The Effect of Automated Underwriting on the Profitability of Mortgage Securitization[1]

Wayne Passmore
(Corresponding Author)
Senior Economist
Federal Reserve Board
Mail Stop 89
Washington D.C. 20551
Phone: 202-452-6432
Fax: 202-452-3819
M1SWP00@FRB.GOV

and

Roger Sparks
Associate Professor
Economics Dept.
Mills College
Oakland, CA 94613

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Abstract

Over the past two years, many mortgage market analysts have praised automated underwriting as a technological innovation that will lower the costs of processing mortgage applications. However, automated underwriting is unlikely to decrease processing costs uniformly for all mortgage applications. Instead, it makes identifying and processing low-risk mortgage borrowers less costly, but may not significantly lower the costs of identifying and processing relatively high-risk applicants. Our results suggest that after the one-time cost reduction produced by automated underwriting, the resulting mortgage market equilibrium is characterized by lower mortgage rates and lower profits for the mortgage securitizer.

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Introduction

Over the past two years, many mortgage market analysts have praised automated underwriting as a technological innovation that will lower the costs of processing mortgage applications. However, automated underwriting is unlikely to decrease processing costs uniformly for all mortgage applications. Instead, it makes identifying and processing low-risk mortgage borrowers less costly, but may not significantly lower the costs of identifying and processing relatively high-risk applicants. Ironically, by only lowering the costs of determining who is a lower-risk applicant, automated underwriting--the technological innovation in the mortgage markets during the 1990s--may undermine the profitability of the most important mortgage market innovation during the 1980s--mortgage securitization.

Mortgage originators who can fund mortgages directly (e.g. banks and thrifts) can potentially engage in adverse selection against the mortgage securitizer, holding relatively more good credit risks in portfolio and selling poorer credit risks.[2] In this setting, originators who acquire a lower-cost method of underwriting mortgage applicants may screen and hold more of the less risky mortgages. The securitizer reacts to greater adverse selection by raising yields on mortgage-backed securities, which reduces the originators incentive to screen. Our restuls suggests that after the one-time cost reduction produced by automated underwriting, the resulting equilibrium is characterized by lower mortgage rates and lower profits for the mortgage securitizer.

Automated Underwriting and the Mortgage Market

Automated underwriting has three components: a credit assessment using a credit

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[2]We use the term mortgage securitization, but our model applies to any process where someone other than the mortgage originator bears the credit risk of the mortgage (for example, mortgage insurers, or mortgage purchasers who then hold the mortgage in their own portfolio.)

score, an evaluation of the borrower's ability to carry debt using financial ratios, and a collateral assessment using a statistical appraisal of property. One or all of these components can be automated, although the focus of most automation efforts is to combine a easy-to-obtain consumer credit score with a minimal amount of other information to produce a *mortgage credit score* for the applicant.

Credit scoring is a means of evaluating the creditworthiness of loan applicants using a numerical index.[3] If the index exceeds a predetermined threshold, then the applicant is extended credit subject to verification of information; otherwise, the applicant is either referred to a human underwriter for additional review or is denied credit.

Used for years in the credit card industry, credit scoring has only recently been applied to mortgage applications by depository institutions, mortgage insurance companies, and mortgage securitizers. These firms argue that combining the consumer credit scoring with other financial information can produce mortgage credit score that is a reliable measure of credit risk. According to these firms, basing mortgage credit decisions on a mortgage credit score will lower the cost of origination and speed up the approval process because the score can be generated quickly from data available at the time of application.

To produce a mortgage credit score quickly, most automated mortgage underwriting systems rely heavily on the consumer credit reports produced by three major consumer credit bureaus in the United States: Equifax, Trans Union and Esperian (formerly TRW). Information from the bureaus can be electronically retrieved within minutes and then integrated into a mortgage credit scoring model.[4]

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[3]For a detailed overview of credit scoring in the mortgage market, see Robert A. Avery, *et.al.* (1996). For more general reviews of credit scoring, see Altman(1980), Altman and Haldman (1995), Greene (1992), and Lewis (1994).

[4]Most credit scoring algorithms for mortgages retrieve only a summary credit score from the credit bureau (in the United States, this summary score is almost always created for the credit bureau by either Fair, Isaac Companies or by Management Decision Systems). The summary scores, along with other information, are then incorporated into a mortgage credit scoring algorithm. Fannie Mae's and Freddie Mac's guidelines suggest that the creditor use at least two credit bureau scores.

But in an automated underwriting system for mortgages, the consumer credit report is not the sole determinant of creditworthiness. Other important determinants are the value of the property relative to the loan being requested and the payment burdens imposed by the mortgage, information that may not be available at the time of application. In addition, the applicant may provide information about their income, wealth, and employment on the mortgage application, but this information can be difficult to verify quickly. The absence of accurate, validated information makes the assessment of creditworthiness less precise, and mortgage originators often respond by setting a relatively high credit score threshold for immediate loan approval.[5]

The two government-sponsored enterprises that dominate the conventional mortgage markets, the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae) and the Federal Home Loan Corporation (Freddie Mac) are strong proponents of credit scoring and automated underwriting. Freddie Mac's credit scoring system, Loan Prospector, is one of the most advanced mortgage credit scoring systems. This system predicts the applicant's default risk based on his or her credit file and on loan application information.[6] The lender either requests an automated statistical appraisal from Freddie Mac or provides an appraisal. Based on the default prediction, Freddie Mac either agrees to purchase the mortgage or refers it to traditional underwriting. Using this system, 50 to 60 percent of mortgages can be processed

[5]Along with problems associated with data availability and accuracy, the relative inexperience with credit scoring for mortgages raises questions about its reliability. Overriding these concerns, however, is the intense competition in the mortgage industry, which is hastening the rapid adoption of these techniques.

[6]Loan Prospector's scoring system is proprietary. However, based on information published by Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, as well as the score card used in Freddie Mac's Affordable Housing program (called the "Gold Measure Worksheet"), the bulk of the judgement about future delinquency or default is based on the credit score created from the credit bureau file (see Holloway and Jaske (1995)), while traditional underwriting measures (loan-to-value ratios and debt burden ratios) receive significantly less weight. Many of the determinants of mortgage default, such as loan-to-value ratios, are well-established. However, there is still substantial variation in defaults risks (see Vandell (1993, 1995), Quigley and Van Order(1995), and Guttentag (1992).)

in under 10 days, with a cost savings of about $1000 per loan. As both GSEs are trying to establish market share (many lenders may not use both systems), charges for Loan Prospector have been minimal.[7] By October 1996, 350 lenders were actively using Loan Prospector with about 13,000 mortgages scored each month--about 20 percent of Freddie Mac's purchase volume. Freddie Mac expects about 50 percent of its loans to be scored by the end of 1997. [8]

Many observers expect that soon all mortgage applications will be initially evaluated according to the applicant's credit score.[9] The gains to credit scoring, however, will not accrue to all applicants equally. As expressed by one provider of mortgage credit:

> Only when information is clear-cut, as it is with applicants from both extremes of the creditworthiness spectrum, is the fully automated system at its peak reliability. Lenders need only look at a "in-file" credit report to grant a loan to a good credit applicant--or to deny a loan to an applicant with poor credit. In the large gray area between, good underwriting expertise is key because an automated data base cannot determine whether a gray-area loan should be approved. In these cases, human judgement and discretion are needed (Kunkel, 1995).

If this statement is accurate, then the bulk of the cost savings from automated underwriting accrues during the evaluation of applicants who have either very good or very bad credit records. In such cases, a credit report alone is most often sufficient for the lender to decide whether or not to extend credit. Other mortgages are referred to human underwriters, with little obvious cost savings for these applicants.

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[7]For a detailed review of the systems offered by Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, see the annual report of their regulator, the Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight (OFHEO, 1995 and 1996).

[8]See "Freddie: Automated System to Bring Half of 1997 Volume," *American Banker,* November 18, 1996. Fannie Mae is also strongly pushing credit scoring with a system that is similar to Loan Prospector (see "Fannie Makes A Commitment to Credit Scoring," *American Banker,* November 1, 1995.)

[9]Freddie Mac is now working with the Federal Housing Administration (the FHA) on the scoring of government-insured mortgages and has extended its models to nonconforming mortgages such as jumbo loans.

Mortgage Securitization, Adverse Selection and Automated Underwriting

Mortgage securitization affects the origination and funding of mortgages in two important ways. First, it lowers the cost of offering mortgages when the securitizer of the mortgage can bear the credit risk associated with the mortgage at a lower cost than the originator (for example, the securitizer may have government-sponsored status).

Second, mortgage securitization introduces an information asymmetry into the mortgage origination process. When the option to securitize is available, if a mortgage originator suspects that a mortgage applicant is a bad credit risk, the originator may keep this information hidden and attempt to sell the mortgage to a securitizer rather than deny credit to the mortgage applicant. The originator's action of selling mortgages of poor credit quality is an example of *adverse selection*, which lowers the securitizer's profits and can possibly offset the cost advantages of securitization.[10]

Adverse selection is a persistent problem for mortgage securitizers. To quote the Chairman of Fannie Mae, speaking to mortgage bankers:

> We can't and we won't work with you just on the "hard" cases, the special cases and the riskier cases. The profile of the loans you deliver to us must be similar to the profile of all the conventional mortgages you are originating. If the risk profile of the business you deliver to us differs substantially from the risk profile of your overall book of business, then we will have no choice but to believe we have been "adversely selected.[11]

In the conventional mortgage market--that is, mortgages without FHA or VA backing, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac dominate the securitization of *conforming* mortgages, that is mortgages that meet the underwriting guidelines of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and fall under the size limit (currently $214,600) imposed by Congress.[12] Fannie Mae and Freddie

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[10]For a discussion about the conditions under which adverse selection with mortgage securitization can raise, rather than lower, mortgage rates, see Passmore and Sparks (1996).

[11]Jim Johnson, Chairman, Fannie Mae, quoted in "Comment: Wholesale Lending Leaves Mortgage Out of the Loop," *American Banker,* October 31, 1995.

[12]For a discussion of their dominance, see Chinloy (1995), Goodman and Passmore (1992), and Hermalin and Jaffee (1996).

Mac generally offer one price for conforming mortgages (adjusting for the terms of the mortgages), because from their perspective these loans are of uniform credit quality.[13]

If the originator has better information than the mortgage securitizer does about the credit quality of the mortgage, then the potential for adverse selection exists. Credit scoring makes it easier for the securitizer to signal to the originator whether a potential mortgage will be purchased by the securitizer. But it also *changes the technology of the originator* by allowing the originator to build or purchase its own inexpensive credit scoring models.

The model we outline below applies to conforming mortgages that have already passed the mortgage credit score thresholds established by purchasers such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. In this model, the originator has its own credit scoring technology that uses information not captured by the underwriting guidelines defined by the mortgage purchaser. The originator compares its score to that of the mortgage purchaser, and decides whether or not to sell the mortgage.[14]

As we formally demonstrate with our model, if automated underwriting lowers the cost to the originator of identifying good credit risks, *then the potential grows for adverse selection against a mortgage securitizer.* As credit histories become less costly to identify and score, mortgage originators find it easier to determine who the mortgage securitizer views

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[13] The very limited nature of risk-adjusted pricing by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac is described by trade press articles, such as by Staples (1996), even though housing markets are not completely homogenous (see Abraham, *et. al.,* 1994). Of course, the mortgage terms (rates, terms, points, rate adjustments and the like) can vary across conforming mortgages. In particular, private mortgage insurance is often required for some mortgages to make them conforming. The cost of this insurance to the borrower is, to some extent, a risk-adjustment to the price of the mortgage. But once private mortgage insurance is purchased, the price offered for purchasing the *insured* mortgage is unchanged.

[14]While there are over 10,000 mortgage originators, the market is somewhat concentrated. Four originators account for over one-quarter of the mortgages sold to Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and Ginnie Mae (Norwest Mortgage, Countrywide Home Loans, Chase Manhattan Mortgage and Fleet Mortgage Corp.). These institutions have ample resources for developing and maintaining their own credit scoring models. Countrywide's credit scoring model includes a measure of the likelihood that Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac will purchase the loan.

as a good risk and yet still have their private information based on "their local knowledge, direct contact with borrowers and expert judgement."[15] This will make it less costly for originators to "game" the mortgage securitization process, which lowers the profits of the mortgage securitizer.[16]

Our model also highlights the benefit of automated underwriting to the mortgage borrower. Since origination costs are reduced, the mortgage rate falls for all conforming mortgages. There may be other benefits of automated underwriting, such as making the mortgage decision more objective and allowing a wider range of factors to be considered, which are not addressed by our model.[17]

Proponents of automated underwriting are hopeful that it can also alleviate concerns about possible discrimination against nontraditional mortgage applicants (discrimination based on gender, race or ethnic group) because its treatment of mortgage applicants is independent of the likes and dislikes of a particular mortgage originator. As our model is limited to the discussion of conforming mortgage borrowers (and thus all applicants become borrowers), it has few implications for the acceptance or rejection of nonconforming-mortgage applicants. However, to the degree that nontraditional borrowers or borrowers with small downpayments are currently more costly to screen, our model suggests that credit scoring will result in more of these mortgages being held in bank portfolios rather than being securitized because mortgage credit scoring will make it less costly for the bank to determine the applicant's

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[15]This description of the value added by mortgage originators in given by Mr. Johnson in his speech to mortgage bankers, *op. cit.*

[16] In our model, the originator cannot offer different mortgage rates to different risk types. We assume that the mortgage rate is posted prior to screening, and that changing the offered mortgage rate after screening would be a difficult business practice. In addition, all mortgages in our model are mortgages that meet the securitizer's underwriting standards. Thus, to deny someone the posted mortgage rate would require a denial that is not based on public credit history, loan characteristics or well-known borrower characteristics but instead based on the originator's private information about the borrower or the community.

[17]See Freddie Mac (1996) for a strong statement promoting the advantages of credit scoring, as well as Fannie Mae’s letter to its sellers (1997).