Comments on

Lenders and landlords in the mortgage market

by João F. Cocco, S. Lakshmi Naaraayanan, and Jagdish Tripathy

Jorge De la Roca

University of Southern California

ABFER 12th Annual Conference May 21, 2025

Summary

- Context and identification strategy
 - analyze 1.2M UK buy-to-let mortgages BTL (2018–2023) using rich administrative data
 - leverage the September 2022 "mini-budget" announcement as a natural experiment that triggered sudden, unexpected increases in interest rates
 - compare lending practices across lender and borrower types pre- and post-event
 - ★ lenders: specialist (high BTL exposure) vs. non-specialist
 - borrowers: accidental (inherited/formerly lived in property), intentional (bought to rent), and portfolio (4+ mortgaged properties)

September 2022 "mini-budget" shock

Mortgage rates yet to shed 'Truss premium'

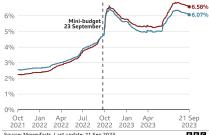
Mortgage rates remain high despite falling interest rate swaps.



Source: Moneyfacts, Refinitiv Eikon | Reuters, Oct. 27, 2022 | By Sumanta Sen

Mortgage rates falling again

Average interest on two-year and five-year fixed deals



Source: Moneyfacts. Last update: 21 Sep 2023.

Summary

- Context and identification strategy
 - analyze 1.2M UK buy-to-let mortgages BTL (2018–2023) using rich administrative data
 - leverage the September 2022 "mini-budget" announcement as a natural experiment that triggered sudden, unexpected increases in interest rates
 - compare lending practices across lender and borrower types pre- and post-event
 - ★ lenders: specialist (high BTL exposure) vs. non-specialist
 - borrowers: accidental (inherited/formerly lived in property), intentional (bought to rent), and portfolio (4+ mortgaged properties)
- Post-mini-budget market dynamics
 - ▶ loan originations fell 50% within a year, with specialist lenders increasing market share
 - property values stopped increasing while rents continued to rise
 - rental yields increased but interest rates rose much faster, squeezing profit margins
 - substantial deleveraging across all landlord types with LTV ratios declining

Summary

- Context and identification strategy
 - ▶ analyze 1.2M UK buy-to-let mortgages BTL (2018–2023) using rich administrative data
 - leverage the September 2022 "mini-budget" announcement as a natural experiment that triggered sudden, unexpected increases in interest rates
 - compare lending practices across lender and borrower types pre- and post-event
 - ★ lenders: specialist (high BTL exposure) vs. non-specialist
 - borrowers: accidental (inherited/formerly lived in property), intentional (bought to rent), and portfolio (4+ mortgaged properties)
- Post-mini-budget market dynamics
 - ▶ loan originations fell 50% within a year, with specialist lenders increasing market share
 - property values stopped increasing while rents continued to rise
 - rental yields increased but interest rates rose much faster, squeezing profit margins
 - substantial deleveraging across all landlord types with LTV ratios declining
- Specialist lenders prioritize portfolio landlords via:
 - smaller interest rate hikes (4.55% vs. non-specialists' 4.28%)
 - ► higher upfront fees (1.95% vs. 1.14%) and longer fixation terms (4.7 vs. 4.1 years)
 - maintained ICRs and credit flow while containing individual borrower risk

Contributions

 Novel evidence of market segmentation in mortgage markets with different pricing strategies across lender and borrower types

Contributions

- Novel evidence of market segmentation in mortgage markets with different pricing strategies across lender and borrower types
- 4 Highlights the importance of fees as a pricing tool in facilitating credit during monetary tightening

Contributions

- Novel evidence of market segmentation in mortgage markets with different pricing strategies across lender and borrower types
- 4 Highlights the importance of fees as a pricing tool in facilitating credit during monetary tightening
- Shows how lenders specialized in a particular market segment adapt to protect their business during interest rate shocks

Comments

- Dynamics/life cycle of landlord types
- Matching between lenders and landlords types
- Spatial clustering of portfolio landlords and their properties
- Other issues

Comments

- Openion of the state of the
- Matching between lenders and landlords types
- Spatial clustering of portfolio landlords and their properties
- Other issues
 - changes to tax relief for residential landlords (April 2017–2020)
 - more details on accidental landlords
 - side note: missing interaction between accidental landlors and quarters in event studies

- Landlord types are stable categories in the study
 - shares remain constant along the cycle and pre-post event
 - ▶ but is there a life-cycle trajectory for landlords (accidental \rightarrow intentional \rightarrow portfolio)?
 - even accidental landlords may result from bequests from portfolio landlords!

- Landlord types are stable categories in the study
 - shares remain constant along the cycle and pre-post event
 - ▶ but is there a life-cycle trajectory for landlords (accidental \rightarrow intentional \rightarrow portfolio)?
 - even accidental landlords may result from bequests from portfolio landlords!
- Landlords differ in observable characteristics
 - age: accidental (44 years), intentional (47), portfolio (51)
 - income: accidental (55,836 pounds), intentional (56,699), portfolio (98,428)
 - portfolio landlords receive lower rents but higher rental yields

- Landlord types are stable categories in the study
 - shares remain constant along the cycle and pre-post event
 - ▶ but is there a life-cycle trajectory for landlords (accidental \rightarrow intentional \rightarrow portfolio)?
 - even accidental landlords may result from bequests from portfolio landlords!
- Landlords differ in observable characteristics
 - age: accidental (44 years), intentional (47), portfolio (51)
 - income: accidental (55,836 pounds), intentional (56,699), portfolio (98,428)
 - portfolio landlords receive lower rents but higher rental yields
- Potential for constructing a borrower ID
 - age, address (postal code), and number of properties are observed
 - ► ID should be reliable subject to landlords not changing residences

- Landlord types are stable categories in the study
 - shares remain constant along the cycle and pre-post event
 - ▶ but is there a life-cycle trajectory for landlords (accidental \rightarrow intentional \rightarrow portfolio)?
 - even accidental landlords may result from bequests from portfolio landlords!
- Landlords differ in observable characteristics
 - age: accidental (44 years), intentional (47), portfolio (51)
 - income: accidental (55,836 pounds), intentional (56,699), portfolio (98,428)
 - portfolio landlords receive lower rents but higher rental yields
- Potential for constructing a borrower ID
 - age, address (postal code), and number of properties are observed
 - ▶ ID should be reliable subject to landlords not changing residences
- Will help explore further heterogeneity in response to the event
 - landlords with a non-specialist lender may remortgage with a specialist (better terms)
 - when landlords remortgage post-event, they may have fewer properties (\approx deleveraging)
 - during expansionary phases, IDs will help you better examine landlords' dynamics

- Before the mini-budget event, and within landlord type, specialist lenders
 - charge higher interest rates and loan fees
 - provide similar LTVs and longer fixation terms
 - use less stringent stress testing

- Before the mini-budget event, and within landlord type, specialist lenders
 - charge higher interest rates and loan fees
 - provide similar LTVs and longer fixation terms
 - use less stringent stress testing
- Why? Do they serve lower-quality or unsophisticated borrowers?
 - non-specialist lenders may target higher-income or experienced landlords
 - inexperienced landlords may prioritize loan approval (lower stress testing) than rates or fees
 - specifications do not control for borrower characteristics

- Before the mini-budget event, and within landlord type, specialist lenders
 - charge higher interest rates and loan fees
 - provide similar LTVs and longer fixation terms
 - use less stringent stress testing
- Why? Do they serve lower-quality or unsophisticated borrowers?
 - non-specialist lenders may target higher-income or experienced landlords
 - inexperienced landlords may prioritize loan approval (lower stress testing) than rates or fees
 - specifications do not control for borrower characteristics
- Include borrower characteristics: income, age, and number of properties

- Before the mini-budget event, and within landlord type, specialist lenders
 - charge higher interest rates and loan fees
 - provide similar LTVs and longer fixation terms
 - use less stringent stress testing
- Why? Do they serve lower-quality or unsophisticated borrowers?
 - non-specialist lenders may target higher-income or experienced landlords
 - inexperienced landlords may prioritize loan approval (lower stress testing) than rates or fees
 - specifications do not control for borrower characteristics
- Include borrower characteristics: income, age, and number of properties
- Another potential advantage of a borrower ID
 - do landlords switch from specialists to non-specialist lenders during low rate periods?
 - do landlords switch from non-specialists to specialist lenders after credit tightening shocks?

Spatial clustering of portfolio landlords and their properties

- Spatial concentration of portfolio landlords' rentals is another risk measure for lenders
 - unclear if the distances between the landlord's home and all of her properties are in the data
 - ★ calculate the average distance between properties or
 - the share of a landlord's properties in a neighborhood or submarket
 - ***** we expect \uparrow spatial concentration $\rightarrow \uparrow$ borrower's risk $\rightarrow \uparrow$ interest rates or fees
 - a borrower ID will help you construct an (imperfect) measure of spatial concentration

Spatial clustering of portfolio landlords and their properties

- Spatial concentration of portfolio landlords' rentals is another risk measure for lenders
 - unclear if the distances between the landlord's home and all of her properties are in the data
 - * calculate the average distance between properties or
 - the share of a landlord's properties in a neighborhood or submarket
 - **★** we expect \uparrow spatial concentration \rightarrow \uparrow borrower's risk \rightarrow \uparrow interest rates or fees
 - a borrower ID will help you construct an (imperfect) measure of spatial concentration
- Specialist lenders may have less stringent lending policies when they are more exposed to portofilio landlords in a local authority (submarket)
 - specialist lenders may have a regional focus but this aspect is missing in the paper
 - examine the (weighted) share of portfolio landlors in a local authority
 - do specialists trade off rates and fees nationally or only in areas they are more exposed?
 - lenders' geographic exposure is another heterogeneity perspective besides specialist vs. non-specialist

Other issues

- Changes to tax relief for residential landlords (April 2017–2020)
 - they can no longer deduct mortgage interest from their rental income to reduce their tax bill (they only receive a 20% basic rate tax credit)
 - policy overlaps the analysis period
 - potential responses from landlords
 - increase rents
 - * sell properties
 - ★ moved properties into company structures to retain full finance cost deductibility

Other issues

- Changes to tax relief for residential landlords (April 2017–2020)
 - they can no longer deduct mortgage interest from their rental income to reduce their tax bill (they only receive a 20% basic rate tax credit)
 - policy overlaps the analysis period
 - potential responses from landlords
 - increase rents
 - * sell properties
 - * moved properties into company structures to retain full finance cost deductibility
- More details on accidental landlords
 - accidental landlords do not intend to rent out the property
 - it seems they can live in the property
 - why do they choose a BTL mortgage and not one on the owner-occupied segment?

Other issues

- Changes to tax relief for residential landlords (April 2017–2020)
 - they can no longer deduct mortgage interest from their rental income to reduce their tax bill (they only receive a 20% basic rate tax credit)
 - policy overlaps the analysis period
 - potential responses from landlords
 - increase rents
 - * sell properties
 - * moved properties into company structures to retain full finance cost deductibility
- More details on accidental landlords
 - accidental landlords do not intend to rent out the property
 - it seems they can live in the property
 - why do they choose a BTL mortgage and not one on the owner-occupied segment?
- Event study equations omit the interactions between accidental landlords and quarters
 - intentional and portfolio landlords trajectories are normalized in 2022/Q3
 - but it is unclear which is the control group
 - especially since other event studies include the interaction between accidental landlords and quarters (e.g., rental income and property values)

Thank you!