

# The Graying of American Debt

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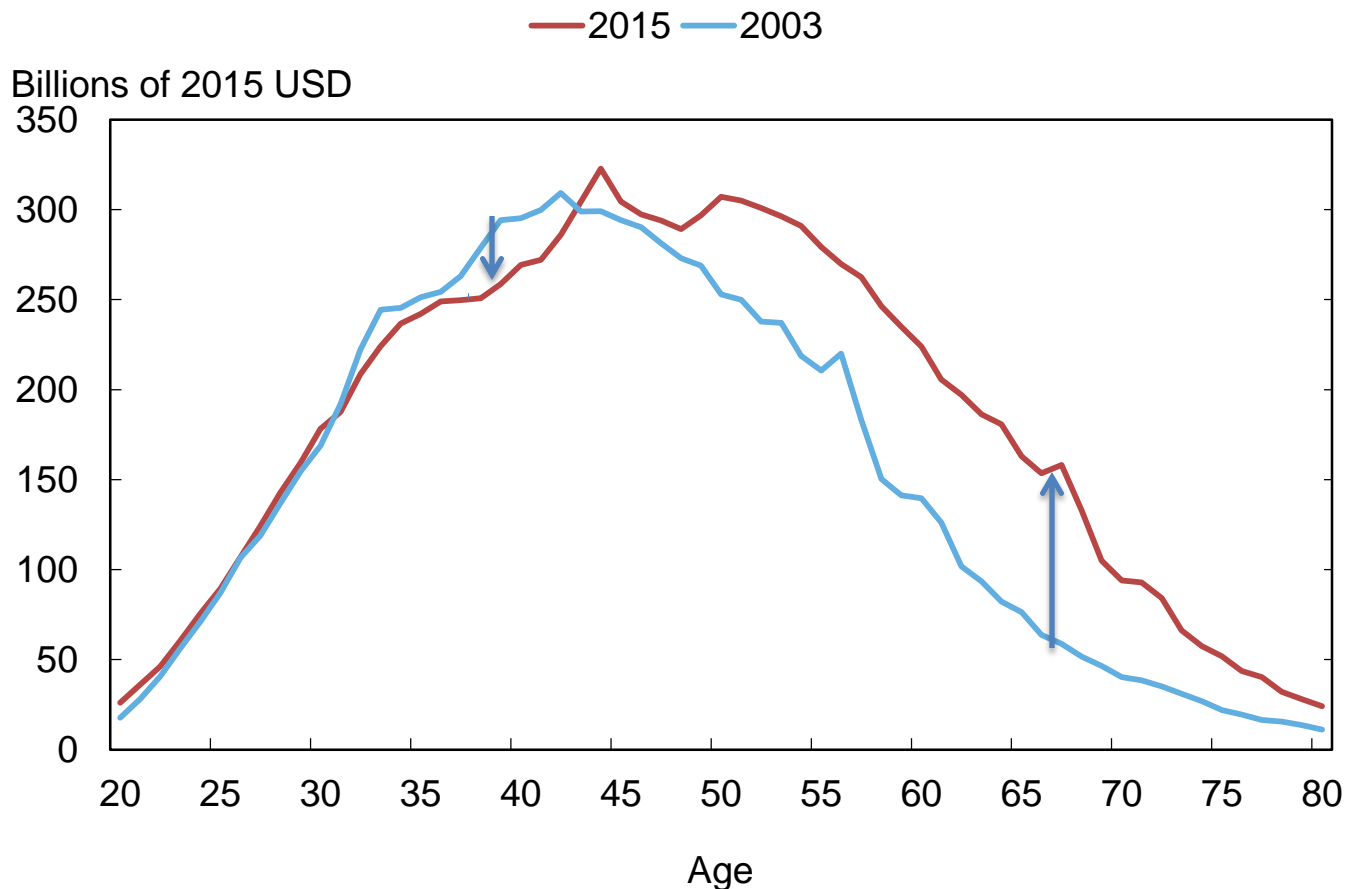
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# The Graying of American Debt

## Age distribution of aggregate U.S. consumer debt, 2003 v. 2015



Age 39:  
aggregate debt  
fell by 12%

Age 67:  
aggregate debt  
grew by 169%

In real terms, debt in the hands of Americans aged 50 to 80 has increased by 59% since 2003.



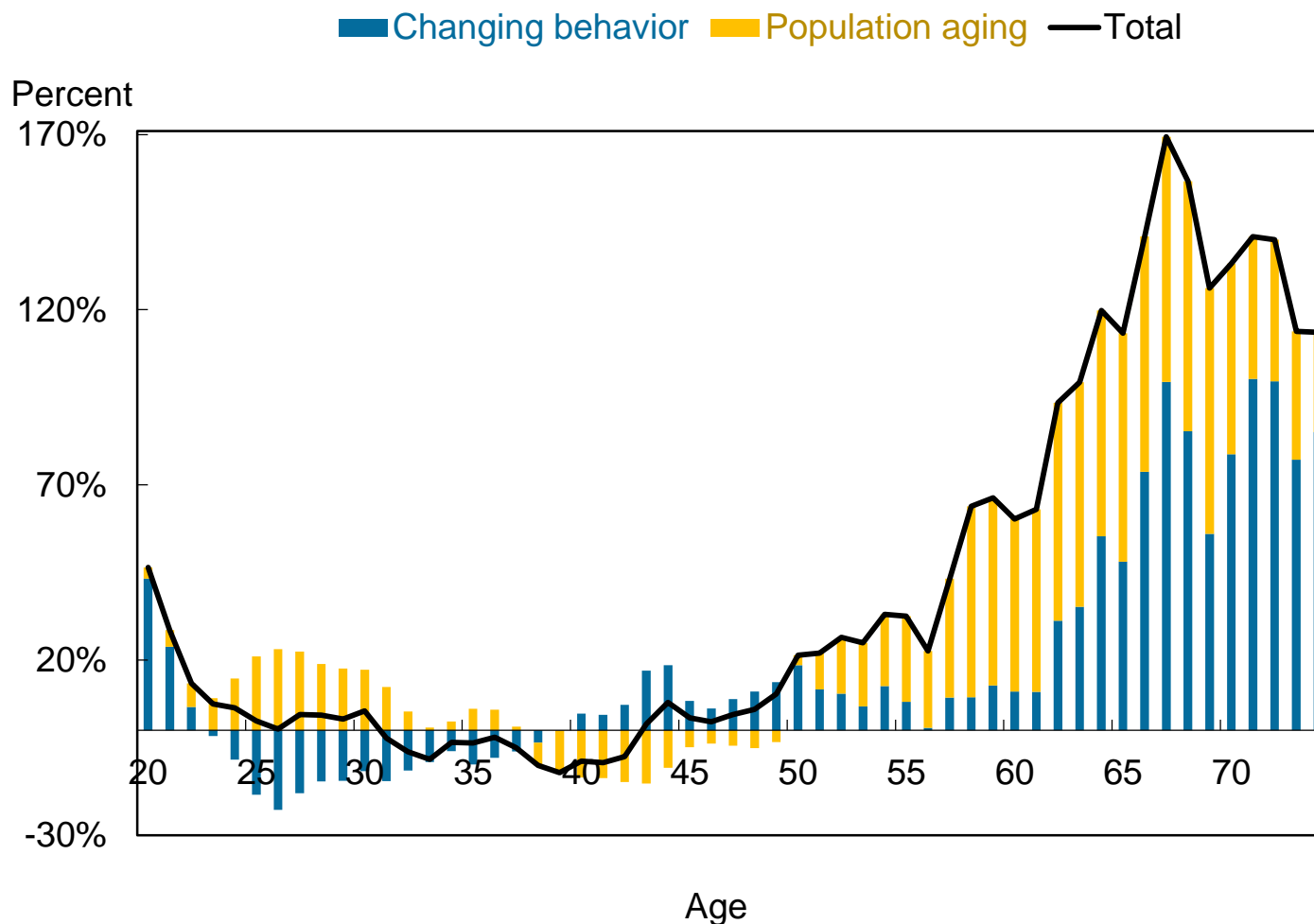
# Relevance and sources of the shift to older ages

- Substantial shift in aggregate debt toward older borrowers relevant to
  - Credit-driven consumer goods markets, but also
  - Loan performance. The payments on the loans represented in this figure are being made by substantially older borrowers now than we've seen in the past.
- Next: how much of this shift in the age distribution of household debt is attributable to simple population aging?



# Population Aging or Changing Behavior?

## Percentage change in aggregate debt by age, 2003 to 2015



Per capita debt at age 30 fell by 12%; per capita debt at age 65 grew by 48%.



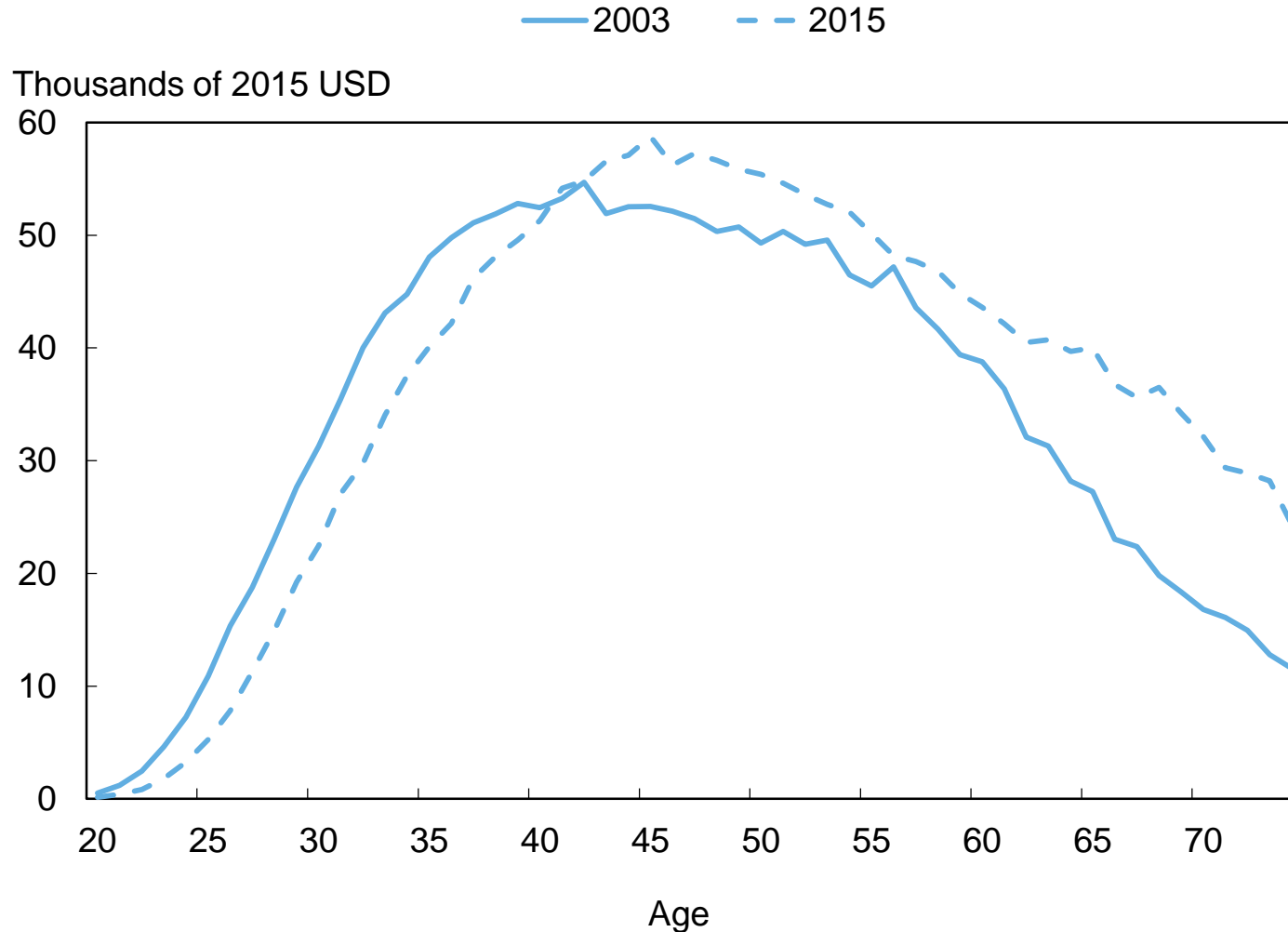
# Population Aging or Changing Behavior?

- As the number of Americans both reaching older ages and entering adulthood climbs,
  - We expect greater aggregate debt balances in the hands of both older and younger borrowers.
- Owing to changing borrower and lender behavior, however,
  - We find substantial evidence of increased debt among older borrowers,
  - And yet no evidence of increased debt among the young.
- Next we turn to specific consumer credit markets
  - In which markets are young consumers reducing their participation?
  - Which types of debt are older consumers increasingly carrying into retirement?



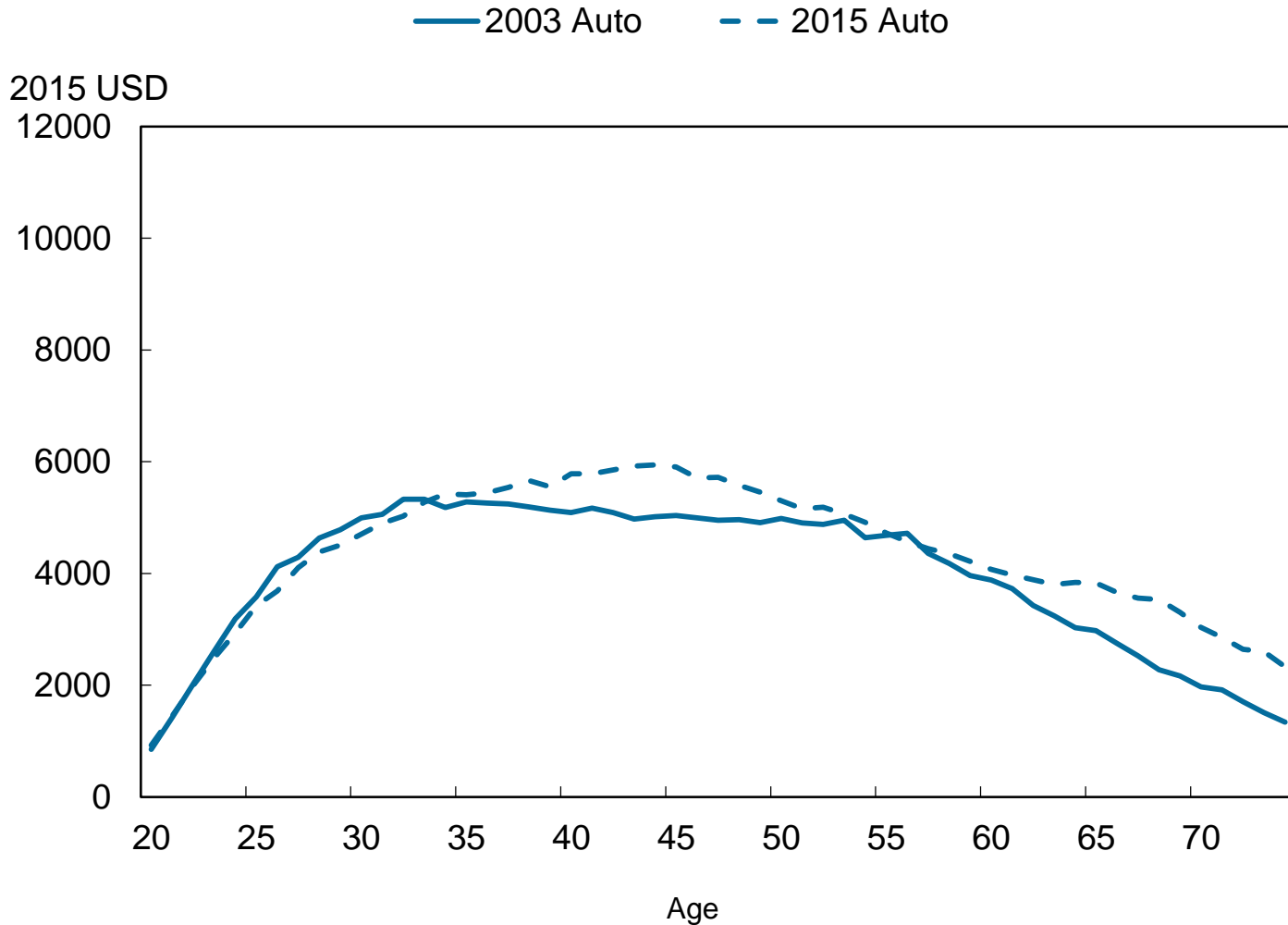
# Loan Types Over the Lifecycle: Home-secured debt

## Mortgage + home equity debt balance per U.S. resident



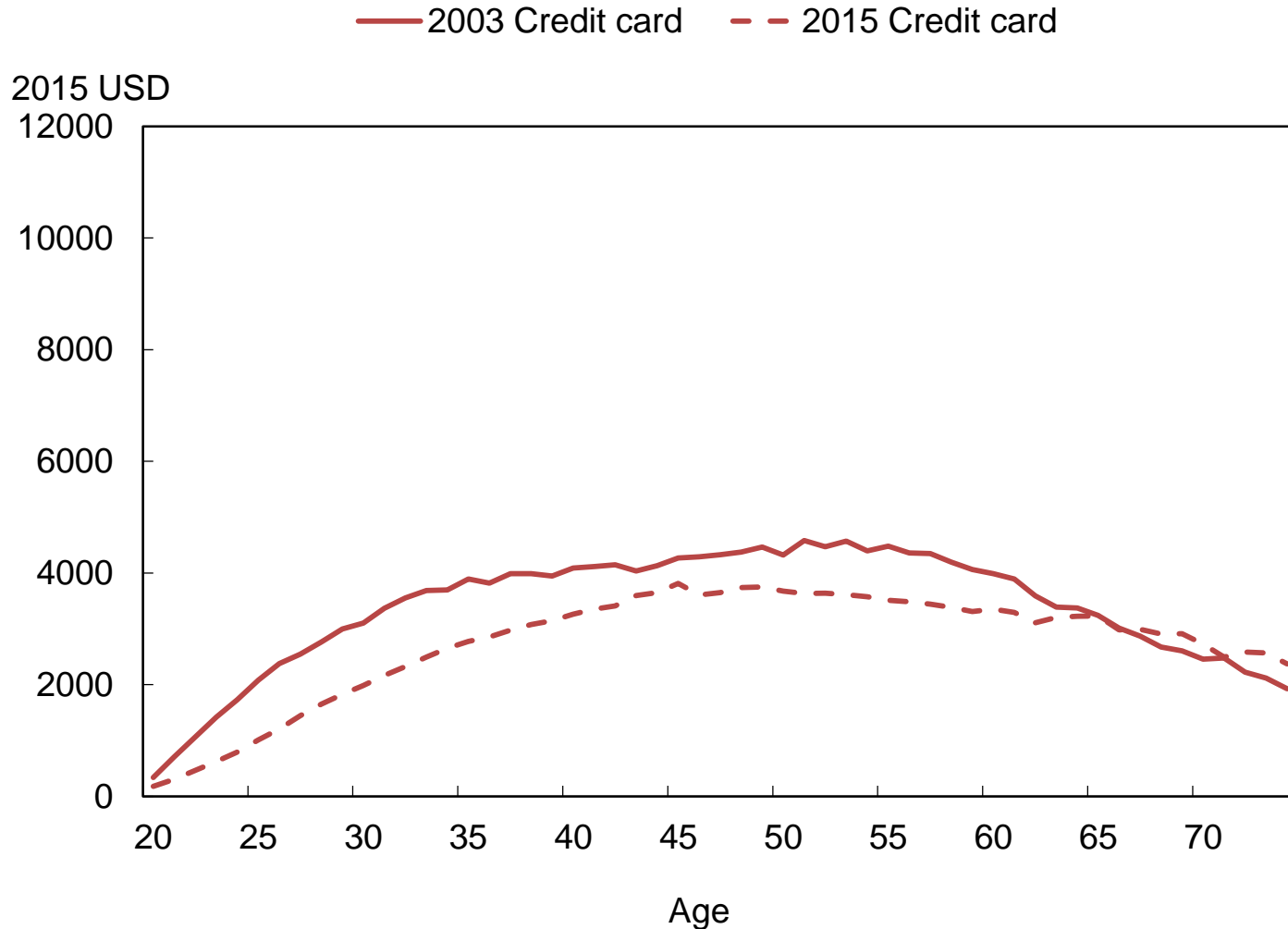
# Loan Types Over the Lifecycle: Non-housing debt

## Auto, credit card, and student loan balance per U.S. resident



# Loan Types Over the Lifecycle: Non-housing debt

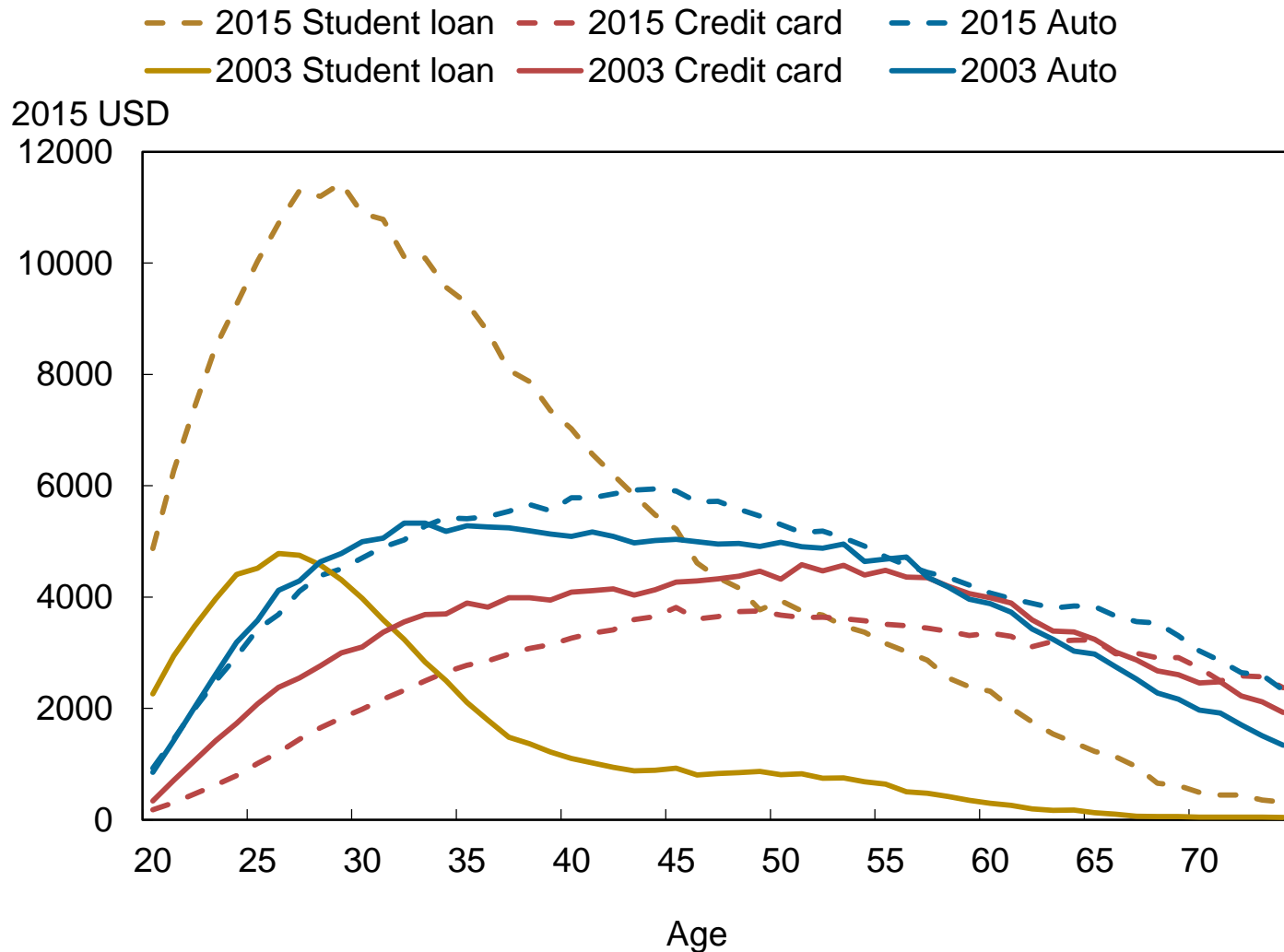
## Auto, credit card, and student loan balance per U.S. resident





# Loan Types Over the Lifecycle: Non-housing debt

## Auto, credit card, and student loan balance per U.S. resident



# 2003-2015 change in real per capita debt by type

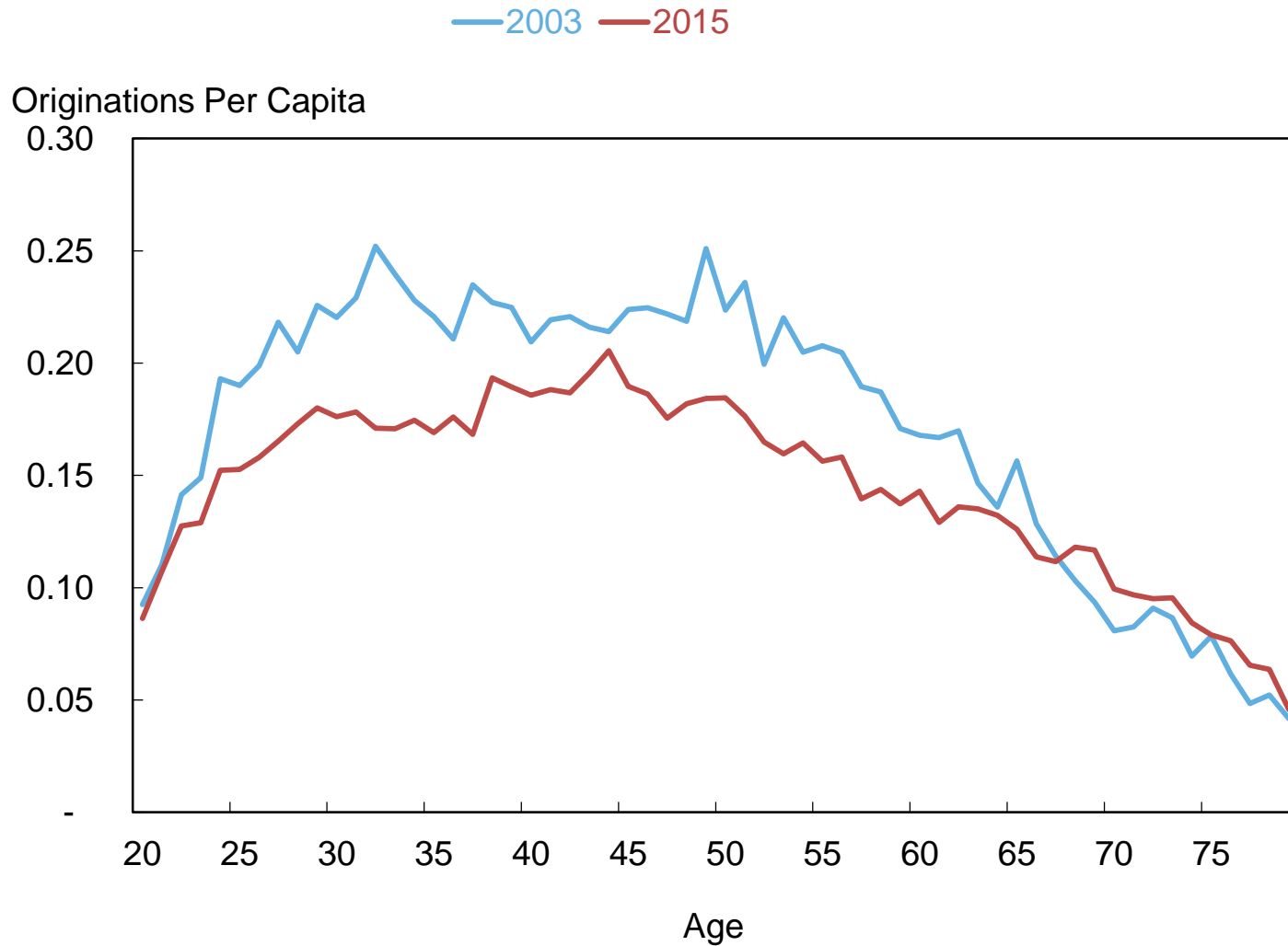
Debt type	Age 30 \$	Age 30 %	Age 65 \$	Age 65 %
Home-secured	-\$8,195	-28%	+\$11,191	+47%
Credit card	-\$1,121	-36%	-\$11	0%
Auto loan	-\$292	-6%	+\$1,102	+29%
Student loan	+\$6,912	+174%	+\$857	+886%

# How did we get here?

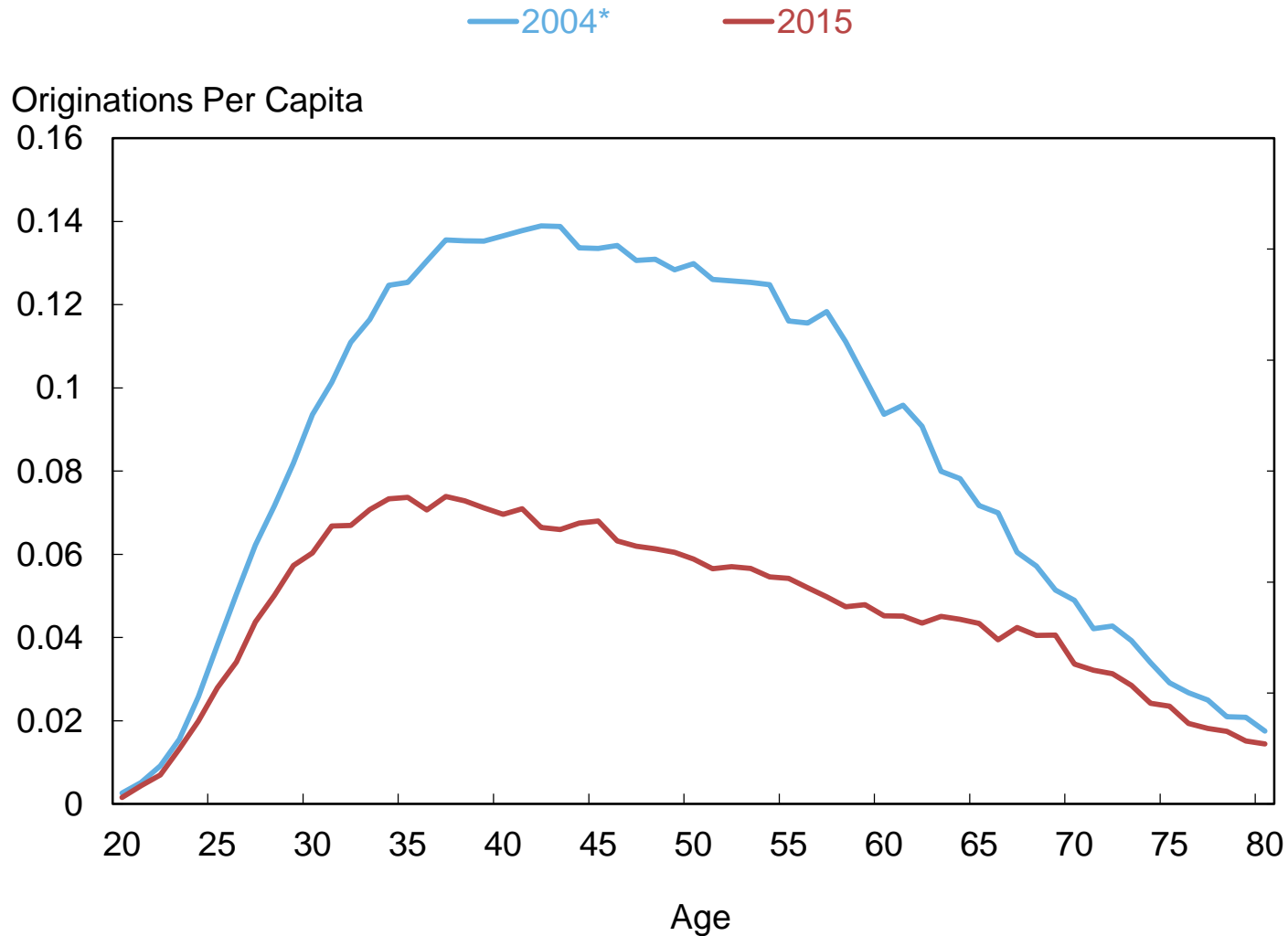
- An acceleration and then slowdown of lending across the board will lead loans, and their associated borrowers, to be older on average.
  - Credit boom that characterized the mid-2000s
  - Stark change in underwriting standards from 2009 forward
- And/or new loan originations could increasingly favor older over younger borrowers.
- Turn to originations data for evidence
  - Has the number of new credit originations shifted downward since 2003?
  - Have new loan originations tilted away from younger borrowers, and toward older borrowers, since 2003?



# Auto Loan Originations Per U.S. Resident, 2003 v. 2015



# Mortgage Originations Per U.S. Resident, 2004 v. 2015



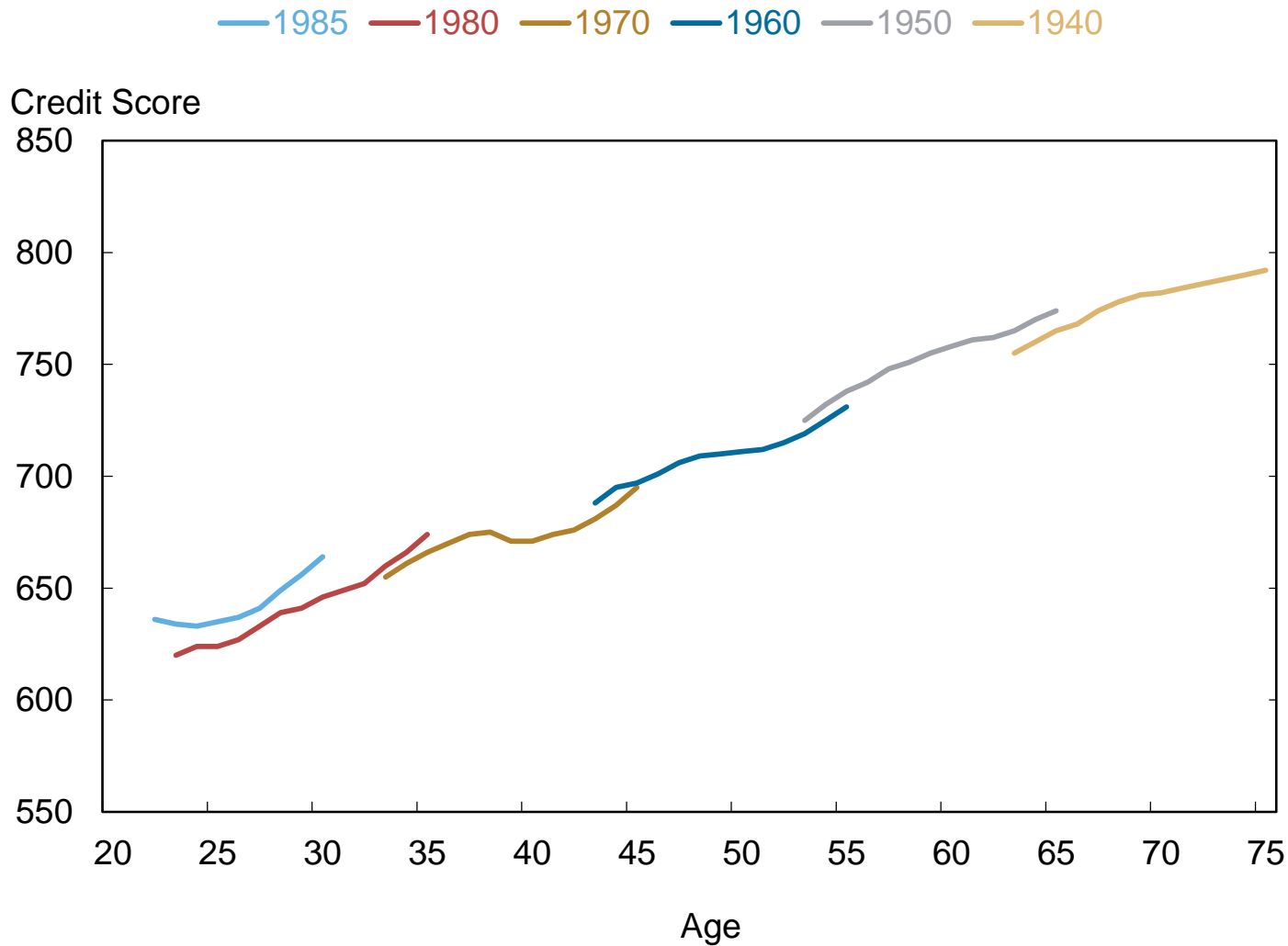
\*Given unusual refinancing activity in 2003, here we use 2004 as our basis for comparison. Results using 2003 are qualitatively similar.

# Why the shift of debt from younger to older ages?

- An acceleration and then slowdown of mortgage lending appears to be the more important factor in the aging of U.S. mortgages & mortgage holders.
- Both auto and mortgage originations show some evidence of a tilt away from younger borrowers, and toward older borrowers, between 2003-4 and 2015. But this change is substantially stronger in the auto loan market.
- Next we consider one possible source of the recent tilt of new originations toward older borrowers.

# Median Equifax Credit Score by Age, 2003-2015

Data for six decennial\* birth cohorts



# Why the shift of new credit from younger to older ages?

- The tilting of new credit toward older borrowers may be an unsurprising consequence of credit tightening
  - ...when one considers the close relationship between credit risk score and age.
  - Many repayment measures drawn from the CCP reflect a similarly close association between age and creditworthiness.
- Further, the ballooning of student debt may have substantial effects on young borrowers'
  - Ability to originate new loans
  - Willingness to originate new loans



# Implications

- Likely greater resilience of outstanding consumer loans
  - Reallocation of debt from young, with historically weak repayment, to retirement-aged consumers, with historically strong repayment.
  - Retirement-aged consumers' repayment has shown little sign of developing weakness as their balances have grown.
  - SCF: Net worth of households with heads age 65+ is very similar in 2013 and 2004-2007, indicating that their increased debt is balanced by increased assets.
  - In light of 2013-2015 debt and housing market changes, the current picture may look brighter still.



# Caveats

- More muted borrowing among younger (23-39yo) consumers
- What balances we observe for this group are increasingly held in student debt.
- Consequences in terms of both foregone economic growth and young consumers' welfare
- SCF again: 45-54 and 55-64-year-old households' balance sheets show less evidence of healing between the 2004-2007 and 2013 waves. We believe this pattern merits ongoing scrutiny, though self-reported household asset values may update with a lag. And, importantly, their debts have increased less than those of retirement-aged consumers since 2003.