## ECONOMIC AND REVENUE IMPACT OF STUDENT LOAN MORATORIUM

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## Good Afternoon

I Student Loan Repayment Moratorium: background and big picture
II Looking Back: 2020-2023

- Did any borrowers continue to pay? | who was impacted?
- Size of repayment pause \| economic and revenue impact (IMPLAN)
- Supporting data and research | caveats and technical issues

III Looking Forward: 2024

- New SAVE income driven repayment (IDR) plan | lots of uncertainty
- Economic and revenue impact (IMPLAN)

Disclaimer: not an endorsement/critique of any modeling software!

## March $\mathbf{2 0 2 0}$ moratorium (no payments, no interest accrues)

- Most federally-held student loans | no private loans
- Extended $2 x$ (Trump) and 6x (Biden)
- Interest accrues Sept 2023 | payments start Oct 2023 | but "on ramp"


## Impact on PA borrowers (Dec 2022, federal loans)

- 1.86 million borrowers | $\$ 67$ billion total debt
- Average balance: $\$ 35,400$ | Median balance: $\$ 20,100$
- Average repayment? \$300/month | \$3,600/annual
- ~ $\$ 7.0$ billion/annual absolute max | likely closer to $\$ 2.5$ billion


## Simple Example

## $\mathbf{2 0 1 8}$ graduated borrower on fixed $\mathbf{1 0}$ yr payment plan (no IDR)

- $\$ 30,000$ debt | $4.45 \%$ interest rate | has paid 2 years, then pandemic hits
- Short-term benefit: no payments!
- Long-term benefit: forgiven interest, gain 3.5 years on forgiveness window, extra inflation erosion due to unusually high inflation (?)

| year months principal  interest | payment <br> 2020 | 9 | $\$ 1,942$ | $\$ 849$ | $\$ 2,792$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |$\quad$| look at a full year |
| :---: |
| 2021 |

## Direct Impact: PA Sales Tax Revenues (exclude autos)



Avg Growth: 18-19 to 22-23
sales tax $6.5 \%$
core CPI 3.8\%
premium +2.7\%
typical $+7.0 \%$

FY 22-23 \$12.7 billion

+ $\$ 0.9$ billon "premium" but not just moratorium impact



## II. Three Critical Parameters for Analysis

## 1 Share of federal student loan debt held by paying borrowers

- $55 \%$ of dollar amount | $46 \%$ of borrowers (2019)
- Others in default, deferment, forbearance, delinquent, in-school (next two slides)

2 Size of average monthly payment (for those paying)

- NYFRB (2019) \$200 to \$299 ("typical") | NYFRB (2022) ~\$350 (unofficial)
- Katz (2023) \$328 | Looney (2019) \$316
- Transunion (2023) \$336 non-mortgage, \$400 mortgage (estimates for 2024)


## 3 Share of borrowers that continued to pay off loans

- NYFRB (2022): 19\% of borrowers continued to reduce balances (41\% pre-Covid)
- Katz (2023): 44\% of new forbearance liquidity used to pay student loans (2020)
- IRS: student loan interest deduction falls ~50\% from 2019 to 2021 (prelim)
- Dept of Ed remittances to US Treasury: fall 60\% (2020) to 85\% (2023)


## Repayment Status of Debt: Dollars and Borrowers (2019)



Average Federal Loan Balance, Number of Borrowers, and Total Balance by Repayment Status, Second Quarter 2019

|  | Average <br> Balance | Number of <br> Borrowers <br> (in Millions) | Total Balance <br> (in Billions) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Repayment | $\$ 36,500$ | 19.4 | $\$ 708.5$ |
| In-School | $\$ 19,700$ | 7.0 | $\$ 138.2$ |
| Deferment | $\$ 35,800$ | 3.7 | $\$ 132.4$ |
| Forbearance | $\$ 45,000$ | 2.8 | $\$ 126.0$ |
| Grace | $\$ 18,500$ | 1.3 | $\$ 24.0$ |
| Default | $\$ 19,800$ | 7.5 | $\$ 148.3$ |
| Other | $\$ 48,000$ | 0.2 | $\$ 9.6$ |
| Total | $\$ 30,700$ | 41.9 | $\$ 1,287.0$ |

NOTES: Includes both loans made under the Federal Direct and Federal Family Education Loan (FFEL) programs and held by the Department of Education. Excludes the $\$ 183$ billion in outstanding FFEL loans not held by the federal government. The second quarter of FY2019 ended on March 31, 2019.

Source: College Board, Trends in Student Aid.

## Repayment Status of Debt: Dollars and Borrowers (2022)



Average Federal Loan Balance, Number of Borrowers, and Total Balance by Repayment Status, Second
Quarter 2022

|  | Total Balance <br> (in Billions) | Number of <br> Borrowers <br> (in Millions) | Average <br> Balance |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Forbearance | $\$ 1,050.4$ | 25.5 | $\$ 41,200$ |
| Default | $\$ 146.8$ | 6.8 | $\$ 21,600$ |
| In-School | $\$ 117.3$ | 6.0 | $\$ 19,600$ |
| Deferment | $\$ 117.1$ | 3.1 | $\$ 37,800$ |
| Grace | $\$ 21.4$ | 1.2 | $\$ 17,800$ |
| Repayment | $\$ 15.6$ | 0.5 | $\$ 31,200$ |
| Other | $\$ 8.0$ | 0.2 | $\$ 40,000$ |
| Total | $\$ 1,476.6$ | 43.3 | $\$ 34,100$ |

Source: College Board, Trends in College Pricing and Student Aid.

## Monthly Remittances: Dept of Education to US Treasury



Original Moratorium
Mar 20: to Sep 20
$4^{\text {th }}$ Extension First "Final Time" Aug 21: to Jan 22
$7^{\text {th }}$ Extension Second "Final Time" Aug 22: to Dec 22
$8^{\text {th }}$ Extension
Nov 22: to Sept 23 (Supreme Court)

Source: Monthly Treasury Statement

## Those Who Paused: Did They Spend or Save?

## Generally spent... and some used to leverage more borrowing

- We find a large stimulus effect, as borrowers substitute increased private debt for paused public debt.... (b)orrowers used the new liquidity to increase borrowing on credit cards, mortgages, and auto loans rather than avoid delinquencies. (Dinerstein et al., 2023)


## Those borrowers may now be worse off

- Distressed borrowers whose loans were paused had 12.3\% more credit card debt than those whose loans weren't paused, and auto loans rose $4.6 \%$. (Chava et al., 2023)
- ...distressed borrowers in forbearance have also begun to fall behind on their nonstudent debt at a rate that is $14 \%$ higher than the control group. (Chava et al., 2023)


## Modeling the Impact of the Moratorium for IMPLAN

| \$300 | avg monthly payment for payors |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1,860 | total federal borrowers (000) |  |  |  |  | key |
| 46\% | \% borrowers in repayment |  |  |  |  | parameters |
| 80\% | \% that paused |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$205 | monthly impact (\$ millions) |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$2,464 | annual impact (\$ millions) |  |  |  |  | did not use |
|  | Income Group (\$ 000s) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 30-50 | 50-100 | 100-150 | 150-200 | Total |  |
| Distribution | 15\% | 25\% | 30\% | 30\% | 100\% |  |
| Retained Funds | \$370 | \$616 | \$739 | \$739 | \$2,464 |  |
| Added Leverage | 125\% | 110\% | 100\% | 100\% |  |  |
| Adjusted Amount | \$462 | \$678 | \$739 | \$739 | \$2,618 | IMPLAN deducts |
| Add Back Income Tax | \$462 | \$737 | \$850 | \$880 | \$2,928 | all income taxes, need to neutralize |
| October 3, 2023 |  |  |  | IFO |  |  |

Highly Concentrated: Distribution of Student Loan Debt 2022


Federal Loan Balance by Debt Size, Second Quarter of FY2022

|  | Total Balance <br> (in Billions) | Number of <br> Borrowers <br> (in Millions) | Average <br> Balance |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\$ 200,000$ or More | $\$ 281.9$ | 1.0 | $\$ 281,900$ |
| $\$ 100,000$ to $\$ 199,999$ | $\$ 333.3$ | 2.4 | $\$ 138,900$ |
| $\$ 80,000$ to $\$ 99,999$ | $\$ 126.6$ | 1.4 | $\$ 90,400$ |
| $\$ 60,000$ to $\$ 79,999$ | $\$ 181.1$ | 2.6 | $\$ 69,700$ |
| $\$ 40,000$ to $\$ 59,999$ | $\$ 211.8$ | 4.3 | $\$ 49,300$ |
| $\$ 20,000$ to $\$ 39,999$ | $\$ 277.8$ | 9.7 | $\$ 28,600$ |
| $\$ 10,000$ to $\$ 19,999$ | $\$ 135.5$ | 9.3 | $\$ 14,600$ |
| $\$ 5,000$ to $\$ 9,999$ | $\$ 54.4$ | 7.5 | $\$ 7,300$ |
| Less than $\$ 5,000$ | $\$ 18.9$ | 7.1 | $\$ 2,700$ |
| Total | $\$ 1,621.3$ | 45.3 | $\$ 35,800$ |

Source: College Board, Trends in College Pricing and Student Aid.

## High Income Borrowers Make Great Majority of Payments

Most Student Loan Payments Come From High Earners


Brookings (2019) Survey of Current Finances (2016) 73\% payments from top 40\% 2\% payments from bottom 20\%

| earnings <br> decile | median <br> earnings | share <br> payments | share <br> balances |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | $\$ 12,217$ | $1.1 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| 2 | $\$ 25,453$ | $3.9 \%$ | $4.1 \%$ |
| 3 | $\$ 36,652$ | $4.3 \%$ | $8.8 \%$ |
| 4 | $\$ 46,833$ | $8.3 \%$ | $11.2 \%$ |
| 5 | $\$ 59,458$ | $12.0 \%$ | $11.7 \%$ |
| 6 | $\$ 74,323$ | $10.2 \%$ | $13.7 \%$ |
| 7 | $\$ 93,667$ | $15.8 \%$ | $13.6 \%$ |
| 8 | $\$ 120,138$ | $16.2 \%$ | $14.2 \%$ |
| 9 | $\$ 162,899$ | $18.2 \%$ | $13.5 \%$ |
| 10 | $\$ 529,421$ | $\underline{9.9 \%}$ | $\underline{6.1 \%}$ |
| Total |  | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ |

## Distribution of Student Loan Debt 2022



Age 35 to 49
Age 50 to 61

Source: College Board, Trends in College Pricing and Student Aid.

## Notes on IMPLAN Modeling

## Modeled as a "Household Income Event"

- Examples: stimulus checks, tax refunds, change in sales tax rate
- Low multipliers: a gov't transfer (not a purchase), flows to upper income
- No direct or indirect effects, only "induced" effects


## Used 2019 data year, not 2020 or 2021 (latest available)

- Both years include special recovery programs embedded in BEA data
- Economic interactions could be quite different


## IMPLAN reduces inputs for income tax and savings

- Taxes must be neutralized | payments made from after-tax income
- Savings rate 0\% for lower income groups | 10-20\% for upper groups


## PA Economic and Revenue Impacts (Annual)

## Economic Impact

Employment
Labor Income
Value Added or GDP
Final Output or Sales

State Revenue Impact
Sales Tax
Personal Income Tax
Corporate Income Tax

19,860 jobs
$\$ 1.14$ billion
$\$ 1.94$ billion
$\$ 3.29$ billion

## $\xrightarrow{ }$

 self-employment income$+0.24 \%$ growth

6\% rate, includes LOTS of stuff general sales tax $\sim 50 \%$
flat 3.07\% rate likely closer to $\$ 30$ million

## Technical Notes and Caveats

## Factors that (could) overstate impact

- Impacts muted during COVID? | supply chains, tight labor market, other stimulus programs
- Sales tax includes tobacco, gross receipts, insurance premiums, gaming....


## Factors that clearly understate impact (could be large!)

- Includes leakages or outflows | but all other states impacted too
- Average vs marginal spending: more likely to spend new monies on taxable items (e.g., dining out, electronics?)
- IMPLAN tax allocation (uses same general splits for all industries): for this proposal, property taxes overstated, general sales tax understated


## III. Repayments: New IDR Program (SAVE) Complicates Analysis

## SAVE makes 4 major changes (not effective until July 2024)

- Monthly payment reduced: $10 \%$ to $5 \%$ of disposable income (undergrad only)
- No payment disposable income limit: $150 \%$ to $225 \%$ of FPL (all debt)
- Balance forgiven after 10 yrs of payments (undergrad) with less than $\$ 12,000$ in debt (previously 20 yrs) | 20 or 25 yrs for others
- Unpaid interest forgiven (no negative amortization)

Reduces cost of student loan debt | incentivizes more borrowing

- Single < \$32,800 makes no payments (indexed)
- Family of 4 < $\$ 67,500$ makes no payments
- CBO (2023): graduate debt + 10\%, undergrad debt +15\%


## Distribution of Federal Direct Loan Dollars and Borrowers by Plan



## Modeling Repayments for IMPLAN

$$
\begin{array}{r}
-\$ 250 \\
2,000 \\
40 \% \\
-- \\
-\$ 200 \\
-\$ 2,400
\end{array}
$$

avg monthly payment for payors total federal borrowers (000)
\% borrowers in repayment
\% that paused
monthly impact (\$ millions)
annual impact (\$ millions)
$\qquad$ - slightly lower new IDR more generous higher "no pay" thresholds fewer but larger payors allow inflation

Income Group (\$000s)

Distribution
Repayment
Reduce Savings
Adjusted Repayment

| 30-50 | 50-100 | 100-150 | 150-200 | Total | d |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10\% | 20\% | 35\% | 35\% | 100\% | high |
| -\$240 | -\$480 | -\$840 | -\$840 | -\$2,400 |  |
| 0\% | 0\% | -10\% | -15\% |  | extra vs IMPLAN |
| -\$240 | -\$480 | -\$756 | -\$714 | -\$2,190 |  |
| -\$240 | -\$522 | -\$869 | -\$850 | -\$2,481 |  |

## PA Economic and Revenue Impacts (Annual)

## Economic Impact

| Employment | $-16,350$ jobs |
| :--- | :--- |
| Labor Income | $-\$ 0.94$ billion |
| Value Added (GDP) | $-\$ 1.60$ billion |
| Final Output or Sales | $-\$ 2.71$ billion |

same notes as moratorium impact

```
a net gain to states
    a loss for feds
```


## State Revenue Impact

 Sales TaxPersonal Income Tax
Corporate Income Tax
-\$56 million
-\$16 million
-\$7 million
same notes as moratorium impact

## Concluding Thoughts...

## Student loan moratorium had a moderate economic impact

- Poorly targeted: more than half of benefit to households with income >\$100k
- Many low-income borrowers already in default or deferment status
- Low economic multipliers (induced effects only)


## Start of repayments a moderate/modest economic headwind

- Repayments clearly started in Sept | PA sales tax flat in Sept (YOY growth)
- SAVE program will significantly reduce monthly payments for many


## Longer-term impacts unclear

- Borrowing increases as college debt subsidized further
- Impact on labor force participation rates?
- Distressed borrowers in worse shape than prior to pandemic?

