Financial Fragility in America

Prof. Annamaria Lusardi

GWSB and Global Financial Literacy Excellence Center (GFLEC)

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Background

- The US has been hit hard by the financial crisis and Great Recession
- Data show that large segments of the population continue to face financial difficulties
- Several years after the Recession, many people feel they are not financially secure
- How can we build a more resilient society?



Contents

- Measuring financial fragility
- Data

- Qualitative research
- Implications for policy and programs



Measuring financial fragility

- How confident are you that you could come up with \$2,000 if an unexpected need arose within the next month?
 - I am certain I could come up with the full \$2,000.
 - I could probably come up with \$2,000.
 - I could probably not come up with \$2,000.
 - I am certain I could not come up with \$2,000.
 - Don't know.
 - Prefer not to say.



People with these responses are classified as financially fragile.



Why this measure?

- Measuring ability to cope within one month, not immediately
- Measuring ability to cope with a midsize shock (e.g., medical bill or car repair)







Why this measure?

- We allow for multiple ways to come up with the money, not only precautionary savings
 - ➤ Networks (e.g., family, friends)
 - > Debt instruments (e.g., credit cards) can play a role







A measure that goes beyond assets

Financial fragility measures at least 2 aspects of personal finance

It is a symptom of lack of assets

It measures lack of borrowing capacity of highly leveraged households



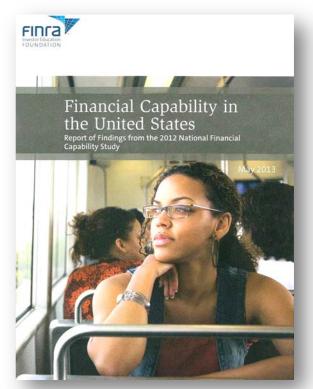


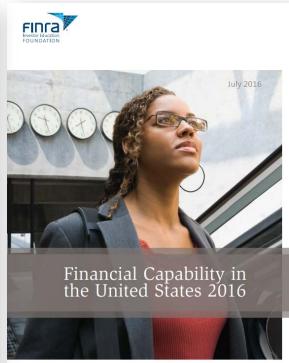
Financial fragility and financial satisfaction

- Financial fragility goes beyond looking at one individual behavior, for example saving or borrowing
- Moving toward measuring well-being: this measure also correlates strongly with financial satisfaction
- Financial fragility has consequences!



National Financial Capability Study (NFCS)



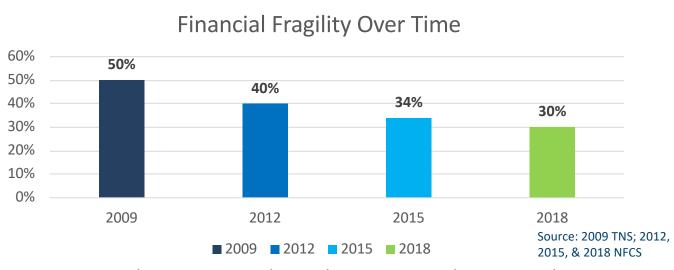






Our long term research



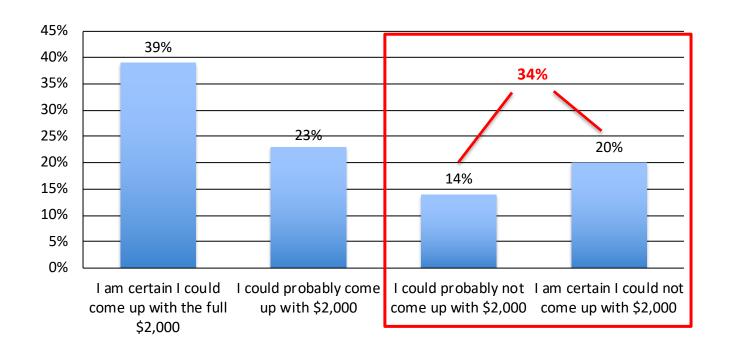


Combining 2009 TNS data with 2012, 2015 and 2018 NFCS data

- Financially Fragile Households: Evidence and Implications. Lusardi, Schneider, and Tufano (2011)
- Document how American households cope with shocks



Financial fragility in the US in 2015





Who are the most financially fragile?

Millennials (age 18-34)

43% of Millennials are financially fragile





Women

• 39% of American women are financially fragile vs. 28% of men

Middle-Income (income \$25K-\$75K)

• 33% of middle-income people are financially fragile*

* Age 25-60, 2015 NFCS





Source: 2015 NFCS

...but also



Upper Middle Class 29% of people with income between \$50K and \$100K are financially fragile¹

¹ Sample age 25-60



College Graduates

25% of college graduates age 25-60 are financially fragile



Fully Employed

31% of fully employed people are financially fragile²

² Sample age 25-60



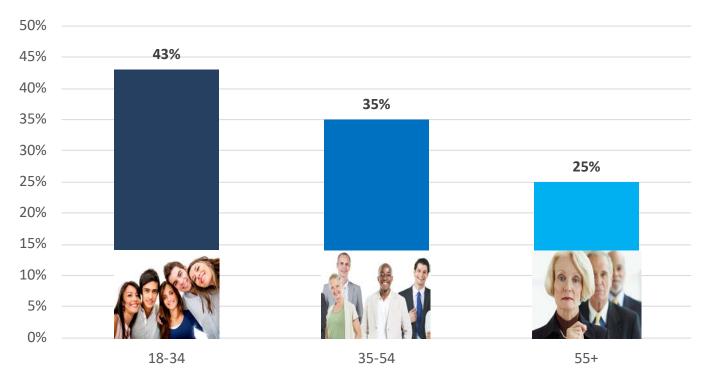
The Unbanked

72% of the unbanked are financially fragile



Financial fragility by age

% of respondents certainly or probably unable to come up with \$2,000 in case of unexpected emergency

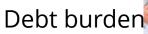


Source: 2015 NFCS



Contributing factors for middle-income households







Financial literacy level





Contributing factors for middle-income: Family size

- Increasing living costs and tuition fees means raising children requires more financial resources from household
- Across all income categories households with more children are more likely to be financially fragile
- Households with more income have more children
- Higher number of financially dependent children for middle- and high-income households helps explain financial fragility





Contributing factors for middle-income: Debt burden

- 30% of financially fragile households spend more than their income, thus accumulating debt
- 70% of middle- and high-income households state that they have too much debt
- Middle-income households have more assets but these assets are highly leveraged
- Higher proportion of middle-income households overdraw their checking account and have unpaid medical bills
- Close to 40% of financially fragile families across all income categories use costly alternative financial services





Financial fragility and financial literacy



LOW FINANCIAL LITERACY

 40% of people who do not know at least 1 of the 3 basic financial literacy concepts (interest, inflation, risk) are financially fragile



Contributing factors for middle-income: Financial literacy

- Financial literacy of financially fragile families is very low
- Low level of financial literacy makes it harder for financially fragile families to manage their many financial demands
- Sharp difference (11%) in level of financial knowledge among households who are fragile and those who are not
- Although financially fragile families carry debt, only 40% know how long it takes for debt to double at a given interest rate.
- Financial literate households are significantly less likely to be financially fragile





Overall findings

- Women are more fragile
- Those with low income and low educational attainment and the unbanked are financially fragile
- Even the middle class and upper middle class feel fragile
- Having a college degree and a full time job are not guarantees of financial security



2018 NFCS main findings

- For the majority of Americans, financial capability, stability, and confidence are no longer improving in step with the economy.
- Signs of persistent or widening divides between those who are struggling financially and those who are prospering
- More than half (53%) agree that thinking about their finances makes them anxious
- Among student loan holders with payments due, 42% have been late with a payment at least once in the past year
- Percentage of savers with annual incomes under \$25,000 was lower in 2018 than it was in 2009.
- The amount and quality of financial education correlate positively with behaviors indicative of financial capability.





Qualitative in addition to quantitative data



 The financial fragility question was asked in on-the-street interviews

If My Wallet Could Talk

Financial Literacy Month Interview Series





Focus Groups: Financial Situation

• We did focus groups in 3 cities (Austin, Baltimore, Cincinnati) among young, women, and blue collar workers

Income:

- Variability in income and employment = Uncertainty
- Various forms of public assistance



Expenses:

- Rent/mortgage biggest expense (\sim 50%)
- Spending on potentially avoidable expenses
- CC debt is a large burden on the balance sheet

Making ends meet:

- Constant balancing act
- Increasing expenses, stagnant income
- Prioritizing and cutting expenses





Focus Groups: Coping with Fragility

Methods:

- Working longer hours/additional job
- Borrowing
- Retirement account withdrawals



Capacity:

- Ability to pay emergency expense with checking/savings account
- Over 50% cannot cover a \$100 emergency expense



Mechanisms:

- Unable to pay (40%)
- CC debt paid over time (24%)
- Borrow from friends/family (13%)





Focus Groups: Savings behavior

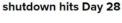
Difficult to save for a number of reasons:

- Desire to save but unable due to unforeseen expenses
- No desire to save (focus on the short-term)
- Saving for the long-term, but not emergencies
- Spending as reward for fragility coping difficulties
- Difficult to budget expenses due to income variability
- No incentive to save any windfall



Case Study: 2019 Government Shutdown

Federal workers line up for free meals, visit food banks as











62% of federal workers say they used up all or most of their savings during the government shutdown

The Shutdown Showed How Precarious Americans' The Atlan **Finances Really Are**





Government shutdown exposed Americans' deep savings crisis



Implications for financial education

- Financial fragility is pervasive
 - > Need robust interventions
- People use many methods of coping
 - > Need to move away from targeting one behavior
- Some of the methods people use are very expensive and do not provide insurance
 - Credit becomes expensive when most needed
- Do not underestimate the power of family, friends, people around us. After all, we insure by pooling resources! GFLE

Implications for financial education (cont.)

- Importance of targeting women
 - ➤ Multiplier effect
- Importance of equipping the young with the skills to succeed in today's complex financial markets
 - Importance of financial education in school



Additional implications

- Implications for policy
 - > Incentives for short-term savings
 - > Stress test for households' financial capability
- Implications for research
 - > Financial fragility question could be used in many surveys
- Implications for pension design: people do not have liquidity to deal with short-term shocks
- Moving toward measuring well-being: this measure also correlates strongly with financial satisfaction



Life sometimes is a storm



The Storm on the Sea of Galilee Rembrandt, 1633

Should financial resilience be part of public policy?

