# Communications Directors, GADs, Interested Members:

NAR is strongly opposed to new legislation called the "Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners Act" (PATH Act) that would eliminate the government's role in our housing finance market and create new limits on FHA. It is critical that REALTORS® across the country speak out against this legislation that would create significant obstacles to homeownership for most Americans.

While NAR Government Affairs staff and leadership are working hard on Capitol Hill to educate key members of Congress about the dangers of the PATH Act, you and your colleagues can help spread this important advocacy message to local newspaper editors and reporters by arranging a meeting with the paper's editorial board. Persuading the editorial staff to publish a friendly opinion piece is a great way to educate readers about the REALTOR® message and to influence your Senators and Representatives who care deeply about their home papers' perspectives.

The state and local AE, GAD, Communications Director, and elected leadership can work together to arrange meetings with the editorial boards of your local papers. This is an opportunity to explain why any legitimate effort to reform our housing finance policies must:

- Preserve the government guarantee in the secondary mortgage market;
- Protect the accessibility of safe and affordable loan products like the 30-year-fixed-rate mortgage;
   and
- Ensure the Federal Housing Administration helps preserve private financing options for homebuyers regardless of local, regional or national economic conditions

# Here are some helpful tips for meetings with newspaper editorial boards:

- 1. Visit the webpages of your local news source to find the appropriate contact information for the editorial staff.
- 2. Call the newspaper's staff and ask to arrange a meeting with the editor or board of editors who oversee the editorial section of the newspaper. Introduce yourself and explain that you would like to discuss the
  - consumer impact of proposed legislation that would change our nation's housing finance market.
- 3. Prepare for the meeting by reviewing NAR's talking points and by thinking of real-life examples that you can share with the editors. How would your clients be impacted by a fully privatized secondary mortgage market?
  - What if FHA is limited to first-time home buyers and is held to very low mortgage caps?
- 4. Review <u>state-specific data</u> about homeownership to help paint a picture of who is impacted by homeownership policies in your region.
- 5. Prepare to give a brief explanation of the PATH Act and how it will impact consumers in your region. In this packet you will find a helpful issue brief and talking points about the PATH Act.
- 6. Determine which staff and leadership will participate in the meeting and designate speaking roles in advance.
- 7. Share the attached NAR Materials for Media with the editors.
- 8. Follow up with a thank you email.
- 9. Report back to NAR Government Affairs or Public Affairs to debrief us on your meeting.

# NAR BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR REALTORS: THE PATH ACT HURTS HOMEOWNERSHIP

- NAR Issue Brief:
   The PATH Act
- NAR Talking
   Points: Preserve
   FHA and Ensure
   Secondary
   Mortgage
   Market Finance
- NAR Debating the Issue: FHA, Fannie Mae & Freddie Mac Reform
- Staff Contact
   Information &
   Additional
   Resources

# NAR Issue Brief

# "The Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners Act" (PATH Act)

# The PATH Act needs a government guarantee.

In down markets, as was the case in 2007-8, private lenders have regularly chosen to pull out of mortgage markets. These decisions have brought housing markets to a standstill in some parts of the country and have affected the nation's overall economic stability.

Even when most private financing markets shut down, government support allowed Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and FHA to continue to purchase or insure loans made by private mortgage lenders to keep housing markets going.

Additionally, changing FHA's mission to first time homebuyers and low and moderate households that meet certain income requirements will result in the guarantee being only available to a select group that leaves many well-qualified middle-income families without access to affordable long-term mortgages.

# The changes to FHA in the PATH Act go too far.

The PATH Act limits FHA to first-time borrowers and repeat borrowers under a strict threshold. While 78% of FHA borrowers are first-time buyers, the bill uses a much stricter definition of first-time buyer that does NOT align with HUD's traditional definition. The biggest difference in the traditional and PATH first-time buyer definitions is that the HUD definition includes someone who has not owned a home in the last 3 years, while the PATH Act restricts it to those who have never owned a home—with only a few exceptions for divorce.

The bill limits access to FHA loans for repeat buyers to those who make less than 115% of area median income. While it does allow an expansion of FHA to a wider array of households during demonstrated market disruptions, it is not clear that there is an appropriate leading indicator that will reflect a future downturn in time to allow steps to be taken to avoid any downturn.

If forced to wait until data shows the nation is in a housing downturn, the market will likely be so far into it that it will be very difficult to effect change and avoid a downturn.

# The PATH Act will restrict the availability of the 30-year mortgage.

Sponsors say that the PATH Act does include a 30-year mortgage, but it is lenders who will have to choose to offer a 30-year product. The PATH Act's replacement to Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the "Utility", is not a lender. Without a guarantee, there will be considerably less private interest in offering a long term, fixed rate mortgage product. As a result, 30-year mortgages will only be available to those with sterling credit histories, high downpayments, and less available to tax-paying moderate income homeowners. This is a major concern since a reduction in the availability of the 30-year fixed rate mortgage would harm consumers and leave the burden and instability of rising interest rates on middle class Americans. Many middle-class and older Americans on fixed incomes will be left without the ability to responsibly plan for the future.



# NAR Talking Point

# "Preserve FHA and Ensure Secondary Mortgage Market Finance"

#### ASK:

### **HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Oppose H.R. 2767 "The Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners (PATH) Act."

#### U.S. SENATE

- Request that the Chairman of the Senate Banking Committee hold hearings on restructuring the secondary mortgage market.
- Co-sponsor S. 1376, the "FHA Solvency Act of 2013", which provides common sense reforms of the FHA mortgage insurance program, ensuring its financial solvency without disenfranchising American families.

### **ISSUE BACKGROUND:**

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

House Financial Services Committee Chairman Jeb Hensarling (R-TX) introduced H.R. 2767 the "Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners Act" (PATH Act). The House Financial Services Committee held a July 23<sup>rd</sup> markup of the PATH Act and approved the bill along an almost party line vote of 30-27; 30 Republicans voted yes, 25 Democrats voted no along with two Republicans (Miller, R-CA; Fitzpatrick, R-PA).

The PATH Act is a comprehensive restructuring of mortgage markets. The bill has two major goals: 1) dissolve Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and replace them with a new secondary mortgage market structure that does not include a government guarantee and 2) restructure and limit the FHA Mortgage Insurance Program. There are numerous problematic provisions in the Act that would limit access to mortgage credit, increase the cost of that credit and prevent many credit-worthy and responsible families from purchasing a home. Most significantly, 1) NAR strongly opposes the PATH Act's elimination of a federal guarantee for the secondary mortgage market which ensures the availability of the 30 year fixed-rate mortgage; and 2) NAR believes that FHA has been making significant changes to address problems and does not need to be restructured in the manner proposed by the Act. The proposed FHA provisions will disenfranchise families by increasing downpayments, lowering loan limits, and limiting the program to low income households or a very narrow definition of first-time homebuyers. Instead, FHA needs the authority to undertake reforms already identified to strengthen its financial footing.

# **U.S. SENATE**

Senators Bob Corker (R-TN) and Mark Warner (D-VA) introduced S. 1217, the "Housing Finance Reform and Taxpayer Act" with six other bipartisan co-sponsors. No hearing has been held to date on this bill. This bill offers comprehensive reform to the secondary mortgage market that includes a catastrophic government guarantee. Though there are issues that remain to be addressed, this bipartisan legislation will accelerate the conversation necessary to reform our housing finance system.

At the same time, Senators Johnson (D-SD) and Crapo (R-ID) have introduced S. 1376, the "FHA Solvency Act of 2013", and the Senate Banking Committee held a hearing on this bill. The bill provides common sense reforms to ensure the continued solvency of FHA without disenfranchising qualified borrowers. It provides increased enforcement and oversight of the FHA fund, and flexibility to FHA to better manage its programs. NAR supports this bipartisan approach

# WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT?

# Freddie Mac/Fannie Mae:

- The PATH Act does not include a federal guarantee that ensures the continued availability of a 30-year fixed rate mortgage.
- A government's guarantee is needed to provide the capital to fund and ensure a wide range of safe, reliable mortgage products for creditworthy consumers.



# NAR Talking Point

# "Preserve FHA and Ensure Secondary Mortgage Market Finance"

• Without the federal government clearly, and explicitly, offering a guarantee of some mortgage instruments, affordable mortgage financing will not be consistently available in all market conditions.

#### FHA:

- FHA's single-family mortgage insurance programs helps preserve private financing options for all credit-worthy homebuyers regardless of local, regional or national economic conditions.
- Targeting FHA in the manner prescribed by the PATH Act completely changes the role of FHA and will make
  many borrowers ineligible for FHA financing, regardless of their creditworthiness or the availability of alternative
  financing.
- Higher downpayment requirements could make 345,000 borrowers a year ineligible for FHA financing.
- Lowering FHA loan limits nationwide will limit liquidity and borrower's access to credit.
- Without FHA, our nation's housing recovery would not have been possible.
- Congress must do no harm to that recovery, nor enact FHA reform legislation that unfairly restricts homebuyer access to safe, affordable mortgage credit.

#### WHAT IS THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ARGUMENT?

Those on the other side of the issue believe that: the federal government needs to "get out of the way" and let the private market function. Current practices have crowded private lenders out of the marketplace, and resulted in loans to individuals who don't have the resources to be successful at homeownership. Taxpayers shouldn't be on the hook for a government guarantee, and the role of FHA should be very limited to lower income and first-time homebuyer households

#### THE BOTTOM LINE

Freddie Mac/Fannie Mae and Secondary Market Reform: NAR strongly supports restructuring the secondary mortgage market. However, the PATH Act does not include a government guarantee. NAR cannot support any new entity that does not have a clear and explicit government guarantee that will ensure the continued availability of affordable mortgage credit.

**FHA:** FHA has been making significant changes to address problems and does not need to be restructured in the manner proposed by the PATH Act. Instead, FHA needs the authority to undertake reforms to strengthen its financial footing which the Senate's "FHA Solvency Act of 2013" provides.



# FHA, Fannie Mae & Freddie Mac Reform

Introduced in the House, H.R. 2767, the "Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners (PATH) Act" (Hensarling R-TX) is a comprehensive restructuring of mortgage markets. The bill has two major goals: 1) dissolve Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and replace them with a new secondary mortgage market structure that does not include a government guarantee, and 2) restructure the mission of the FHA Mortgage Insurance Program. There are numerous problematic provisions in the Act that would limit access to mortgage credit, increase the cost of that credit and prevent many credit-worthy and responsible families from purchasing a home. NAR opposes the PATH Act.

In the Senate, S. 1217, the "Housing Finance Reform and Taxpayer Act" (Corker R-TN; Warner D-VA) offers comprehensive reform of the secondary mortgage market but maintains a government guarantee. Though there are issues that remain to be addressed, NAR is supportive of this bipartisan approach which will accelerate the conversation necessary to reform our housing finance system.

Also in the Senate, S. 1376, the "FHA Solvency Act of 2013" (Johnson D-SD; Crapo R-ID) provides common sense reforms to ensure the continued solvency of FHA without disenfranchising qualified borrowers. It provides increased enforcement and oversight of the FHA fund, and flexibility to FHA to better manage its programs. NAR supports this bipartisan approach

When meeting with your Member of Congress, they may reference statements that have been made in the media or by other associations and organizations that go against NAR's position on this issue. To help prepare your response, NAR has highlighted below some of these opposing statements and how you can respond if asked.

#### NEED FOR A FEDERALGOVERNMENT GUARANTEE

Other countries' governments don't provide a guarantee and homeownership rates in those nations are high.

- Unlike the U.S., many countries have highly consolidated banking systems that by U.S. standards would be consider "too big to fail".
- Investors who purchase mortgage-back securities and covered bonds understand this fact and believe
  that they will be 'covered' should the bank falter as its ultimate failure would cause irreparable economic
  damage.
- This structure creates an implicit, if not explicit, government guarantee.

# Why is a government guarantee needed?

- In down-markets, as was the case in 2007-8, private lenders have regularly chosen to pull out of mortgage markets. These decisions have brought housing markets to a standstill in some parts of the country. These contractions have affected the nation's overall economic stability.
- Even when most private financing markets shut down, government support allowed Fannie Mae,
   Freddie Mac and FHA to continue to purchase or insure loans made by private mortgage lenders to keep housing markets going.

# The PATH Act does include a federal guarantee for housing through the FHA program.

- This is true, but the bill also narrowly targets FHA's mission to first time homebuyers and low and moderate households that meet certain income requirements.
- As a result, the guarantee is only available to a select group that leaves many well-qualified middle income families without access to affordable long-term mortgages.



# FHA, Fannie Mae & Freddie Mac Reform

# The PATH Act gives FHA the ability to expand during times of market disruption.

- The bill does allow an expansion of FHA to a wider array of households during demonstrated market disruptions. However, it is not clear that there is an appropriate leading indicator that will reflect a future downturn in time to allow steps to be taken to avoid any downturn.
- If forced to wait until data shows the nation is in a housing downturn, the market will likely be so far into it that it will be very difficult to effect change and avoid a downturn.

# **AVAILABILITY OF 30-YEAR MORTGAGE**

# The PATH Act includes language supportive of 30-year mortgages.

- The PATH Act's replacement to Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the "Utility", is not a lender.
- It is lenders who will have to choose to offer a 30-year product.
- History has shown that they will be hesitant to do so, particularly in times of economic instability, if there isn't a readily available secondary market for this product.
- Without a guarantee, there will be considerably less private interest in offering a long term, fixed rate mortgage product. As a result, 30-year mortgages will be available to only those with sterling credit histories and less available to tax-paying moderate income homeowners.

# 30-year mortgages are available in the private market right now in the "jumbo market' that has no government guarantee.

Only the wealthiest Americans with high incomes, large down payments and pristine credit scores have
access to a 30-year mortgage in the private market. First time buyers buying a condominium have no
financing options if their loan cannot be purchased or insured by Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, or FHA.

#### 30-year mortgages may not be the best option for homeowners in the long run.

- Reliable mortgage payments should be an option available to consumers, especially in times of economic volatility.
- Rising interest rates on adjustable rate mortgages reduce affordability over the life of a loan and make it
  more difficult for consumers to deal with future financial challenges or budget for long-term priorities
  like saving for a child's education or retirement.
- We have major concerns that reduction in the availability of the 30-year fixed rate mortgage would harm consumers and leave the burden and instability of rising interest rates on middle class Americans. Many middle-class and older Americans on fixed incomes will be left without the ability to responsibly plan for the future.

# People stay in their homes for 5-7 years, so why continue to push for 30-years loans being backed by the government?

- Median tenure has risen to 9 years. In 2012, 25% of all home sellers had been in their home for more than 15 years.
- As interest rates increase, we can expect that the average holding period will also increase as owners choose to hold on to their more affordable, lower rate mortgage.
- For some individuals, a 30-year mortgage with its stable payments <u>does</u> work best for their individual circumstances. Having this option is a consumer choice that should be available.



# FHA, Fannie Mae & Freddie Mac Reform

# Interest rates are lower for adjustable rate mortgages.

• As rates move up from all-time historical lows, the lack of a long term, fixed-rate product will leave many middle class Americans at the mercy of those rising rates and larger mortgage payments.

# THE DODD FRANK PROVISIONS WORSE FOR THE MARKET THAN PATH ACT

Dodd-Frank's mortgage provisions are much more likely to "reduce access to mortgage credit" than the PATH Act.

- Regulators have modified the most onerous proposed mortgage provisions to ensure mortgage finance is affordable and accessible.
- The PATH Act's restrictions on FHA usage and elimination of a guarantee for the secondary mortgage market will significantly restrict middle class access to mortgage finance and steer investors towards high cost, quick profit mortgage products.

# **CHANGES TO FHA ARE NEEDED**

# FHA was always intended to serve underserved low-income and first time homebuyers.

- This is not true. From the beginning, there was no requirement limiting participation to first time buyers or "low income households". In fact, the original loan limit was 330% higher than the average home.
- First time and low and moderate borrowers are not the only underserved populations more than 25% of FHA borrowers in 2013 had incomes above 120% of area median income.

# Repeat buyers and those with additional financial resources are adequately served by the private market.

• The PATH Act limits FHA's use to repeat buyers who have incomes less than 115% of area median income.

# More than 78% of FHA borrowers are first-time buyers, so this bill won't impact many.

- While 78% of FHA borrowers are first-time buyers, the bill uses a much stricter definition of first-time buyer that does NOT align with HUD's traditional definition.
- The biggest difference in the traditional and PATH first-time buyer definitions is that the HUD definition includes someone who has not owned a home in the last 3 years, while the PATH Act restricts it to those who have never owned a home with only a few exceptions for divorce.

# Most of FHA buyers are low-moderate income households, so the bill doesn't change anything.

- The bill limits access to FHA loans for repeat buyers to those who make less than 115% of area median income.
- Families with incomes above that would be ineligible for FHA loans unless they meet the new and very limited definition of first-time buyers.
- There are currently NO restrictions on the use of FHA based on income or first-time homebuyer status.
- You can look up your area's median income at: http://www.huduser.org/portal/datasets/il/il2013/select Geography mfi.odn

# The PATH Act does not eliminate low FHA downpayments.

 While the bill does retain the 3.5% downpayment for FHA borrowers who meet the first-time homebuyer definition, the downpayment for other borrowers goes up to 5%. Furthermore, if FHA experiences another financial crisis, the downpayment for ALL borrowers is required to go 10% and even 20%.



# FHA, Fannie Mae & Freddie Mac Reform

### **GENERAL**

# The federal government shouldn't be involved in housing at all.

- The housing market accounts for 15-20% of the entire economy and is systemically important to the entire financial sector.
- Home sales in this country generate more than 2.5 million private-sector jobs in an average year. For every two homes sold, a job is created.
- The government has been involved in and promoted homeownership since the 1930's. Part of the American dream is the access to homeownership and providing for one's family and self.

# Taxpayers have had to bail Fannie and Freddie out and now FHA is on the brink of needing a similar handout.

- Though the government did take Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac into conservatorship, a number of large financial institutions that issued private mortgage backed securities were also bailed out or failed completely.
- While FHA currently has less than required cash reserves, it is not bankrupt. FHA's recent audit indicates that it has sufficient resources to pay 7-10 years' worth of claims right now even with no future business.

# The federal government's market share is so large that it is crowding out the private market.

- Private investors have moved away from investing in mortgage markets after Wall Street firms sold investors toxic securities to get them off their books.
- It was this loss of trust on the part of these private investors and the uncertain economy that has driven the private market securities market to a standstill, and resulted in a greater market share for Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and FHA mortgage products.
- Private capital does need to come back, but it is also key that we ensure that any new system provides taxpayers with mortgage options that fit their needs of homeownership, not just investors' needs for profits.



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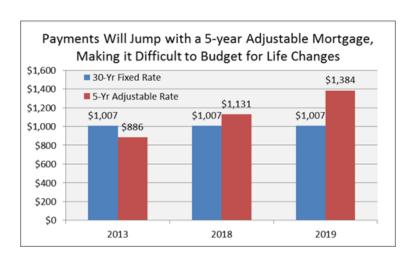
# NAR BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR MEDIA: THE PATH ACT HURTS HOMEOWNERSHIP

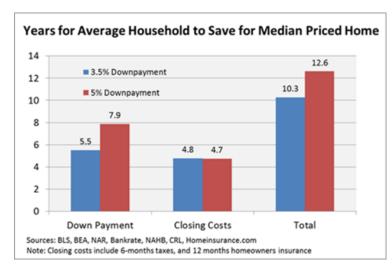
- Chart: The
   PATH Act will
   Cause
   Instability &
   Volatility for
   Homeowners
- NAR Letter to Congress Urging
   Opposition to the PATH Act
- NAR Principles of GSE Reform
- NAR President Gary Thomas Statement in Opposition to PATH Act



# The PATH Act will cause instability and volatility for homeowners

1) Under the PATH Act, long- term (30 year) fixed mortgages will not be affordable or available for middle class homebuyers. When homebuyers use riskier adjustable rate products, they face uncertain monthly payments, are subject to volatile rising interest rates and are less able to budget for life changes.





- 2) Families are staying in their homes longer and interest rates continue to rise. Without a reliable fixed rate option, many middle class American will face larger, unpredictable mortgage payments.
  - -While a median 6-year tenure is often cited for first time buyers, the median tenure for all buyers has risen to 9 years.
  - -NAR estimates, based on the CBO's baseline interest rate forecast from February of 2012, that the monthly payment on a 5/1 ARM that resets in 2018 would increase by more than 50% from its initial payment.
  - -36.5% of all home sellers over the age of 44 stayed in their homes longer than 15 years.



Gary Thomas 2013 President

Dale A. Stinton Chief Executive Officer

#### **GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS DIVISION**

Jerry Giovaniello, Senior Vice President Gary Weaver, Vice President Scott Reiter, Vice President Joe Ventrone, Vice President Jamie Gregory, Deputy Chief Lobbyist

500 New Jersey Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001-2020 Ph. 202-383-1194 Fax 202-3837580 www.REALTOR.org August 2, 2013

### Dear Representative:

The one million members of the National Association of REALTORS® strongly urge you to oppose H.R. 2767, the "Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners Act" (PATH Act). The housing sector has a dramatic impact on our nation's economy. Public policy reforms should promote responsible, sustainable home ownership and should not endanger the future of this critical economic sector. Unfortunately, NAR strongly believes the PATH Act will jeopardize the ability of American families to purchase a home, as well as the future of the housing industry itself.

Our opposition falls primarily into two areas: 1) the PATH Act eliminates the federal guarantee for the secondary mortgage market, which ensures the availability of the 30-year fixed rate mortgage; and 2) the PATH act dramatically restructures FHA and reduces the number of qualified borrowers who can access this safe affordable mortgage product.

NAR supports winding down Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, and the creation of a new entity to support the secondary mortgage market. Although the PATH Act includes language supporting a 30-year fixed rate mortgage, without a government guarantee it will not be offered except to borrowers with a high downpayment and a very high credit score. Furthermore, for the past several years lending has been constrained because of private lenders pulling back from mortgage markets. Without the federal government clearly, and explicitly, offering a guarantee of some mortgage instruments, affordable mortgage financing will not be consistently available in all market conditions.

We believe FHA has been making significant changes to address the problems that it has experienced and does not need to be restructured in the manner proposed by the Act. Instead, FHA needs the authority to undertake reforms it knows are needed to strengthen its financial footing. FHA's single-family mortgage insurance programs help preserve private financing options for all credit-worthy homebuyers regardless of local, regional or national economic conditions. The PATH Act would limit FHA to first-time buyers and those with incomes less than 115% of median income. Targeting FHA completely changes the long-standing mission of FHA and will make many borrowers ineligible for FHA financing, regardless of their creditworthiness or the availability of alternative financing.

Housing finance reform should be a priority for this Congress, but it must be done in a responsible manner that can garner widespread support. The National Association of REALTORS® urges you to oppose the PATH Act and not cosponsor this destabilizing legislation.

Sincerely,



Gary Thomas 2013 President, National Association of REALTORS®

Hay Mm

# NAR Principles for Restructuring the Secondary Mortgage Market & Encouraging the Return of Private Capital

NAR supports restructuring the secondary mortgage market to ensure a reliable and affordable source of mortgage capital for consumers, in all types of markets, to avoid a major disruption to the nation's economy that would result from the total collapse of the housing finance sector. Restructuring is required in response to the failure of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which has been under government control since entering conservatorship in September 2008.

- An efficient and adequately regulated secondary market is essential to providing affordable mortgages to consumers. The secondary market, where mortgages are securitized, is an important and reliable source of capital for lenders and therefore for consumers. Without a secondary market, mortgage interest rates would be unnecessarily higher and unaffordable for many Americans. In addition, a poorly functioning secondary market will impede both recovery in housing sector and the overall economy.
- The old GSE system with private profits and taxpayer loss must be replaced. The current GSEs (Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac) should be replaced with government-chartered, non-shareholder owned entity(s) that are subject to sufficient regulations on product, revenue generation and usage, and retained portfolio practices in a way that ensures they can accomplish their mission to support long-term mortgage financing and protect the taxpayer.
- Reforms should ensure a strong, efficient financing environment for homeownership and rental housing. The mission of the new entity must include providing access to mortgage financing for consumers who have the demonstrated ability to sustain homeownership. Creditworthy consumers require a steady flow of mortgage funding that, during economic downturns, only government participation in the secondary mortgage market can provide.
- The government must clearly, and explicitly, offer a guarantee of mortgage instruments facilitated by the entity(s) that meet the Qualified Mortgage (QM) standards. This is essential to ensure qualified, creditworthy borrowers have access to affordable mortgage credit. Without government backing, consumers will pay much higher mortgage interest rates and mortgages may at times not be readily available at all-as happened in jumbo and commercial real estate loans. Taxpayer risk would be mitigated through the use of mortgage insurance on loan products with a loan-to-value ratio higher than 80 percent, or through other fees paid to the government.
- The new entity(s) should guarantee or insure a wide range of safe, reliable mortgage products. These mortgage products include 15-year and 30-year fixed rate loans, traditional adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs), and other products that have stood the test of time and for which American homeowners have demonstrated a strong "ability to repay."
- Provide a self-sufficient mechanism whereby safe, sound, transparent, and insured Mortgage Backed Securities (MBS) may be packaged and sold. There must be an option for an explicit government guarantee or insurance for all offered MBS within the secondary mortgage market. The creation of a not-for-profit "utility" facility is needed to receive, package, sell and guarantee MBS. The entity should operate with similar insurance and enforcement components as the FDIC. This option must minimize taxpayer exposure.
- Sound and sensible underwriting standards must be established. Establish standardized, sound underwriting principles and products that provide the foundation for responsible, credit worthy borrowers to be able to achieve homeownership goals. For additional safety, these standards must also be applied to securities (MBSs), purchased for portfolio (to a limited extent).



# NAR Principles for Restructuring the Secondary Mortgage Market & Encouraging the Return of Private Capital

- The entity(s) should price loan products or guarantees based on risk. In addition, the new entities must set standards for the MBS they guarantee that establish transparency and verifiability for loans within the MBSs.
- Ensure solid, verifiable, current loan level data is available to investors that empowers and enables them to conduct their own risk analysis. There is a strong consensus among multiple market participants that solid loan level data is the essential foundation from which to rebuild the private mortgage security industry. Investors want to be empowered and enabled to conduct their own analysis. With properly structured loan level data the mortgage collateral supporting a regulated, securitized instrument will lead to a verifiable, current predictable instrument of cash flow and thus will attracting private capital.
- The reformed entities must have a separate legal identity from the federal government but serve a public purpose. Unlike a federal agency, the entities will have considerable political independence and be self-sustaining given the appropriate structure.
- The GSEs should remain politically independent. Political independence of the entities is mandatory for successful operation. CEOs should have fixed terms so they cannot be fired without cause, and they should not be allowed to lobby. Additionally, the entities should be self-funded instead of receiving ongoing appropriations.
- To increase the use of covered bonds, particularly in the commercial real estate arena, the entities should pilot their use in multifamily housing lending. The entities should explore the use of covered bonds as an additional method to provide more mortgage capital for residential housing. The entities should be allowed to pave the way for innovative or alternative finance mechanisms that meet safety criteria.
- There must be strong oversight of the entities. The new entities should be overseen by the Federal Housing Finance Agency (FHFA) or a successor agency that would make timely reports to allow for continual evaluation of the entities' performance.
- Restore investor confidence and trust in the Representations and Warranties via the standardization of pooling and servicing contracts. Standardization of Representations and Warranties is imperative. Pooling and Servicing Agreements (PSAs) must be simple with clear terms and definitions so they are easily understood by investors. They must have clear disclosures of any deviations from "Federal Best Practice Standards", clearly define "buy back" rules, and servicer operational policies must be consistent with their fiduciary duties to the investor.





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# STATEMENT OF

# GARY THOMAS 2013 PRESIDENT NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS®

# TO THE

# UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES

# HEARING TITLED

# A LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL TO PROTECT AMERICAN TAXPAYERS AND HOMEOWNERS BY CREATING A SUSTAINABLE HOUSING FINANCE SYSTEM

**JULY 18, 2013** 



# Introduction

The one million members of the National Association of REALTORS® thank Chairman Hensarling for introducing a comprehensive financial reform bill, the "Protecting American Taxpayers and Homeowners Act of 2013" (PATH ACT). However, NAR must oppose this draft. Most significantly, our opposition is twofold: 1) We strongly oppose the end of federal guarantee for a secondary mortgage market; and 2) the dramatic restructuring of FHA.

Without a federal guarantee for the new utility, and a removal of Title II regarding FHA, we cannot support this discussion draft.

# Wind down of GSEs and Creation of New Market Utility

As indicated on a number of occasions, NAR supports a comprehensive approach to restructuring the secondary mortgage market, including winding down Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (the government sponsored enterprises, or GSEs), but believes any new secondary market entity replacing the enterprises must have an explicit government guarantee. The drastic changes and timeline outlined in the PATH Act, ultimately, doesn't take into consideration the dramatic destruction of wealth that many middle class Americans would experience as the result of falling home prices should the \$10 trillion dollar mortgage market lose a functioning secondary market that includes what has been a long-standing role for the federal government.

REALTORS® are supportive of a self-sufficient infrastructure whereby safe, sound, transparent, and insured MBS may be packaged and sold. NAR believes the Utility will bring standardization, stability and confidence in the mortgage market space to facilitate the return of private sources of capital to the housing finance system. Additionally, we believe the improvement of loan level and mortgage pool disclosures to market participants will enhance opportunities for private capital participation. This data is an essential foundation for investors to efficiently analyze and price mortgage credit risk.

REALTORS® agree with lawmakers that taxpayers should be protected, private capital must return to the housing finance market, and that the size of government participation in the housing sector should decrease if the market is to function properly. However, REALTORS® believe that it is extremely unlikely that any secondary mortgage market structure that does not include government backing could support the existing mortgage funding needs of the United States housing sector. Make no mistake; the tremendous size of this systemically important market can neither be supported solely by lending from insured bank deposits nor from private investors that would be required to take on additional risk.

Legislation that relies only on private capital to operate the secondary mortgage market will find that, in extreme economic conditions, private capital will retreat from the market. A federal guarantee is essential to ensure borrowers have access to affordable mortgage credit.

Without government backing, creditworthy consumers will pay much higher mortgage interest rates and mortgages may at times not be readily available —as has happened in jumbo and manufactured housing real estate loan markets in the aftermath of the crisis.

In both instances, mortgage capital became nearly non-existent, which prohibited qualified borrowers from access to the funds required to purchase a home. Although private capital is now returning to these markets, it has taken many years.

#### Share of Mortgage Securitization Market By Segment

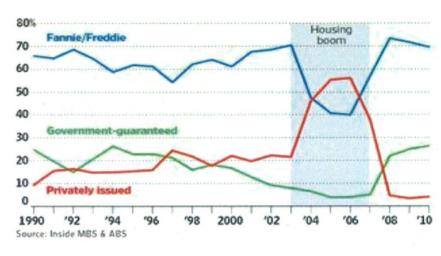


Figure 1

Over the last 5 years, FHA has raised its insurance premiums, the GSEs have raised their upfront fees (including loan-level pricing adjustments), and the lending industry as a whole has tightened underwriting standards to the point that only those with pristine credit histories have access to reasonably priced mortgage credit. The lack of financing put downward pressure on home values, increasing the number of homeowners whose mortgages exceed the value of their home, and increasing foreclosures. As can be seen from Figure 1, if no government-backed entity existed as private mortgage capital fled to the sidelines in recent years, the housing market would have come to a complete halt and thrown our nation into a deeper recession, or even a depression.

When the economy turns down, private capital rightfully flees the marketplace, and should that occur in the residential market it would come to an abrupt and complete halt. Should that happen in the residential mortgage market space, the results for the entire economy – because of the plethora of peripheral industries that support and benefit from the residential housing market – would be catastrophic.

REALTORS® believe that full privatization is not an effective option for a secondary market because private firms' business strategies will focus on optimizing their revenues and profits. This model would foster mortgage products that are more aligned with the business' goals

(e.g. based upon significant financial risk-taking) than in the best interests of the nation's housing policy or the consumer.

Homeownership is a cornerstone of our economy. As such, it is a significant driver of employment opportunity. Jobs are created in the numerous businesses that are all part of the housing industry (e.g. home renovation, remodeling, and furnishing). We must endeavor to support this founding pillar of our society and economy so that our nation can begin to move toward recovery, instead of lingering in our current economic malaise.

### **Loan Limits**

PATH proposes to lower the conforming and FHA loan limits. Lowering the loan limits restricts liquidity and makes mortgages more expensive for households nationwide. Without the additional liquidity created by maintaining loan limits at current levels, families will have to pay more to purchase homes, face the possibility that they will not be able to obtain financing at any price or find it more difficult or impossible to refinance problematic loans into safer, more affordable mortgages.

Many argue that the loan limit increases benefit only the higher cost areas, but this is not the case. According to a recent HUD report, only 3 percent of FHA loans are above \$362,750, and less than 2 percent are above \$417,000. The majority of markets that would be impacted by the loan limit decline are NOT high cost. If the limits were to fall, more than half of all existing homes nationwide will be ineligible for FHA mortgage financing. If families cannot obtain financing to buy, sellers will need to further reduce the price on their home. This will further erode the wealth of American families and will prolong the nation's economic recovery.

# The 30-Year Fixed-Rate Mortgage

Unique to the U.S. housing finance sector is the availability of affordable, long-term fixed-rate mortgages. The 30-year fixed rate mortgage is the bedrock of the U.S housing finance system. And now, more than ever, consumers are seeking fixed rate 30-year loans because they are easily understood and offer a predictable payment schedule.

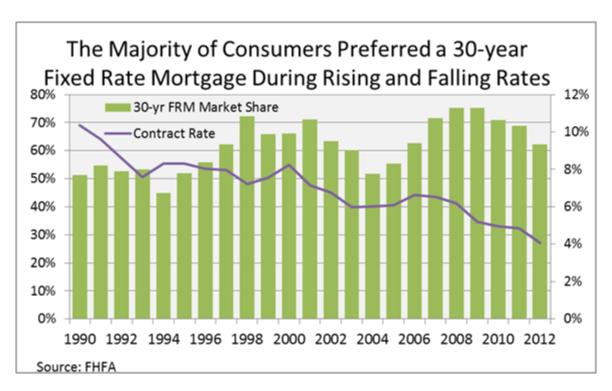


Figure 2

As discussed above, REALTORS® believe that full privatization is not an effective option for our secondary mortgage market because private firms' business strategies will focus on optimizing their revenue/profit generation. This model would foster mortgage products that are more aligned with these business' goals (e.g. based upon significant financial risk-taking) than in the best interest of the nation's housing policy, or the consumer. We believe that this would lead to the elimination of long-term, fixed rate mortgage products (e.g. 30-year fixed-rate mortgage), and an increase in the costs of mortgages to consumers. At this time, when our economic recovery teeters on the edge of full recovery, activities that force further constriction of economic activity should be resisted.

According to research by economist Dr. Susan Woodward, there is no evidence that a long-term fixed-rate residential mortgage loan would ever arise spontaneously without government urging. Dr. Woodward points out that a few developed countries have encouraged the use of amortizing long-term loans, but in all instances (save for Denmark) where they do exist, the loans have adjustable rates and recast every 5 years. She goes on to point out that the United States is unique in having a residential mortgage that is long-term, amortizing, fixed-rate and pre-payable, and that Americans have come to view this product as one of their civil rights. Dr. Woodward points out that in early 2000, when Former Federal Reserve Chairman, Alan Greenspan, hinted at its abandonment, the public outcry was such that he eagerly abandoned that position.

We are particularly concerned by data that suggests that, should the 30-year fixed rate mortgage cease to be available, older owners who tend to stay in their home longer, would

be the most effected. A future scenario of rising interest rates to a group of homeowners on a fixed income would see higher payments. The absence of availability of a fixed rate mortgage payment for this group would create a similarly outcry:

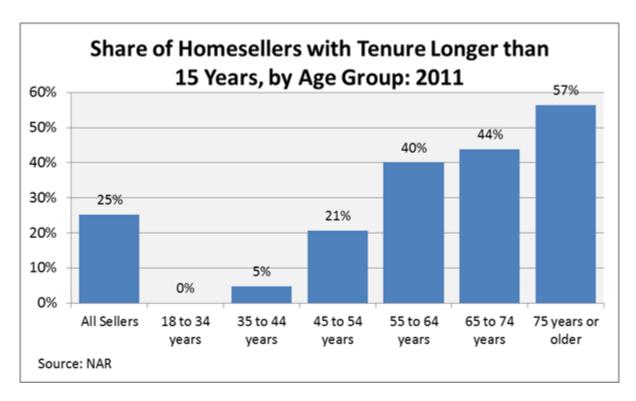


Figure 3

Additionally, others have suggested that a 30 year mortgage builds equity slower, however, borrowers forced into a mortgage with a shorter duration face a significant loss in purchasing power. Consider an individual earning approximately \$52,000 who is purchasing a \$208,000 home (May 2013 median home price) with 10% down:

<u>Duration</u>	Interest Rate	Payment (PITI)
30 year	4.07%	\$1,160
15 year	3.17%	<b>\$1,54</b> 0

With a 30-year mortgage, the consumer's total mortgage debt to income (DTI) would be 26%; with a 15 year mortgage, this measure of affordability jumps to 36%. To achieve the same DTI with a 15-year mortgage, the purchase price would have to be reduced to \$144,444.

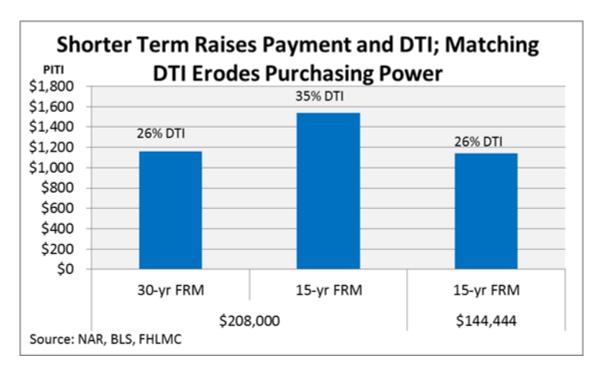


Figure 4

# **FHA Restructuring**

With the collapse of the private mortgage market, the importance of the Federal Housing Administration has never been more apparent. As liquidity has dried up and underwriting standards have been squeezed tight, FHA is one of the primary sources of mortgage financing available to families today. Without FHA, many families would be unable to purchase homes and communities would suffer from continued foreclosure and blight.

The PATH Act would define a much difference mission for the FHA by limiting it to first-time homebuyers and those making less than 115% of area median income. The bill would make other significant changes to the program including increasing downpayments, lowering loan limits, and increasing premiums.

We strongly oppose these changes, and instead support reforms to address solvency issues, as was the approach taken in the bill that was passed in the House by a vote of 402-7 last year. We strongly believe that the reforms included in this Title will disenfranchise millions of qualified families from purchasing a home of their own, with equally significant ramifications for local communities. We believe that a total restructuring of the sort proposed in the Act is unnecessary, and will severely and unnecessarily disrupt recovering housing markets.

FHA, like every other holder of mortgage risk, has incurred financial losses as a result of high foreclosures during the housing crisis. More than \$70 billion in claims that FHA has filed can be attributed to the books of business made in 2007-2009. In addition, the Home Equity Conversion Mortgage (HECM) has experienced severe losses. This program, as it has been structured, is very sensitive to volatile housing prices. According to recent HUD testimony, "the budget estimates that the use of the HECM program results in a negative value of \$5.248billion and a disproportionately negative impact to the fund."

But FHA has sustained housing markets nationwide during the worst economic crisis of our lifetime. As private lenders fled and financial institutions went out of business, FHA remained in the market and provided mortgage insurance to more than 4 million families since 2008. In a time when many large private banks, investment firms, and other financial institutions have needed bailouts or have even collapsed, FHA has weathered the storm very well.

# Limiting Eligible Borrowers

The discussion draft proposes to limit FHA to first-time borrowers (regardless of income) and those borrowers with incomes below 115% of area median income. We strongly oppose this dramatic refocusing of the FHA. When designed in 1934, the program was intended to

"to improve Nation-wide housing standards, provide employment, and stimulate industry; to improve conditions with respect to home mortgage financing, to prevent speculative excess in new-mortgage investment, and to eliminate the necessity for costly second-mortgage financing, by creating a system of mutual mortgage insurance and by making provision for the organization of additional institutions to handle home financing . . . ." <sup>2</sup>

From the beginning, there was no requirement limiting participation to first time buyers or "low income households". In fact when the program began, the upper limit for a FHA loan was \$16,000. While this loan amount may seem exceptionally small today, the national median home value was only \$4,778.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in 1930 only 3.2 percent of homes were valued between \$15,000 and \$20,000.<sup>4</sup> The majority of homes were valued between \$2,000 and \$7,500, with the largest number falling between \$3,000 and \$5,000.<sup>5</sup> So an upper limit of \$16,000 was more than 330% of the median American home value then and was sufficient to finance roughly 96% of all homes.

Of course, the \$16,000 loan limit does not paint the entire picture of FHA's initial demographic. To better understand this, we need to look at how the program was used by borrowers. In its third annual report to Congress for 1936, FHA's statistics showed that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Testimony of Carole Galante before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on THUD, June 4, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> H.R. Rep. No. 1922, 73d Cong., 2d Sess. 1 (1934)

<sup>3</sup> Id. at 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 15th Census of the United States, Population, Volume VI: Families, U.S. Census Bureau, 1930, P. 17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Id.

most of the homes insured were valued in the \$3,000 to \$6,000 range and the average single-family home value for an insured mortgage was \$5,497, more or less reflecting the average costs of homes at the time. Only 2.8 percent of FHA-insured homes were valued below \$2,000, and only 2.1 percent above \$15,000. This is strong evidence that FHA was not originally targeted to any income group, but rather was intended to help families across the spectrum get financing to purchase homes. These statistics varied slightly from year to year, with the size of insured mortgages somewhat lower in 1937 (median \$4,288), and then higher in 1938 (median \$4,491). In general, these trends have followed income levels of FHA-insured borrowers.

What can be said is that FHA was designed to serve underserved markets. That market does not always match an income or first-time homebuyer status. While the vast majority of FHA's borrowers are first-time homebuyers, other borrowers often struggle to find lenders active in their areas or particular submarket, i.e. condos; they should not be prohibited from access to safe, affordable mortgage financing.

Furthermore, the definition of "first time homebuyer" provided in the bill is very restrictive. Title 24<sup>10</sup> of the Code of Federal Regulations defines a first-time homebuyer as an individual who has had no ownership in a principal residence during the 3-year period ending on the date of purchase (closing date) of the property. It also includes any individual that only owned with a former spouse while married; and an individual who has only owned a principal residence not permanently affixed to a permanent foundation, or a property that was not in compliance with State, local, or model building codes and cannot be brought into compliance for less than the cost of constructing a permanent structure. The definition in the PATH Act is significantly more restrictive, and would disenfranchise many qualified borrowers. Under this definition, many current FHA first-time buyers would be disqualified.

Being underserved does not only relate to income or first-time homebuyer status. FHA has been a leader in providing home financing for minority families. Half of African-American homebuyers and nearly the same percentage of Hispanic and Latino buyers who purchased in 2011 used FHA financing. This has been true regardless of economic conditions. These are not all first-time homebuyers.

Income is not an indicator of need for FHA. According to recent FHA endorsement data, more than 25% of FHA borrowers in 2013 had incomes above 120% of are median income.

<sup>8</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration for the Year Ending December 31, 1937. U.S. Government Printing Office. 1938, P.58; Fifth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration for the Year Ending December 31, 1938. U.S. Government Printing Office. 1939, P.85

10 24 CFR 92.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Third Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration for the Year Ending December 31, 1936. U.S. Government Printing Office. 1937. P.35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration for the Year Ending December 31, 1937. U.S. Government Printing Office. 1938. P.61; Fifth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration for the Year Ending December 31, 1938. U.S. Government Printing Office. 1939. P.91

While we expect this number to decrease (historically it is about 17%) as the private market returns, there are reasons why some buyers may need FHA to finance their home – even if it's not their first home purchase, and even if their income is greater than 115% of area median income. These include the type of housing unit, type of employment, or a lack of lenders actively in the market.

# Counter-Cyclical Role of FHA

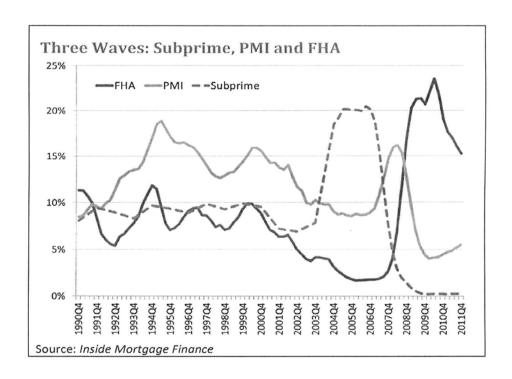


Figure 5<sup>11</sup>

As private lending constricted (and in some markets, disappeared altogether), FHA's role in the market grew. As recently as 2006, FHA's share of the home mortgage market was to 3 percent, as unscrupulous lenders lured FHA's traditional constituent to risky exotic mortgages with teaser rates and little to no underwriting criteria. As the housing market began to collapse, private lenders fled or went out of business. As is seen in Figure 5, FHA's share of the loan market began to grow, as the private market's share plummeted. This demonstrates the counter-cyclical role FHA plays in the market.

Mark Zandi of Moody's Analytics has pointed out that "If FHA lending had not expanded after private mortgage lending collapsed, the housing market would have cratered, taking the economy with it." Moody's has estimated that without FHA, housing prices would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Quercia, Roberto G. and Park, Kevin A, Sustaining and Expanding the Market: The Public Purpose of the Federal Housing Administration, UNC Center for Community Capital, December 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Zandi, Mark, Obama Policies Ended Housing Free Fall, *The Washington Post*, September 28, 2012.

dropped an additional 25 percent, and American families would have lost more than \$3 trillion of home wealth. By the time a counter-cyclical trigger could be activated, housing prices would likely already have plummeted.

FHA helped stabilize housing prices in thousands of communities by providing access to home financing when few others would. A recent University of North Carolina study noted that "Private mortgage insurers implemented 'distressed area' policies making it almost impossible to obtain conventional mortgages with LTV ratios greater than 90 percent in some regions of the country. In contrast, FHA does not vary its insurance premiums by region, creating an automatic regional stabilization policy."<sup>13</sup> This counter-cyclical role of FHA helped stabilize markets and slowed the downward spiral of housing prices and economic decline (see Figure 6).

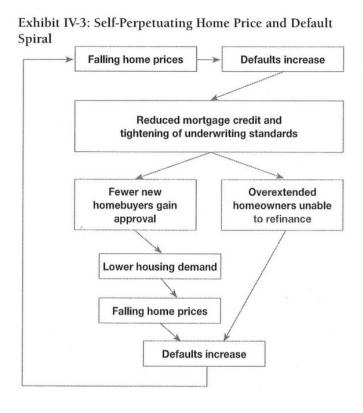


Figure 6<sup>14</sup>

Had FHA not stepped in and filled this mortgage insurance void, many neighborhoods would have been devastated and our economy will still be in a recession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Quercia, Roberto G. and Park, Kevin A, Sustaining and Expanding the Market: The Public Purpose of the Federal Housing Administration, UNC Center for Community Capital, December 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Szymanoski, Edward; Reeder, William; Raman, Padmasini; and Comeau, John "The FHA Single-Family Insurance Program: Performing a Needed Role in the Housing Finance Market", PD&R Working Paper No. HF-019, December 2012.

While the PATH Act provides language lifting some restrictions in the bill during a contraction of the market, we do not believe there is a leading indicator that could reflect a downturn in time to stop a significant impact on the market. In retrospect we can find many things that should have alerted us to a crisis, but they all have one significant flaw – data lags. The most reliable data triggers – changes in price, tightening of liquidity, rise in unemployment, housing defaults – all lag reality. If forced to wait until the data shows we are in a housing downturn, we will be so far into it that it will be very difficult to get out. Generally a recession is only declared after four quarters of economic decline. This country debated for more than a year about whether or not we were in a recession during the most recent crisis.

# **Increased Downpayment**

NAR opposes increasing FHA's minimum downpayment for certain borrowers or during times of financial crisis for FHA. While the size of the downpayment does have an impact, increasing the downpayment doesn't add revenue to FHA's reserves. Increasing the downpayment, however, does have a significant impact on the ability of households looking to buy a home to do so. In theory, it should help to protect the agency against the potential default by requiring more "skin in the game" from the buyer. However, loans with higher downpayments performed marginally better during the housing boom, but that effect has diminished in the wake of stronger underwriting, stable employment and changes implemented by the agency.

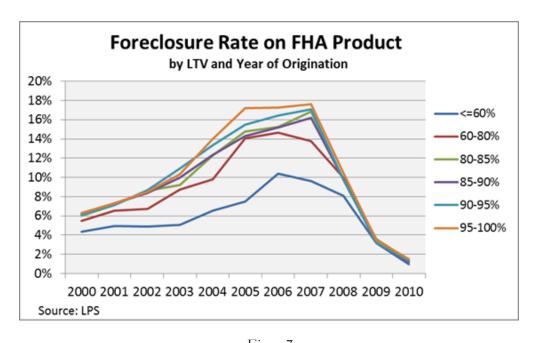


Figure 7

As demonstrated in Figure 7, the performance of loans with higher LTVs (greater than 80) was in a relatively tight band prior 2005. The performance of high downpayment mortgages deteriorated for mortgages originated between 2005 and 2007 before improving sharply, relative to larger downpayments in subsequent years. Performance by LTV on the 2009 and 2010 cohorts was nearly indistinguishable by the end of 2012.

FHA estimates that increasing the downpayment to 5% would disenfranchise 345,000 borrowers a year – more than 43% of all FHA buyers. Borrowers already must commit 3.5% cash at closing in addition to closing costs, which range from \$3,000 to more than \$5,000 on an average home sale. Increasing the downpayment will remove homeownership options for many American families, and would be counter to FHA's historic mission.

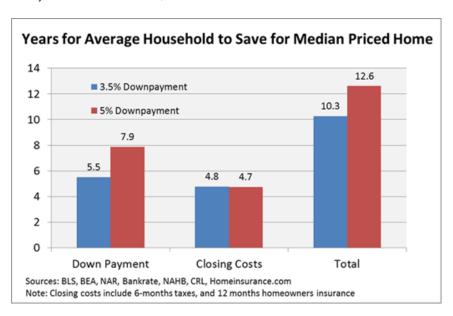


Figure 8

The size of the required downpayment also has a significant impact on the timing of a family's home purchase. At a 3% downpayment, the average buyer has to save 10.3 years to come up with the necessary downpayment for a median priced home. A simple increase in required downpayment from 3.5% to 5% will require the average buyer to save for an additional 2.3 years (from 10.3 years to 12.6 years). This estimate assumes that life events like having children, or taking care of family members don't divert their savings. (See Figure 8)

Homeownership is an important means for building wealth through structured equity payments for most households. However, recent trends towards higher downpayment in the traditional market have resulted in a higher share of home buyers using funds designated for retirement (such as IRAs, pensions, and 401ks) as a means of funding their downpayment. (See Figure 9)

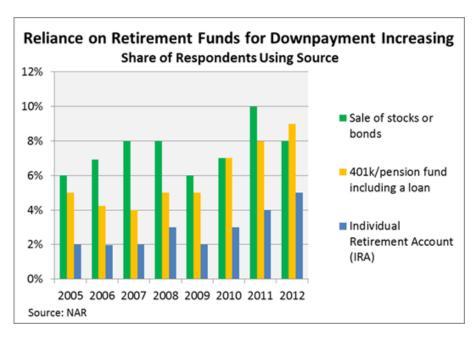


Figure 9

The impact of increasing the downpayment is greater on minorities than on whites, who are more likely to have received an inheritance or assistance from their family. Recent studies have shown that for loans made during 2004 – 2008, a 10% down payment would have made a mainstream mortgage out of reach for 60% of African-Americans and 50% of Latino borrowers who were current on their mortgage (Center for Responsible Lending). More than 52% of African Americans and 45.8% of Hispanics relied on a downpayment less than 5%, compared to only 33.4% of other purchasers. (See Figure 10)

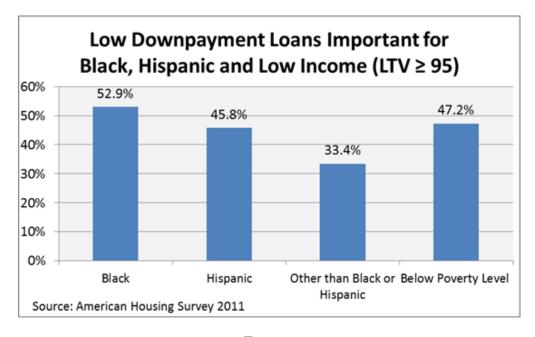


Figure 10

Low downpayments are not just important for first-time buyers. Repeat buyers also use low-downpayment loans, and could also be disenfranchised by this legislation. (See Figure 11)

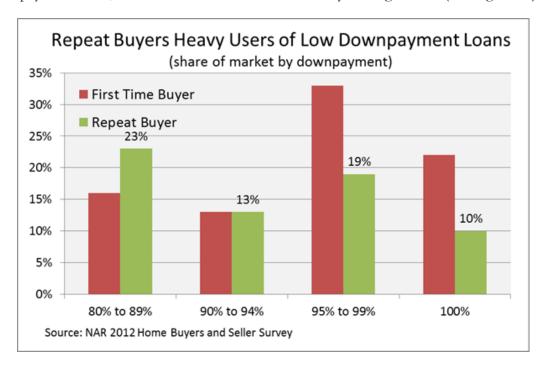


Figure 11

# Reducing the FHA Loan Limits

Our concerns with the language in PATH to lower the limits have been enumerated above.

We would point out, there is no financial solvency argument for reducing the loan limits. In fact, higher balance FHA loans perform better than lower balance ones. As has been indicated in recent actuarial reports, "FHA experience indicates that more expensive houses tend to perform better compared with smaller houses in the same geographical area, all else being equal." So despite arguments that FHA higher limits put taxpayers at risk, these loans actually add strength to the program, and reduce risk to the fund.

# **Premiums**

The PATH Act would codify a recent FHA policy to require borrowers to pay the annual Mortgage Insurance Premium (which is paid monthly) for the life of the loan. Previously, borrowers could cancel that premium when their LTV reached 78%, as they can in the private market when their LTV reaches 80%.

This policy change has already caused significant problems in mortgage markets, because the lifetime pricing of the MIP has moved many FHA loans into the High Priced Mortgage Loan (HPML) status. An HPML loan is defined as a loan that exceeds the APOR (Average Prime Offered Rate) by 1.5% or more on first liens. The APOR is a rate issued weekly by

the Federal Reserve Board. Many lenders do not originate loans that are fall under HPML rules. Making this recent policy change permanent will result in far fewer lenders being willing to originate FHA loans.

While NAR supports risk-based priced premiums for FHA borrowers, the related provisions in the PATH Act go significantly further. The bill will allow the premium rate to vary for individual borrowers during the mortgage term, based on pre-disclosed criteria. We strongly oppose this provision, which could dramatically change the borrower's payments over time, and for reasons beyond their control.

# FHA's Role in Multifamily Markets

As in the single-family market, FHA's role in multifamily mortgage markets has never been more critical. More than 1/3 of American families rent their homes, and keeping a sufficient supply of affordable rental housing is essential. Without the liquidity provided by FHA multifamily mortgage insurance, these markets would be stalled.

In recent years, FHA's role in the multifamily market has increased dramatically – nearly 4 times its size from just several years ago. As lenders remain slow to provide financing for construction loans, FHA is the primary source of construction for multifamily developers and owners. Again, this demonstrates FHA's ability to step up and fill the gap when private markets will not or cannot act.

FHA's multifamily loan program has performed very well. Their annual claim rate on each of the major programs has been less than 1% since 2011. The premiums are high and have risen in the last year, further strengthening the fiscal soundness of these programs.

The PATH Act would target the FHA multifamily loan program by creating income limits for tenants in properties financed with FHA multifamily loans. The vast majority of FHA's multifamily portfolio serves low-to moderate income borrowers, and more than half those properties already have affordability provisions. Placing significant burdens on property owners and tenants alike to require rent certification is unnecessary and would add costs to the operation of these properties.

#### Other Concerns

We have concerns with a number of other provisions of the legislation which we will briefly note here:

- <u>Guarantee Fees</u>: Guarantee fees should appropriately reflect risk, and not be subject to other factors, as suggested in the Act.
- Affordable Housing Goals: The affordable housing goals have provided qualified borrowers with access to mortgage finance, and some form of goals should be included in the new entity.

- <u>Risk-Sharing Requirements</u>: We have concerns about the risk-sharing requirements under the GSE title and FHA title. NAR supports a risk sharing model, but has continues to have concerns that mandated levels may be hard to reach if the private sector elects not to participate.
- FHA Guarantee Reductions: The legislation would reduce the FHA guarantee in half over a five year period. All studies to date have shown that any reduction of the guarantee would result in significant increases in loan prices and decreases in lender participation. Again, increased loan prices and lender participation will have a significant impact on borrowers and markets.
- <u>FHA Capital Reserve Ration</u>: Doubling of the FHA capital reserve ratio and the related increases in premiums will have a dramatic negative impact on FHA borrowers.
- <u>Seller Concessions</u>: We support the FHA proposed rule on seller concessions that allows for the greater of 3% of acquisition costs or \$6000, whichever is greater. We believe this approach better reflects differences in closing costs nationwide.
- <u>Lender Repurchase Requirements</u>: We believe the lender repurchase provision of PATH's FHA title will negatively impact lender participation to the detriment of the program.
- <u>Fair Value Accounting</u>: NAR opposes the use of Fair Value Accounting for FHA. Such an approach is only appropriate when assets are being disposed of in the near term and not for the long-term holding as under the FHA program.

# **Provisions We Support**

Covered Bonds. We believe a covered bond market can be an additional tool for mortgage liquidity. Exacerbating the pullback in bank lending, another key source of commercial real estate credit — the CMBS market — is only beginning to recover from near-zero levels in 2009. As this market struggles to rebound, the creation of a covered bond market in the U.S. will be essential to address ongoing commercial real estate refinance challenges. Already successfully used in Europe and Canada, covered bonds allow banks to raise funds by issuing a pool of high-quality assets (typically real estate loans) to investors, which are backed both by the bank's promise to repay and by the assets pledged as collateral. This dual recourse nature is attractive to investors. Therefore, banks who issue bonds have a stake in assuring the long-term viability of the mortgages underlying the bond.

3% Cap for Affiliate Fees (HR 1077). As currently defined by Dodd Frank and in the Consumer Financial Protection Agency's (CFPB) final regulation implementing the "ability to repay" requirements, "points and fees" include (among other charges): (i) fees paid to affiliated (but not unaffiliated) title companies, (ii) salaries paid to loan originators, (iii)

amounts of insurance and taxes held in escrow, (iv) loan level price adjustments (LLPAs), and (v) payments by lenders to correspondent banks and mortgage brokers in wholesale transactions.

As a result of this problematic definition, many loans made by affiliates, particularly those made to low-and moderate-income borrowers, would not qualify as QMs. Consequently, these loans would be unlikely to be made or would only be available at higher rates due to heightened liability risks. Consumers would lose the ability to choose to take advantage of the convenience and market efficiencies offered by one-stop shopping.

**Regulatory Relief.** NAR appreciates the language in the bill attempting to provide regulatory relief to the mortgage market. We believe uncertainty in financial markets about regulations exists and this bill attempts to address that.

**Basel III.** We support a study of the Basel III rules to conduct a cost-benefit analysis. This will help identify any provisions in the final rule that would unnecessarily harm the housing and commercial recovery. In addition, these rules cannot be considered in a vacuum. The cumulative impact on the real estate finance market and consumers of the layering of the proposed Basel III on top of the myriad of other rules including QM and QRM should be fully assessed by the regulators.

**Manufactured Housing.** NAR also supports language that will preserve the manufactured housing industry without deterioration of important consumer protections. The provision clarifies the difference between manufactured housing manufactures and loan originators; it also ensures that small manufactured housing loans are exempt from HOEPA standards.

Common Sense Economic Recovery Act (HR 927). We support inclusion of this bill, which directs federal banking agencies to not place a commercial real estate loan in non-accrual status solely because the collateral for such loan has deteriorated in value. This will create more financing options for maturing commercial real estate loans and allow financial institutions to play a significant role in revitalizing our nation's economic recovery.

#### Summary

The National Association of REALTORS® recognizes the Chairman for his desire to introduce comprehensive reform of housing finance. However, the National Association of REALTORS® must oppose this discussion draft.