Consumer Morsel

The power of forgiveness

Key talking points

- The US government’s recent announcement extending the moratorium on student loan repayments alongside a policy of debt forgiveness stands to benefit a significant number of households. We use Bank of America internal data to help gauge the impact.

- The moratorium represents a median saving of more than $150 per monthly student loan repayment for impacted households, providing a few months cash flow boost.

- The debt forgiveness is likely to mean a more significant reduction for many, with a particular benefit for younger and lower paid borrowers.

In moratorium

The Biden administration has announced an extension of the moratorium on federal student loan repayments. The maximum loan forgiveness for most beneficiaries will amount to $10K for individuals that make $125K or less and for households that earn $250K or less. In addition, Pell Grant student loan recipients, who are generally from households that have annual incomes of <$50K, are eligible for debt forgiveness of $20K. The plan has other components as well, including a proposal to implement a cap on undergraduate loan repayments at 5% of monthly income.

A federal student loan payment pause was first enacted by the Trump administration in March 2020 as part of a package of measures rolled out to support households during the pandemic. Following the first announcement, the moratorium on repayments has been extended a total of seven times. Over the course of the moratorium, loan repayments have been suspended, interest has stopped accruing on the debt and collections have stopped on defaulted loans. The New York Fed reports that the share of student loan debt accounts for approximately 10% of total household debt as of Q2 2022, compared to 11% in Q1 2020.

What has been the impact of the moratorium and how much of a boost could the new extension be? To evaluate this, we look at Bank of America household consumer deposit data. This is derived by anonymizing and aggregating data from Bank of America consumer deposit accounts in the US, identifying student loan payments through ACH and online bill pay and analyzing that data at a highly aggregated level. We identify customers making student loan repayments to see who has benefitted from this years-long freeze.

What do we find? Following the first moratorium announcement, the number of households making student loan repayments dropped sharply in April 2020 and has remained low, down 63% in July vs pre-pandemic (Exhibit 1).
Exhibit 1: Number of households making student loan repayments and number of those payments (indexed Jan 2020 = 100)
After the first moratorium the number of households making student loan repayments fell sharply.

Source: Bank of America internal data

Exhibit 2: Average number of student loan repayments per month per household (indexed Jan 2020 = 100)
The average number of student loan repayments per household also fell following the moratorium.

Source: Bank of America internal data

The average number of student loan repayments per month per household also dropped by slightly over 5% in April 2020, following the initial implementation of the moratorium (Exhibit 2). The spikes in the average number of student loan repayments may be related to stimulus checks – potentially with stimulus being used to make one-off payments.

Exhibit 3 shows the composition of those making student loan repayments by income in the second half 2019. We take this as a “normal” period prior to the freeze. It suggests that approximately two-thirds of households making student loan repayments before the freeze were from low (<$50K) and middle income ($51-100K) households. It is reasonable to assume that these households have benefitted the most from the moratorium and presumably been able to allocate funds elsewhere, either by saving, paying down other debt or increased spending.

Exhibit 3: Share of student loan payments, breakdown by income category (7/31/2019-12/31/2019)
Approximately two-thirds of payments came from low and middle income households.

Source: Bank of America internal data
While the absolute numbers of households making student loan repayments have fallen sharply, for those making repayments, little has changed in how much they pay. As Exhibit 4 demonstrates, student loan repayment size increases with income, but it appears to do less so than proportionately. This means that as a percentage of income, households earning <$100K benefited more from the moratorium and will likely do so again from the latest extension.

Exhibit 4: Median monthly student loan payment for households making payments ($)
The median student loan repayment rises with income, but has remained little changed from just before the pandemic.

Source: Bank of America internal data

Overall, the extension of the moratorium would represent a fairly significant boost to short-term cash flow. Most text-book economic theories of consumer behavior assume a degree of smoothing of consumer spending, so any short-term gain in saved repayments is unlikely to make a dramatic difference to household consumption decisions over the rest of this year, in our view. But with higher inflation having already stretched consumers’ spending power, it will likely provide some offset, particularly for lower-income households.

Please forgive me
The other element of the Biden administration announcement concentrates on federal student loan forgiveness. Single filers who make less than $125K and joint filers who make less than $250K can amass up to $10K in relief. Pell Grant recipients are eligible for twice that amount.

So, the 10,000-dollar question is: who could benefit here?

Bank of America internal data indicates that 75% of households who have made a student loan repayment have an annual income of <$125K and may therefore see some benefit from debt cancellation of up to $10-20K.

Around one-third of borrowers have a student loan of $10K or less, with just over 50% having a loan of $20K or less, according to Department of Education data (Exhibit 5). Therefore, given the large number of households potentially eligible via income and the size of their debt, it appears many borrowers could see a large chunk of their total student debt forgiven. The Department of Education estimates that nearly 90% of debt cancellation benefits will go to borrowers earning less than $75,000.
Around a third of borrowers have a federal student loan of $10,000 or less

According to the Department of Education data, as of Q2 2022, those aged 25-34 accounted for the largest percentage of federal student loan borrowers, while those aged 35-49 had the largest percentage of loan amount outstanding (Exhibit 6). Together, these two age groups accounted for both the largest percentage of borrowers and loan amount outstanding.

How much then are these age groups potentially going to benefit? Data suggest that the majority of borrowers who have less than $10K in federal student loans falls primarily within the 24 and below age group (Exhibit 7). This is likely due to the length of time in which debt has been accrued, especially given the freeze over the past two years. Borrowers aged 35-49 make up the smallest percentage with $10K or less in debt.

Arguably, what matters more from an economic perspective is the forgiveness relative to total debt, or indeed net wealth. Given debt tends to rise with age as people accumulate housing debt and other liabilities, the proportionate debt reduction is likely to be highest among the young.

**Macro Matters**

What about the macroeconomic impacts of the forgiveness and forbearance policies? Given the forbearance extension is for a limited time, it is likely to have only a fairly limited impact at the macro-level. In the short-run, it boosts consumer’s disposable income and provides some support for the economy, but in 2023 this support will fall away.

The forgiveness policy will potentially have a much larger impact, as it wipes out a large stock of accumulated debt. The Penn Wharton Budget Model team estimates the total cost of forgiveness at around $500bn. But to put that in perspective, the latest estimate for 2022 Q2 from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York puts total household debt at $16.2 trillion. So the impact on aggregate total household debt is relatively modest. Ultimately, the impact on the economy is also dependent on how the forgiveness of student debt affects the total envelope of government debt and deficits over time.
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Methodology
Selected Bank of America transaction data is used to inform the macroeconomic views expressed in this report and should be considered in the context of other economic indicators and publicly available information. In certain instances, the data may provide directional and/or predictive value. The data used is not comprehensive; it is based on aggregated and anonymized selections of Bank of America data and may reflect a degree of selection bias and limitations on the data available.

The household consumer deposit data based on Bank of America internal data is derived by anonymizing and aggregating data from Bank of America consumer deposit accounts in the US and analyzing that data at a highly aggregated level. Bank of America student loan repayment data include payments identified through ACH and online bill pay on a per household basis. Data is not adjusted for seasonality, processing days or portfolio changes, and may be subject to periodic revisions. Student loan repayments data will include both federal and private payments.

Additional information about the methodology used to aggregate the data is available upon request.
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