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# Educational Credit: Myths, Realities, and Lessons from the U.S.

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ICETEX
Bogota, Colombia
April 2022





# What can other countries learn from the US experience with student loans?

#### Perceptions create real problems

- Widespread view of a "student debt crisis" in the US
- Strong political pressure for forgiving all student debt
- Serious problems for some groups of borrowers: noncompleters, for-profit students, Black students

#### The US made some questionable decisions

- Failure to limit borrowing
- Bureaucratic problems: enrolling and staying in income-based repayment plans
- High default rates

Pluses and minuses for social mobility

Lessons learned?



# Misperceptions



# Despite common perceptions (at least in the US), student debt is not a broad and undifferentiated "crisis."



Some students / groups of students struggle disproportionately.

Loan repayment is confusing.

Loan servicing is problematic and sometimes abusive.

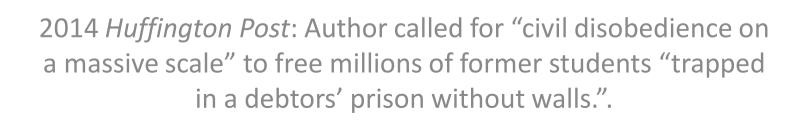
But most borrowers benefit from the investment and can repay without undue burden.

#### What we hear

Media anecdotes: unrepresentative, misleading

Few stories of success and opportunity

Many stories of distress







### Why the misperceptions?

Strong emotional reactions to exaggerated images

Availability cascade: Simple idea for explaining complicated concept catches on, is repeated, spreads. People claiming danger is overstated are accused of a cover-up.









# It is difficult to accurately measure the impact of student debt.

Counterfactual for studying impact of student debt

--Same education?

--Who would pay?

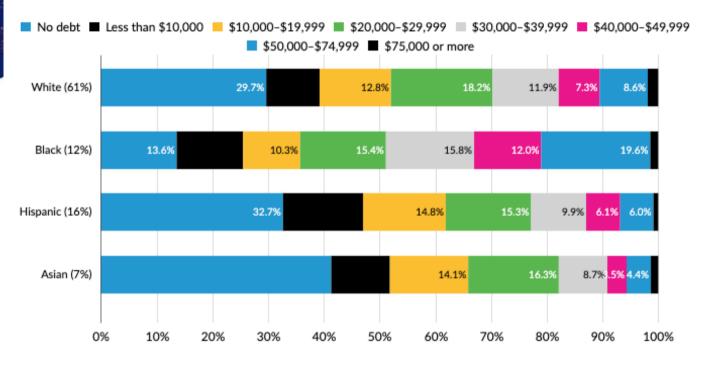
Frequent citations of questionable results about impact on home ownership, wealth, entrepreneurship, etc.

Focus on general "crisis" obscures real problems such as race, type of institution.



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#### Debt Levels of 2015–16 Bachelor's Degree Recipients by Race or Ethnicity



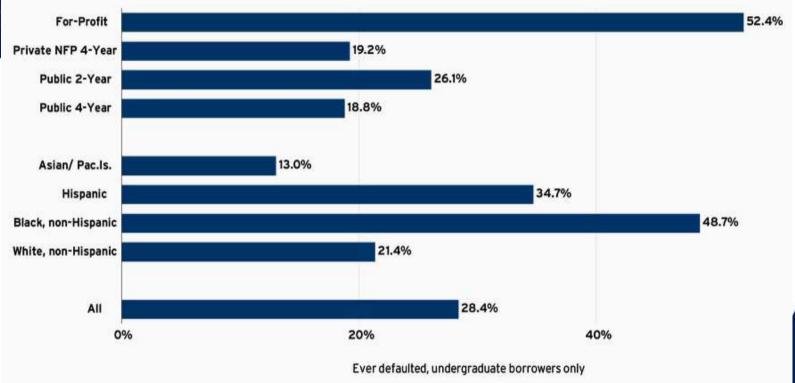
Source: 2016 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study.

Note: Percentages in parentheses on the vertical axis report the share of bachelor's degree recipients of each race or ethnicity.





Figure 2. Ever defaulted, by sector and race (Undergraduate borrowers only)





# Cumulative Debt of 2015–16 Bachelor's Degree Recipients Who Began College at Age 20 or Younger, by Sector



Source: National Postsecondary Student Aid Study 2016





### The reality of student debt in the US

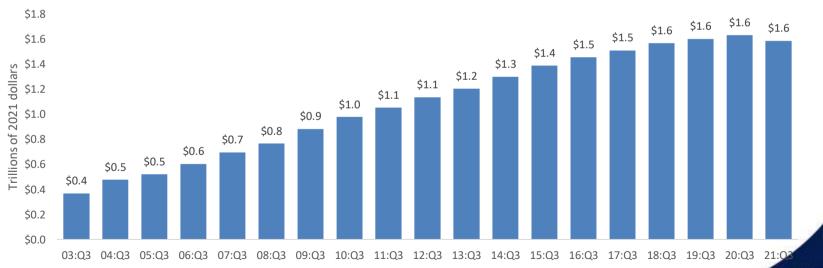


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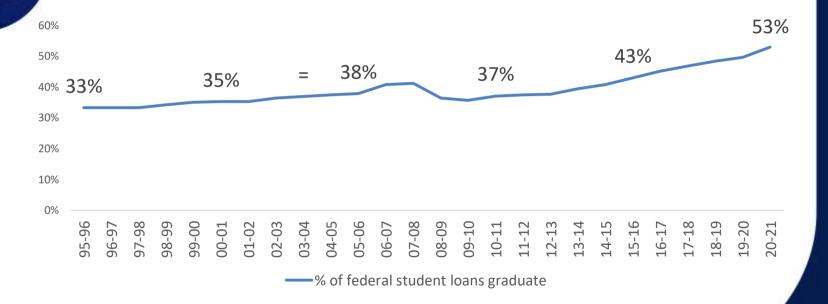
## Outstanding student debt has leveled off since 2016.

Student deht as share of all household deht

2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019	2021
3%	4%	4%	6%	7%	9%	10%	10%	11%	10%
<b>5</b> %	470	470	070	/ 70	970	10%	10%	1170	10%



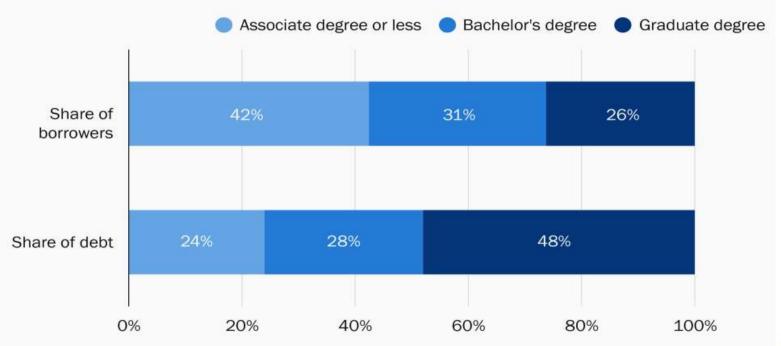
# An increasing share of federal education loans goes to graduate students.



College Board, Trends in Student Aid 2021



### Figure 2. Share of Borrowers and Share of Total Outstanding Debt by Educational Attainment



**Source:** Survey of Consumer Finances; Urban Institute, via Adam Looney.

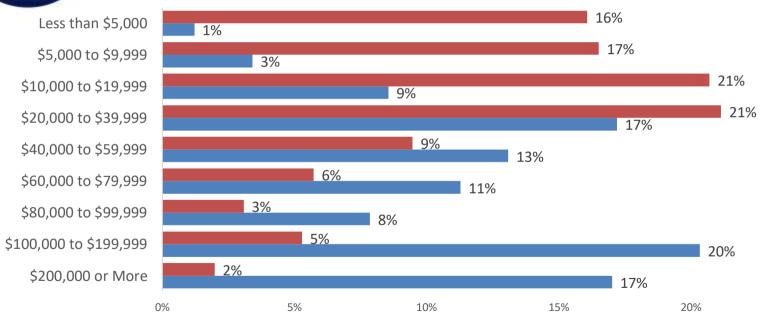






# The 7% of borrowers owing \$100,000 or more hold 37% of the debt. The 33% owing less than \$10,000 hold 4% of the debt.

Distribution of borrowers and debt by outstanding balance, 2021



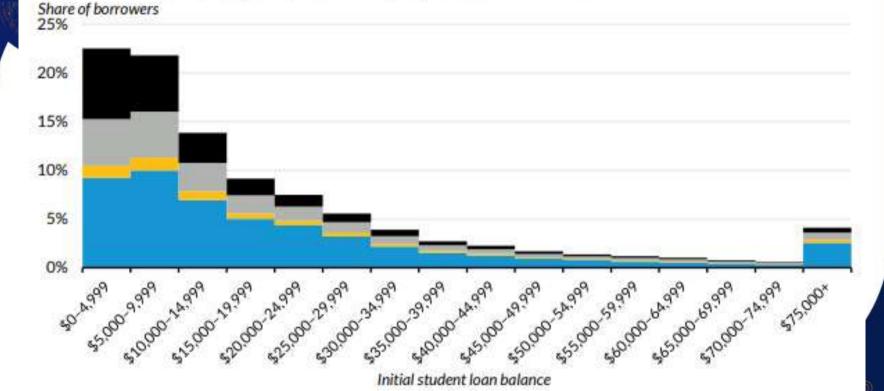
■ Percentage of Borrowers ■ Percentage of Debt Source: US Department of Education, Federal Student Aid Data Center, Federal Student Loan Portfolio





By worst-ever status on student loans over four years, 2012 cohort

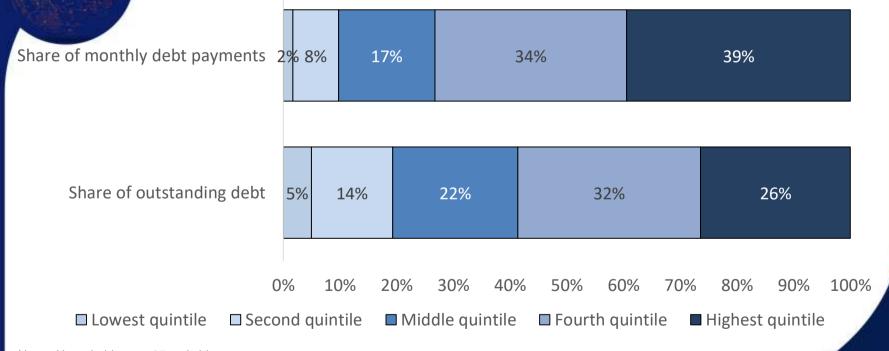
■ Stayed current = Early delinquency = Late delinquency = At least one default



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#### Who would benefit most from broad debt forgiveness?

Education debt is concentrated in the upper half of the income distribution.



Notes: Households ages 25 and older.

Source: Baum and Looney (2020) "Who owes the most in student loans? New data from the Fed?" Brookings...





Does student debt increase educational opportunities and/or impede social mobility?





## How does debt interfere with benefits of higher education?

Moderate (typical) debt levels don't come close to eliminating financial benefits of postsecondary education. BUT:

Not completing postsecondary programs is a big problem.

Put completion and student debt into larger social context: early childhood, health care, neighborhoods, elementary/secondary school.

Students from low-SES backgrounds start out behind even if they finish their programs:

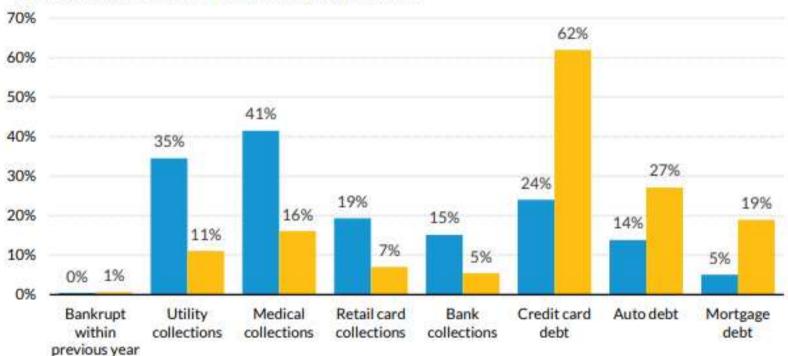
- --Family financial support
- --Connections/ information / social capital
- --Labor market discrimination
- --Student debt adds to the problems!



#### Debt Holdings of Borrowers in the Year before Entering Student Loan Repayment

By default status four years after entering repayment, 2012 cohort







### Inequality and social mobility

- Inequality makes it harder for people to move up the ladder
- Forces of supply and demand affect impact of higher education on inequality
- Capacity constraints in higher education (even with low high school graduation rate) are a barrier to increasing opportunity
- Education can increase absolute mobility even if relative mobility remains a big problem





Lessons Learned and Policy Considerations





### **Lessons Learned**

Unlimited graduate borrowing

Lending money for low-quality programs

Poor implementation of income-contingent loans

Income-contingent repayment has become too generous





#### **Principles of System Design**

- Simple system to navigate and administer
- Consistent forward- and backward-looking policies
- Loans are loans and grants are grants
- Minimize delinquency and default
- Avoid disparate impacts





### **Policies: Preventing problems**

Exclude institutions that don't serve students well

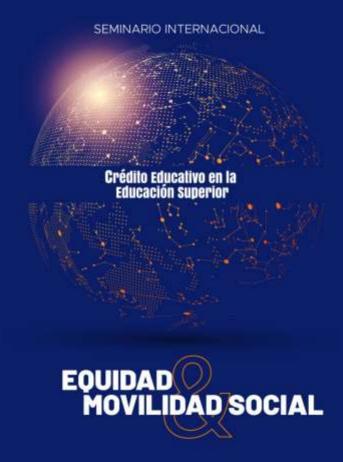
Helping students make better choices—more than just information

Stronger incentives for institutional performance

Better-designed loan limits







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