was the interest rate
- A number were confused by the prepayment penalty disclosure

Understanding of current disclosures

- In some respects the disclosures were worse than ineffective, and actually created consumer misunderstandings
 - Many believed that the "amount financed" disclosed in the TILA statement was their loan amount, rather than the loan amount minus prepaid finance charges
 - Many believed that the "discount fee" disclosed in the GFE was a discount they had received, rather than a fee they had paid

Reaction to prototype disclosures

- Overwhelmingly positive
- Viewed as significant improvement over current forms

Consumer testing methodology

- Test consumer understanding of current and prototype mortgage disclosures
- Quantitative tests
- Experimental setting
- 12 locations across the country
- 819 recent mortgage customers
- Approximately half prime, half subprime (based on HUD list)

Current forms

TILA statement

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Current forms

GFE

Note: Includes information beyond the regulatory requirements

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		Sales Price: Base Loan Amou	nt:	\$181,655.00
				\$189,313.43
LOAN	"T"			
		Date Prepared:		10/14/05 10 Year
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Prototype disclosure form

- Developed by FTC staff for the study
- Used to test whether it is possible to improve consumer recognition of the costs and features of a mortgage loan
- Attempted to improve both content and presentation
- Imagined that current disclosures did not exist and asked what information consumers need most

Fixed-rate loan disclosures

- Prototype focused on disclosures for the simpler case of fixed-rate loans
 - Including loans with more complex features such as interest-only and balloon payments
- Could be extended to incorporate key features of adjustable-rate loans (ARMs)

Prototype format

- One page summary of key loan costs and features
- Two pages of further detail
Prototype form

Page 1

Summary of key loan terms

Mortgage Loan Offer ACME Mortgage Company 123 Main Street Fairfax, Virginia 20151	[example of complex refinance loan] [draft form]		
(703) 555-2767	Page 1 of 3		
Borrower: James Jones Property Location: 345 North Street, Fairfax, Virginia, 20151	Offer Date: May 21, 2004		

This page provides a summary of your loan, our charges for the loan, and your loan payments. See pages 2 and 3 for important details on each of these items.

YOUR LOAN Loan Type Summary 10 year fixed-rate balloon loan Loan Amount \$ 154,934.26 Loan Term 10 years (120 monthly payments)

OUR LOAN CHARGES

Interest Rate	7.23%	Fixed rate
Up-Front Charges	\$ 10,020.06 \$ 8,202.69	Total settlement charges Charges for optional products and services
	\$ 18,222.75	Total up-front charges
Monthly-Billed Charges	None	
Annual Percentage Rate (APR)	7.98%	The cost of credit, including both interest payments and other finance charges, expressed as an annual rate.

YOUR LOAN PAYMENTS

Cash Due at Closing	\$	0.00	
Monthly Payments	\$	1,054.82	Payments 1–119
Balloon Payment	\$ 1	134,718.17	You will have to pay this amount at the end of the 10 year loan term

PENALTIES AND LATE FEES

Prepayment Penalty	A penalty of six (6) months interest will be charged if the loan is paid off during the first five years. An immediate refinancing of the loan would result in a penalty of \$5,600.87.
Late Fee	A 5% late fee will be charged on payments more than 7 days late.

Prototype form

Page 2

Details of loan terms

ACME Mortgage Company		Page
		nd important details about your loan amount, our cha ge 1 for a summary of these items.
LOAN AMOUNT DET	AILS	
Loan Amount	\$ 123,427.80	Refinance current mortgage loan
	\$ 10,000.00 \$ 3,283.71	
	\$ 10,020.06	
	\$ 8,202.69	Financed charges for optional products and servic
	\$ 154,934.26	Total Loan Amount
OPTIONAL CHARGE	S DETAILS	
Optional Products and	\$ 4,367.90	Credit life insurance
Services Charges	\$ 4,367.90 \$ 2,155.01	
Corridges	\$ 1,679.78	Involuntary unemployment insurance
	\$ 8,202.69	Total Optional Product and Services Charges
		is and services are NOT required for the loan. Tell y
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Cash Due at Closing	you obtain a re SING DETAILS \$ 0.00 T DETAILS Itemization of \$ 1,054.82 \$ 0.00	f you do not wish to purchase them and make sure t evised offer sheet with these charges removed. <u>initial monthly payment</u> Principal and interest Private mortgage insurance (PMI) (not required)
Cash Due at Closing	you obtain a re SING DETAILS \$ 0.00 T DETAILS Itemization of \$ 1,054.82	f you do not wish to purchase them and make sure t evised offer sheet with these charges removed. <u>initial monthly payment</u> Principal and interest Private mortgage insurance (PMI) (not required)
Cash Due at Closing MONTHLY PAYMEN Monthly Payment	you obtain a re SING DETAILS \$ 0.00 T DETAILS Itemization of \$ 1,054.82 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00	f you do not wish to purchase them and make sure f evised offer sheet with these charges removed. <u>initial monthly payment</u> Principal and interest Private mortgage insurance (PMI) (not required) Monthly-billed optional products or services
Cash Due at Closing	you obtain a re SING DETAILS \$ 0.00 T DETAILS Itemization of \$ 1,054.82 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00 \$ 1,054.82 Property taxes loan payment.	f you do not wish to purchase them and make sure in evised offer sheet with these charges removed.
Cash Due at Closing MONTHLY PAYMEN Monthly Payment	you obtain a re SING DETAILS \$ 0.00 T DETAILS Itemization of \$ 1,054.82 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00 \$ 1,054.82 Property taxes loan payment.	f you do not wish to purchase them and make sure t evised offer sheet with these charges removed. initial monthly payment Principal and interest Private mortgage insurance (PMI) (not required) Monthly-billed optional products or services Total initial monthly payment and hazard insurance are NOT included in your more You will be responsible for paying these additional yourself. These additional monthly costs will be:
Cash Due at Closing MONTHLY PAYMEN Monthly Payment	you obtain a re SING DETAILS \$ 0.00 T DETAILS Itemization of \$ 1,054.82 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00 \$ 0.00 \$ 1,054.82 Property taxes loan payment. required costs \$ 212.55	f you do not wish to purchase them and make sure t evised offer sheet with these charges removed. initial monthly payment Principal and interest Private mortgage insurance (PMI) (not required) Monthly-billed optional products or services Total initial monthly payment and hazard insurance are NOT included in your more You will be responsible for paying these additional yourself. These additional monthly costs will be:

Prototype form

Page 3

Details of settlement charges; consumer tips and warnings

settlement services you nee			charges shown on page 1. ALL of the	
Settlement Services Package	\$9,214.45 This package includes <u>Origination and lender services</u> Loan origination Appraisal Credit report Lender's property survey Lender's property inspection		Title services Settlement agent Title search and examination Title document preparation Lender's title insurance Attorney services	
	Pest inspection Notary fee <u>Government taxes and fees</u> County recording fee State and local tax stamps			
Daily Interest Charges	\$ 558.90	0 This charge is for the daily interest charges from the day of your settlement until the end of the month. For this loan this amount is \$ <u>32.88</u> per day for <u>17</u> days (if your closing date is <u>11/13/04</u>).		
Prepaid Items	\$ 31.20 \$ 34.98		er property taxes and insurance settlement until the end of the month	
Reserves Deposited with the Lender	\$ 102.41 \$ 78.12		months at \$ <u>51.22</u> per month) ance (<u>2</u> months at \$ <u>39.06</u> per month)	
Total Settlement Charges	\$10,020.06	Total Settlement Ch	narges	
HOW TO PROTECT YO COMPARISON SHOP TO F necessarily shopping on you	IND THE BES		r or broker providing this loan is not west cost loan.	
	AND COMPA	RE TO DOCUMENTS	RMS — Obtain all changes in writing. AT CLOSING — Before you sign any costs have not been increased.	

Testing procedure

- Respondents given disclosure forms for two hypothetical loans
 - Half given current forms, half given prototype forms
- Instructed to examine the forms as they would if they were shopping for a mortgage
- Asked series of questions about a dozen different loan terms
- Able to continue examining forms during questioning

Loan scenarios tested

- Simple loan
 - Fixed-rate purchase loan
- Complex loan
 - Fixed-rate refinance loan
 - Interest-only payments
 - Balloon payment
 - Optional credit insurance
 - No escrow for taxes and insurance
 - Prepayment penalties
 - Zero cash due at closing

Percentage of questions answered correctly

	<u>Current</u>	<u>sure Form</u> Prototype	<u>Difference</u>
Both Loans	61%	80%	19 pct points **
Simple Loan	66%	82%	16 pct points **
Complex Loan	56%	78%	22 pct points **

** Statistically significant at the one percent level

Percentage of respondents with high accuracy rates



** Statistically significant at the one percent level

Prime and subprime borrowers

Percentage of questions answered correctly

Borrower Type				
	<u>Prime</u>	<u>Subprime</u>	<u>Difference</u>	
Both Loans	71.5%	69.0%	-2.5 pct points *	
Simple Loan	74.8%	72.9%	-2.0 pct points	
Complex Loan	68.3%	65.0%	-3.2 pct points	

* Statistically significant at the five percent level

Current forms fail to convey key loan costs

Pct. of respondents not correctly identifying loan cost

- 87% Total up-front charges
- 74% Charges for optional credit insurance
- 68% Presence of prepayment penalty
- 51% Loan amount
- 33% Presence of financed settlement charges
- 32% Interest rate
- 30% Balloon payment

Current forms fail to convey key loan costs

Pct. of respondents not correctly identifying loan cost

- 23% Settlement charges
- 21% Monthly payment (including whether it included taxes and insurance)
- 20% Cash due at closing
- 20% APR

Improvements provided by the prototype form

Percentage point improvement over current forms

- 66 Total up-front charges
- 43 Charges for optional credit insurance
- 37 Loan amount
- 24 Presence of prepayment penalty
- 16 APR
- 15 Settlement charges
- 12 Interest rate
- 9 Presence of financed settlement charges

Findings - current disclosures

- Current disclosures fail to convey the key costs and terms of a mortgage to many borrowers in both the prime and subprime markets
- Current disclosures also create misunderstandings of some key loan terms

Findings - improved disclosures

- It is possible to create new disclosures that significantly improve consumer recognition of the costs and terms of a mortgage
- Improved disclosures can provide significant benefits to both prime and subprime borrowers

Impact of ineffective current disclosures

- The ineffectiveness of currently-required federal disclosures is likely to have contributed to the mortgage market crisis
- Study results show that the current disclosures are not even effective for plain-vanilla, fixed-rate loans
- Likely to have been worse for ARM loans, particularly the more complex types marketed over the last few years

Impact of ineffective current disclosures

- We do not mean to imply that all consumers misunderstood their loans, or that ineffective disclosures are the primary cause of the current crisis
- But the results suggest that it is likely that many consumers did not know what they were getting into, and that this lack of understanding made the current problems worse

Impact of ineffective current disclosures

- Some of the loan terms currently of concern and being addressed by new regulatory restrictions are terms that current disclosures were particularly ineffective in conveying to consumers or failed to address at all:
 - Prepayment penalties
 - Lack of escrow for taxes and insurance
 - Balloon payments

Need for new disclosures

- Consumers need a single, comprehensive mortgage disclosure document that
 - Consolidates information on the key costs and features of their loans
 - Uses simple, easy-to-understand language
 - Presented in an easy-to-use form
 - Provided for all loans, both prime and subprime
- Simply adding more disclosures to the often-confusing current disclosures is not likely to be effective

Developing new disclosures

- Good intentions are not enough
- Disclosures that make sense to well-intentioned bureaucrats often bewilder consumers
- Marketers routinely test new advertising messages, but policymakers often fail to take similar precautions

Developing new disclosures

- Designing disclosures is tricky
- More information is not always better
- Simply adding more disclosures may not help at all
- Disclosures must be carefully crafted to ensure they will work as intended
- See The Effect of Mortgage Broker Compensation Disclosures on Consumers and Competition, FTC, 2004.

Consumer testing is essential

- New mortgage disclosures should not be implemented unless consumer testing demonstrates that they are better than those currently required, and that they truly inform, rather than confuse, borrowers
- A rush to mandate hastily-drafted new disclosures risks substituting one set of ineffective disclosures for another

Report

Improving Consumer Mortgage Disclosures: An Empirical Assessment of Current and Prototype Disclosure Forms, FTC Bureau of Economics Staff Report (June 2007)

Available online:

http://www.ftc.gov/opa/2007/06/mortgage.shtm

IV.

Fulfilling the Promise of Consumer Protection Policies

Three points

- Consumer protection policy is often tricky because people are unique
- Consumer protection is unlikely to be effective without a joint mandate to promote competition
- Information remedies generally better than product restrictions, but untested remedies can do more harm than good—must move beyond economics of information to economics of comprehension

Potential for success

- Stars are aligned for further consumer protection research and development
- Growing understanding by regulators of need to base information remedies on solid, objective, quantitative testing
- Future contribution of economics will depend on defining common ground between microeconomics, behavioral economics, and marketing research