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# Causes and consequences of using payday loans

This research does not necessarily represent the views of the Federal Reserve

## **Research Questions**

- Why do people use payday loans?
- Do payday loans improve or worsen financial wellbeing?

# Data: Merge payday loan applicants to their credit history

- First-time payday loan applicants from one large payday lender
  - Applications span 2001-2004
- Match applicants to their credit records
  - FRBNY/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel
  - Snapshot every quarter, 1999:1 2010:1

## What is a payday loan (PDL)?

- Small, short-term loan (advance on paycheck)
  - \$100-\$1000 loan
  - 1-4 week term
  - Typical cost: \$15-\$30 per \$100 borrowed
    - $\rightarrow$  390-780% APR for a 2 week loan
- Volume: \$30-50 billion/year

### Concern: bad choice $\rightarrow$ bad outcomes

- Over-optimism or misunderstandings at play?
  - People use payday loans despite having cheaper alternatives (Agarwal et al 2009)
  - People underestimate debt service; think credit cards are more expensive (Bertrand and Morse 2011; Pew 2012)
- Some research finds harmful effects of PDLs (e.g. bankruptcy, loss of bank accounts) while other research finds benefits (e.g. mitigates foreclosures due to income shocks)

## Why do people use payday loans?

#### Desperation!(?)

Credit record information in quarter before first payday loan application						
	Payday applicants			General population		
	<u>mean</u>	<u>median</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>mean</u>	<u>median</u>	<u>N</u>
Number of open accounts	3.8	3	38,220	5.0	4	103,766
Share of accounts not current	0.53	0.5	33,084	0.13	0	93,912
Has one or more credit cards	0.59	1	38,220	0.75	1	103,766
Total limit for cardholders (\$)	3,050	1,154	22,556	18,914	11,000	78,146
Total balance for cardholders (\$)	2,921	1,340	22,556	5,128	1,586	78,146
Number inquiries past 12 months	5.2	4	38,220	1.7	1	103,766
Num new acnts past 12 months	1.4	1	38,123	1.1	1	103,606
Equifax credit score	513	517	38,220	680	702	103,766
Total debt (\$)	19,656	5,977	38,220	49,605	9,120	103,766

Source: FRBNY/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel

## Applicants are in really bad shape at time of application, and never are in good shape



Source: FRBNY/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel

### Payday applicants' credit scores are persistently low

 Applicants in 2002:2 <u>vs.</u> random sample of consumers with the same scores at time of application



# Does getting a payday loan affect borrowers' credit scores?

- Teletrack score determines payday loan approval
- Compare applicants just above/below approval threshold
- Note: payday loans don't *directly* affect credit scores



# Credit scores of approved vs. denied applicants over time



Source: FRBNY/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel

# What happens to those with the best and worst credit scores?

 The effect of getting a payday loan for those in the top/bottom quartile of the applicant credit score distribution just before application



## Conclusions

- Payday loans seem to be a last resort:
  - Credit card lines are exhausted
  - Intense search for cheaper credit is unsuccessful
- Payday applicants have persistent financial problems

 $\rightarrow$  Difficulties forming/committing to a budget

 No evidence that getting a payday loan has a substantive effect (positive or negative) on financial well-being, as measured by credit scores