

# **US-Subprime Market Crisis**

**– Structural Causes and Issues for Emerging European Mortgage Markets -**

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**European Federation of Building Societies**

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## **About the author**

- Fmr. World Bank, consulting firm founder in Berlin (financial sector development);
- Author or co-authorship of all major European comparative studies in the mortgage sector since 1995;
- US experience through advisory services for US corporations in the European market and several studies on the US market for European clients;
- International economist network in mortgage finance.

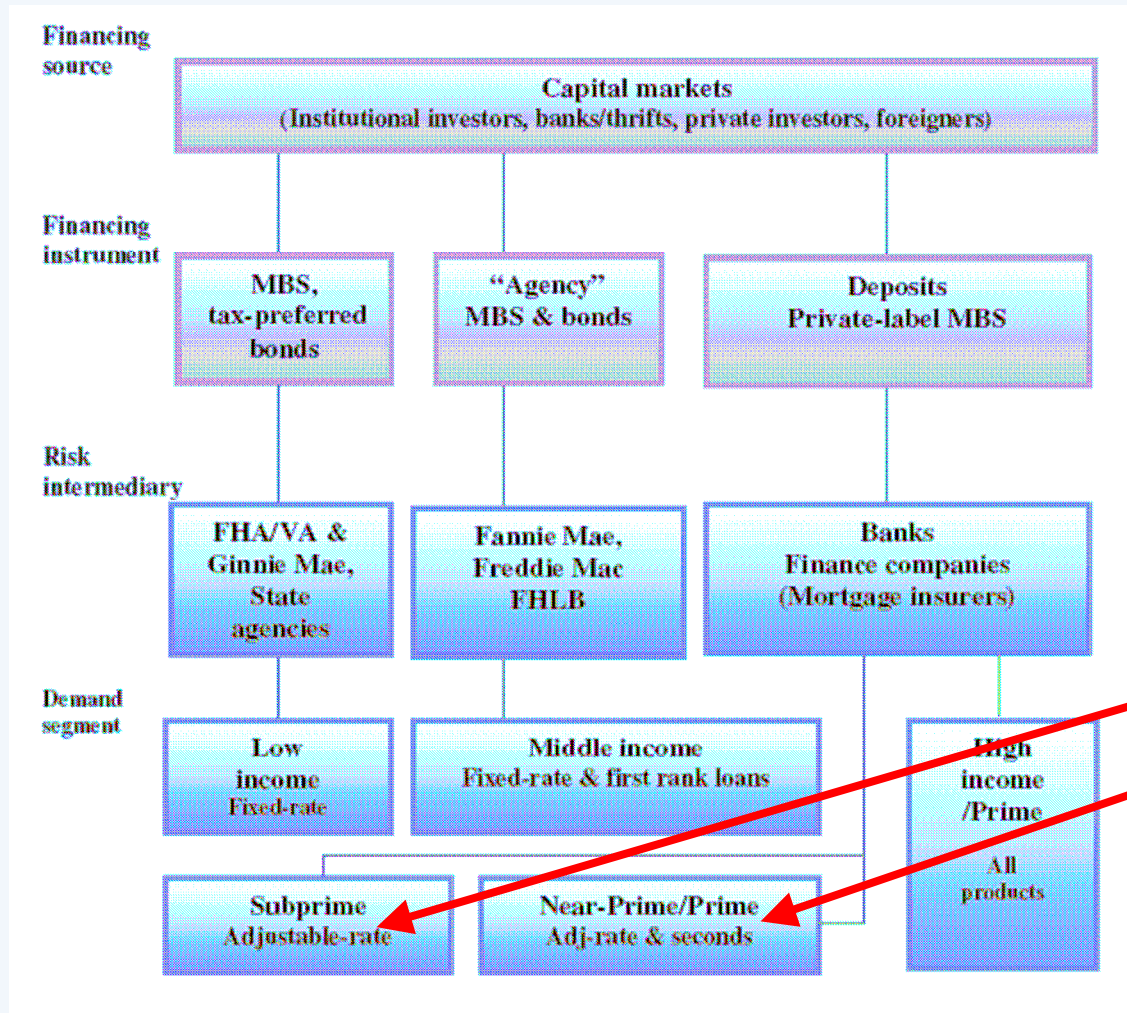
## US Historical Market Structure Limits Private Sector

- 1920s banks and S&L business limited to states by regulation, 1932 creation of **Federal Home Loan Banks** to assist cross-border funding.
- 1934 federal mortgage credit guarantees (**Federal Housing Administration**), limited to long-term fixed-rate mortgages on single-family homes.
- 1937 Federal National Mortgage Association (**Fannie Mae**) creates parallel funding system to banks and S&Ls, originating through mortgage brokers.
- 1969 Vietnam fiscal crisis results in Fannie Mae privatization. Separation of **Ginnie Mae** (low-income, veterans) and creation of a competitor, **Freddie Mac**.
- 1980s: federal deregulation initiative abolishes usury ceilings → **subprime market** is created.
- 1990s: in the aftermath of the the S&L crisis, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac emerge as central financial guarantors and refinancing agents in the middle-income market.

**Result: private sector reduced to risky market niches**

**Jumbo, subprime, non-traditional products/ARMs.**

# Legacy and New Market Segmentation in the US



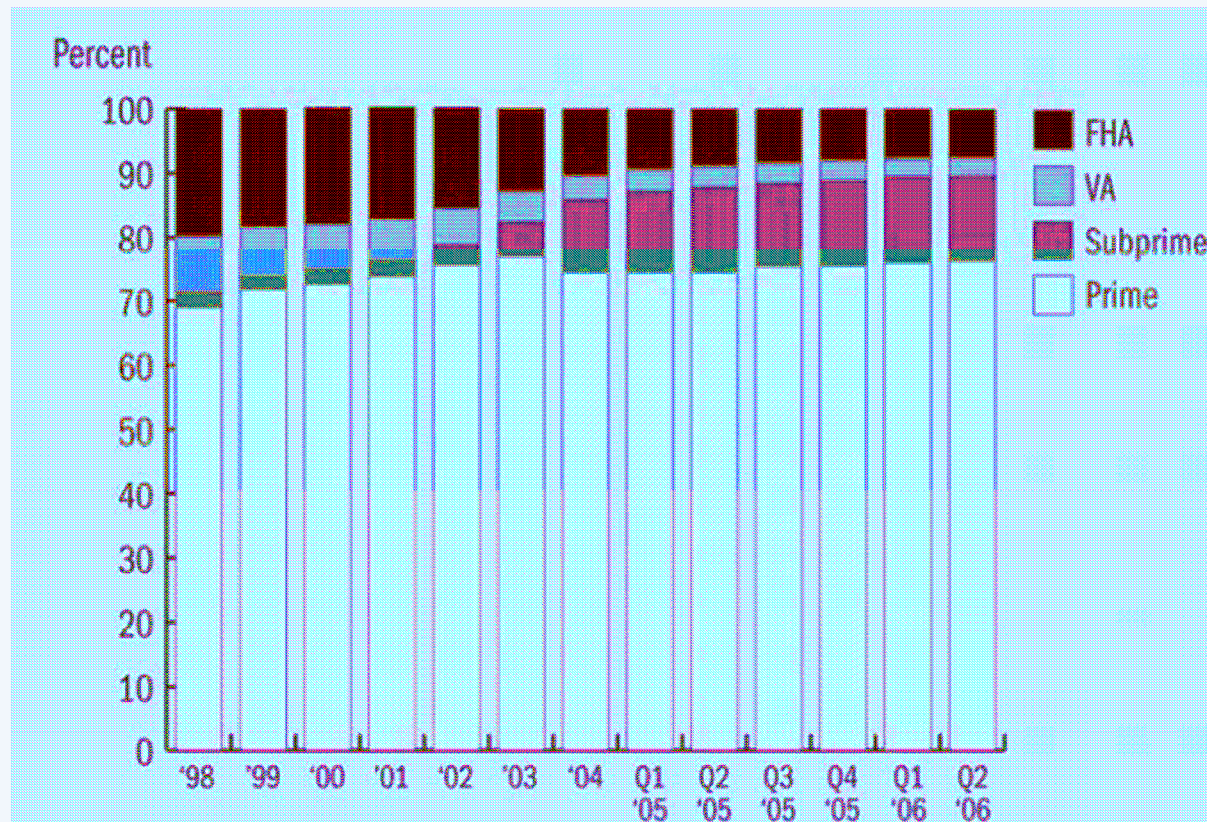
**NEW PRIVATE MARKETS**

-Subprime

-Near-Prime ('Alt-A')

(Piggybacks, low documentation, neg amortization)

## Private Subprime Market has Pushed Aside Public Low-income Programs for a While



**Reasons: lags in adjustment of house price ceilings, public sector focus on fixed-rate lending, incentive structure of brokers.**

Source: MBAA.

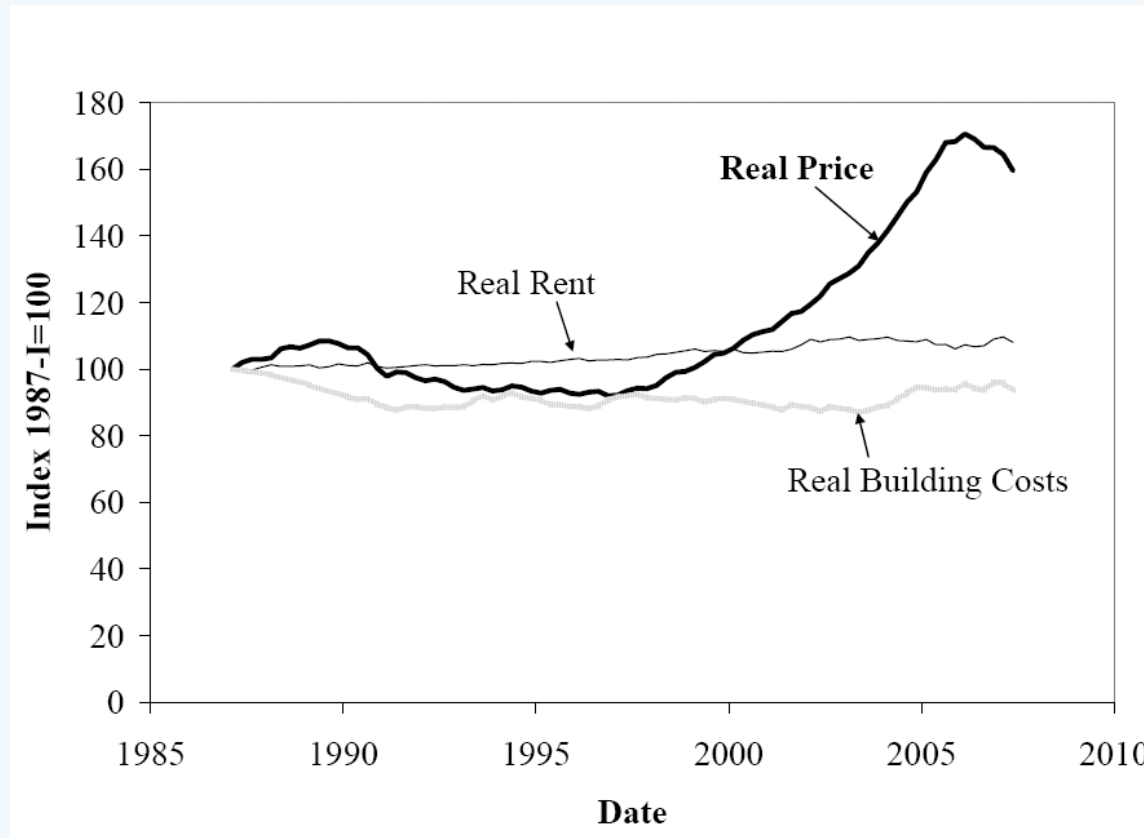
## US Housing Policy Distortions

- No public **downpayment savings** programs at federal level, leverage cum guarantee approach banking on capital gains;
- Mortgage **interest tax deduction** up to 1 mln USD loan volume (multi-purpose, incl. for consumption) promotes leverage;
- Other **tax distortions**: mortgage insurance (premia not deductible until 07) vs. 'piggybacks' (second mortgages, interest tax-deductible);
- **No rental housing support programs** except for the very poor (stigmatization), rental law for the remainder dominated by short-termism (1 yr roll-over);
- Homeownership as '**piggybank**' for consumption finance, creates extra-value?.

**Result: ca 10% of US households are owners although, for solvency reasons, they ought to be renters.**

**Absent deep rental markets as benchmarks, US housing valuations rely on 'open market values' and routinely ignore opportunity costs/yields.**

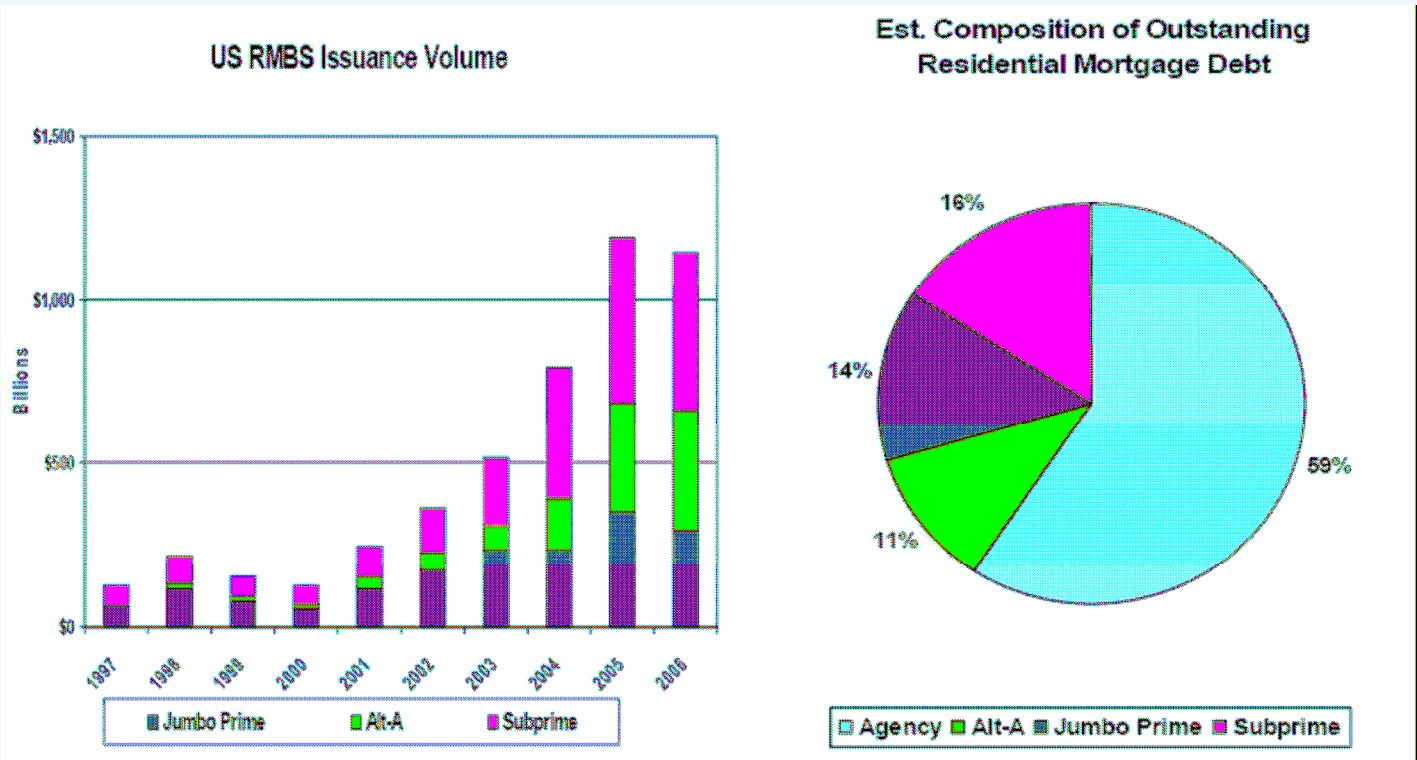
## Open Market Prices Divorced from Cash Flow and Replacement Valuation Benchmarks



**Case/Shiller house price index, McGraw Hill construction cost index, Bureau of Labour rent and consumer price indices.**

Source: R.Shiller, Jackson Hole Sept 07.

# With the Price Bubble, Non-Prime Market Segments Reach New Dimensions



Source: FitchRatings.

## Fragmented Regulation System

- Regulation system with many branches
  - Fannie Mae/Freddie Mac (OFHEO),
  - Banks (FDIC),
  - Savings and loans (OTC),
  - Insurers (state regulators, esp. North Carolina, New York, Arizona),
  - Bond issuers (SEC), indirectly also regulating finance companies and investment banks.

Entire supply chains are hardly regulated at all (e.g. brokers – in some states Codes of Conduct, finance companies, private equity and hedge funds).

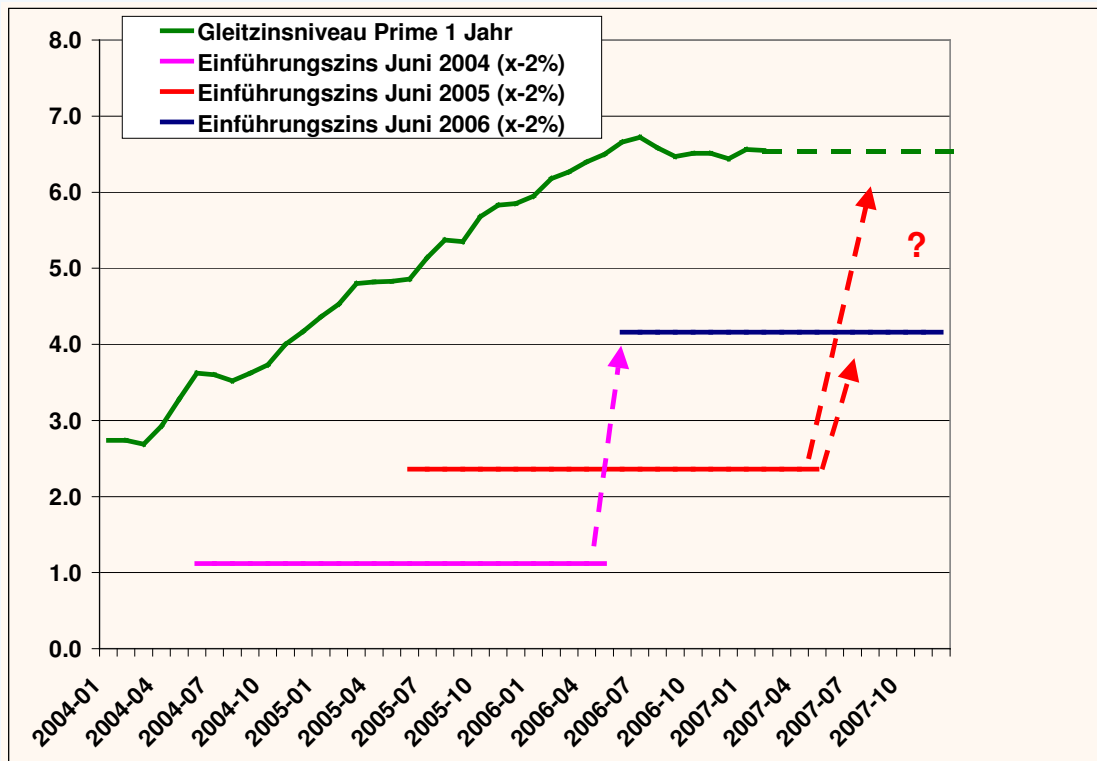
- Fragmented consumer protection (on most issues still state regulation).

### **Result: system reacts with policy and coordination lags to market problems**

- **Interagency Guidance on subprime loans of 2007 comes 3-4 years too late, works procyclically;**
- **There is no uniform mortgage credit regulation standard, e.g. concerning valuations, underwriting standards and covenants of intermediaries;**
- **Intermediary incentives to inflate prices remain unaddressed.**

## Example Reset Problems – Interagency Initiatives Come Too Late

Interest Rate Shock in Subprime Lending,  
Numerical Example

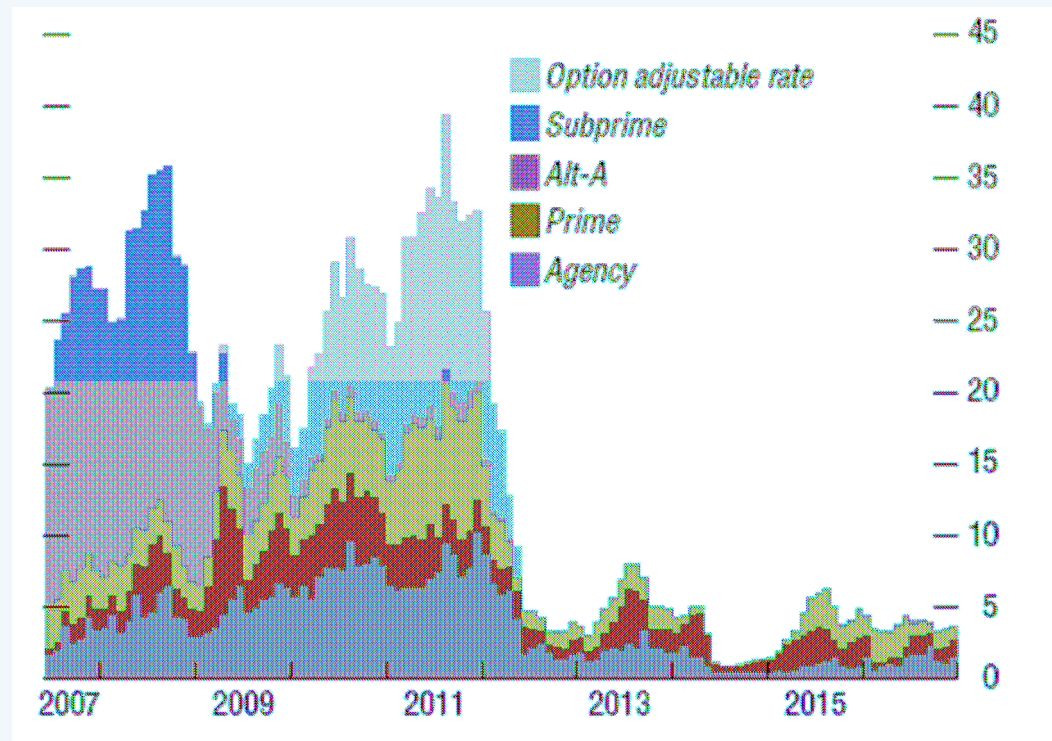


Fully-indexed,  
fully-amortizing  
underwriting, as  
required by  
Interagency  
Guidance, would  
mean immediate  
default.

Lenders are  
forced to  
restructure  
and/or forgive  
debt (short sales,  
etc.).

# Delayed Reaction Means: the Problem will Stay Around

**Time Profile of First Resets in Different Lending Categories, in Billion USD per Month**



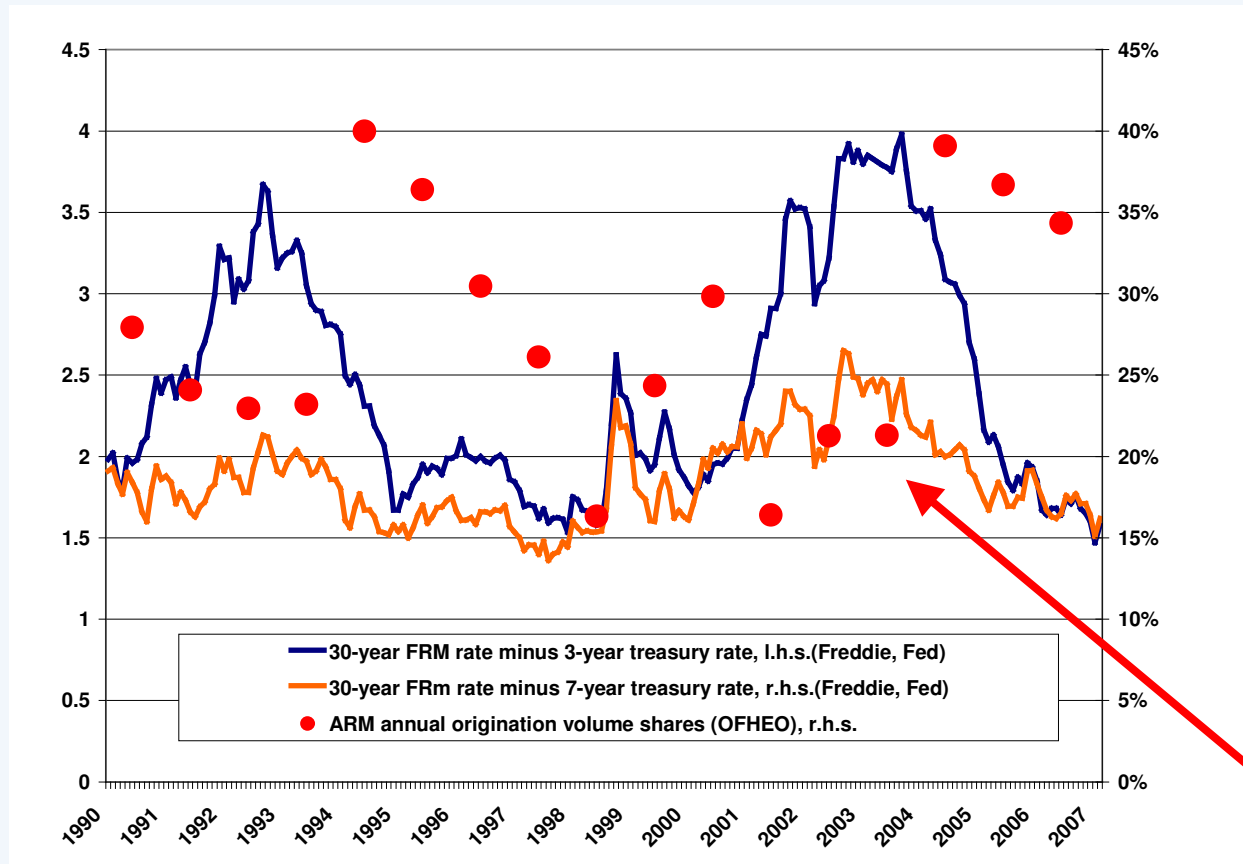
Source: Credit Suisse.

## **Pump-Priming the Economy with a More Aggressive Housing Finance System**

- Expansive monetary policy (short-term) and Asian savings glut/exchange rate policy (long-term) reduce rates across the board → discount factor for housing falls.
- Early repayments of fixed-rate mortgages shield US from recession.
- Share of adjustable-rate products rises cyclically → discount factor falls further.
- Mortgage equity-withdrawal economy for consumption finance drives house prices further (home equity loans, cashout refinancings);
- Later in the cycle, vs. 2004/5, 'non-traditional' products - interest only, interest payment capitalization, adjustable-rate with teaser fixed rates and reset - grow.
- Tax policy prefers 'piggyback' loans with high LTVs - 100% financings become the standard in many coastal areas.
- Subprime market pushes public (fixed-rate-) loan programs aside.
- Prime credit turns into to subprime, due to high house prices, broker fee structures;
- New market: Alt-A, with a high share of low-documentation loans (vulgo: 'liar loans').

**Result: declining lending standards, general increase of payment shock risk, credit, price and consumption bubble.**

## The 2002 Prepayment Wave Came at a Considerable Cost, Discouraging Interest Rate Risk Protection

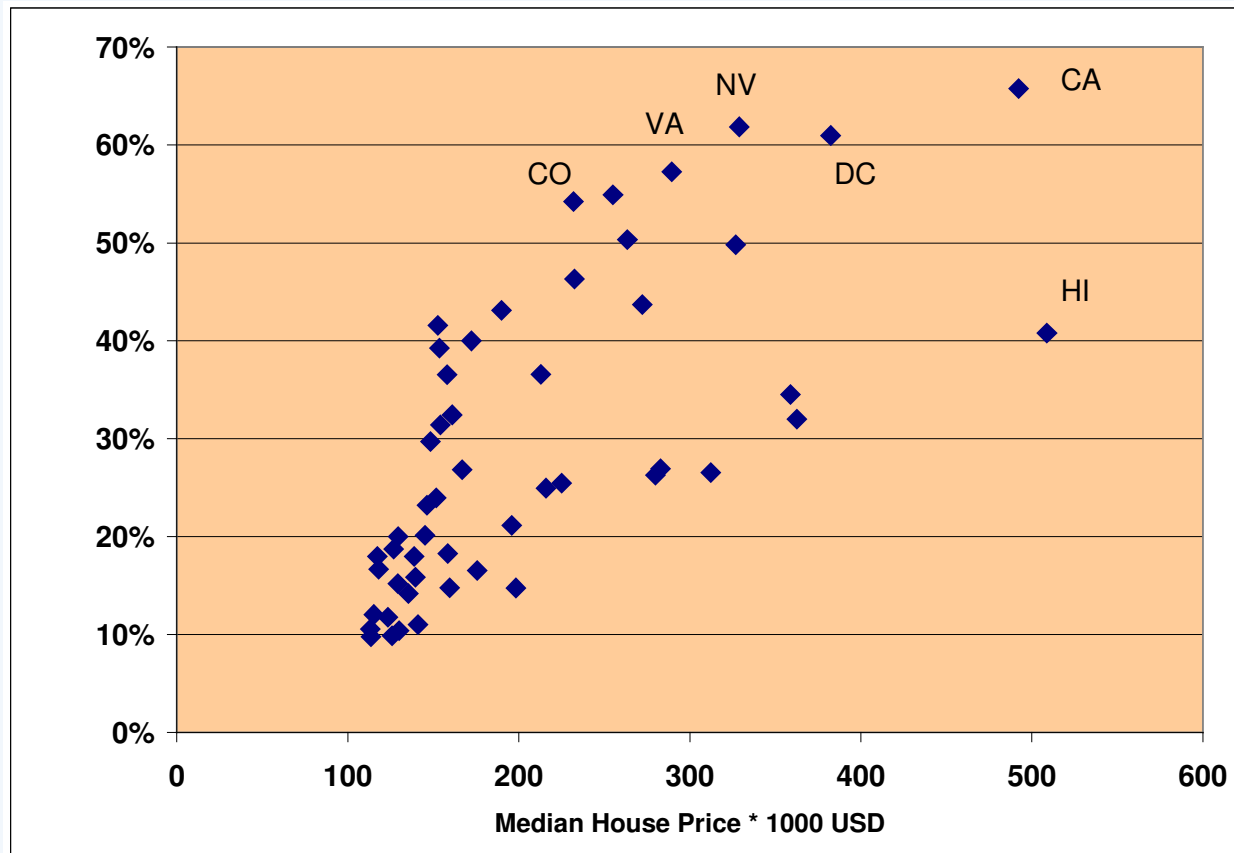


**Risky but margin rich adjustable-rate products (250-300 bp margin in rate trough)**

**Cost rise in fixed-rate lending 01-02 + 50 bp! Reason: unexpectedly high prepayments.**

Quelle: Freddie Mac, Finpolconsult.

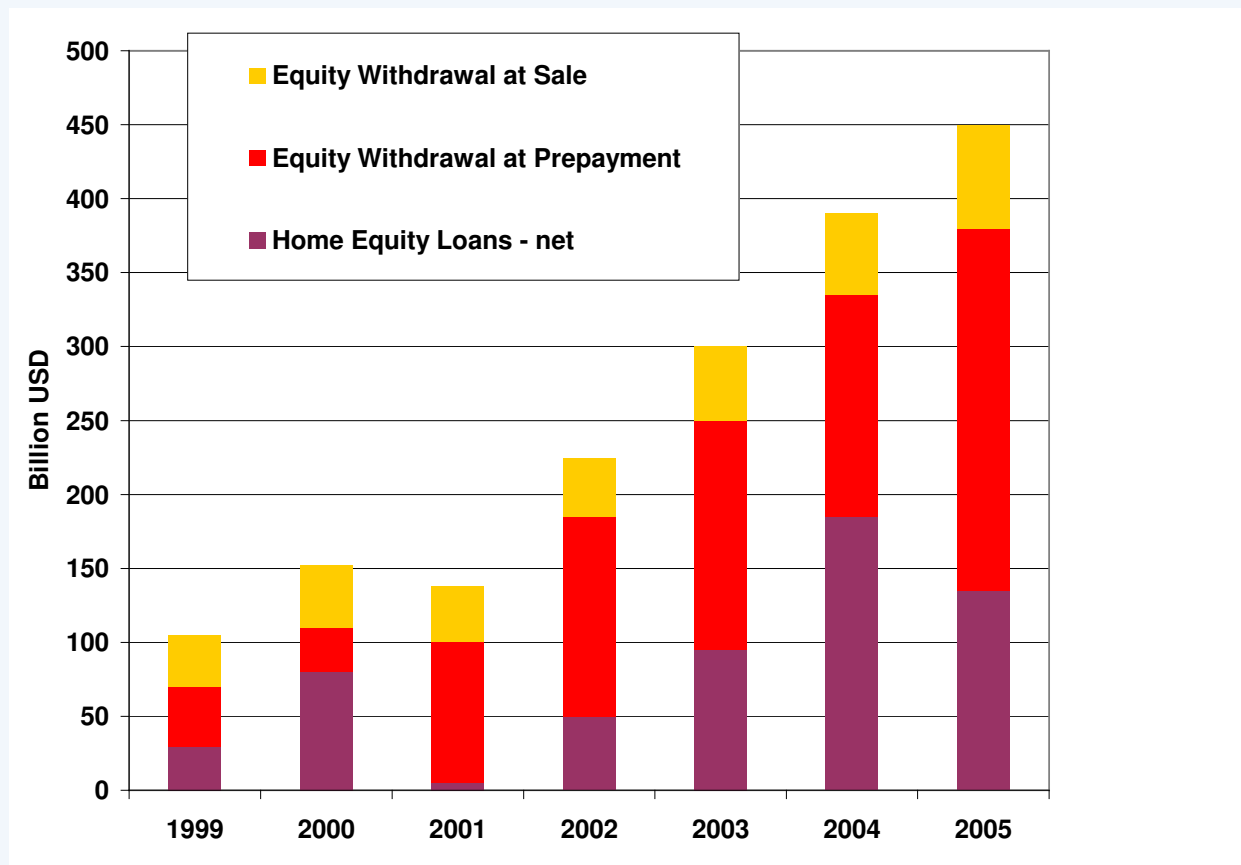
## Non-traditional\* Loans and House Price Levels were Closely Correlated, 2005



**\*Interest-only, interest capitalization, teaser rates, payment options.  
Data refer to adjustable-rate loans only.**

Source: Anthony Sanders, Arizona State University.

## Your House as an ATM Machine - Equity Release through Home Equity Loans and Cashout Refinancings



For instance, Countrywide (California) in 2006 was the largest retail lender – in **Mexico**, via cashout refinancings to immigrants.

Source: Calculated Risk Blog.

# House Price Inflation depends on the Character of Housing Finance Systems

## Explaining inflation/volatility:

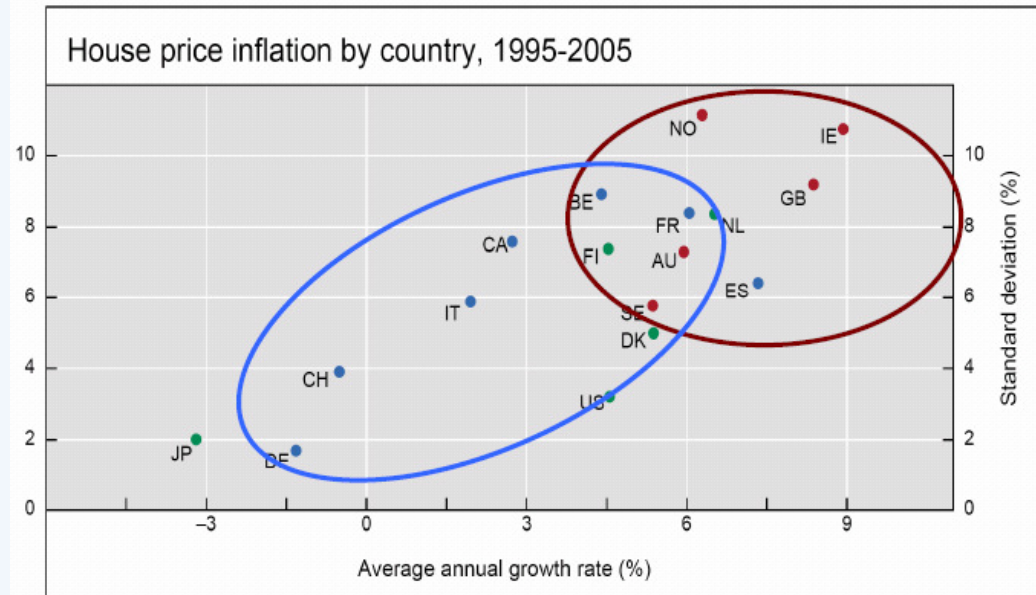
- Product type ARM or FRM (→discount factors)
- Equity withdrawal options
- High-loan-to-value markets
- Valuation methods

## Regulatory issue:

- **Misalignment of industry and consumer incentives.**

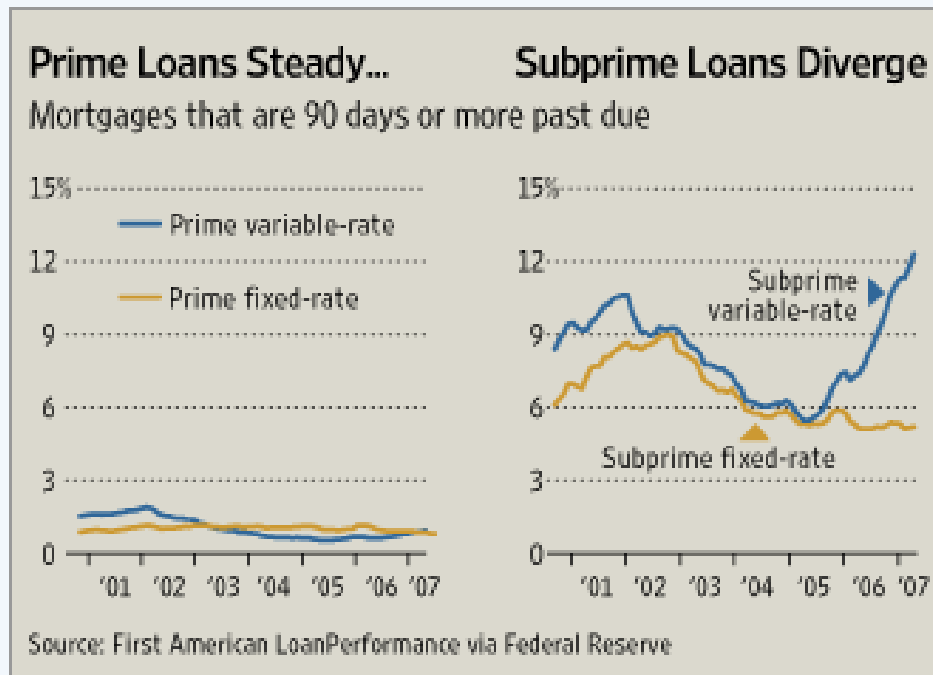
- E.g. excessive housing valuations against consumer and investor interests.

US system has changed its character during 01/06.



		Mortgage rate	MEW	Maximum LTV	Valuation method
<b>Group 1</b>	BE, CA, FR, DE, IT, ES, CH	Mostly Fixed	No	Low	Mixed
<b>Group 2</b>	DK, FI, JP, NL, US	Mostly Fixed	Yes	Medium	Mixed
<b>Group 3</b>	AU, IE, NO, SE, UK	Variable	Yes	Very high	Market value

## Defaults Depend on Product Characteristics



Picture may change as negative equity due to negative house price appreciation, high combined LTVs starts dominating default motives.

→ high 2006 cohort defaults.

Source: Wall Street Journal

# The Bond Market Side: Structural Problems in the Securitization Market

- Private-label securitization market based on **SEC regulation model**:

- No risk intermediaries, just service providers and investors;
- Profits primarily from service fees and trading;
- ex-post control of risks via issuance prospect recourse.

In the 'agency'-MBS market (Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac) and in the banking market there are risk intermediaries and risk regulations → broadly lower defaults.

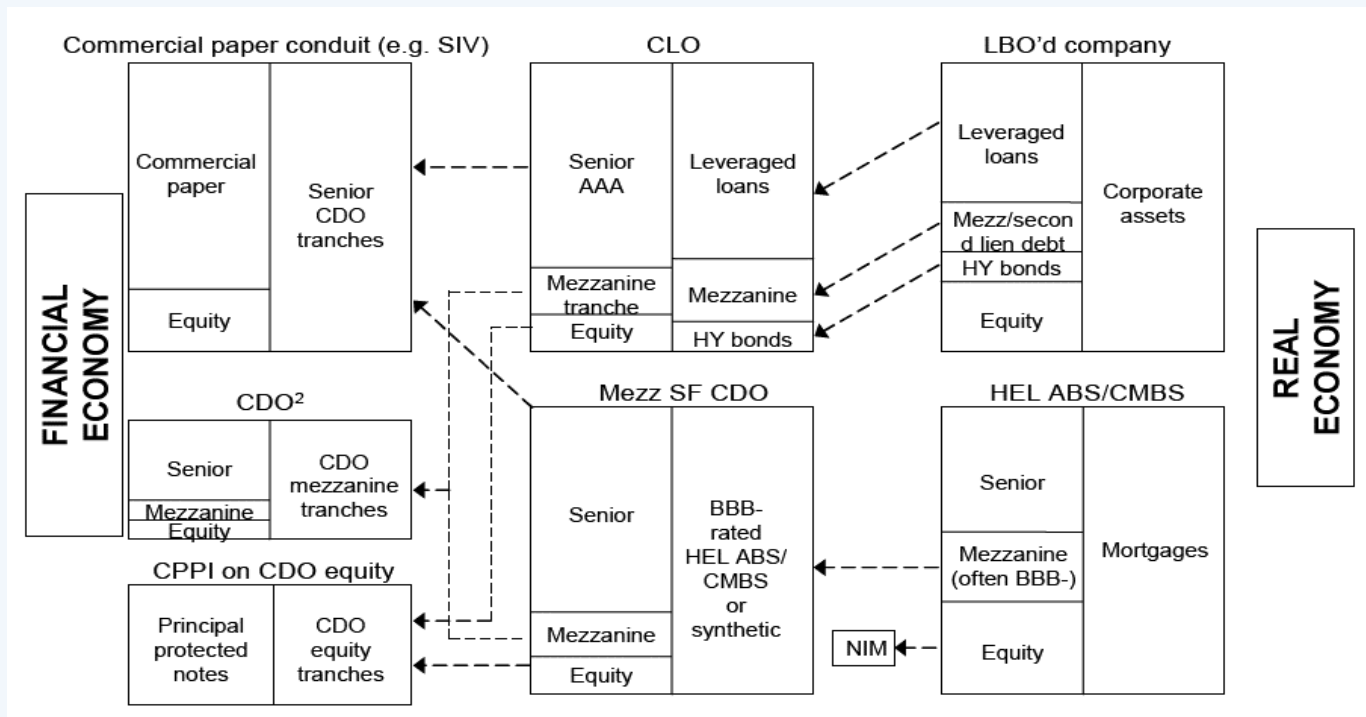
- Rating agencies and investment banks work without economic model of the housing market (modelling price and production cycles), moreover **incentive problems**:

- Advice given to investors frequently deviates from internal trading behaviour;
- Complexity and illiquidity of certain instruments creates safe profits (e.g. CDO);
- Rating agencies are paid by issuers, instead of investors.

- **Accounting rules** allow for excess valuation of loans vs. investors,  
**Effective interest rate rules** allow for understatement of value vs. borrowers;

# Turning Unsafe Assets into Safe Bonds ...

## Converting mortgages and corporate assets into bonds



- No risk intermediaries, fee-based system;
- No liquidity, no market pricing;
- SEC always too late.

Source: Presentation given at Barcelona Global ABS Conference June 2007

Issue: Are CDOs the future of the covered bond system?

... apparently safe



Source: Bud Grace/Piranha Club, ca 2001 (Enron crisis)

## Cyclical Problems in the Securitization Market

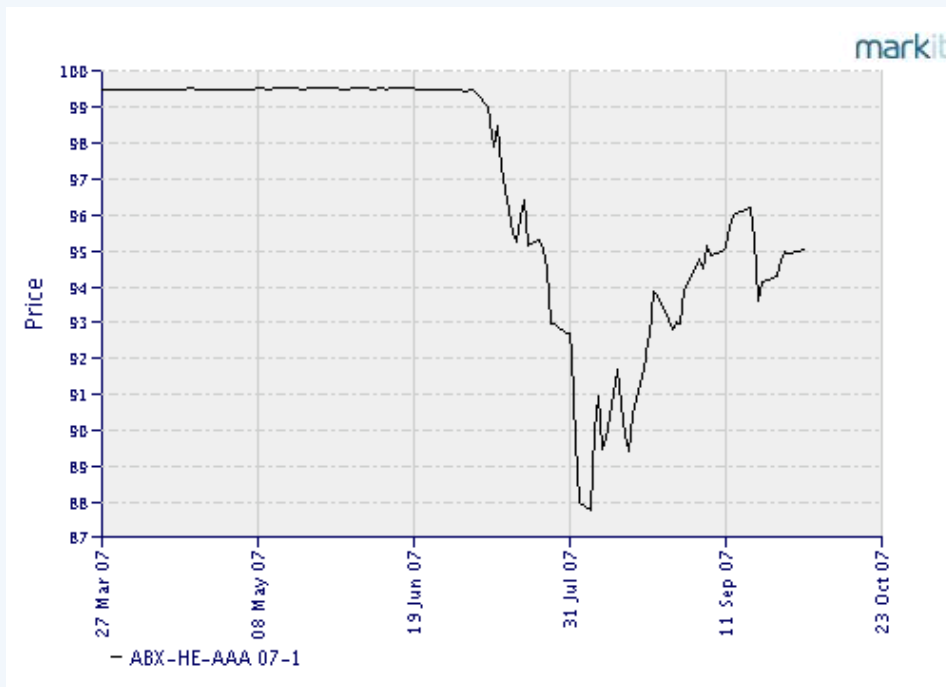
- Prices for subordinate tranches collapse since mid-2006, on the back of fraud reports;
- Since early 2007, lawsuits against originators on fraud claims, liquidations (New Century), takeovers, affecting also the prime market;
- August/September 07:
  - Interbank market crisis due to excess leverage, unclear exposures of banks to illiquid or high-default products, US house price risk;
  - Marking-to-market of illiquid products de-facto impossible, affects entire investor universe;
  - Bear Stearns hedge fund failures seen as preceding future failures of funds, other funds with high profits;
  - Corporate finance sector seriously affected:
    - ABCP market (IKB crisis), Basel I arbitrage,
    - SIVs (quasi-S&Ls), Basel I arbitrage,
    - Leveraged loan market.

**Result: Central Bank interventions to address systemic risk, mismatch.**

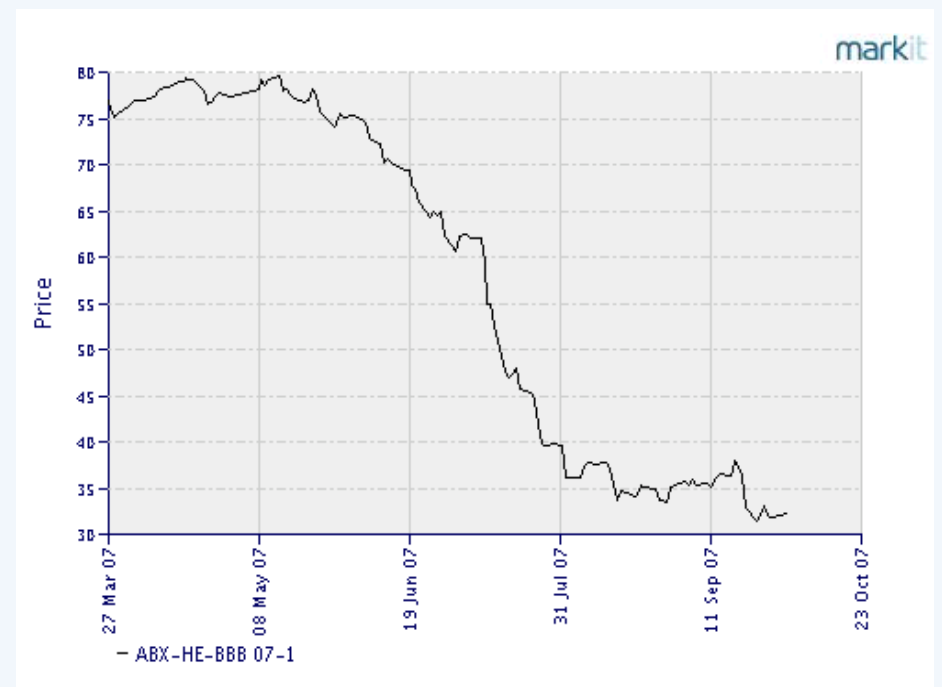
**Loss of investor confidence in the asset-backed market.**

## AAA Prices follow BBB (Home Equity Loans)

AAA



BBB



Source: Markit.com

## Consequences of the US Market Crisis for Europe

### Direct:

- Investors in US-mortgage-related securities (often uninformed), broadly moderate exposure (exceptions).
- Financiers of US mortgage market agents (generally more professional)

### Indirect:

- Securitization issuances are postponed, likely stagnation or decline of issuance;
- Subordinated and high-risk lending prices increase;
- Risks of existing exposures in high-risk markets (UK, Spain) are perceived more clearly, repriced;
- Marking-to-market and downgrades imply tighter regulatory barriers for institutional investors → declining primary market liquidity;
- Hedge fund and SIV travails (leverage reduction) reduce secondary market liquidity.

### HOWEVER:

- Global liquidity glut continues, esp. provoked by Asian savings, central bank interventions buy time to deleverage investments and fight general liquidity crisis;
- Global growth supports both credit risk of and demand for European real estate assets.

## Global Liquidity Growth Remains High, to be Exacerbated by Short-term Rate Cuts

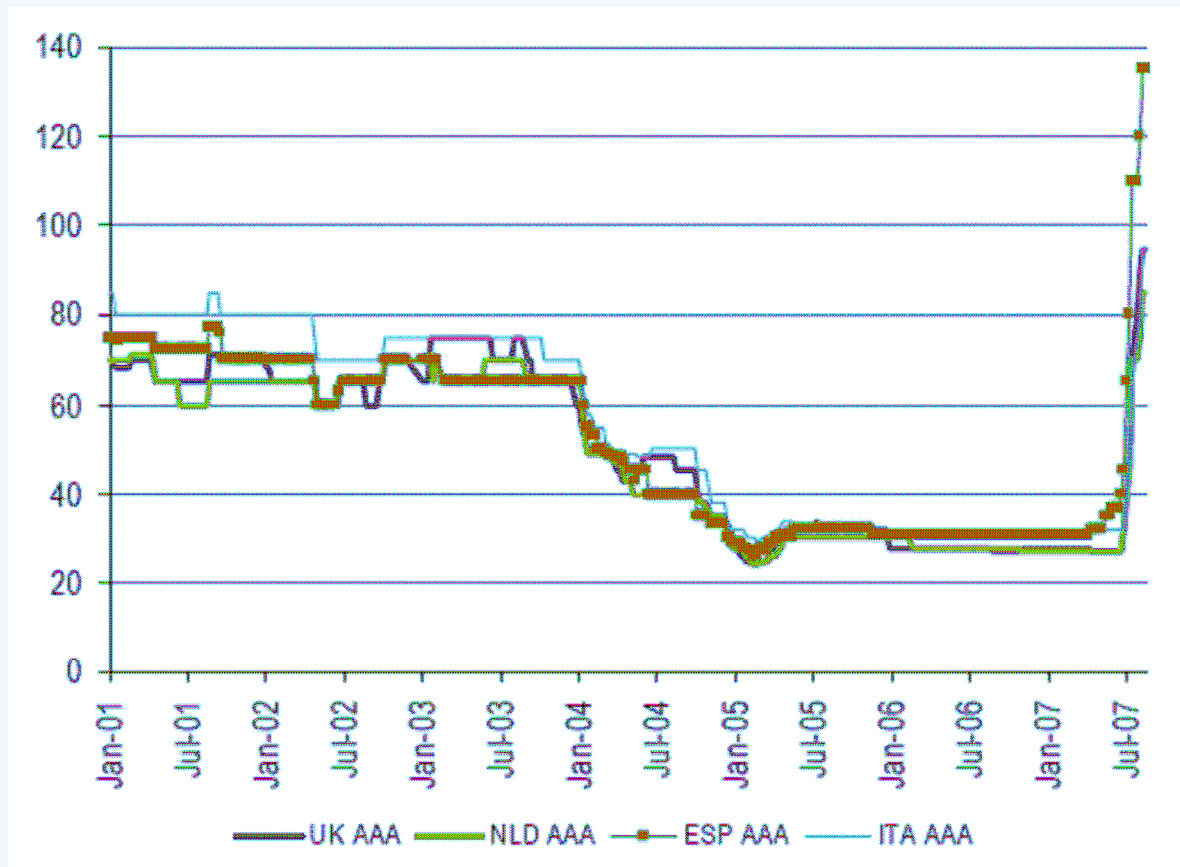


**US rate cuts, central bank herd behaviour likely to drive narrow money.**

**Repo liquidity via asset-backed instruments likely to decelerate.**

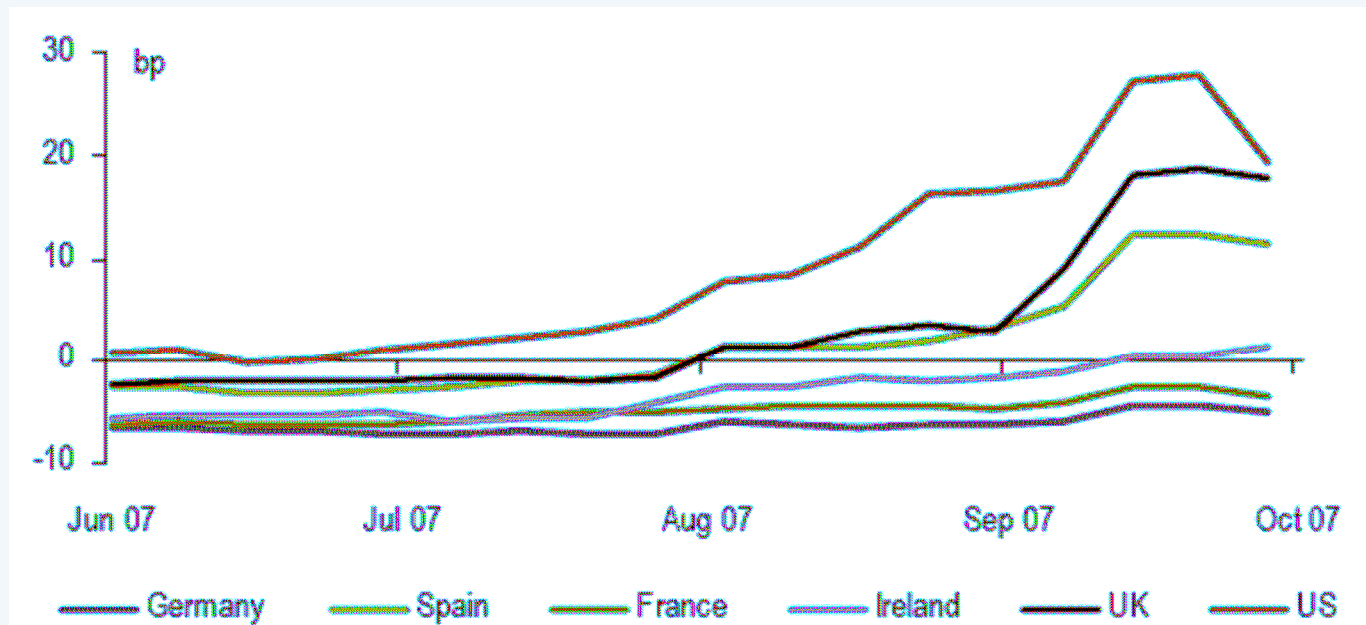
Source: Deutsche Bank

## Repricing of European RMBS in High-risk Markets - Spreads of AAA Tranches



Source: Merrill Lynch

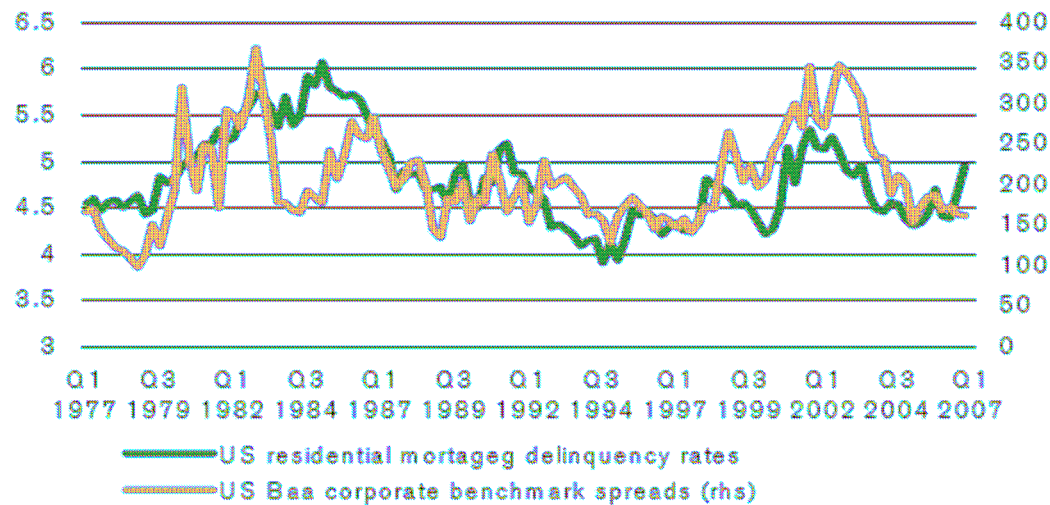
## Considerable Repricing also of European Covered Bonds



**But mind the smaller scale compared to AAA RMBS, related to corporate credit protection layer and collateral mix.**

Source: Merrill Lynch

## Historical Experiences with Spread Widenings suggest Cycle of 3-4 Years (Trough to Peak)



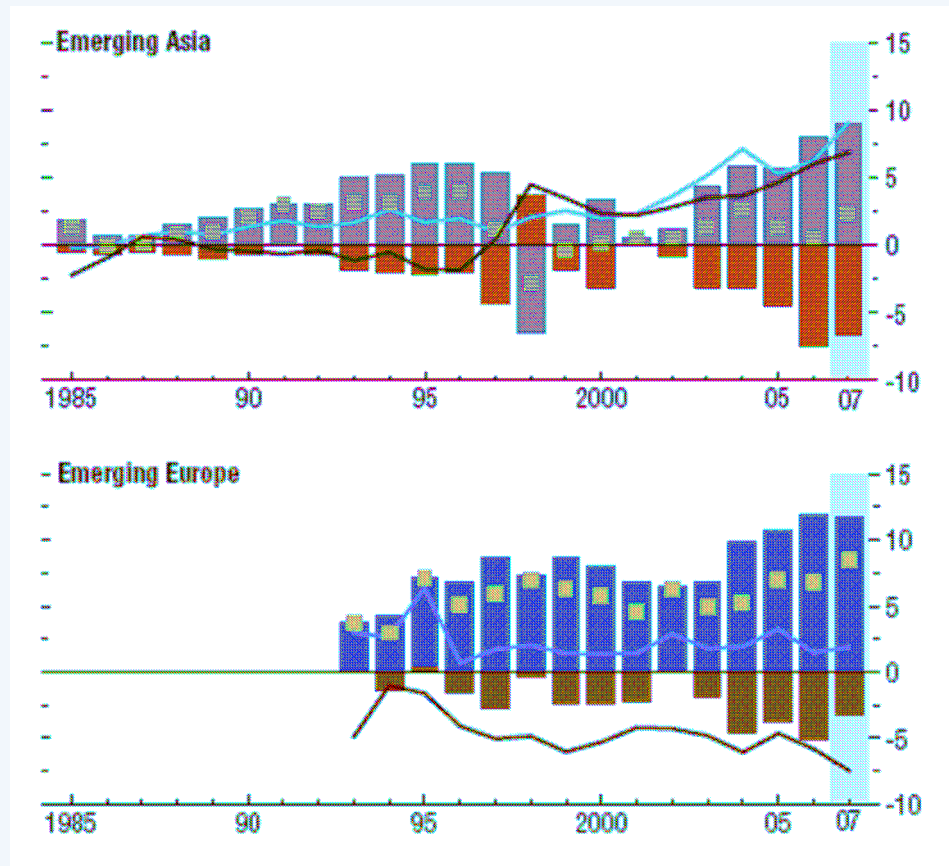
Delinquency rate have the best explanatory power assuming a lead of 1Q vs. corporate spreads

Source: Credit Suisse, Bloomberg

## Risk Factors in Emerging European Mortgage Markets

- Large current account financing element of mortgage finance through international bank lending, often accompanied by aggressive market entry strategies,
- Strong reliance on variable-rate instruments, in many cases combined with foreign-exchange rate risk ('carry trade' of the small man).
  - Exceptions: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary.
- Variable- and forex rate countries see stronger house price growth, e.g. Estonia, Latvia (Euro), Poland (CHF) vs. Czech Republic.
  - How much of this is initial price adjustment (introducing housing finance) vs. a cycle or bubble?
- Fairly fast extension of product menu to high-LTV lending, even including home equity lending (in CZ 'american mortgage').
- Increasing third-party origination combine with new market entrants, e.g. Poland 30% (mostly brokers, entrants e.g. Millennium Bank).
- Regulatory structure in consumer protection still quite undeveloped, bank regulations with holes (e.g. forex exposure of lenders with domestic deposit base).

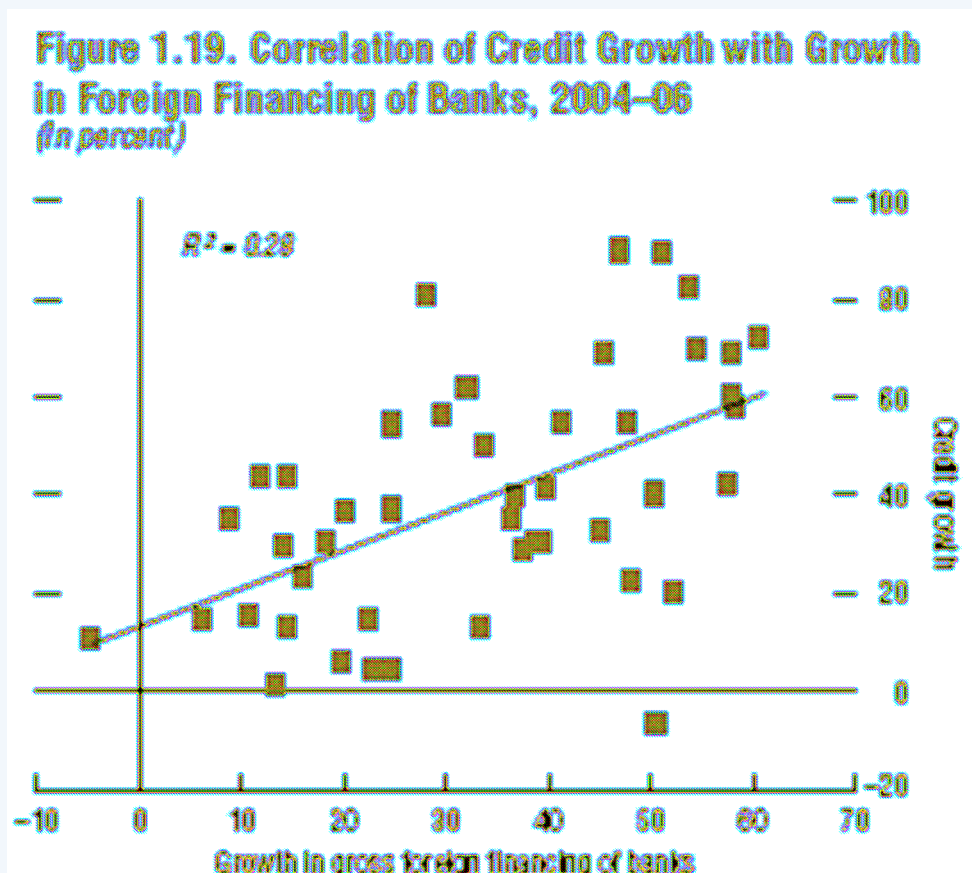
## Emerging Europe with Large Net Capital Inflows and Current Account Deficits (analogous to US)



■ Gross private capital inflows  
■ Gross private capital outflows  
■ Net private capital inflows  
— Current account  
— Accumulation of foreign reserves

Source: IMF Economic Outlook Fall 07.

## Foreign Credit Growth to Banks Drives Emerging Mortgage Markets



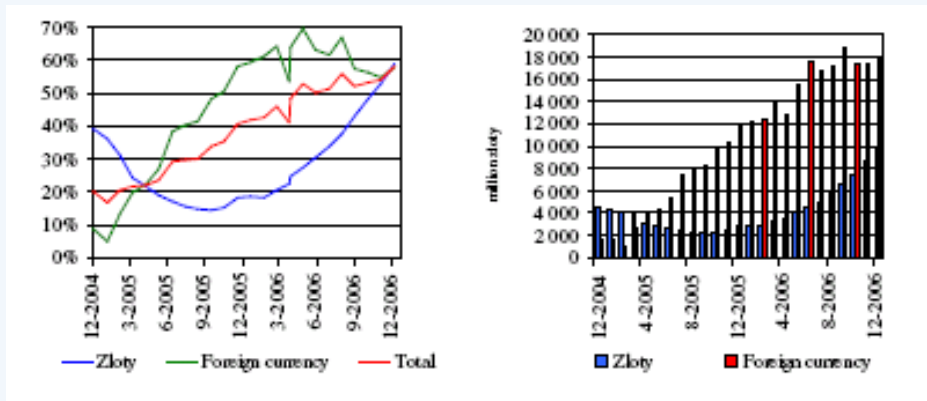
Source: IMF Global Financial Stability Report, September 07

## Risk Mitigating Factors in Emerging European Mortgage Markets

- Strong foreign direct investment, limits liquidity risk (usually owners lend to their local subsidiaries).
- Remaining locally controlled banks increasingly professionalizing and specializing in real estate.
- “Create and trade”-model susceptible to high liquidity risk not yet established.
- Some markets with fixed rate instruments and savings support schemes (yet at often high subsidy costs).
- Important fundamentals (e.g. demographics, migration, vacancies) slow down price growth
  - exception Poland with largest demand pressure, as well as urban centers in other countries.
- New construction is responding fairly well to price signals, reduced construction lags limit the risk of price overshooting.
  - exception Latvia and Estonia with inelastic supply conditions
- Yet no evidence of excess construction activity - return to 1980s ‘normal’ conditions.

# Poland – Risking a Bubble

## Lending Dominated by Forex Loans



- Forex lending at short-term rates drives down initial payments, at the expense of payment shocks.
- Product menu expands swiftly into riskier segments (FF compared to Western European development since the 70s).
- High brokerage distribution ratio, esp. used by newcomers lenders.
- House-price-income ratio in Warsaw doubled since 2003.

## Risk Profile of the Product Menu

	1995	2005
Purpose	Only housing	Any purpose related to real estate
Loan-to-value ratio	70%	80% (exceptions up to 100%)
Maturity	10 years	15 years (up to 35 years available)
Currency	PLN	PLN, CHF, EUR, USD
Distribution	Only through banks	Alternative distribution channels
Interest rates in Zloty	37%	8%

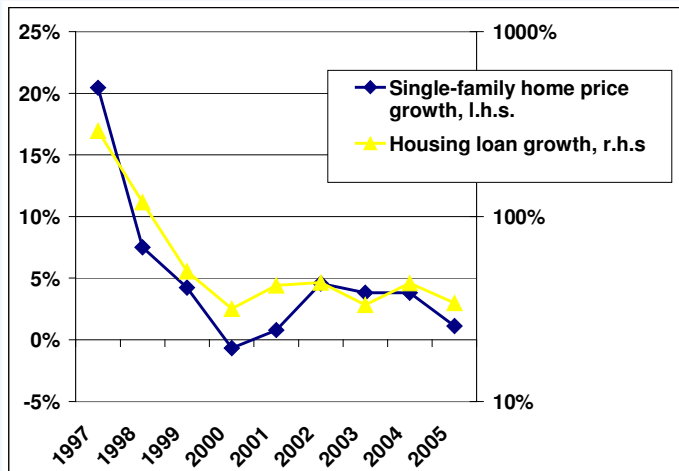
## Warsaw House Prices and Salaries



Sources: NBP, Finpolconsult research.

# Czech Republic – Calming Down after the Initial Adjustment

## Lending Growth and House Price Growth

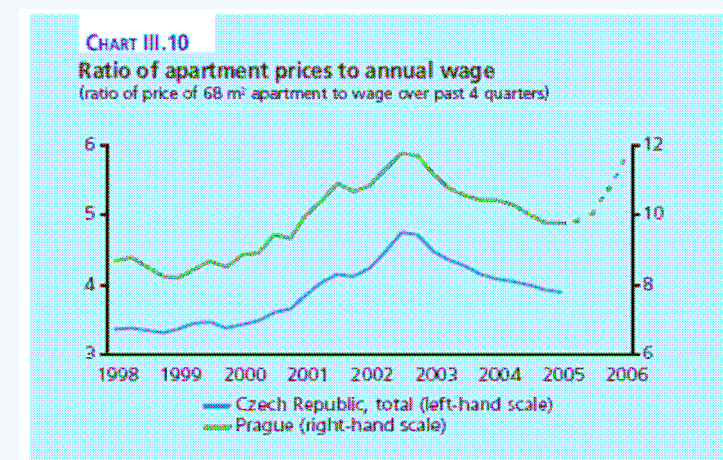


- Almost exclusively CZK lending.
- Typically fixed-to-term lending (5 year fixing), with tight spreads over covered bond benchmark or Bauspar deposits.
- Expanding product menu, but still mostly conservative loan-to-value ratios.
- Distribution dominated by bank networks.
- Price deceleration since 2003.

## Risk Profile of the Product Menu

	1995	2005
Purpose	Only housing	Housing, home equity
Loan-to-value ratio	70% (legal limit)	70% (higher possible)
Maturity	15 years	20 years (up to 40 years available)
Currency	CZK	CZK
Distribution	Only through banks	Some alternative distribution
Interest rates in CZK	14%	5%

## Prague and CZ House-price Income Ratios



Source: CNB, Merrill Lynch, CNB, Finpolconsult.

## Issues to be Addressed in Emerging European Markets

- Emerging real estate markets as 'safe haven' for liquidity in danger of becoming the next bubble spot.
- Capital controls possible response, yet with undesirable long-term effects (Malaysia).
- Protections against real estate bubble situations should include:
  - Floating exchange rates, to increase cross-border risk premium and auto-adjust current account deficits (esp. Baltics).
  - Discouraging of forex loans and related consumer 'carry trade', as a target for liquidity glut, supported by regulation.
  - An improved regulatory framework for lenders and borrowers promoting:
    - fixed-rate lending,
    - cash-flow valuation techniques (as opposed to open market values),
    - moderate LTVs, prior savings for downpayment,
    - risk transparency and use of capital markets for risk transfer,
    - banking charter 'light' for securitization channel.
  - Sufficiently conservative domestic monetary policy, moderating growth in exchange for greater stability.

## A Few Broader Conclusions from the US Crisis

- **Problem Nr. 1 global liquidity glut and low credit risk prices:**
  - Asian savings glut, sovereign funds and other excess liquidity sources destroy whatever monetary policy options there were to influence long-term rates;
  - Greater consumption, domestic capital market development, flexible exchange rates priority in order to redirect global capital flows into most productive use.
- **Problem Nr. 2: deficiencies in financial regulation and consumer protection standards:**
  - Incentive standards for the securitization market (risk intermediaries, model policing for rating agencies, investment banks, use of market data for regulation);
  - Transparency and regulation of non-bank financial institutions as a major source of arbitrage;
  - Stigmatization of consumer protection as 'anti-business' to be overcome by joint regulation approach (part of financial regulation);
  - Basel III, to include risk-based capital for interest mismatch run by universal banks (currently cross-subsidizing mortgage credit risk);
  - Deficiencies in real-estate market specific regulations, esp. concerning valuations, risk models.
- **Problem Nr. 3: lack of global coordination:**
  - Liquidity and regulatory policies no longer possible in isolation, given scale of global capital flows;
  - Regional integration approaches as a starting point (e.g. EU financial integration).

## Contact Detail

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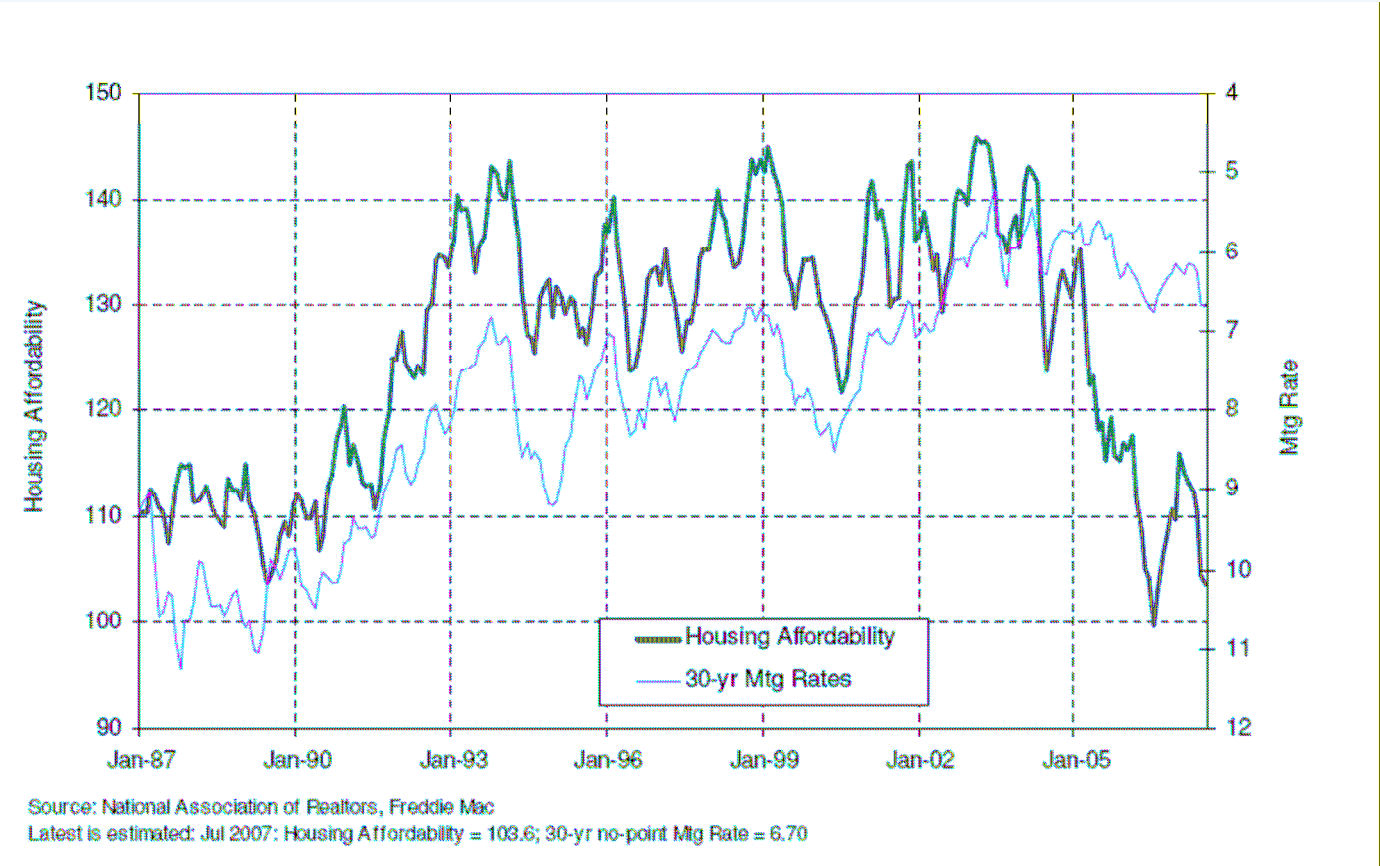
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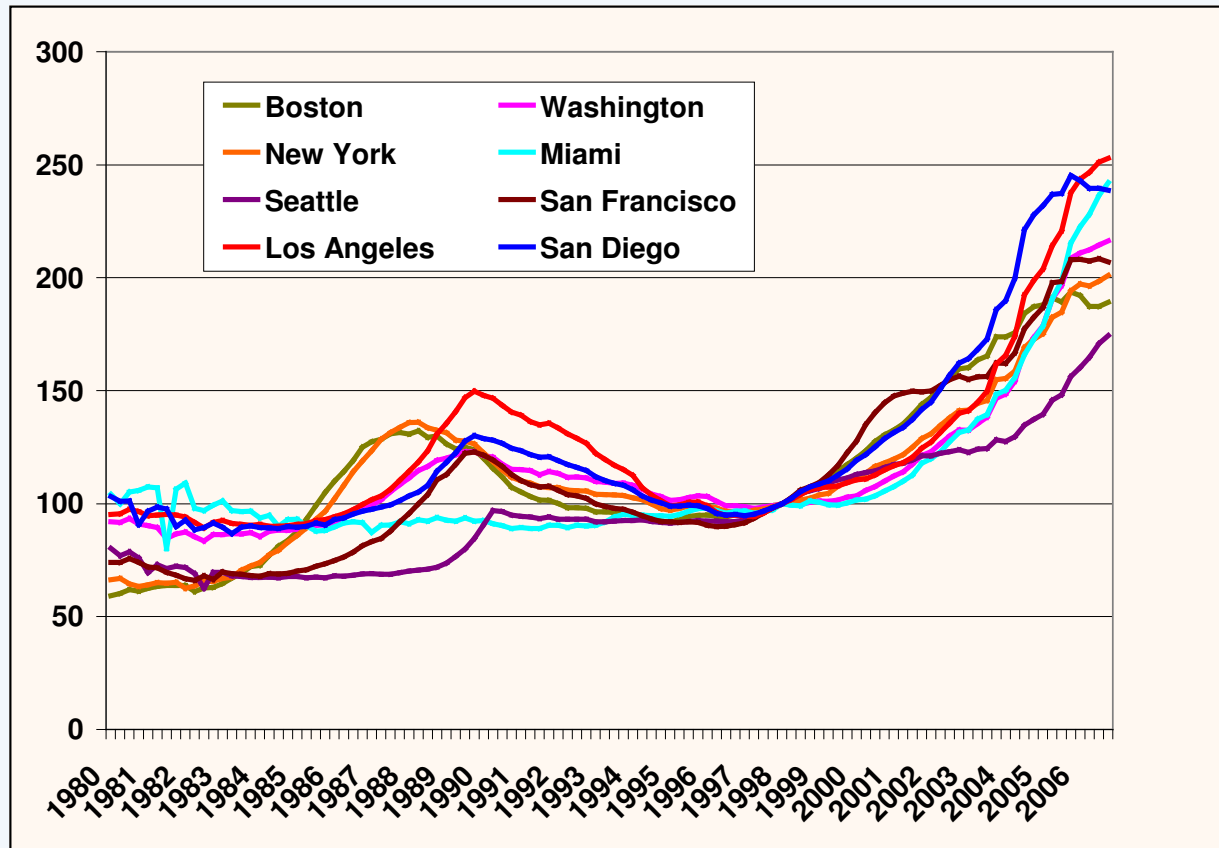
[www.finpolconsult.de](http://www.finpolconsult.de)

## **Additional Data**

# Housing Affordability for 30 Year FRM down since 2005



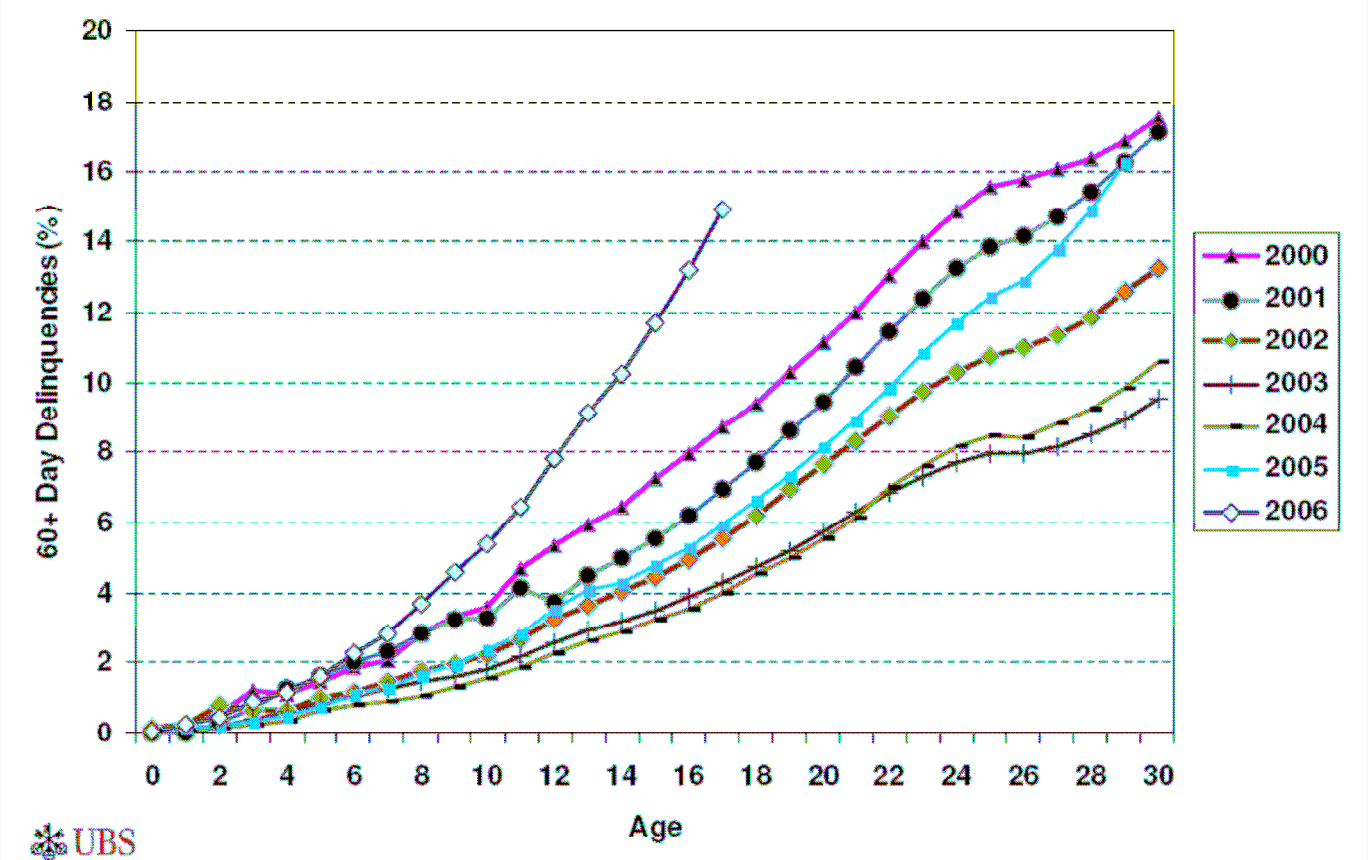
## Real House Price Cycle indicates Excessive Valuations by 2003/4, 2005-6 Price Bubble



**OFHEO house price index, deflated with consumer price index, 1999 = 100**

Source: OFHEO, Bureau of Labour, Finpolconsult.

# Defaults – 2006 Worst Subprime Cohort Ever



Source: Zimmerman/UBS