## Advertising Expensive Mortgages

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### Advertising mortgages





### Perception: advertising is hurting consumers

Response: litigation

- ARM resets not clear (marketed as fixed):
  - The Office of the Attorney General's Consumer Protection Section in Colorado sued or settled with 16 lenders
  - Arizona Office of Attorney General v Wells Fargo Bank
  - FED and DOJ v Wells Fargo (\$260 million fine)
- Targeting minorities
  - State of Illinois v Countrywide Financial Corporation/Bank of America
  - ACLU against Morgan Stanley

### Perception: advertising is hurting consumers

Response: advertising regulation

- FED: Regulation Z
- FTC: Mortgage Acts and Practices Advertising rule
  - Advertising confuses people about interest rates
  - ARM / FRM choice
- Congress: Dodd-Frank
  - Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB)

### Is advertising bad for consumers?

• We have anecdotes, examples...

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- How do you tell good (informative) advertising from bad (persuasive)?
  - How do you tell a "bad" choice?
- Example:
  - Advertising of apples increases apple consumption relative to oranges
  - Is eating apples worse for the consumer than eating oranges?

### Roadmap

- Focus on ARM reset rates
  - Subject of litigation & regulation
- Framework to compare mortgage choices across borrowers
  - Finding dominated choices
- Advertising apples v oranges
  - Higher prices are bad for consumer all else equal
  - Find consumers who are overpaying for same product
- Relate relative mortgage expensiveness to mortgage advertising
- Additional support in advertising content

### Data

- Mortgage Data
  - Subprime, securitized, 90% of market
- Advertising Data
  - TNS Media Intelligence (TNSMI)
    - Use local media spending
    - Outlets: Network TV, cable, national newspapers, local newspapers
  - Mintel
    - Advertising content
    - Outlets: print, direct mail
- Sample 2002 2007

## Measuring relative loan "expensiveness"

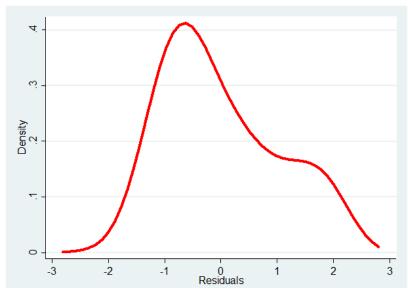
 A loan is "expensive" if the reset rate, y, is high relative to borrower observables X

$$y_{ijtk} = \beta i_{ijlt} + \alpha_t + \alpha_l + \Gamma X_{ilt} + \varepsilon_{ijlt}$$

- Observables of borrower  $X_{ilt}$ : FICO, size, ltv, low documentation,
- Observables of applicant county: race, median income, percentage poor, education etc.
- Other: quarter, t, DMA, I
- Initial interest rate i<sub>ijlt</sub>
- Residual measures "excessive" reset rate  $y \hat{y}$

## Loan expensiveness

Figure 3.a



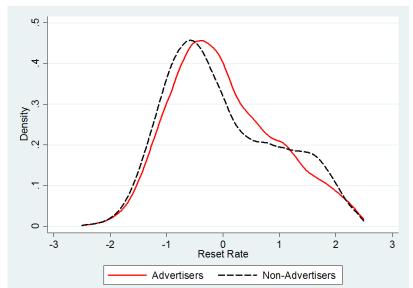
### Evaluate the size of dispersion

Back of the envelope

- Mean mortgage  $\approx $200k$
- Mean 95-5 percentile interest rate difference  $\approx 3\%$
- \$6000 per year

## Do advertisers charge more?

Figure 5



## Advertising and lender expensiveness

Table 3, Panel A

Panel A. ARM Loan Sample

Funet A.	. AKM Loan Samp	ne	
	Y = Lender Expensiveness		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Advertising (all) (x100)	0.0314**		
	(0.0115)		
Advertising (others) (x100)		0.111	
		(0.0816)	
Advertising (newspapers)(x100)			0.0368***
			(0.0122)
Quarter Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lender Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	51,895	51,895	51,895
R-squared	0.139	0.139	0.139

## Advertising and Demographics:

Table 4

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Panel A	Advertising	and Exr	on siveness

	Y = Lender Expensiveness					
	Minority % Low (1.00)	Minority % High (2.00)	Educated % Low (3.00)	Educated % High (4.00)	Poor % Low (5.00)	Poor % High (6.00)
Advertising (all) (x100)	-0.0461	0.0338***	0.0708***	0.00616	0.00246	0.0369**
	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Quarter Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lender Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	25,922	25,973	26,008	25,887	26,093	25,802
R-squared	0.15	0.158	0.151	0.16	0.157	0.148

### Alternative:

- Condition on a ton of "observables"
  - initial rate
  - FICO, LTV, loan amount
  - lender,
  - time,
  - location.
- Is this sufficient?
- Alternative:
  - Advertisers attract borrowers with unobservably low ability to repay / high catering costs
  - Charge higher interest rates

### Ability to repay / catering costs

- Low unobservable ability to repay ⇒ ex post low repayment
  - Observe lower delinquency for advertiser's borrowers

- Observe catering costs for large lender
  - No differences b/w borrowers which are susceptible to ads
  - No difference b/w high/low advertising periods

# IV for mortgage advertising

### Craigslist

- Idea:
  - Craigslist ↑ ⇒ Advertising (advertisers v. non-advertisers)↓
  - Advertising  $\downarrow \Rightarrow$  Expensiveness (advertisers v. non-advertisers)  $\downarrow$

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- Validity:
  - Forum for free mortgage advertising in its financial services section
  - Could Craigslist entry plausibly affect mortgage advertising
    - 4.8% in Dallas, TX 12.3% in Pittsburgh, PA
    - Survey responses
    - Job advertising in newspapers (Kroft and Pope 2012)

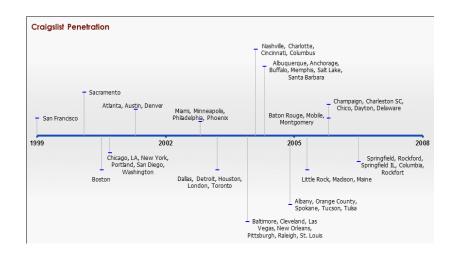
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    - 4.8% in Dallas, TX 12.3% in Pittsburgh, PA
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- Exclusion restriction
  - Entry staggered across markets
  - CL does not select on borrowers' unobservable quality

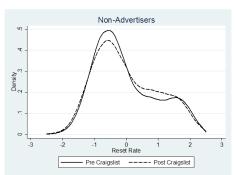
## Craigslist entry

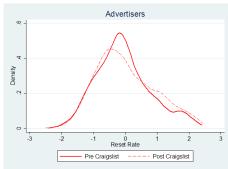
### Staggered introduction (Figure 6)



# Craigslist effect

### Figure 7





### Good IV?

- Largest drop in newspaper advertising
- Pre-trends / post trends on observables
  - Advertising YES
  - FICO, LTV, pre pay penalty, low doc- NO
- Substitution of paid advertising into Craigslist
  - Scrape who advertises on CL and merge
    - Little overlap
    - Drop overlap

## Magnitude

- IV coefficient = 0.0711
  - $\$1,000 \Rightarrow \text{reset rate increase } 7.1bp$
- Assumptions:
  - $\bullet$  Average spending  $\sim$  \$25,000
  - Average mortgage  $\sim$  \$200,000
  - 15 year ARM, reset after 2 years
  - Discount at 10%
- $\bullet$  Upper bound  $\sim$  \$21,000
- Pay reset for 3 years  $\sim$  \$7,500

### Advertising content

- Evidence so far supports persuasive view of advertising
  - Positive correlation between advertising intensity and pricing within market

- Can we say more? Advertising content analysis:
  - Shrouds resets and increases salience of initial rates
  - Low (negative) correlation between advertised and actual rates
  - Advertising generic characteristics—not about product differentiation

### In search of reset rates

#### Table 9

Reset rates almost never explicitly advertised

Panel A. ARM Mortgage Related Advertising Campaigns

Search Term	No. Campaigns
ARM	4,238
Reset	13
Adjust	1,885
Explicit interest rate	4,234
Total	6,136

Panel B. Advertisement Displays Two Interest Rates

Search Term	No. Campaigns
Second rate is APR	11,387
Multiple products	1,676
Other	128
Total	13,191

### Salience of initial rates in ads

Table 10

Panel C. Phrases on Low Rates

Search Term	No. Campaigns
As low as	3,632
Intro	769
Initial	346
Starting	608
Total	4,747

### APR and Expensiveness

#### Table 10

- Not necessary to advertise reset rates?
- APR a sufficient statistic?
- Low APR → Cheap lender?

		Y = Lender Expensiveness			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
APR	-0.0205**	-0.0258**	-0.0105	-0.0093	
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.015)	
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Quarter Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Lender Fixed Effects	No	No	No	Yes	
Region Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	
Observations	807	807	807	807	
R-squared	0.222	0.230	0.421	0.598	

### What is advertised

- Generic mortgage characteristics
- Advertising:
  - Horizon
  - Amount
  - Name, address...

- What is not advertised
  - Detailed product descriptions
  - Servicing, renegotiation...

### Conclusion

#### What are the facts:

- Dispersion in prices paid by similar borrowers
- Generic models of informative advertising have a difficult time explaining facts:
  - Within market correlation b/w pricing & advertising
  - Negative correlation between advertised prices and transacted prices
  - Generic information advertised
- Persuasive advertising:
  - Some customers not sophisticated
    - Salience / obfuscation
    - Reset versus initial
  - Heterogeneity (minority, low education and poor)

