

Value of Information, Search, and Competition in the UK Mortgage Market

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Abstract

We formulate a structural model of search with lender and borrower heterogeneity to estimate the value of information provided to UK households by mortgage brokers. Using administrative data on loans originating in 2016 and 2017, we document the existence of a substantial degree of unexplained price dispersion, and observe that while mortgages obtained from brokers are cheaper, borrowers who use intermediaries pay more once commissions are factored in. Assuming that borrowers with high search costs are more likely to use brokers, we nonparametrically estimate the distributions of search, and the banks' costs of providing these loans. Our results show that search costs vary by demographic groups, and that broker presence exerts negative pressure on lenders' market power. Compared to a world where broker advice is unavailable, we estimate their presence reduces average monthly mortgage costs by 21%, and welfare losses arising from search frictions by 70% – although the results differ by borrower and loan characteristics. We also find that regulation in support of market centralization halves lenders' markups and lowers monthly costs of an average mortgage by 4.4%.

Keywords: mortgage markets, consumer search, intermediation, auction estimation

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search costs and lender heterogeneity.⁴ Aided by 1.3 million mortgage contracts from 2016 and 2017, we can quantify the cost of searching for a mortgage. Specifically, our nonparametric approach means we remain agnostic about the shape and modality of the search cost distribution, and allow for non-linearities in the data to drive the relationship. The results are striking.

Three main findings emerge from these comparisons. First, search cost distributions differ substantially across demographic groups. Older borrowers face higher search costs in rural areas, but lower costs in urban areas. Incomes play a limited role, and only in rural areas. Low income borrowers from rural areas have higher median search costs, but in cities this difference is almost always negligible. Moreover, urban, non-first time buyers face higher search costs on average, than first-time buyers—most likely, because they have a higher opportunity cost for time. For instance, compared to first-time buyers (FTB), they will be selling their old home too, or are in a point in their life-cycle with more familial or professional responsibilities; or as urban dwellers, lead busier lives than rural borrowers.

Second, we find a large variation in search costs. Take the average monthly interest payment of £300, the median cost of obtaining an additional quote ranges from as little as 5% to almost one-quarter. This disparity is consistent with priors that searching is more costly for some than others. Alternatively, not everyone will benefit in the same way when seeking assistance from a broker.

Third, lenders' margins exhibit dispersion across mortgage types. More leveraged loans or those carrying longer tenures are, on average, less profitable. More generally on the supply side, despite high market concentration, it is relatively competitive with an average markup of 10.37%.

After quantifying these relationships, we then turn our attention to two questions that, as far as we are aware, are still pending in the literature. First, we ask whether brokers improve welfare, compared to a world where their advice is unavailable. Simply put, can we quantify the value of information brokers provide? In a second related question, we ask whether an alternative to the traditional intermediary is better. Online brokerages and comparison tools have become increasingly popular, but what happens to prices and margins? Who benefits and who loses?

To answer to our first question, we simulate optimal prices and search behaviour in a new equilibrium where no intermediation exists. The value of information is therefore the difference between the expected consumer surplus in our baseline and counterfactual case. Our results show that, on average, brokers are a net-positive. Mortgagors save £72.31 per month in sunk expenditures on a median-sized mortgage.⁵ About one-third of these savings are down to brokers finding cheaper prices. Another sixth are due to lower search costs; searching for a mortgage is hard and costly, and brokers fill that gap. However, not everyone benefits equally from the current market structure. Markers of financial acuity and experience matter— with younger,

⁴We estimate these distributions after conditioning on a set of borrower and loan characteristics.

⁵Sunk expenditures are defined as those not related to paying off the mortgage principal.

lower-income, and first time buyers benefiting the most. Remarkably, borrowers choosing longer fixed-rate deals or shorter amortization periods experience only a slightly lower price when using brokers, but the commissions they pay exceed their counterfactual search cost.

This net positive effect can be attributed to the externality brokers impose on the direct market (Salz, 2022). The existence of intermediaries reduces lenders' market power, who are unable to price discriminate between informed and uninformed consumers. This explanation is reinforced by looking at the counterfactual distribution of price-cost margins. Without intermediation, the average Lerner index almost reaches 24% and a fourth of all mortgages have margins exceeding 33.5%.

For our second scenario, we study the effects of a hypothetical market centralization. We assume lenders post all prices, and consumers are automatically matched with the best offer. Direct sales are no longer possible, and are replaced by a free, market-wide platform. We find that average prices in a centralized market would decrease by 4.4%— saving borrowers almost £15 a month. Conversely, lenders' margins drop by almost half. These online platforms, which rely on machine learning technology, stand-in for the human knowledge dispensed from traditional brick and mortar brokers. The total welfare effects would need to weigh in the modest reduction in prices and search expenditure against any sunk cost of physical brokers exiting the market, against the value gained from long-term relationships in a market where mortgagors refinance often. It is likely that over the longer-term, these modest benefits entirely disappear.

All in all, our paper makes two main contributions. First, we provide a quantifiable estimate for the value of information mortgage intermediaries provide, uncovering heterogeneity across demographic groups and loan types. We can show from the rich patterns of the data and our nonparametric estimation, that while the net effects of brokers' presence is positive, not every borrower is necessarily better off. Second, the novelty of our structural approach provides an attractive framework for studying welfare effects in industries with two-sided platforms and search frictions. The mortgage market is one, but our technique can be applied to other industries, such as insurance. Importantly, the estimators do not require any optimization, the structural features are identified in closed form, and the results are robust to distributional assumptions about search costs and firm heterogeneity.

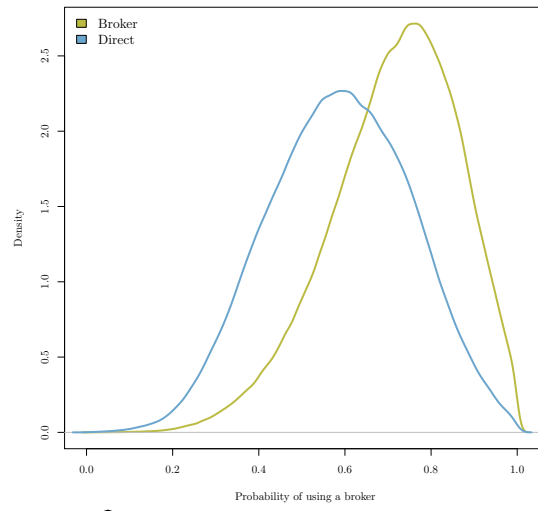
■ **Related literature.** We contribute to several strands in the literature. First, there is a growing body of empirical papers using structural models of consumer search to study mortgage markets. Allen, Clark, and Houde (2017) is perhaps methodologically closest to ours. The authors consider a search and bargaining framework with bilateral heterogeneity. However, they focus on the role of loyalty advantage and do not study intermediation, choosing instead to exclude brokered loans from their analysis. On the opposite side of the spectrum, is the paper by Woodward and Hall (2012) which only studies brokered mortgages. They conclude that mortgagors in the US would benefit from shopping at multiple brokers. We abstract from the search for

brokers, assuming that intermediaries operate in a competitive sector and have no incentive to provide dishonest advice. Rather, by including borrowers who do and do not use brokers, we compare whether, *on the whole*, brokers confer a benefit.

In another recent study, [Agarwal, Grigsby, Hortaçsu, Matvos, Seru, and Yao \(2020\)](#) uses data on actual search behaviour and rejected mortgage applications to document that, contrary to predictions stemming from standard search models, more search does not always result in lower prices. To explain this finding, the authors introduce screening and the probability of getting one's mortgage application rejected into a standard search model, finding that a standard framework is only able to recover true search costs, scaled by the probability of approval. While our data do not inform us about rejected applications, we remain agnostic whether our search cost estimates also indirectly account for the probability of being rejected. [Alexandrov and Koulayev \(2018\)](#) investigate the interplay of search and preference for non-price characteristics (such as brand effects) to explain sub-optimal shopping efforts in the US market. And although [Thiel \(2022\)](#) focuses on financial advice more generally, he shows that banning financial advisors from receiving commissions leads to a reduction in consumer surplus in the long-run when advisors exit the market.

There are also a number of empirical papers that examine mortgage price shopping. [Coen, Kashyap, and Rostom \(2021\)](#) use the same data, from an earlier time period, to study how consumers shop for mortgages. They find that young and inexperienced consumers face a large amount of price dispersion, and that households who pick badly do so because they are presented with menus containing many expensive options. They do not examine the role of brokers in the mortgage market, however. In a similar paper, [Bhutta, Fuster, and Hizmo \(2020\)](#) also document a large degree of price dispersion, with the least financially sophisticated borrowers massively overpaying relative to market rates. They suggest that rising borrowing costs encourages search. [Malliaris, Retzl, and Singh \(2020\)](#) also show that while increased mortgage competition is financially beneficial to both sophisticated and naive borrowers, by encouraging lenders to include attractive offerings, it does not remove costly products from menu offerings that unsophisticated borrowers are more likely to pick. They conclude that lender competition is not a substitute for borrower sophistication. Similarly, [Andersen, Campbell, Nielsen, and Ramadorai \(2020\)](#) find that households' mortgage choices depend on their characteristics. Using Danish administrative data, they show that poorer, older, and less educated households are less likely to refinance their mortgage, missing out in potential savings as a result. These findings are consistent with earlier work by [Lusardi and Mitchell \(2014\)](#) documenting the strong correlation between personal characteristics and degree of financial literacy. [Guiso, Pozzi, Tsoy, Gambacorta, and Mistrulli \(2021\)](#) uses Italian data to study whether in-house bank advisers distort advice, steering borrowers into taking up more risky and expensive adjustable rate mortgages compared to fixed rate mortgages. Whereas they do find welfare losses associated with sub-optimal advice, they also conclude that banning advice altogether would result in an aver-

Figure A.2: Distributions of predicted probabilities of using a broker.



Note: Density estimates of the distributions of $\widehat{\Pr}(d_i = \text{broker}|\mathbf{X})$ based on the LPM in the third column of table A.6 for the brokered and direct subsamples.

