

1 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: I'd like
2 to call the hearing back to order.

3 We have a number of people who have
4 given considerable thought to CRA to talk
5 about emerging issues relating to the
6 Community Reinvestment Act. And if I may, let
7 me introduce them briefly.

8 Sarah Rosen Wartell is the
9 Executive Vice President of the Center for
10 American Progress.

11 Sarah Ludwig is the founder and
12 Executive Director of the Neighborhood
13 Economic Development Advocacy Project.

14 Lawrence White is a Professor at
15 the New York University Stern School of
16 Business.

17 Richard Marsico is a Professor at
18 New York Law School.

19 Calvin Bradford is President of
20 Calvin Bradford Associates, a consulting firm.

21 And Deborah Goldberg is Program
22 Director for the National Fair Housing

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1 Alliance.

2 Ms. Wartell, if you could begin?

3 Thank you.

4 MS. WARTELL: Thank you very much.

5 Good afternoon. I am Sarah Wartell
6 of the Center for American Progress Action
7 Fund of the affiliate of CAP here today. My
8 colleagues David Abramowitz and Janneke
9 Ratcliffe, Senior Fellows at the Center.

10 And I thank you for the opportunity
11 to offer this testimony.

12 We thought that our best
13 contribution would be to put the CRA
14 regulatory reform process in a larger context
15 of the housing and energy challenges for low
16 and moderate income families. At a risk of
17 stating the obvious, this is a perilous time
18 for many of our communities. If the wrong
19 lessons were learned from the housing crises,
20 communities already stripped of their limited
21 equity and capital base could face further
22 disinvestment. What's at stake, and I don't

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1 mean to be extreme here, but is no less than
2 whether we will create a two tier society in
3 which access to credit and financial services
4 are a dividing line between growing and
5 declining neighborhoods.

6 Will growing racial and ethnic
7 minority communities be integrated into the
8 economic mainstream of our society? Will all
9 families have access to the building blocks of
10 economic security and opportunity? Or will we
11 continue to grow increasingly apart?

12 While CRA is not the only tool to
13 address these enormous challenges, it is a key
14 lever to bring the creative ecumene and
15 capital of our financial institutions to bear
16 in rebuilding sustainable communities.

17 Some would have you shy away from
18 my more ambitiously stated objective. They
19 argue that CRA itself and LMI lending were the
20 primary drivers of the crises that we've
21 experienced. We know that you financial
22 regulators know better. Current and former

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1 regulators have been clear that these claims
2 are false. The charges, however, make your
3 task more difficult.

4 You have a unique responsibility
5 and vantage point from which to say what
6 works, so we urge you to continue to set the
7 record straight. And let your record in this
8 process show that contrary to popular myths we
9 do in fact know a great deal about how to
10 support LMI communities with products and
11 services that simultaneously serve the best
12 interests of financial institutions, their
13 customers and their communities.

14 With investors and employees shaken
15 by recent events, institutions will inevitably
16 pull back beyond what is prudent or required.

17 Nothing can be more important than for the
18 regulators to support, showcase and
19 disseminate successful models for serving
20 underserved communities through the regulation
21 and through your efforts like the hearings
22 today.

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1 In our full statement we explore
2 three aspects of the current credit needs of
3 the communities based on our own work,
4 although there are others of import as well.
5 We emphasize what we know.

6 I know discussion this morning also
7 talked specifically about the quality and not
8 just the quantity of lending, and that is
9 tremendously important. But let me say that
10 we worry a lot also about quantity right now
11 because here is a constraint of credit for
12 communities that we care about.

13 So first, regarding home ownership.

14 We know we need a level playing field between
15 lending channels, lest we recreate the race to
16 the bottom in which bad money drove our bread.

17 CRA must, hopefully, run us back into the
18 devastated communities to do affordable home
19 ownership right. I'm worried particularly
20 about the lessons we learned about low down
21 payment lending. It can work with the right
22 terms and other ways to mitigate risk, as we

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1 detail. And we urge you to explore also
2 shared equity and community land trust models.

3 These models have been tested under the
4 stress of the housing crises and have proven
5 their performance and effectiveness, as we
6 detail in the written statement.

7 Second, regarding rental housing.
8 We face a decade of rental stock shortfalls
9 and rising rent pressures thanks to
10 demographics, foreclosures and recent low
11 production. Multi-family finance alone will
12 not close the gap between incomes and
13 affordable rents. But it's a necessary
14 condition for progress.

15 Five to 50 unit properties provide
16 a third of all rental units, most are not
17 subsidized so lenders can be unsure whether
18 loans or investments for CRA consideration,
19 even where LMI residents are clearly served.
20 We urge clear affirmative guidance re:
21 unsubsidized small properties and positive
22 consideration for innovations in the multi-

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1 family area that encouraged the preservation
2 of affordability over time.

3 Finally, we urge you to express and
4 encourage support for leveraging NSP funds and
5 as your rulemaking and other efforts are
6 starting to do, for recapitalization and
7 tenanting also for scattered sites single-
8 family rental housing take foreclosed
9 properties and reusing them. In many
10 communities that will be the only viable model
11 for stabilization.

12 Third, regarding the so called
13 green CRA. We are worried that capital for
14 clean energy investments will not reach the
15 LMI communities and communities of color,
16 leaving those who already pay
17 disproportionately more for energy further
18 behind. CRA must encourage loans, investments
19 and services that reduce energy costs for
20 these communities. Of course projects that
21 exclusively serve LMI areas, consumers or
22 landlords are likely already covered. But

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1 further guidance would clarify for hesitant
2 institutions that CRA covers a plant offering
3 lower cost energy to LMI residents in a LMI
4 Census tract even if the generating plant is
5 located elsewhere.

6 We also need to think creatively
7 how to account for projects that include LMI
8 consumers, but benefit a blended service area
9 so as to encourage inclusion of CRA target
10 areas and larger projects without diluting the
11 focus on LMI residents. You might consider
12 rules that establish threshold or partial
13 credit mechanisms to encourage inclusion and
14 ensure that unserved communities are not left
15 behind in the clean energy economy.

16 So let me conclude by just
17 applauding you for taking on this effort and
18 step back to emphasize its larger importance.
19 We face a serious risk of decades of decay in
20 hard hit communities in the aftermath of the
21 recent financial crises. CRA should be one of
22 the strategies we use to help all our

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1 communities recover together.

2 Thank you.

3 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Thank
4 you.

5 Ms. Ludwig?

6 MS. LUDWIG: Thank you. Good
7 afternoon.

8 I appreciate the opportunity to
9 testify at today's hearing. My name is Sarah
10 Ludwig, and I'm Co-Director of the
11 Neighborhood Economic Development Advocacy
12 Project, better known as NEDAP, if known at
13 all, a community economic justice organization
14 based in New York City.

15 There's so much to say about the
16 Community Reinvestment Act and how its
17 regulations might be strengthened. I noticed
18 in the hearing notice you asked the question
19 whether and how, and I think we've passed
20 the whether it should be revised.

21 For today I'm going to focus on
22 just a few areas that are important to us at

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1 NEDAP, and we will submit much more detailed
2 written comments by the comment period
3 deadline of August 31st.

4 Also, much of what I came to say
5 today has been covered has been covered by
6 previous panelists. So I'm going my exposition
7 on the structural changes that have taken
8 place in the financial services world since
9 NEDAP started working with community groups on
10 CRA related matters more than 15 years ago,
11 and the impact it's had on neighborhoods. But
12 clearly this is high time that we revise CRA
13 regulations, and there's so much at stake. As
14 people have been talking today, what's become
15 clear is that this process of revising these
16 important regulations really are intertwined
17 with many of the challenges we have around
18 revitalizing so many neighbors that have been
19 devastated by the practices that led up to the
20 financial meltdown and the economic crises.
21 And, you know what we've seen also working
22 with groups in New York is that so much of the

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1 gains from CRA over the decades have been more
2 than eroded in recent times. So what you do
3 with these regulations has great consequences
4 and serious, serious challenges

5 We're going to be dealing with
6 these profound consequences in lower income
7 neighbors and communities of colors for a
8 very, very long time from the economic crises.

9 And I just want to raise something that
10 hasn't come up today just to kind of set a
11 frame.

12 That something we are very
13 preoccupied with at NEDAP is that the
14 information in people's credit reports that is
15 a reflection of credit practices in
16 communities is more and more seeped into the
17 economic and social lives of fabric of hiring
18 and getting housing and so forth. So that the
19 stakes for people of what's in their credit
20 really go beyond even credit decisions. And
21 we're seeing a lot of people getting
22 systematically blocks from employment and so

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1 forth as a result of credit.

2 So, all of these issues have
3 multiple layers of manifestations. But let me
4 just talk about a few global recommendations
5 that we have based on what we see as a
6 dramatically changed environment and the
7 problems that we have with the two tiered
8 credit system that's emerged over the past 10
9 to 15 years.

10 So, our recommendations, I have
11 five here on the page. When we do the written
12 testimony there'll probably be a lot more.
13 Maybe they'll be sharper; I don't know. And
14 some of these will pick back up on the themes
15 from this morning. So the reason I'm
16 repeating them, because you'll see a lot of
17 this crossed out in my testimony, what I'm
18 repeating is to underscore what has been said,
19 because I think it's important and maybe give
20 a slightly different perspective.

21 Okay. First of all, the
22 regulations and exam process need to

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1 underscore the C in CRA. We've heard a lot
2 from previous panelists about why it's
3 important that CRA remain local. It's not the
4 LRA, it's the CRA. We need to be thinking
5 about neighborhoods and a bank's performance
6 should be considered at the community level.
7 And I'm talking about blocks, streets,
8 neighborhoods, not MSAs, not counties, not
9 even arguably depending on like a city like
10 New York, a sub-county.

11 In the more than 15 years since
12 we've been working with groups on CRA issues
13 in New York, the CRA regulatory lens has
14 become less and less focused on discreet
15 neighborhoods at the same time that clearly as
16 we know banks are larger in scale and
17 increasingly multi-state and national.

18 The bank examiners have actually
19 told me that they cannot and will not exam
20 banks at the neighborhood level, but would
21 rather or look at them in terms of their
22 aggregate performance so that when we raise

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1 issues about disparities or disparate lending
2 in neighborhoods,, or disparate access to
3 services they say "Well, yes, but we're
4 looking at net balance across the whole
5 metropolitan statistical area." For New York
6 an MSA, our MSA consists of eight large
7 counties, some of them by themselves are
8 larger than most U.S. cities. An examiner
9 should consider a bank's CRA performance, and
10 here I'm just going to saying it again, at the
11 neighborhood level to ascertain whether banks
12 are fairly meeting community credit needs.

13 New York, like many other large
14 cities, is hyper-segregated with neighborhood
15 race and income demographics changing markedly
16 from one neighborhood to the next. And
17 examining bank's CRA performance by large
18 geographies obscures the relevant analysis for
19 CRA purposes of whether banks are indeed
20 meeting community credit needs.

21 A sample mapping of CRA relevant
22 data at the outset of a CRA exam would provide

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1 a more nuisance view than the aggregate
2 approach now permits, and would raise flags if
3 the bank is engaged in redlining of specific
4 communities or reverse redlining.

5 And the new regulations we
6 recommend should also ensure that examiners
7 exchange community groups meaningfully in the
8 CRA exam process. Regulators, some of them,
9 have explained to us also that over the years,
10 we've been hearing this for 15 years, that
11 when they examine a bank they reach out to a
12 number of community groups but they don't
13 always tell the group which bank they're
14 examining. So the input is there, but the
15 group doesn't really know what's at stake. I
16 mean, which lender they might be talking about
17 or which financial institution.

18 And so we would say that the
19 revised regulations need to include a process
20 for incorporating community organizations
21 explicitly in the exam.

22 Many people have picked up on the

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1 idea that Barry Zigas raised this morning
2 around the strategic plan. We think that's an
3 intriguing idea, if only as a mechanism for
4 making sure that the conversation around
5 Community Reinvestment Act is localized. It's
6 a way to kind of put out there what the bank
7 is planning to do and its made transparent,
8 which we obviously think it should be. It
9 affords community organizations and the
10 general public an opportunity to weigh in and
11 make sure that that strategic plan is rooted
12 in local neighborhoods.

13 Okay. And these will be much
14 faster. Second, the CRA exam must consider
15 banks in their totality. Under current CRA
16 regulations we think it makes absolutely no
17 sense for banks to receive favorable CRA
18 ratings based on the performance of their
19 insured depository, even though their
20 affiliates are directly engaged in and
21 responsible for practices that harm
22 communities and serve them inequitably, such

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1 as through discriminatory tax reform
2 anticipation lending and abusive credit card
3 and debt collection practices.

4 We think that, as others have said
5 this morning, that the CRA exam should
6 identify not only a bank's affirmative
7 activities but also their harmful practices by
8 the banks themselves. So that's not a
9 question of the affiliates. A prime example
10 of this is what we see as the CRA examiners
11 essentially ignoring bank's abusive overdraft
12 practices, which has sapped billions and
13 billions of dollars from the very communities
14 that CRA is intended to address.

15 Our third point: Banks should not
16 receive a satisfactory or better rating if
17 there is evidence that they have discriminated
18 against people or communities on the basis of
19 race, color, national origin, gender or other
20 protected classes. I really don't think that
21 needs elaboration, but I'm happy to answer any
22 questions on it.

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1 The fourth one I'll also for sake
2 of brevity assert, which is that the CRA
3 assessment area definition needs to be
4 updated. I'm hoping that I don't get
5 questions on that.

6 And the last point is one that we
7 heard Commissioner Mintz from New York City's
8 Department of Consumer Affairs sort of allude
9 to this morning when he talked about banks
10 sort of, you know doing workshops and being
11 engaged in various philanthropic ways in
12 communities but not really responding to the
13 need. We would say it that the bank's
14 philanthropy should not be a substitute for
15 community reinvestment. We would never
16 discourage banks from engaging in charitable
17 giving, we encourage it. But we believe that
18 the CRA regulations should make clear that
19 philanthropic giving is not a proxy for
20 meeting community credit needs.

21 Before the market crashed, for
22 example, as community groups sounded the alarm

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1 on abusive lending practicing that were
2 devastating historic redlined neighborhoods,
3 banks in response proudly touted their support
4 for financial literacy programs as if they
5 were antidote to predatory lending practices.

6 Giving grants is easier for banks than
7 finding ways to meet community credit needs
8 and pound the pavement, get to understand
9 what's at direct stake through direct lending
10 services and investment and consideration of
11 philanthropic activities should not figure
12 into the CRA exam.

13 I would be very happy to answer any
14 questions you might have, except about the
15 assessment area. I'm kidding. And thank you
16 for the opportunity to testify.

17 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Thank
18 you.

19 Professor White?

20 MR. WHITE: Thank you.

21 My name is Lawrence J. White. I'm a
22 Professor of Economics at the NYU Stern School

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1 of Business. I represent solely myself at this
2 hearing.

3 Thank you for the opportunity to
4 testify at this important hearing on the
5 Community Reinvestment Act.

6 My views on the CRA surely differ
7 from those of the other individuals who are
8 testifying at today's hearing. I believe that
9 despite the good intentions and worthwhile
10 goals of CRA's advocates and of the CRA
11 itself, the CRA is an inappropriate instrument
12 for achieving those goals.

13 Fundamentally, the CRA is a
14 regulatory effort to lean on banks and savings
15 institutions in vague and subjective ways to
16 make loans and investments that the CRA's
17 proponents believe these depository
18 institutions would not otherwise make. It's a
19 continued effort to preserve old structures in
20 the face of a modernizing financial economy.
21 At base, it is a protectionist effort to force
22 artificially a local focus for finance in an

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1 increasing competitive, increasingly
2 electronic and ever widening realm of
3 financial services.

4 Further, ironically, the burdens of
5 the CRA may well discourage banks from setting
6 up new locations in low income neighborhoods,
7 and thus providing local residents with better
8 priced alternatives to high cost check cashing
9 and pay day lending establishments. And I
10 would add to that list a high cost car title
11 lending establishments, which I just read
12 about this morning. It's on page 3 of this
13 morning *Wall Street Journal*. Anybody who
14 didn't know about these guys, I urge you to
15 read page 3. They're part of that list.

16 Now, one problem with the CRA is
17 that it doesn't ask why. It doesn't ask why
18 aren't these loans being made? Is it because
19 they are profitable, as the proponents
20 believe, as the law says they're supposed to
21 be. But some somehow they still aren't being
22 made. Well, why not?

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1 Are the banks and their employees
2 ill-intended, are they discriminating, or are
3 they lazy, just not getting out there? Why?
4 Why are these loans otherwise profitable not
5 being made? Or, are they unprofitable but,
6 gee, if the banks would just coordinate among
7 themselves a bit more, they would become
8 profitable. Or, are they just socially
9 worthwhile but not profitable, but somehow
10 there's going to be some cross subsidy? Those
11 questions aren't getting answered.

12 Now, despite the flaws of CRA, I
13 think it's clear and it's already been
14 mentioned responsibility for the housing
15 bubble and the subprime lending crises, that's
16 not anything that CRA should be held
17 responsible for. It's clear the bulk of the
18 subprime lending was not being done by CRA
19 covered depository institutions, the investing
20 in the securities and the subsequent financial
21 difficulties was primarily by non-CRA covered
22 institutions. And there's econometrics work

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1 now, much of it done at the Federal Reserve,
2 that will support exactly that position that
3 CRA is not responsible.

4 There is a better way. First, to
5 the extent that lending problems can be traced
6 to discrimination against racial, or ethnic or
7 other protected categories, the right tool is
8 more vigorous enforcement of anti-
9 discrimination laws, including the Equal
10 Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 and the Fair
11 Housing Act of 1968.

12 Second, vigorous enforcement of the
13 anti-trust laws, especially with respect to
14 mergers necessary to keep financial markets
15 competitive so that banks and other lenders
16 are constantly under competitive pressure to
17 provide attractive services, you know not only
18 lending, other financial services to their
19 customers. If for some reason anti-trust is
20 not sufficient, then we ought to be allowing
21 other enterprises who have a business model
22 that provides good value, good products and

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1 services to low and moderate income
2 households. Let me enter housing. I think
3 specifically of a company like Walmart that
4 has tried to get into banking in numerous
5 places and numerous ways in this country has
6 had the doors slammed over and over again,
7 from my perspective. And I'm not a consultant
8 to Walmart, I own no stock in Walmart except
9 as part of a diversified portfolio low cost
10 index funds. I can think of nothing better
11 than to see Walmart in providing financial
12 services to low and moderate income
13 households.

14 Third, to the extent that there are
15 socially worthwhile lending opportunities that
16 somehow are not being satisfied by existing
17 lending institutions, these projects should be
18 funded through the public fisc in a non-budget
19 and transparent process. The Community
20 Development and Financial Institute Fund,
21 which you know was authorized by the Riegle
22 Community Development and Regulatory

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1 Improvement Act of 1994 managed by the U.S.
2 Treasury is a good example of this kind of
3 public funding. To the extent that there
4 isn't enough of it done, let's do more, let's
5 fund more, let's do what's needed.

6 Finally if public policy persists
7 with something that resembles the CRA, the
8 annual local obligations, especially lending
9 obligations, should be explicitly quantified
10 then these obligations could be traded among
11 financial institutions so that a system could
12 arise where the institutions that are best
13 able to provide these services could do them.

14 The idea is similar to the idea that underlay
15 the cap and trade system that has proved so
16 success for dealing with sulfur dioxide
17 emissions in a low cost and efficient manner.

18 In sum, CRA is not a good public
19 policy tool for achieving the goals of its
20 advocates. There are better ways, and I urge
21 anyone who is interested in good public policy
22 to consider those alternatives.

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1 Be happy to answer any questions
2 from the panel.

3 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Thank
4 you.

5 Professor Marsico?

6 MR. MARSICO: Thank you for this
7 opportunity to testify. My testimony will
8 focus on the purpose of the CRA, changes in
9 the financial services market since it was
10 passed, CRA standards and enforcement and
11 these relate to proposals to amend the CRA
12 regulations to expand the CRA assessment area
13 include a bank's lending affiliates and its
14 lending by race, and the bank's CRA evaluation
15 to strengthen and standardize the CRA
16 performance tests.

17 Congress passed the CRA in 1977 to
18 end bank redlining. Congress placed an
19 affirmative obligation on banks to help meet
20 the credit needs of their local communities
21 and require the federal banking regulators to
22 evaluate a bank's record of meeting community

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1 credit needs, and to take that record into
2 account when considering bank expansion
3 applications.

4 Much has changed since Congress
5 passed the CRA. Banks are no longer the local
6 unitary institutions they once were, but are
7 frequently parts of multi-layered national and
8 multi-national corporate entities. They share
9 the consumer finance market with more
10 competitors, including non-banked mortgage
11 lenders and pay-day lenders.

12 Finally, although there is evidence
13 that redlining continues, reverse redlining is
14 now an equally if not more serious problem.

15 Despite these changes, two things
16 remain consistent in CRA's enforcement.
17 First, it is relatively easy for banks to
18 receive satisfactory CRA grades. Second, the
19 CRA regulations do not contain consistent
20 objective criteria for defining satisfactory
21 CRA performance. These two factors make it
22 very difficult, if not impossible, for

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1 community groups to hold banks accountable for
2 poor lending records.

3 Market changes and weak standards
4 threaten the continued viability of the CRA.
5 Unless the regulations are strengthened and
6 updated, the CRA faces a future of
7 irrelevance. This would be unfortunate,
8 because the CRA has influenced banks to make
9 more loans in low income communities than they
10 would have without the CRA, and because loans
11 covered by the CRA tend to be less risky than
12 loans that are not covered.

13 The following three proposals to
14 amend the CRA regulations would strengthen and
15 update the CRA.

16 First, expand the CRA assessment
17 area to include the areas in which banks make
18 loans, and include affiliate lending in the
19 bank's CRA performance evaluation.

20 The CRA contained two provisions
21 that have reduced the percentage of home
22 mortgage loans the CRA covers. First, the

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1 regulations define a bank's CRA assessment
2 area as the metropolitan area in which the
3 bank has its branches and makes its loans. As
4 banks have grown and created loan distribution
5 mechanism not dependent on branches, more and
6 more of their loans have been outside areas in
7 which they have branches, and thus fewer loans
8 are covered by the CRA.

9 The regulations also allow a bank
10 to choose whether to include the lending
11 records of their non-banked lending affiliates
12 as part of the bank's CRA evaluation. The
13 assessment area and affiliate rules have
14 reduced the percentage of loans subject to the
15 CRA. As of 2006 only 26 percent of all home
16 purchased loans were by banks in their CRA
17 assessment areas, down from 36 percent in
18 1993. One negative consequence of this is
19 that a bank can shift its risky lending or
20 lending that might hurt its CRA record outside
21 of regulatory scrutiny.

22 The assessment area and affiliate

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1 rules defeat the purpose of the CRA should be
2 changed. Affiliate lending should count as
3 part of the CRA's record and a bank's
4 assessment area should include, for example,
5 the area in which its market share of loans or
6 the percentage of all its loans meets a
7 certain threshold.

8 Second, consider the bank's lending
9 according to the race of the borrower and the
10 racial composition of the community. Several
11 studies have documented continued
12 disproportionately low rates of home mortgage
13 loans to African-Americans and Latino
14 borrowers, and conversely disproportionately
15 high rates of subprime lending to these same
16 groups. It is difficult to reconcile this
17 with the CRA obligations of banks and the
18 regulations should be amended to evaluate a
19 bank's record of lending to minority borrowers
20 in predominately minority neighborhoods. At
21 the very least, CRA evaluations should include
22 a detailed analysis of the bank's lending by

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1 race including evidence of reverse redlining
2 instead of the brief statements that now
3 appear.

4 And finally, a third recommendation
5 is adopt a consistent set of objective
6 criteria and benchmarks for evaluating a
7 bank's CRA lending. CRA regulations do not
8 contain a consistent set of objective criteria
9 for evaluating lending. This makes it
10 difficult to hold banks accountable for poor
11 lending records. Although there should be
12 room for judgment in evaluating a bank's CRA
13 record and the CRA regulations cannot allocate
14 credit, these concerns should not displace the
15 important goal of creating a clear set of
16 objective standards consistently applied. The
17 CRA regulations should require the agencies to
18 consider bank lending compared with objective
19 benchmarks and should state clearly how the
20 bank's performance will be weighed in
21 evaluating the bank's CRA record. Such
22 criteria will put both banks and community

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1 groups on notice of what constitutes a
2 satisfactory CRA performance and improve
3 implementation of the CRA.

4 The CRA has increased safe and
5 sound lending in low and moderate income
6 neighborhoods. I urge you to expand its
7 coverage and strengthen its enforcement to
8 ensure it continues to do so.

9 Thank you once again for this
10 opportunity to testify.

11 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Thank
12 you.

13 Mr. Bradford?

14 MR. BRADFORD: Thank you.

15 For those of us who worked on
16 reinvestment and fair lending over the past
17 decades, we are very hopeful about this plan
18 to revise the regulations. But quite
19 honestly, we've got good reason I think to
20 skeptical. Over the years the enforcement
21 effort, which was not particularly aggressive
22 in the first place, has deteriorated giving

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1 over 90 percent of all regulated institutions
2 passing or outstanding rates when many of the
3 most powerful of these institutions and/or
4 affiliates together were selling the seeds of
5 the destruction to the very communities they
6 were supposed to be protecting. And, in the
7 process I might add, they were dragging down a
8 lot of the community banks that were doing a
9 good job trying to invest in their
10 communities.

11 I'll try and just limit my comments
12 to extracting some things I think will be
13 supportive of themes that have been brought up
14 today and emphasize some particular points.

15 First of all, I think it's kind of
16 interesting to hear the American Bankers
17 Association tell us that the CRA has nothing
18 to do with fair lending. I can recall when
19 were drafting the CRA and Senator Proxmire and
20 the staff were assuring everybody that we
21 didn't have to flip the requirements of fair
22 lending and the CRA because it was so obvious

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1 no one could miss it. Well, evidently since
2 then the regulators and the bankers have
3 missed that. So it seems to me that we should
4 go back and require that there be no evidence
5 of discrimination or you automatically fail
6 the CRA period.

7 A second thing I would like to say
8 is that people have talked about assessments,
9 what you'd assess, and I would just add that
10 we need to assess both positive and negative
11 activities. But not just loans or not just a
12 lack of providing certain services, we need to
13 think in a broader range like the servicing
14 that lenders do or their affiliates do. The
15 servicing can be abusive or not responsive to
16 people's communities needs. Some of the
17 largest banks are actually mainline providers
18 of credit lines to pay-day lenders, and those
19 things need to be considered as well because
20 the victims or the people in these
21 neighborhoods are now being exploited by the
22 pay-day lenders as they don't have any jobs

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1 and their neighborhoods have already declined.
2 And we need to look at that in a broad scale.

3 I think, again, I'll support the
4 inclusion of affiliates. I'd just like to say
5 maybe a couple of different things about that.

6 I think probably one of the biggest
7 challenges facing you in looking at all the
8 affiliates of an institution that are involved
9 in a particular type of lending is often times
10 the affiliates of a holding company are
11 actually regulated by different ones of your
12 institutions. An affiliate may have a state
13 charter bank, it may have a national bank, it
14 may have different types of institution. And
15 it seems to me that unless there is a single
16 assessment of the whole holding company in
17 that area, it's not useful because the issue
18 we keep raising is that that one part of the
19 affiliate may do one thing while the other
20 part does something that may be destructive.
21 And so you have to have an assessment for the
22 whole holding company, there needs to be a

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1 process to figure how that's going to be done.

2 For geographic coverage of the
3 assessments areas, I think one recommendation,
4 I know there have been several made, I think
5 that what banks do when they have bricks and
6 mortar facilities is important. It's important
7 to have a strategic plan. Believe me, they
8 don't build those buildings out there for
9 nothing when they could do the same activity
10 without having those buildings. And I know in
11 our community where we live people are
12 fighting tooth and nail to open new branch
13 banks all over the place. It's a fairly high
14 income community. Farther away from where he
15 lived in Virginia in Newport News and Norfolk
16 and Virginia Beach they're not fighting so
17 hard to build those branches and facilities in
18 the old existing neighborhoods. So then I see
19 a value in it.

20 I think if you just do those in the
21 kind of traditional way of looking at
22 assessment areas and what they do, that would

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1 be useful. And then what I would call a
2 regional assessment area for the non-bank
3 affiliates based on their share of the market,
4 and then including all the affiliates of that
5 holding company in that assessment area. And,
6 of course, there have to be provisions for
7 challenging what happens in those assessment
8 regions as well as in these other areas.

9 I think that's a process that needs to be
10 thought through.

11 And then looking at the rating
12 process, it really needs to be restructured.
13 And I would add that I think there does need
14 to be a separate community development
15 provision, but I'd keep the investment
16 provision. And the reason is what we've
17 failed to do is sort of raised the bar for
18 what reinvestment means. For large
19 institutions, even investing in community
20 development finance institutions is a routine
21 practice in many ways. And that needs to be
22 countered. And, indeed, if you do it as a

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1 regulator process, it needs to be required of
2 an institution as a kind of a floor if that's
3 a large institution and you have that
4 capacity. But I think community reinvestment
5 activities themselves out to have a separate
6 category for much more creative ventures. And
7 I think this would also help smaller banks.
8 It would help to find a place for CRA
9 agreements. It's a terrific place, I think,
10 to require plans so you have a rationale for
11 it and a rate of measure.

12 And the last thing I would comment
13 on is public participation. We need to put
14 the community back in community reinvestment.
15 If you actually look at the history of all
16 these models, even these development funds and
17 nonprofit housing developers, they all came
18 out of reinvestment agreements initially or
19 out of community challenges or cooperative
20 agreements with banks and local community
21 people. And they've essentially been
22 eliminated from the process. I think you need

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1 to have more of a role for comments, more of a
2 role for challenges. You need to have a way
3 for challenging an institution between
4 performance evaluations since this time
5 between those performances is so long.

6 And that's the end of my comments.

7 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Okay.

8 Thank you.

9 Ms. Goldberg.

10 MS. GOLDBERG: Thank you.

11 My name is Debbie Goldberg. I'm a
12 Project Director at the National Fair Housing
13 Alliance. NFHA is a national nonprofit
14 organization that focuses on ending housing
15 discrimination and ending segregation in our
16 country. We're the only national organization
17 that focused solely on those goals. Our
18 members include private fair housing centers
19 in communities all across the country, as well
20 as many other state and local officials who
21 have fair housing enforcement
22 responsibilities.

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1 I want to thank you for the
2 opportunity to testify here today.

3 It's been our view that the
4 Community Reinvestment Act has been a very
5 important tool for directing credit bank
6 services into underserved communities. And
7 when I say "underserved communities" I mean
8 both low and moderate income communities and
9 communities of color. As I think a number of
10 other witnesses have said today there's a kind
11 of commonality of interests there and it's
12 argued that CRA is needed to make sure that
13 both of those sets of folks who are not always
14 the same -- we tend often in our country to
15 confuse race and income and to assume that all
16 low income people are people of color and vice
17 versa, and we know that's not really true.
18 But it is true that low income communities and
19 communities of color have both had problems
20 getting access to credit. And the Community
21 Reinvestment Act has been an important tool
22 for overcoming that.

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1 Unfortunately, CRA has not really
2 kept pace with the changes in the financial
3 services industry. And so as a result it was
4 not nearly as helpful a tool as it could have
5 been in preventing or curtailing the current
6 financial crises. And we're going to need all
7 of the tools that we have at our disposal, and
8 some we haven't designed yet, to get us out of
9 this hole we've dug ourselves into to get our
10 communities and our country out of this
11 crises. And so this is a particularly
12 opportune time to take a fresh look at the
13 Community Reinvestment Act and think about how
14 it can be strengthened so that it's a better
15 tool as a we move forward to help communities
16 and individual recovery.

17 So we want to comment you for
18 holding these hearings. And again, thank you
19 for the opportunity to testify.

20 I also am going to try and not
21 stick to my written comments that highlight a
22 few things that I think maybe have not yet

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1 been said or add a little bit of emphasis that
2 hasn't yet been said.

3 So I want to start with the
4 assessment area question and the affiliates
5 question. And when I think about those two
6 issues what's important to me is that they are
7 -- I'm sorry. I'm blanking on the word here.
8 They are a phenomenon that reflect what's been
9 a dual credit market in this country, a market
10 in which some parts are regulated and some
11 parts not regulated, and which the types of
12 products that are offered and the prices at
13 which they are offered as very different.

14 And what we've seen at the National
15 Fair Housing Alliance is that the people who
16 tend to end up in the unregulated part of that
17 market, whether it's people who are getting
18 the kinds of loans that banks feel that they
19 can make outside their assessment where they
20 don't have CRA scrutiny as compared to the
21 ones they make inside, or the ones where their
22 affiliates that are not doing the kind of safe

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1 and sound sustainable prime lending but
2 instead have been doing subprime and other
3 kinds of exotic lending operate.

4 So people of color, low and
5 moderate income people have found themselves
6 in that unregulated section of the market.
7 It's worked to their detriment. And really,
8 you know at a scale that was kind of hard to
9 imagine even just a few years ago. So that
10 many of the communities that have benefitted
11 the most from CRA over the years now find
12 themselves back at the starting point, maybe
13 even back farther than the starting point in
14 terms of the situations that the families in
15 those communities and the communities as a
16 whole find themselves.

17 I think it may take us generations
18 for those people and those communities to be
19 able to recovery. And that's something we
20 can't really afford. We don't have that much
21 time to put folks back on an equal footing and
22 help them get back on their feet.

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1 So, unless we can make sure that
2 the whole market is regulated and that the
3 regulations are enforced consistently across
4 the market, I think we have to expect that
5 we'll see in some form or fashion a
6 reoccurrence of the kind of disparities that
7 we've experienced at some point down the road.

8 The second issue that I wanted to
9 speak to was the question of sustainability.
10 Again, that's been mentioned by quite a few
11 people here today. And I want to underscore
12 the point that I think Cal just made about
13 sustainability not being limited to looking at
14 what you guys think of as the front end of a
15 transaction. So in the loan context it's not
16 just about origination, although clearly
17 that's very important. We want to make sure
18 that the loans that people have access to, the
19 loans that are being made, are ones that can
20 be sustained. But once that loan is made the
21 question of sustainability hasn't necessarily
22 been answered.

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1 So, I think one thing that has come
2 home very clearly to us in the current
3 foreclosure crises is that the way that a loan
4 servicer handles a borrower who has run into
5 trouble can make the difference between that
6 borrower is able to keep his or her home, or
7 whether they lose that home. And I think
8 that's an issue that CRA could be a tool to
9 investigate in more detail. I

10 I think we need better data about
11 servicing. But since many of the major
12 servicers are, in fact, insured depository
13 institutions that are covered by CRA, I think
14 it gives us an opening to look at that aspect
15 of credit sustainability.

16 The third thing I want to touch on
17 is the question of assessing and pricing risk.

18 We have something like 3 million people who
19 have gone through foreclosure in the few
20 years. We expect another 8 to 12 million
21 people in this country to face foreclosure in
22 the next three to five years. Something like

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1 43 million people now have FICO scores of 599
2 or below, putting them in the highest risk
3 category for credit. You know, the long term
4 implications of these experiences for the
5 people who have been affected are really
6 profound.

7 As Sarah mentioned earlier, no it's
8 not just a question of whether you get access
9 to credit and how much you pay for it,
10 although it clearly is that, but whether you
11 can get insurance, whether you can get an
12 apartment, whether you can get a job, whether
13 you can get a cell phone may depend on your
14 credit score. And so it's really critical that
15 as we look at how people got into trouble, we
16 understand what it was that really caused that
17 problem.

18 I think our systems for assessing
19 risk have focused really on borrower
20 characteristics and have not effectively
21 looked at the extent to which the loan product
22 characteristics contributes to the loan

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1 performance. I think Josh Silver on an
2 earlier panel referred to some research done
3 by the UNC Center for Community Capital that
4 took two sets of borrowers who were
5 essentially very similar, some of whom got
6 subprime loans, some of whom prime loans. And
7 the results of that research showed that it's
8 really the loan characteristic that explain
9 the difference in loan performance. And we
10 need to take that lesson and build that back
11 into our risk assessment system. Our
12 underwriting, you know credit scoring and
13 automated underwriting systems don't do that
14 right now. And if we can't get that right,
15 then we're going to really prevent people from
16 get access to not just credit, but many other
17 related products and services moving forward.

18 And I want to take just a minute to
19 talk about pricing as well. Because I think
20 we've had the sense that we can evaluate risk
21 very objectively, very scientifically, you
22 know it's all been data driven and therefore,

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1 we can price that risk fairly. But I don't
2 think that's been the experience either. So
3 this is another important lesson I think we
4 need to take away from this crises.

5 The *Wall Street Journal* a while ago
6 did a study and found something like 60
7 percent of the people who were in subprime
8 loans actually qualified for prime loans, yet
9 they were given much higher costs, much
10 riskier products. So, clearly, they weren't
11 getting a product that was really priced for
12 their risk. They were getting a product that
13 someone could convince them that they should
14 buy. And that's a distinction, again, I think
15 we need to make going forward and make sure
16 that people really do get the best credit that
17 they're qualified for at the best price that
18 they're qualified for.

19 Finally, I would be remise if I
20 didn't make a comment about Fair Lending and
21 Fair Lending enforcement. I completely support
22 the comments made by my colleagues here that

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1 an institution that has been found to violate
2 any of our Fair Lending laws should not be
3 able to get a satisfactory or better rating
4 under the Community Reinvestment Act.

5 I also want to say that Fair
6 Lending enforcement has really lagged at all
7 of the enforcement agencies in recent years.
8 And so we really urge you to put more
9 resources and more effort into looking for
10 violations. We know they occur, but they too
11 often are escaping notice and the enforcement
12 actions that are needed are not being taken.
13 So that's an aspect related to CRA that we
14 think really needs to change.

15 With that, I will stop and welcome
16 your questions.

17 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Thank you
18 very much.

19 Governor Duke?

20 GOVERNOR DUKE: Thank you.

21 Boy, there's a lot to deal with in
22 this. You're only going to give me so much

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1 time, aren't you?

2 Let me start with just asking your
3 thoughts on how do we actually deal with the
4 debris that's been left by this financial
5 crises, by this housing crises? You know, the
6 broken neighborhoods, the broken consumers,
7 the broken businesses. You mentioned the
8 number of consumers with subprime credit
9 scores. Neighborhoods that have been
10 devastated. And in the context of CRA how do
11 you deal with that? That's the first part of
12 my question.

13 The second part is, you know we're
14 going to be asked to make some judgments on
15 underwriting criteria, such things as loan to
16 value and got the income and features that
17 should and should not be allowed to exist in
18 loan products. And while you can design
19 products that would not be dangerous to
20 anybody, those same products could very easily
21 reduce the ability of a large segment of the
22 population to qualify for credit. So how would

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1 we balance those?

2 MS. WARTELL: Well, first I would
3 just encourage you to think consciously of
4 rebuilding communities and the aftermath of
5 the credit crises as a clear object of CRA and
6 looking at all the different tests. And I
7 think that the CRA is a very good beginning to
8 doing that.

9 I also think you need to evaluate
10 these challenges by really I think Debbie's
11 comment at the end got to it, get behind what
12 the data tells us and make sure that learning
13 is well understand.

14 There were very big differences
15 between borrowers who failed because they were
16 high risk and borrowers who failed, you know
17 they were really in a product that they
18 shouldn't have really been in in the first
19 place. And borrows who failed because of the
20 consequences in the communities, such as the
21 falling home values, the economy, et cetera.
22 And we tend to -- I think as that last point

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1 about credit rating, this all gets lumped
2 together. And if we aren't able to discern
3 where risk is in the community and find new
4 tools to measure risk and encourage
5 institutions particularly when they're doing
6 business in these communities to look harder
7 and find ways to mitigate risk. That's why we
8 mentioned shared equity and land trust models.

9 There are ways to do low down payment lending
10 right, and if we walk away from low down
11 payment lending as a blanket matter, which
12 some would have us do, we will just create
13 barriers to access to capital for decades.
14 But we need to find a much more refined
15 understanding of when that kind of lending is
16 appropriate for what kind of borrowers.

17 MR. BRADFORD: You know, again to
18 pick up on what Debbie said and what our
19 history has been is first to take the risk out
20 of the loans. When you look at some people
21 who are high risk, the solution usually has
22 not been to make a high risk loan, the

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1 solution has been to figure out what created
2 that risk and what kinds of things can
3 mitigate it. And quite frankly, in some cases
4 not to make loans.

5 I'll tell you, some people in the
6 neighborhood are the most responsible people.
7 And when they get on the board of some
8 reinvestment programs, they're tougher than
9 the bankers. Because if the loan goes bad in
10 their neighborhood, their neighborhood
11 suffers.

12 And again, I think I'm not just
13 trying to politically correct. We need to ask
14 the people in the neighborhoods and go around
15 and look for the banks that are doing creative
16 things.

17 I mean we're sort of starting from
18 the top when we should be looking from the
19 bottom. We have banks that have been really
20 good at reinvestment in neighborhoods that
21 have been under economic stress for two or
22 three decades. And we need to look at those

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1 people and say "How did you work this out, how
2 did you take the risk out of these loans?"

3 We've got lenders who are making
4 small dollar value loans which helps get
5 people out of pay-day lenders. You look at
6 how that works, when it doesn't work, you know
7 and take the lessons from the things that
8 people can identify and be a little more open-
9 minded about how to be a little more creative
10 about the process.

11 And the second thing I say is we
12 need to focus much more on business lending
13 than we have in the past. In the long run,
14 housing lending although it's complicated has
15 been easier to do than business lending. And
16 maintaining the businesses that are out there
17 when that's at all possible and creating new
18 jobs is probably the key thing. And we need
19 to look harder for the people who have done
20 that, because we have much less experience at
21 that because we've been focusing way too much
22 on just mortgage loans.

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1 MR. MARSICO: I would just pick up
2 on that and encourage you to consider
3 expanding the small business lending
4 disclosures that are required now to more
5 HMDA-like disclosures, giving more information
6 about the borrowers and the locations of the
7 loans.

8 On the underwriting criteria issue
9 there were some studies done of CRA loan
10 programs, not subprime lending but CRA loan
11 programs designed to meet the needs of the
12 borrowers. And those studies documented many
13 different sorts of programs and examined their
14 lending criteria and evaluated the safety and
15 the profitability of those loans. And these
16 came out in the late '90s and earlier in the
17 2000s. And, you know perhaps going back to
18 some of that literature might help in
19 developing underwriting criteria.

20 MS. GOLDBERG: If I could jump in,
21 just a couple of things.

22 One, and part of what I was trying

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1 to say that I want to emphasize is we
2 shouldn't be blaming the borrower for things
3 that the borrower wasn't responsible for. And
4 we need to really make sure moving forward
5 that we don't blame borrowers for things that
6 lenders really were responsible for. So we
7 need to make sure that we place risk where it
8 really belongs. And that will help people, I
9 think, be able to get back on their feet, to
10 get back into home ownership if that's
11 something that they're interested in.

12 A second thing that I would just
13 kind of warm about a little bit is what we're
14 hearing about, which is wholesale purchases of
15 foreclosed homes by investors who are looking
16 to hold them for a while and then flip them.
17 So that you have, you know, neighborhoods
18 where there are absentee landlords controlling
19 large numbers of properties in the hope that
20 at some point down the road they're going to
21 be able to make a profit. I don't think
22 that's an activity that we want to be

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1 supporting.

2 You know, while I understand the
3 attraction of large sales, you get it all
4 done, its off your books. In terms of the
5 long-term health of the neighborhoods I don't
6 think that's going to get us where we want to
7 be. And we ought to be looking at other
8 vehicles for making sure that -- I mean,
9 rental housing is a good use in many places, I
10 think Sarah said that. But also there are
11 people who, you know should be able to get
12 back into a home ownership position and we
13 want to use that inventory to accomplish that.

14 The third thing I would just say is
15 a little bit perspective, maybe. But looking
16 back at the option ARMs, which as I understand
17 option ARMs were really designed to be a niche
18 product for a very limited market. And so when
19 we think about the products that we have going
20 forward -- you know, option ARMs escaped that.

21 You know, they're like an exotic invasive,
22 right? They escaped the environment that they

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1 were designed for and ran rampant through many
2 communities across the country creating havoc.

3 So I think we want to make sure
4 that we have the controls and protections in
5 place to make sure that we don't create or
6 allow new products into the marketplace down
7 the road with the idea that they'll be limited
8 to a particular kind of subset of borrowers,
9 and then let them escape in the same way that
10 the option ARMs did with potentially damaging
11 consequences.

12 GOVERNOR DUKE: Going back to the
13 conversations we had a little while ago about
14 trade-offs, you mentioned small business
15 lending, you mentioned things like particular
16 foreclosure mitigation and neighborhood
17 stabilization activities and things that are
18 not necessarily mortgage lending, which has
19 been a lot of the focus of CRA. So as you
20 start trading off those, as you start giving
21 CRA credit, if you will, to those kinds of
22 activities to the extent that that reduces

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1 lending, is that an issue or how would you
2 balance that?

3 MS. LUDWIG: Well, could I actually
4 respond by talking about mortgage lending?
5 Because I think it's important to understand
6 kind of, at least from where we sit, we had
7 neighborhoods where there were credit vacuums,
8 particularly communities of color at all
9 income levels in the city where I come from,
10 New York, and this pattern repeated itself
11 clearly throughout the country. It's into
12 those credit vacuums that stepped high cost
13 and sort of abuse lenders, not just mortgage
14 lenders but other forms of credit and
15 financial services.

16 Now groups like ours are trying to
17 look at what's happening in these same
18 communities. Yes, there's been
19 disproportionately high concentrations of
20 foreclosures and people facing foreclosures.
21 They don't actually end up losing their home.
22 There's still tremendous instability and

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1 devastation in these communities.

2 NEDAP with six other organizations
3 from around the country looked at seven
4 cities, seven parts of the country and we
5 wanted to examine prime lending access between
6 2006 and 2008 to see sort of leading up to the
7 crash and then more recently what are the
8 patterns. And what we saw was extremely
9 disturbing, and I think fall squarely within
10 your regulatory authority and the CRA, which
11 is that although the origination of prime
12 lending went down across the board, it went
13 down much more markedly in neighborhoods that
14 were predominately of color. And some
15 lenders, we also looked at the top four
16 lenders, we looked at lenders that had
17 received TARP money. And we were able to show
18 that some of the country's largest lenders
19 actually increased their prime lending
20 appreciable in predominately white
21 neighborhoods while dramatically decreasing in
22 the communities of colors.

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1 So these are just real sort of
2 classic CRA questions that need to be pursued
3 by the regulators looking at neighborhoods
4 that are the most devastated by the financial
5 crises, by the foreclosure crises and so
6 forth. What, are we back to sort of historic
7 kind of classic redlining patterns and what
8 are we going to do about it?

9 MR. BRADFORD: I think, too, you
10 don't want to let the lending community decide
11 as Fannie and Freddie tried to do about a year
12 ago to say well these neighborhoods are higher
13 risk, we're going to sort of write them off,
14 it's okay not to lend there while we're doing
15 these other things. You know, you need to be
16 figuring out how to make loans in these
17 neighborhoods, how to preserve what's there.
18 So in terms of the trade-offs it also seems to
19 me you have to look at what each particular
20 lender does.

21 And one of the things I think I
22 wanted to mention in terms of the rating is,

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1 you know the cookie cutter approach we have
2 here doesn't work. And you have to tailor the
3 way you look at a lender to what the lender
4 can do, what their capacity is and
5 particularly with affiliates, what their broad
6 range of affiliates and skills are. And if
7 someone's got a big servicing arm, then we
8 should be looking a lot at the way they
9 service these loans and what kind of loans
10 they could save, and do they participate in
11 these programs and are there complaints about
12 the way they service, or are they doing a
13 particularly good job that we could look at
14 and tell other people how to do it.

15 And in other places, if they've got
16 a skill in the past of making business loans
17 or large loans where we need factories and
18 things supported, you know we should be
19 looking at those activities and how those
20 skills could be best used.

21 But again, you know I think there's
22 a tendency for people to say well the whole

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1 economy is hurting, but particularly these
2 neighborhoods that we helped destroy are
3 really bad now and we're not going to make any
4 loans in those neighborhoods when the loans
5 that were made there in the past 30 years,
6 these \$4 trillion, were basically loans people
7 told us couldn't be made in 1978 when we
8 started.

9 So, I think the first thing you put
10 in your mind is don't let someone tell that
11 they can't make a loan in this neighborhood.
12 You may have to be creative, it may take a
13 while, but CRA is about trillions of dollars
14 of loans that couldn't be made.

15 MS. GOLDBERG: And I would add to
16 that. You know, I don't see it as a trade-
17 off. I think it's a both and, not an either
18 or.

19 I agree with Cal, that different
20 institutions have different strengths.
21 Different communities have different needs. We
22 should be looking at ways to try and serve

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1 both of those needs, not saying well if you do
2 the business lending, then you can't do the
3 mortgage lending or vice versa.

4 I would add though, that
5 particularly in immigrant communities the two
6 are often linked. Because there are many
7 people who finance their business through
8 their home. So, when they run into trouble,
9 they're risking not only their home but also
10 their business and their livelihood. And it
11 makes that whole lost mitigation piece doubly
12 important.

13 GOVERNOR DUKE: Thank you. And
14 I'll stop there.

15 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Director
16 Bowman?

17 ACTING DIRECTOR BOWMAN: Thank you.

18 I actually was tempted to ask a
19 question about the assessment area, but I
20 won't at this point.

21 Earlier today I asked one of the
22 panels, and I think Comptroller Dugan followed

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1 up, quality of lending: Affordable,
2 sustainable lending in communities, CRA
3 credit. How do we as regulators go about
4 performing that analysis? How do we go about
5 ensuring appropriate credit to the
6 institutions, the institutions are providing
7 appropriate products to the communities?

8 Affordable you can test probably
9 relatively easy for. Sustainable really is
10 over a period of time, series of events, et
11 cetera.

12 Suggestions: How do we determine
13 that the loan at a particular time is
14 affordable and sustainable?

15 MS. WARTELL: I don't want to
16 suggest that this is overly easy, but I think
17 that there is a great deal of learning over
18 the last five years about what characteristics
19 of borrowers make types of products
20 appropriate. It does not mean that that
21 borrower who looks like that could never get
22 that loan. But if you see a flood of product

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1 that seem to have inappropriate
2 characteristics for borrowers who have lower
3 income or unsteady income, or various
4 different sorts of patterns, then you can ask
5 important questions.

6 So it does get to this, again,
7 customized assessment of it's not an easy, you
8 know do they pass this particular threshold.
9 But what are the characteristics of the
10 neighborhood that they're seeking to serve and
11 what are the terms and conditions of the
12 loans.

13 It gets also to the question of the
14 quality of data that's available even under
15 home loans and the ability to have richer
16 information there. The community groups would
17 be the ones to tell you in many cases, if we'd
18 only listened earlier, what kinds of
19 practices, whether the practices there are
20 sustainable or not sustainable. So when
21 people have commented before about
22 opportunities for them to speak.

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1 And you need to be empowered with
2 information. So if they can test their
3 subjective, what they're feeling is happening
4 in the community with data that tells them
5 about the nature of the characteristics of the
6 kinds of loan being made, not simply dollar
7 amounts but more about credit scores and terms
8 and conditions, then they may be able to prove
9 the proposition that unsustainable or less
10 sustainable lending is being had.

11 But I grant you that it's not going
12 to be an easy measure. But the focus, but
13 asking the question differently than we've
14 asked it before already would begin to bring
15 out new information.

16 ACTING DIRECTOR BOWMAN: Others?

17 MS. GOLDBERG: I would put forward
18 two things I think we've learned in the last
19 three years.

20 One, you can't assume that housing
21 prices are going to continue to rise
22 indefinitely. And any loan that's based on

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1 the presumption that you're going to be able
2 to refinance or sell down the road and you'll
3 be able to get out of it because your house
4 price will have appreciated, you know that's
5 an assumption we should put to rest. It's
6 kind of astonishing I think to most of us that
7 that was an assumption anybody made, but we
8 know now that that's not a valid one.

9 The second thing is if you have
10 someone who has an income that you can't
11 anticipate will rise, low and moderate income
12 people, people who are retired, for example,
13 or people who for other reasons have a fixed
14 income, that a product that assumes that
15 you're going to be able increasing payments
16 over time is not going to be a sustainable
17 product.

18 You know, in the work that I've
19 done in the Gulf over the last five years
20 we've seen an awful lot of people, like in
21 many other parts of the country low and
22 moderate income, elderly people in these loans

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1 that assumed that they would be able to handle
2 an increase in their payments every six months
3 after the two years, the 228 subprime
4 adjustable rate mortgages. You know, how you
5 could assume up front that someone who was on
6 retirement income that was fixed was going to
7 be able to handle that, you know that wasn't
8 rocket science. That didn't take a Ph.D. in
9 economics. Just a common sense.

10 So, I think a common sense approach
11 would be a good starting point for assessing
12 sustainability in the future.

13 ACTING DIRECTOR BOWMAN: But does
14 that also lead to the conclusion that some
15 loans should not be made?

16 MS. GOLDBERG: Yes.

17 MR. BRADFORD: Of course. Sure. Of
18 course.

19 MS. GOLDBERG: Absolutely.

20 MR. BRADFORD: They're not entitled
21 to a loan if they can't afford it.

22 MS. GOLDBERG: Some products

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1 shouldn't be out there.

2 MR. BRADFORD: And some products--
3 well, then that's part of our big mistake,
4 right?

5 You know, when I looked at the
6 underwriting standards for lenders, we have
7 lenders who would make a loan to people who
8 were in the middle of foreclosure. And that's
9 really an absurd situation. And we also
10 ignored renters in the process of the whole
11 thing. We wanted everybody to become a
12 homeowner. And that's not necessarily going
13 to be the best solution for everyone either.

14 But I think just in sum what Debbie
15 is saying is true, is any loan product that
16 based part of its underwriting on speculation
17 about the future is likely to be trouble.
18 You're going to have to make loans based on
19 current housing values and not assuming
20 they're going to go up and on current
21 situations. And on also the expenses that a
22 person really has at the time. That's really

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1 sort of I think an over all rule for this
2 stuff. Because almost all of those products
3 were based on some form of speculation, the
4 ones that got in trouble.

5 And then there's what happens when
6 you get trouble, by the way. It's not just
7 making a loan, it's what are you going to do
8 it to service it? And if you looked at what
9 happened in some of the NeighborWorks program,
10 the Neighborhood Housing Services loans and
11 where I worked with legal aid attorneys. They
12 know exactly what do when someone gets in
13 trouble early, you know they get at that
14 person and some of the PMIs who were doing
15 some successful things years ago. They got to
16 that person in the first 30 days. Not like
17 HUD that would get to them 120 days later;
18 those loans were gone.

19 So, you have to have a servicing I
20 think to back up these loans as well as making
21 sure these loans are safe and sound we're
22 making.

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1 MR. MARSICO: There's been a term
2 that's used is suitable requirement. There
3 were some proposals to use include suitability
4 data in the HMDA data looking at some of the
5 laundry list of practices, asset-based lending
6 and the like that contributed some of this
7 could be ways of looking at loans that should
8 be made and loans that shouldn't be made.

9 ACTING DIRECTOR BOWMAN: That's it.

10 COMPTROLLER DUGAN: Professor
11 White, I noticed not many questions have been
12 directed to you, so feeling bad for you up
13 there. So let me raise a question with you.

14 If I understand the gist of your
15 testimony it is that CRA is kind of an
16 inefficient subsidy program but if you're
17 going to do it, you should do it directly and
18 transparently and it will be efficient to do
19 it that way.

20 And I guess my question to you is I
21 don't get the sense, or I should say I don't
22 understand that from a lot of the community

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1 development projects that I've seen in
2 meetings I've had, not just with community
3 development groups but with bankers and banks,
4 particularly this go-around from my service in
5 Government as opposed to a number of years
6 ago, I think there is a more shared notion
7 that actually this has been a much more
8 productive and efficient way to provide and to
9 get some things done than what has been
10 achieved through direct Government programs.
11 And so I do not think that it's a universally
12 held view in either the private or the public
13 sector that it's inefficient and shouldn't be
14 done, this ought to be more transparent. I'd
15 just be curious about your response, or
16 anybody else who has a comment.

17 MR. WHITE: No, it's not only about
18 subsidy. You know, I think subsidy ought to
19 be playing a role here, but no, it's not.

20 And I wasn't involved in banking
21 back in 1977, but as many of you know, the
22 banking world of 1977 was a very different

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1 world, as best I can tell. And a world where
2 there was much more in the way of local
3 monopoly, where banks and bankers are very
4 likely to have been lazy, have had more
5 opportunity to discriminate; all of the things
6 that would go with communities, individuals
7 not getting credit. But this is the year
8 2010. And, yes, we've just gone through just
9 a horrible, horrible experience over these
10 past three or four years. Something let's
11 hope we never have to go through again.

12 But here in the year 2010 where a
13 lot of those monopoly boundaries have been
14 broken down, where we do see more competition,
15 I come back to the fundamental question of:
16 How come in the year 2010 the loans that
17 people think ought to be made aren't getting
18 made?

19 Clearly, many banks in many
20 communities do find local lending worthwhile,
21 they make their livings off it. Yet that
22 doesn't seem to be what we're talking about

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1 here. We're talking about stuff that isn't
2 getting made. And I don't get it. I don't
3 understand.

4 If it's discrimination, let's go
5 after them. If it is not enough competition;
6 the hurdle rate is too high. Well, that to me
7 is a statement about not enough competition.
8 So let's get more competition in there, let's
9 charter more institutions that want to make
10 those loans and can do it profitable. Let's
11 get nonfinancial institutions to be allowed to
12 offer financial services where they can offer
13 good value to low and moderate income
14 households the way they do with their
15 nonfinancial services now. That to me is the
16 prime focus, and if still there isn't enough
17 then, yes, let's get the public sector in.

18 COMPTROLLER DUGAN: Just to
19 interrupt. I mean, I think that sounds like a
20 premise of a world in where we weren't getting
21 enough credit into particular areas. And as
22 others have testified to, and I very firmly

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1 agree, I don't think that's been the issue.
2 The issue has been that too much of the kind
3 of credit that didn't work out so well,
4 there's plenty of competition, plenty of
5 credit being provided. Too much credit being
6 provided and not just for people who didn't
7 understand it, I think just credit had gotten
8 too easy and too many people got loans that
9 they couldn't afford and it was a problem.

10 So I don't think it was an issue so
11 much about access to credit as it was,
12 ironically the CRA lenders as you said in your
13 own testimony were not the ones that were
14 primarily providing this. It was the nonbank
15 firms that were doing a bunch of this kind of
16 lending that proved to be the worst performing
17 as we went forward. So I'm not as clear.

18 MR. WHITE: In some ways it comes
19 down to what I said earlier, think about the
20 vagueness you've just described that many of
21 my fellow testifiers here have been
22 describing. It's all so vague. Somehow the

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1 right stuff isn't happening and it's very
2 clear some of the wrong stuff was happening.

3 There were too many people who were
4 getting into inappropriate products. They
5 didn't understand it. They thought housing
6 prices would always go up. They thought they
7 would never lose their job. They thought they
8 would never get sick. Whatever they were
9 thinking, clearly too much of that.

10 I don't believe that's the primary
11 reason for the crises. The primary reason was
12 that too many lenders, as well as too many
13 borrowers, thought that housing prices can
14 only go up and somehow everybody bought into
15 that and we are paying a huge, huge price for
16 that.

17 But there's just this vagueness of
18 the wrong stuff happened, the right stuff
19 isn't happening and we've got to lean on the
20 banks to make sure the right stuff happens.
21 And I just think that's a crummy way to be
22 running a regulatory system.

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1 COMPTRROLLER DUGAN: One more
2 question. Professor Marsico, you made quite a
3 point, as others did, about really the need
4 for objective data, objective metrics. And
5 it's a little bit at odds with what we were
6 hearing in the previous panel.

7 MR. MARSICO: Yes.

8 COMPTRROLLER DUGAN: And I'm curious
9 how you all would react to the notion that,
10 gee, it's too quantitative. We must get a way
11 to take complex but hard to evaluate loans and
12 give it a lot more credit even though it's
13 kind of hard to quantity. So how do you
14 respond to that?

15 MR. MARSICO: Well, the one I was
16 talking, a couple of things. They seem to
17 require a lot of community development
18 lending, I'm talking more about home mortgage,
19 small business which of course that lending
20 should meet community credit needs, it
21 shouldn't count for a bank unless it is
22 meeting those needs, but I don't think it has

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1 the layer of complexity that they were talking
2 about.

3 I'm also coming at it from the
4 perspective of a lawyer who has represented
5 community groups in dealing with banks,
6 especially in the context of bank mergers and
7 in trying to make a case that a bank is not
8 meeting community credit needs unable to make
9 a case because there is no kind of standard
10 set of criteria against which you can measure
11 the bank's performance. And so you'll look at
12 some of the criteria that are listed in the
13 performance evaluations, you'll see the bank
14 is not necessarily meeting the benchmarks,
15 nevertheless the merger is approved. And so it
16 gets very frustrating and it makes that whole
17 enforcement process, which I think is one of
18 the brilliant parts of the CRA that it gives
19 community the opportunity to enforce it, it
20 takes it away in many ways. Because you just
21 can't make a case and you don't know whether
22 the bank is really -- if it's not meeting

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1 these benchmarks, nevertheless it doesn't seem
2 to matter. And I think it undermines the kind
3 of enforcement from below that's such an
4 important part of the CRA.

5 So, that's really where I'm coming
6 from. You know, how to create a regulatory
7 regime. And I understand there needs to be
8 room for judgment and subjective judgments,
9 and evaluations. But how do you create one
10 that can be enforced from below, as I think it
11 was designed to be. That's really what I'm
12 looking for.

13 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: If I
14 might say, this has been a very helpful
15 discussion.

16 A couple of people have alluded to
17 this and I wanted to ask about it more
18 explicitly in terms of going forward, the
19 economic environment and credit market
20 environment that we're going to be facing,
21 particularly for the neighborhoods that CRA is
22 concerned with. And I think CRA came into

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1 being largely in response to the so-called
2 redlining issue where communities weren't
3 getting access to credit.

4 And it's been remarked upon in this
5 financial crises, the issue was in some
6 measure the over extension of credit on an
7 unsustainable basis built on poor
8 underwriting, and in some sense we're now
9 reaping the consequences of that activity.

10 So as we look at the circumstance
11 going forward and in the aftermath of the
12 financial crises and tightened credit markets
13 coming out of a deep recession with continuing
14 high unemployment and an ongoing foreclosure
15 crises that really has not abated yet, what
16 can we say in terms of the issues that CRA
17 should be concerned with? As we look at CRA
18 going forward, are we back to an access to
19 credit kind of issue, in some sense coming
20 full circle to the origins of CRA as opposed
21 to the episode we've experienced over the last
22 three or four years? And what does that say

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1 about CRA going forward? In particular people
2 have remarked about focusing on small business
3 lending more than we have in the past, and
4 perhaps rental housing more than we have in
5 the past. Are those issues we should pay more
6 attention to as we go forward?

7 I'd just be interested in your
8 reaction.

9 MS. WARTELL: If may, I think the
10 answers we have to quality and access both.
11 And quality of lending now means loans that
12 are appropriate, meet the needs of communities
13 and those needs are different and more
14 complicated. They include rental, they
15 include small business, I would argue they
16 would include access to energy efficiency
17 tools and strategies and other things that
18 will help those communities lower their energy
19 costs at the same rate as the rest of our
20 society will be doing over the next few
21 decades.

22 So, I think it's really important,

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1 the last question got at this issue of why do
2 we encourage institutions to do something that
3 left on their own devices they wouldn't do
4 anyway. And we know that there are profitable
5 businesses that are in different rates of
6 return within anyone institution's book of
7 business. And there is a tendency to
8 sometimes to want to go to the highest returns
9 quickest. But if you can encourage an
10 institution to learn how to serve new markets
11 well, and they can only learn that by being
12 engaged, they over time can get very good
13 rates of return in new products and areas.

14 And so in some ways CRA is meant to
15 be the kind of kick-start for the incentive to
16 come in and we're not asking you to do more
17 than you should be asked to do as a private
18 institution, but to figure out how to do it
19 there and get a little extra credit for
20 something else that you care about so that
21 you're willing to do the learning.

22 The regulators have a very

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1 important role in accelerating that learning
2 through best practices, through focusing these
3 institutions on where those needs are
4 greatest. But you also need to have their
5 officers, their lending officers learning
6 those communities well enough so that they can
7 help. So it's quality, and it's access, and
8 it's thinking about quality differently to
9 meet the current needs of the community.

10 MR. WHITE: Sorry. I can't not
11 jump in at this point. These guys must be the
12 slowest learners on the earth. The CRA has
13 been out there for 33 years and still we're
14 talking about having to kick-start, having to
15 -- you know, I couldn't hold my position as a
16 professor if that was the kind of job I was
17 doing in teaching my undergraduates and by
18 MBAs. It just doesn't ring right that 33
19 years later we're still talking that these
20 institutions have to learn. If they haven't
21 learned by now, there's something more
22 fundamentally wrong. And whether that wrong

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1 is not enough competition or that wrong is
2 they're just still continuing discriminate and
3 we just got to come down harder on them, or
4 the wrong is these are socially worthwhile but
5 they're privately not profitable and so we've
6 got to figure out some way to use the public
7 sector. But 33 years, sorry. The learning
8 story just doesn't ring right.

9 And again, the hurdle rate story,
10 that's really a competition story. If you
11 think the hurdle rate is too high and that
12 banks can make money off of lower hurdle
13 rates, that's a story that you need more
14 competition.

15 MS. LUDWIG: May I offer a more
16 mundane response, please?

17 I mean, these questions are hugely
18 complex, right? So the questions that you're
19 asking and the issues that we're raising in a
20 way that's oversimplified for purposes of
21 brevity. Just to untangle a piece of what you
22 asked and to sort of also point out, I mean

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1 you talked about the over extension of credit
2 perhaps being the problem until recently.

3 What we observe is not an over
4 extension of credit as much as something we
5 would depict as an aggressive targeting and
6 push-marketing of destructive credit. So over
7 extension of credit is perhaps a polite way of
8 saying something else, I understand that.

9 So, yes, we have to be I think
10 really mindful of making sure that people have
11 access to fair and affordable prime products
12 and services in historically redlined
13 neighborhoods which for us encapsulates also
14 the locus of the reverse redlining; it's all
15 the same neighborhoods over and over again,
16 just different waves, different variations.
17 And what we're seeing now ties in not just to
18 sort of making sure there's affirmative
19 practices and product in these communities and
20 that they're not cut off, but also to look at
21 the kind of aftermath of the foreclosure
22 crises and the economic crises that we're in

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1 which is continuing to play out very
2 pervasively and aggressively in low income
3 neighborhoods and communities of color, and
4 that is namely in the form of loan
5 modification and foreclosure rescue scams that
6 you can sort of juxtapose these abuse
7 practices with the inadequacy of loan
8 servicing by financial institutions.

9 You've got debt settlement abuses
10 which now, I don't know if you listen to
11 radio. AM radio for five minutes it's one of
12 these you can't throw an auditory rock without
13 hitting a debt settlement or a debt
14 consolidation or some kind of scammy outfits to
15 help people resolve their credit because
16 there's a new federal program and all sorts of
17 other misinformation and deceptive marketing.

18 You've got debt buyers that are
19 engaged in all sorts of abusive debt
20 collection practices, many of them publicly
21 traded institutions and some of them
22 subsidiaries and affiliates of large banks.

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1 So they're on one hand putting out the credit
2 through their credit card companies and on the
3 other hand engage in abusive debt collection
4 practices through their debt buying
5 affiliates.

6 So these are complicated layered
7 questions and issues, but they are really very
8 concrete things that the regulators can and
9 should be doing to deal with the, again,
10 aftermath and consequences of this long term
11 problems that we're going to continue to have.

12 These are not in the past tense by any
13 stretch.

14 MR. MARSICO: Looking
15 perspectively, you know it also may just be
16 that the whole notion of delivery of financial
17 services in lower income communities has to be
18 reexamined. It may not be enough to do it
19 regulatorially, if that's a word.

20 I know that CRA was not part of the
21 financial reform legislation, but I also know
22 that organizations like NCRC has been pushing

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1 CRA modernization statutes. Maybe that some
2 of those provisions are also needed.

3 I mean, if you really think what
4 I'm really talking about is more of a
5 comprehensive regulation of lending practices.

6 And it might be that CRA needs to be
7 revisited statutorily as well.

8 MS. GOLDBERG: Can I just two
9 things, really?

10 One is, I think I come back to one
11 of the comments I made early on, which is that
12 we set up these fractures in the financial
13 services industry, these fragments in the
14 financial services industry and the way that
15 it's regulated. And moving forward in order
16 to make sure that individuals and communities
17 don' suffer the same way that they have in the
18 last few years, we need to mend those. We
19 need to make sure that there's a level playing
20 field in the industry. And that no matter
21 what channel you may encounter in the
22 financial services company you're going to get

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1 treated fairly, you're going to be offered the
2 same range of products and you're going to get
3 priced fairly for the risk that you really
4 represent.

5 And I don't take that as a given.
6 I think that there is much, much more rhetoric
7 about how this crises is, to a large degree,
8 rests on the shoulders of people who over
9 extended, who tried to gain the system. who
10 took on loans that they couldn't really afford
11 or who were very risky borrowers and were
12 priced appropriately. And I don't think
13 that's accurate. And I think we really have
14 to tackle that, or people are going to be
15 carrying that burden for a very long time
16 going forward and it's going to be really hard
17 to recover from this crises that we're in the
18 midst of.

19 You know, one other comment I just
20 was hoping to have an opportunity to put on
21 the table is really for Governor Duke.
22 Because I think there was some really

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1 interesting conversation over the course of
2 today about the latitude that you all have to
3 look at the activities of affiliates and to
4 bring that kind of under the fold of CRA. And
5 I think there was some good analysis about the
6 latitude that in fact you do have. But my
7 guess is you're going to take a little time to
8 kind of think that through and trying to
9 figure out what does the law allow you, what
10 does the law prohibit you from doing.

11 One thing you could do tomorrow at
12 the Federal Reserve Board is to take a
13 different look at the convenience and needs
14 factor that you apply to a bank holding
15 company's application. You know, over the
16 last 33 years somehow that convenience and
17 needs factor has come to equal CRA. And the
18 only thing that I've seen that I can remember
19 be evaluated to assess the extent to which a
20 bank holding company application serves the
21 convenience and needs of the effected
22 communities is the CRA performance of the

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1 institutions involved in the transaction. But
2 there's as far as I know nowhere in the
3 statute and nowhere in the Bank Holding
4 Company Act regulations that says convenience
5 and needs means community reinvestment as we
6 have known it for the last 33 years.

7 And I think you have a lot of
8 opportunity right there to make a much broader
9 view of the impact of the performance of all
10 of the affiliates of a bank holding company
11 and the impact of an application to merge or
12 whatever on the communities that would be
13 served.

14 VICE CHAIRMAN GRUENBERG: Thank
15 you.

16 Are there other questions?

17 I want to thank this panel. You
18 all have been very helpful. Thank you.

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