## Why Don't ARM Borrowers Understand their Interest Rates?

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Note: the views in this talk are not necessarily those of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board or its staff (except me)

### What borrowers seem to understand

- Borrowers understand basic mortgage terms, but appear to underestimate or not know the amount their interest rates can change (Bucks and Pence, 2006)
- □ Why?

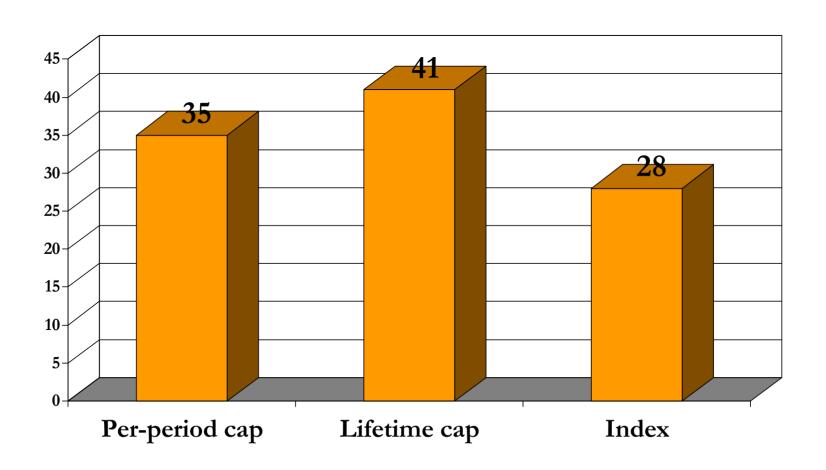
## Borrowers appear to know basic mortgage terms

	Lender	Lender	Borrower
Type of mortgage	9		
Fixed	86	83	87
Variable	11	13	11
Amortization per	iod (years)		
1–15	23	25	27
16–20	4	4	5
21–25	1	1	2
26–30	70	69	64

### ARM borrowers underestimate how much their interest rates can increase

	Lender data	Borrower data		
Cap on interest rate change per period				
1 ppt or less	1.5	40		
Between 1 & 2 ppts	5	3		
2 ppts	47	23		
More than 2 ppts	28	26		
No per-period cap	18	7		

### Share of ARM borrowers that don't know their...



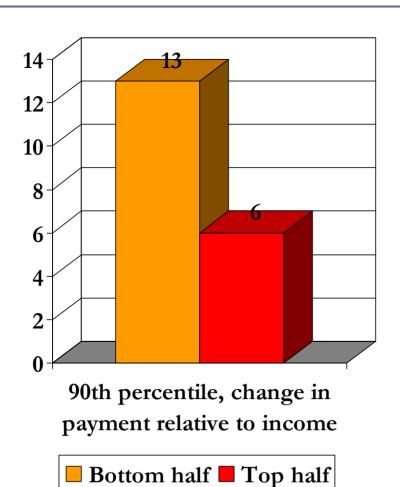
### Possibility One

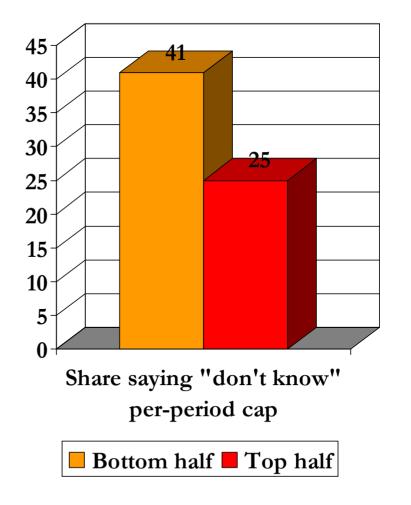
### The benefit of acquiring the knowledge is small

### Overview

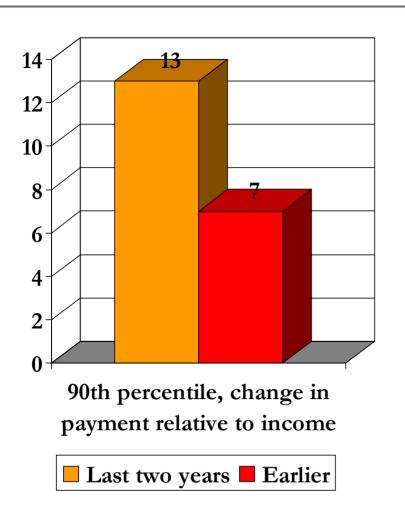
- Borrowers may know that changes in interest rates will not have a big effect on their finances
- Agarwal, Chomsisengphet, Liu, and Souleles (2006): as the financial penalty for choosing the wrong credit card contract increases, more borrowers choose the right contract.

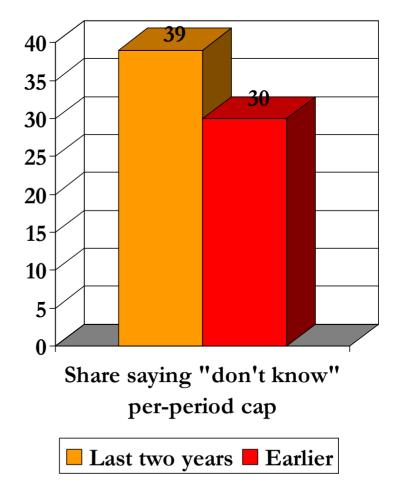
## Sensitivity to payment shocks by position in the income distribution





## Sensitivity to payment shocks by year of mortgage origination



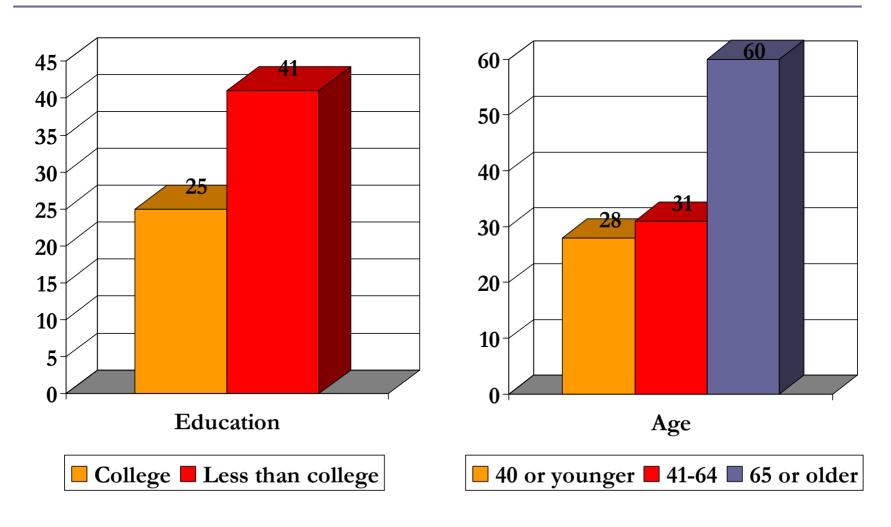


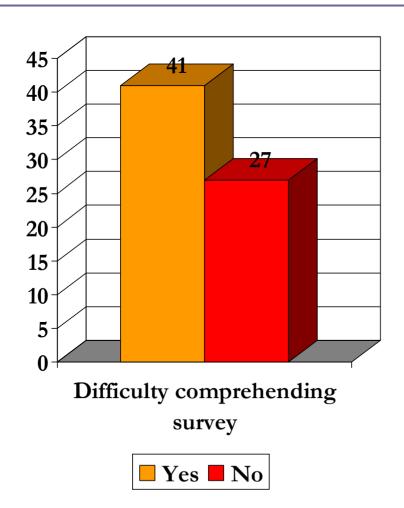
### Possibility two

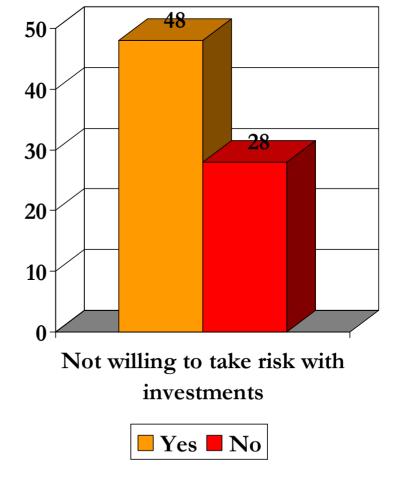
### Understanding mortgage terms is difficult

### Overview

- Some borrowers may have low levels of cognition or financial literacy
  - Borrowers with less income and education and older borrowers appear to have more difficulty (Hilgert, Hogarth, and Beverly, 2003; Lusardi and Mitchell, 2006; Agarwal, Driscoll, Gabaix, and Laibson, 2007)
- Interest rates appear to be particularly difficult for borrowers (Campbell, 2006; Stango and Zimmerman, 2006)





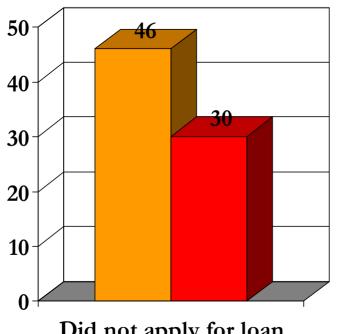


### Possibility three

Borrowers are focused on shortterm payments, not long-term financial consequences

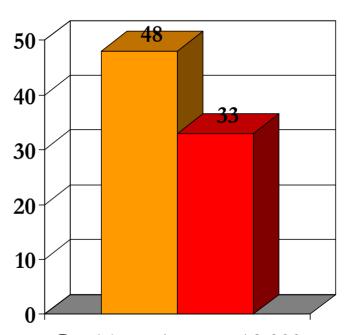
### Overview

- Borrowers may consider only the nearterm payment when choosing a mortgage
- Borrowers may be impatient by nature, or may need money badly and have few good options
- Many subprime borrowers report feeling desperate and powerless (Moore, 2003; Lacko and Pappalardo, 2007)



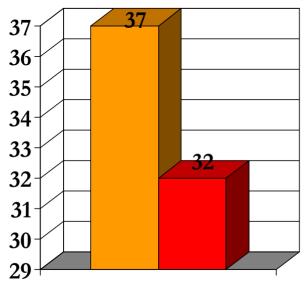
Did not apply for loan because thought might be turned down





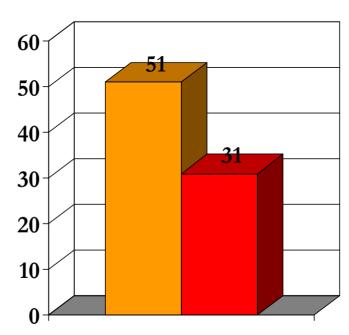
Could not borrow \$3,000 from family or friends in emergency





Focus on next few months in planning saving and spending decisions





Do almost no comparison shopping when shopping for loan



### Conclusions

- Financial literacy and short time horizons appear to be the main reasons why ARM borrowers don't know their interest rate caps
- "It doesn't matter" seems to be a less plausible explanation
- Consumer information and disclosures can help address financial literacy shortcomings, but not short time horizons