

December 1, 2017

Dear Senator:

The Center for Responsible Lending, the National Community Reinvestment Coalition, and the National Consumer Law Center write to express our serious concerns with S. 2155, the “Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act,” and urge you to oppose this harmful legislation. This bill contains destructive policies that roll back or eliminate essential protections that the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection (Dodd-Frank) Act put in place after unchecked reckless lending nearly destroyed the US economy. Although this bill seeks to protect smaller lenders while maintaining access to credit, it does not create any new protections for consumers from predatory and deceptive lender practices. Even though there are several dangerous provisions throughout this bill,¹ we limit our letter to address concerns in Title I of this legislation. We oppose this legislation in its current form, and if our concerns² are not remedied, we will continue to oppose the bill.

Contrary to its stated purpose, the bill would re-expose consumers, investors, and the public to a host of risky and abusive financial practices, including many of the practices that contributed to the last recession and foreclosure crisis. Some sections of this bill would exempt a wide range of mortgages from the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau’s (CFPB) Qualified Mortgage (QM) rule and other consumer protections. This is particularly disturbing, as the QM rule and Ability-to-Repay standard addressed the frontline abuses that led up to the 2008 financial crisis. These rules defined bright line standards to move the market away from high-risk, unsustainable loans and ensure borrowers have an ability to repay the loans they receive. Irresponsible mortgage lending that ignored borrowers’ ability to repay their loans resulted in a foreclosure tsunami that disproportionately impacted communities of color—eviscerating a generation of wealth building. QM and Ability-to-Repay promote product features that have helped reorient the housing market back toward safe, sustainable lending for all borrowers, lenders, and investors alike.³ This bill contains several problematic provisions that weaken the Ability-to-Repay standard and other key consumer protections:

- The bill exempts manufactured-home retailers and their employees from anti-steering protections that apply to other mortgage originators (loan officers and mortgage brokers), with illusory, substitute protections (Section 107);
- Instead of exempting truly small financial institutions that hold loans in portfolio from the QM rule, it expands the exemption to institutions holding up to \$10 billion in assets (Section 101);
- It exempts 85% of depositories from Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) reporting requirements, dramatically expanding an existing CFPB rule that exempts lenders making very few mortgages from HMDA reporting requirements (Section 104);
- The bill expands an exemption that allows lenders to avoid escrowing taxes and insurance for many higher-cost, higher-risk loans (Section 109);

¹ This letter focuses on housing issues in the bill. For further detail, please refer to the letter issued by Americans for Financial Reform (AFR).

² Id. The concerns stated in the letter from AFR must also be addressed.

³ Reports, including Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) reports, show that QM has not negatively impacted mortgage lending or access to credit. In fact, (post-QM) HMDA data is very much consistent with market trends immediately preceding the implementation of the QM rule and Ability-to-Repay standard. Report analysis *available at* <http://www.responsiblelending.org/sites/default/files/nodes/files/research-publication/crl-2016hmda-policy-brief-sep2017.pdf>.

- It exempts lenders from appraisal requirements for many rural loans when the loan is below \$400,000 in home value (Section 103); and
- It eliminates the requirement of a three-day wait period on mortgage disclosures in cases where the lender offers a new interest rate (Section 110).

Section 107, “Protecting Access to Manufactured Homes” will harm some of the most vulnerable of the homebuyer population by exempting employees of manufactured housing retailers from having to comply with consumer protection laws.

Section 107 would exempt manufactured-home retailers and their employees from the definition of mortgage originators. Mortgage originators are subject to certain legal requirements, including being prohibited from steering borrowers to loans that are more expensive than those for which they qualify, as well as other consumer protections. While the proposed provision adds that manufactured housing retailers and employees excluded from the mortgage originator definition may not be directly compensated more than they would be for a cash transaction, must disclose any affiliation with a lender in writing, must provide the consumer information on at least one unaffiliated lender, and must not directly negotiate loan terms, these protections are substantially weaker than the existing mortgage originator provisions in Dodd-Frank.

Whether or not a retailer or its employee is directly compensated, there are many avenues for promoting steering to affiliated lenders through indirect incentives and general corporate policies. For instance, the written disclosure requirement and the requirement that at least one unaffiliated lender be disclosed to the borrower does not and will not prevent deceptive oral presentations that unfortunately are a major problem in this industry. Moreover, written information on one unaffiliated lender can easily be marginalized orally. Therefore, the guardrail language of this provision would not ultimately prevent abusive steering to affiliated lenders.

The repeal of protections in this section would perpetuate the conflicts of interest and steering that plague this industry and allow lenders to pass additional costs on to consumers. As documented recently in a series of articles published by the Seattle Times,⁴ the manufactured housing industry is dominated by affiliate and joint ownership arrangements between manufactured home dealers and financing shops. The closeness of these relationships, when combined with minimal state oversight and these proposed changes to the loan originator compensation requirements, will once again make the industry ripe for steering, discrimination, and other consumer abuses. This is of great concern because manufactured home purchasers and borrowers tend to be low and moderate-income. Manufactured housing consumers who obtain loans from affiliated lenders pay much more than they would from banks and other lenders and often receive loans with unnecessary or deceptive add-ons.

This section would roll back vital Dodd-Frank consumer protections, and would be especially harmful to low and moderate-income families. Moreover, it does not target relief at small institutions but rather promotes abuses by large corporations that own both manufactured housing retailers and lenders.

⁴ A recent exposé series by the Pulitzer Prize winning investigative journalism group the Center for Public Integrity in partnership with the Seattle Times illustrated the shocking abuses consumers face in this industry, *available at* <http://www.seattletimes.com/business/real-estate/the-mobile-home-trap-how-a-warren-buffett-empire-preys-on-the-poor>. See also <http://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/times-watchdog/minorities-exploited-by-warren-buffetts-mobile-home-empire-clayton-homes/>.

Section 101, “Minimum Standards for Residential Mortgage Loans” will allow for a return to abuses in portfolio lending that helped to cause the financial crisis.

This provision in the legislation would unduly expand the Bureau’s carefully contemplated small-creditor definition contained in the final QM rule. The CFPB created a separate category of Qualified Mortgages for loans originated and held in portfolio (for a minimum of three years) by institutions with less than \$2 billion in total assets. Section 101 would expand that exemption—by \$8 billion—to benefit larger institutions with up to \$10 billion in assets, appropriating the Bureau’s accommodation designed for small creditors. QM status (which includes safe harbor legal protection for lenders) for loans held in portfolio should not be extended to larger depository institutions, as this presents significant risks to borrowers and the economy, and is unlikely to meaningfully expand lending.

Granting QM status to portfolio loans held by larger financial actors will allow some lenders to steer consumers to potentially toxic loan products that are more likely to result in default and foreclosure. Automatic QM status for loans in portfolio also insulates larger institutions from legal accountability while allowing them to take advantage of consumers. For instance, under this provision, the Ability-to-Repay standard and its requirements that a lender fully assess a borrower’s income and ability to repay the loan would be weakened, leading the way for some abusive mortgage products of the past to make a return.

While this provision does exclude certain toxic loans from receiving QM and safe harbor protections even if they are held in portfolio, other dangerous loans that were prevalent and held in portfolio in the lead-up to the recession, such as adjustable rate mortgages (ARM)⁵, are not excluded by this provision. The current QM Rule and Ability-to-Repay standard protects lenders, borrowers, and investors alike from a repeat of the tsunami of foreclosures that nearly destroyed the US economy. We must not open doors for poor underwriting practices to re-emerge and cause harm once again.

Expanding QM to all portfolio loans held by depository institutions with less than \$10 billion in assets is unlikely to lead to an increase in volume. Granting out-right legal immunity for toxic loan products is extreme, encourages steering and poor underwriting, and puts consumers at great risk. As demonstrated above and in the housing crisis, larger institutions holding loans in portfolio alone will not protect borrowers, taxpayers, and the market from the mistakes of the past.

Section 104, “Home Mortgage Disclosure Act Adjustment and Study” creates a massive gap in the essential mortgage lending data needed to help determine how to further address predatory lending practices and improve access to credit.

This provision exempts small depository institutions that have originated fewer than 500 closed-end mortgage loans or less than 500 open-end lines of credit in each of the two preceding calendar years from certain disclosure requirements under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA). This provision upsets a careful balance: its proposed reporting thresholds would exempt the vast majority

⁵ In the time directly preceding the financial crisis, many of the toxic loans, such as negative amortization loans, and “ARMs” underwritten to initial “teaser” rates were held in bank portfolios. Lenders underwrote these loans based upon only this initial, artificially low payment, even though dramatically higher payments commenced after a few years. This product was one of many that devastated the housing market and economy.

of the nation's mortgage lenders from the updated requirements. In contrast, the CFPB has already set an exemption for lenders that make very few loans at an appropriate level.

In response to widespread concerns about predatory lending and opacity in the mortgage market in the run-up to and following the financial crisis⁶, Congress amended HMDA to require both banks and non-bank lenders to disclose more information about their mortgage lending activities – updates finalized by the CFPB in 2015. As part of its rulemaking, the CFPB included an exemption for lenders that make very few mortgage loans.

This higher threshold proposed would sacrifice key data about lending in underserved communities that would help to ensure the flow of credit to qualified borrowers, stimulate the economy, and prevent future mortgage crises.⁷ Based on 2013 data, under the threshold set by the CFPB, 22 percent (1,400) of the depository institutions that currently report on their closed-end mortgages would be exempt. In contrast, if this provision and bill are enacted, the Bureau estimates that 85 percent (5,400) of depositories would not have to update reporting on their mortgages.

The CFPB has already carefully crafted exemptions to HMDA reporting. After considering a number of higher reporting thresholds and receiving extensive feedback from all size and type of lending institutions, the CFPB adopted a standard that applies the new reporting requirements to institutions that made 25 closed-end mortgage loans or 100 open end/home equity lines of credit (HELOCs). Importantly, in response to concerns raised by lenders and by some in Congress, the CFPB has already temporarily raised the reporting threshold for HELOCs to 500 through 2019 to further review the impact of the rule and what the permanent HELOC threshold should be.

The stark disparities in access to mortgage credit and the continued struggle for economy recovery in the communities hardest hit by the financial crisis call for strengthening our fair lending laws, not weakening them. Analyzing recent HMDA data, federal researchers at the Federal Reserve Board found a 9 percentage point drop in share of mortgages by smaller banks and nonbank lenders (including credit unions and independent mortgage companies) to low and moderate-income households between 2010 and 2016.⁸ As we recover from the crisis and consider how to best expand access to credit and responsible homeownership, Congress should not roll back or limit the ability to adequately assess (and then address) the reasons for restricted credit access for underserved borrowers.

⁶ See GAO, Fair Lending: Data Limitations and the Fragmented U.S. Financial Regulatory Structure Challenge Federal Oversight and Enforcement Efforts, GAO-09-704 (2009); and Consumer Protection: Federal and State Agencies Face Challenges in Combating Predatory Lending, GAO-04-280 (2004).

⁷ Based on 2013 data, the CFPB estimates that updated reporting would be lost for 10 percent of loan records under a 500 closed-end loan volume threshold, and over 5,300 census tracts would lose 20 percent of the updated data about mortgage lending in their communities. The National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC) estimated the loss of post-crisis data about loan originations by state and found states with large rural areas face some of the largest losses of updated data about mortgage originations. Additional data would be lost about loan applications and why denials are occurring. This map tool estimates the local impact on loan originations data: <http://maps.ncrc.org/s1310/index.html>. This provision would also result in communities knowing less about loan applications and denials.

⁸ NEIL BHUTTA ET AL., THE DECLINE IN LENDING TO LOWER-INCOME BORROWERS BY THE BIGGEST BANKS (2017), AVAILABLE AT <https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/the-decline-in-lending-to-lower-income-borrowers-by-the-biggest-banks-20170928.htm>.

Section 109, “Escrow Requirements Relating to Certain Consumer Credit Transactions” will hurt homeowners with higher cost loans who without escrow requirements may be hurt or even face default due to unexpected homeowner costs as time passes.

This provision would exempt many more lenders from escrow requirements in mortgage lending. Depositories with less than \$10 billion in assets who have originated fewer than 1,000 mortgage loans in the previous year would be exempt from requiring and maintaining escrow accounts. The current law states that lenders are only required to maintain escrow accounts for homeowners with higher cost loans.

Section 109 would set a dangerous precedent by expanding the current small lender escrow exemption to a much larger portion of the market than the current definition of small creditor (under \$10 billion in assets instead of under \$2 billion in assets). Escrow accounts protect consumers by ensuring that they have funds for reoccurring homeownership-related expenses, such as property taxes and insurance premiums. This is especially critical with high-cost and higher-risk loans. Pursuant to the Dodd-Frank Act, the CFPB implemented clear rules establishing a minimum time period for which escrows must be held for higher-priced mortgages. The Bureau also specified an exemption to the escrow requirement for small creditors operating predominately in rural and underserved areas.

A significantly broader exemption threatens to upend current regulations designed to help consumers stay informed about the costs of homeownership to and stay in their homes/avoid the likelihood of default. Unexpected/unmanageable costs and mortgage defaults happen all too often where escrow protections are weakened. It undermines this consumer safeguard by allowing larger and possibly less-community-focused lenders, with sufficient financial resources, to make higher-priced mortgages to rural and underserved borrowers without offering escrow accounts. This provision is risky for both prospective homebuyers and the general taxpayer, and is a direct threat to sustainable homeownership.

Section 103, “Access to Affordable Mortgages” reopens the door for abuse in the appraisal space and threatens to harm consumers who are often unaware of the actual value of their home at purchase and beyond.

Section 103 exempts loans with a balance of less than \$400,000 from appraisal requirements in federally designated rural areas when the originator after a “good faith effort” is unable to find a licensed appraiser. Exempting appraisal requirements for “higher-risk” or any loans under \$400,000, would mean that essentially most rural loans would be exempt from appraisal standards reporting requirements, making this an extremely broad exemption in rural lending. The term “higher-risk mortgage” refers to subprime-like mortgages -- loans that are made at higher than prime market rates and generally include other high-risk features that resulted in unsustainable loan products that devastated homeowners across the nation. The current rules help to ensure that mortgage loans are properly and accurately collateralized. This protects both the lender, through adequate collateral for their loan, and the borrower, by preventing them from borrowing more than their home is worth.

The lack of adequate regulation in the appraisal market was a significant factor causing the housing market crash. This provision is another one that weakens the rules just enough to allow abuses to return to their field. While this provision attempts to set requirements for what makes a “good faith effort” to find an appraiser, these requirements to not go nearly far enough to protect consumers and

the market. For instance, even with the requirement that lenders contact at least three appraisers, the language is not strong enough to prevent deceptive lender practices. Rural consumers count amongst the most vulnerable, and this provision opens a wide loophole that could be ripe with abuse in rural communities. Moreover, the appraisal exemption does not even substitute adequate broker price opinions, leaving the door open for automated valuations, which are notoriously inaccurate in rural areas.

In the lead up to the financial crisis, consumers suffered from intentional inflation of home appraisals. The Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission cites various testimonies describing the prevalence of these fraudulent appraisal practices. This practice, extremely harmful on its own, also proved to be a dangerous combination with declining incomes and toxic loan products. The Dodd-Frank Act and the CFPB have improved appraisal-reporting standards. The rule enacted in 2014 requires that applicants receive copies of all appraisals and home value estimates.⁹ The rule also allows for consumers to receive information on how the property was evaluated in advance of closing. In addition, rules for certain higher risk mortgages¹⁰ now require lenders to use a licensed appraiser who reports on the physical inspection of the inside of a home, and requires that lenders disclose the purpose of the inspection, and provide a free copy of the appraisal report. These rules allow for transparency and allow consumers to be fully informed on the worth of their homes.

This extreme roll back of appraisal standards and reporting requirements in rural areas will take us back to the period of misconduct, including rural homeowners paying higher costs for homes than they are worth, or consumers losing equity on their homes. Congress should not support legislation that removes this consumer protection and should uphold appraisal rules, which help to ensure a safer transaction for both the homeowner and the lender.

Section 110, “No Wait for Lower Mortgage Rates” opens the door for loopholes in waiting period and disclosure requirements for consumers when closing a mortgage loan.

This section eliminates the three-day wait period required for the combined TILA/RESPA mortgage disclosure if a creditor extends to a consumer a second offer of credit with a lower annual percentage rate. This provision weakens an important waiting period between the time a borrower gets written notice about their loan terms and closing time. Currently, homeowners receive their final loan terms three days before closing. The three-day period starts over if there is a material change in terms requiring a new disclosure. Section 110 would eliminate the waiting period when the loan's annual percentage rate decreases after the closing disclosure has been provided. While a lower rate benefits the homeowner, there may be other changes that accompany this shift that require more examination by the borrower. This also creates a loophole that unscrupulous lenders could utilize to circumvent disclosure requirements. In addition, section 110 expresses a sense of Congress that the CFPB should provide further guidance on the mortgage disclosure rules. The Bureau has used many resources to date providing specific and extensive guidance to industry on implementation of the new mortgage disclosure rules. We expect the Bureau will continue to do so. Congress should allow the CFPB to continue its work here without interfering in ways that will become confusing and harmful to the consumer.

⁹ Rule available at http://files.consumerfinance.gov/f/201301_cfpb_final-rule_ecoa-appraisals.pdf.

¹⁰ Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (Board); Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB); Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC); Federal Housing Finance Agency (FHFA); National Credit Union Administration (NCUA); and Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Treasury (OCC), available at http://files.consumerfinance.gov/f/201301_cfpb_final-rule_tila-appraisals.pdf.

Section 108, “Real Property Retrofit Loans” may help to create legal and regulatory standards to address predatory abuses in Property Assessed Clean Energy loans.

Section 108 is an important step forward to ensure Property Assessed Clean Energy (PACE) loans are affordable and transparent for borrowers. PACE loans are used to fund energy efficiency upgrades for a home, and are repaid through tax assessments. Because of their repayment structure, homeowners are at risk of losing their homes if they default on PACE loans. Section 108 directs the CFPB to write rules ensuring PACE loans will be subject to the Truth in Lending Act's Ability-to-Repay provisions. This will be an important part of ensuring that homeowners with PACE loans have the same legal protections that other mortgage borrowers have. The use of PACE loans has been significantly increasing across California, and has started to spread into many other states. Too often, borrowers are steered into unaffordable PACE loans and end up losing their homes. This can and should be prevented. Section 108 will help ensure that borrowers will be protected from unaffordable and dangerous financing as PACE loans become more prevalent.

Conclusion

Financial institutions, especially community banks and credit unions, play an important and essential role in this nation's financial market. We understand and support the need for appropriate and tailored regulatory flexibility for small depositories. We oppose any effort to use regulatory relief for community banks and credit unions as a vehicle for larger financial institutions to avoid having the regulatory scrutiny and oversight that proved lacking in the build up to the financial crisis. The need for regulatory flexibility must be balanced against the importance of consumer safeguards, the safety and soundness of financial institutions, and the security of America's financial system as a whole. Federal financial regulators like the CFPB must be allowed to both protect the American people and ensure access to a broad, sustainable financial market. We simply cannot afford another financial crisis. Congress should not roll back consumer protections under the Dodd-Frank Act/CFPB that have helped and continue to help millions of people across the country.

Sincerely,

Center for Responsible Lending
National Community Reinvestment Coalition
National Consumer Law Center (on behalf of its low-income clients)