Self-Sufficiency, Assets, and Poverty

J. Michael Collins
UW-Madison

June 4, 2013

A Workshop in Teaching Poverty and Inequality Courses at the College Level

Self-Sufficiency, Assets, and Poverty

Broad But Interrelated Topics:

1. Self-Sufficiency

2. Financial Capability



3. Asset Building & Savings

Goals

- Introduce topic and connect to poverty in US
 - Overview of some key issues (among many)
- Suggested poverty course topics
 - Outline of content for course sessions
- 5-6 fundamental pieces for a reading list

Start a discussion

Self-Sufficiency

- Accessing benefits
 - Eligibility and take up
- Stable housing
 - And related services
- Movement into work
 - Child care
 - Relax work 'penalty'
 - Also movement <u>off</u> of public assistance

- Managing resources more efficiently
 - Budgeting,Spending
- Dealing with legal issues
 - Judgments
 - Garnishment
 - Child Support

Financial Capability

Financial Knowledge

- Literacy
- Numeracy

Financial Access

- Financial Inclusion
- Underbanked
- Products: transactions & savings

Financial Skills

- Planning
- Goals & Intentions

Dealing with negative triggers

- Emergency expenses
- Borrowing

Attitudes

- Stress
- Confidence
- Trust

Asset Building

Savings

- Restricted purpose
 - Small business
 - Homeownership
 - Education

Risk-taking

Leverage assetswith debt

Political / Social Stake

Ownership in community

Future Orientation

Aspirations for children

Asset Poverty

- Wealth holdings are not sufficient to secure the socially determined minimum standard of living for a given period of time (Brandolini, Magri, & Smeeding, 2010, p. 271).
- Common threshold is whether a household has sufficient assets to sustain at the national poverty level for three months without any income (Haveman & Wolff, 2005).
 - Assets = household net worth, or total 'marketable assets' total debt
- 19.6% of households "Asset Poor" in 2010 (Ratcliffe & Zhang, 2012).
 - Liquid asset poverty = lack of cash or other sources that can be monetized quickly (bank accounts, bonds or CDs, stocks, mutual funds, retirement accounts)
 - \$5,763 liquid asset poverty threshold (family of four)
 - Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) data indicate that in the US liquid asset poverty increased from 41.4% in 2006 to 43.9% in 2010.
 - Liquid asset poverty is highest for female headed and minority households; 80% for households below 200% of the federal poverty level (Aratani & Chau, 2010).
- Asset poverty is distinct: Rates of asset poverty remained steady even as income poverty declined (Caner & Wolff, 2004).

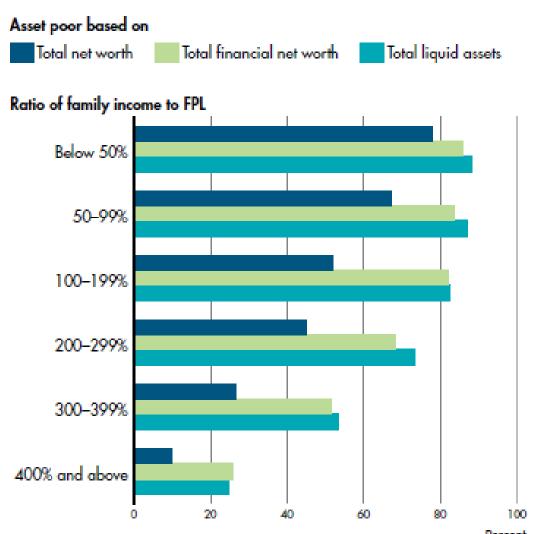
Financial Net Worth (Net Worth Minus Home Equity)	3. Liquid Assets
 + Value of owned business + Value of checking/saving + Value of other real estate + Value of stocks + Value of bonds, cash value in a life-insurance, a valuable collection of investment purposes, etc. - Net of debt value 	 + Value of checking/saving + Value of stocks + Value of bonds, cash value in a life-insurance, a valuable collection of investment purposes, etc.
	(Net Worth Minus Home Equity) + Value of owned business + Value of checking/saving + Value of other real estate + Value of stocks + Value of bonds, cash value in a life-insurance, a valuable collection of investment purposes, etc.

Aratani, Yumiko, and Michelle M. Chau. "Asset poverty and debt among families with children." (2010). http://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:126218

Figure 4. Median Liquid Assets of Families with Children by Income Level and Family Type, 2007

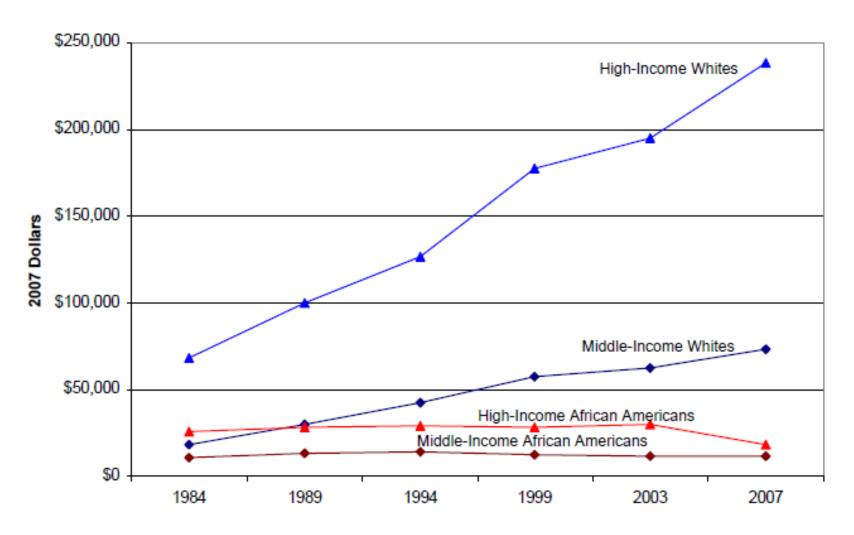
	All	Female-headed families	African-American families	White families	Families with young children under age 6
All Income Levels	\$4,000	\$300	\$173	\$5,500	\$3,000
Below 50% FPL	\$0	\$0	\$ O	\$0	\$0
50-99% FPL	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$100	\$0
100-199% FPL	\$300	\$200	\$10	\$600	\$300
200% FPL and above	\$8,000	\$1,700	\$2,000	\$10,000	\$7,000

Figure 2. Percentage of Asset Poor Among Families with Children, Birth to 18, by Income Level, 2007



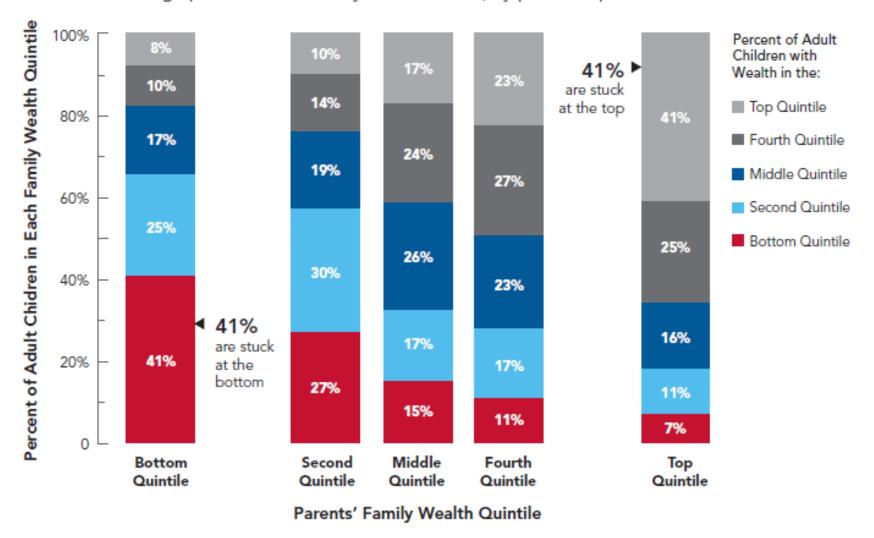
Aratani, Yumiko, and Michelle M. Chau. "Asset poverty and debt among families with children." (2010). http://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:126218

1984-2007 Median Wealth Holdings by Income in 1984 (Not including home equity)



Shapiro, Thomas M., Tatjana Meschede, and Laura Sullivan "Wealth gap increases fourfold." Research and Policy Brief, The Heller School for Social Policy and Management, Brandeis University (May 2010).

Family Wealth is Sticky at the Top and Bottom of the Ladder Chances of moving up or down the family wealth ladder, by parents' quintile



Pew Charitable Trusts. "Pursuing the American dream: Economic mobility across generations." Pew Charitable Trusts, Economic Mobility Project. (July 2010). http://www.pewstates.org/research/reports/pursuing-the-american-dream-85899403228

TABLE 4. Amount of Liquid Assets Held by Households with Nonelderly Heads, Percentage Distribution by Income Quintile

	Lowest quintile	Second quintile	Middle quintile
\$0	69.8	47.6	33.6
\$1-\$1,999	19.7	30.0	29.4
\$2,000-\$9,999	6.5	13.7	21.7
\$10,000 or more	4.0	8.7	15.3
Sample size	3,435	3,436	3,435

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the 2001 Survey of Income and Program Participation.

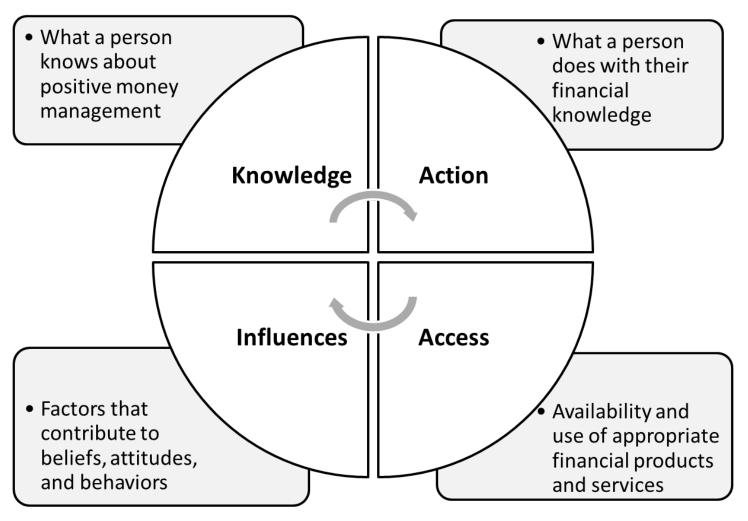
Coping with an Emergency

Table 1. Relationship between Economic and Demographic Characteristics and Confidence in Ability to Cope with Unexpected Expense

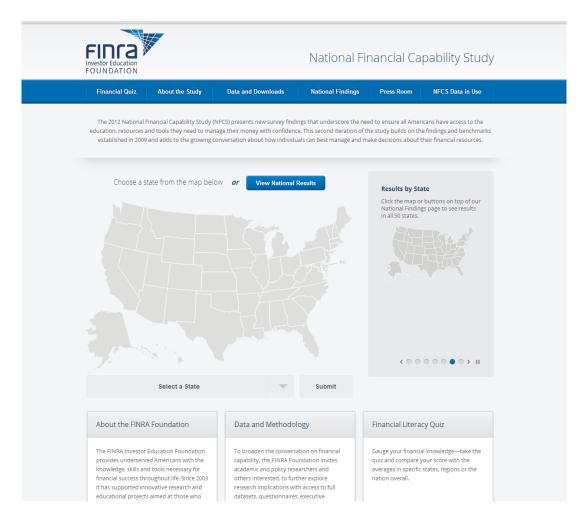
	Certainly Able to Cope	Probably Able to Cope	Probably Not Able to Cope	Certainly Not Able to Cope
All Respondents	24.9	25.1	22.1	27.9
Income				
Less than \$20,000	9.3	14.6	19.2	56.8
\$20,000 - \$29,999	11.4	21.2	27.7	39.7
\$30,000 - \$39,999	17.5	27.5	23.6	31.4
\$40,000 - \$49,999	17.0	26.1	29.9	27.0
\$50,000 - \$59,999	21.9	24.7	26.1	27.3
\$60,000 - \$74,999	33.1	27.9	21.8	17.3
\$75,000 - \$99,999	40.7	33.7	15.4	10.2
\$100,000 - \$149,999	49.0	27.3	12.9	10.8
\$150,000 or more	58.1	27.5	4.7	9.8

Lusardi, Annamaria, Daniel J. Schneider, and Peter Tufano. *Financially fragile households: Evidence and implications*. No. w17072. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011.

2. Financial Capability

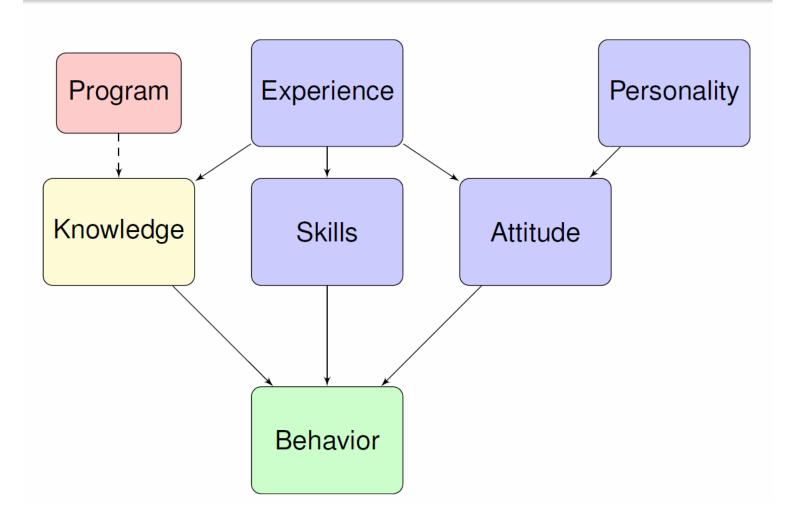


State by State Data



http://www.usfinancialcapability.org/

Financial Capability Model



Unbanked

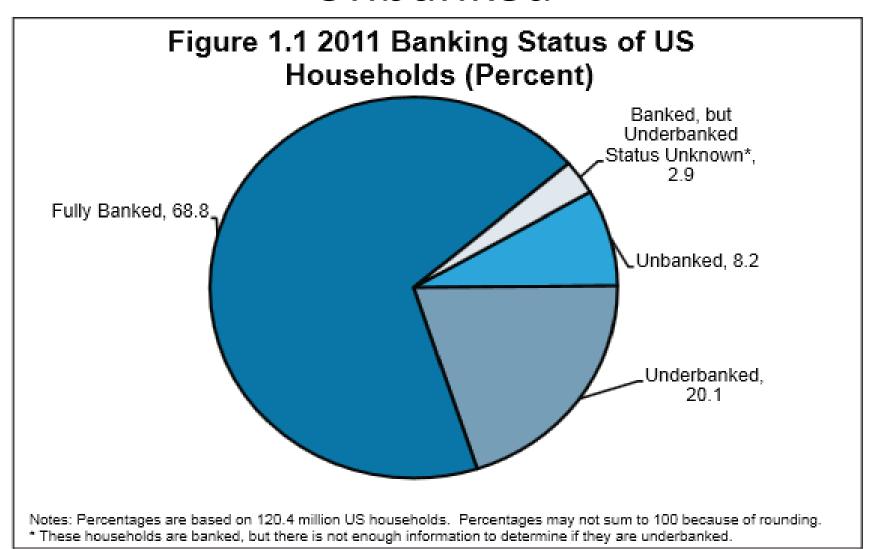
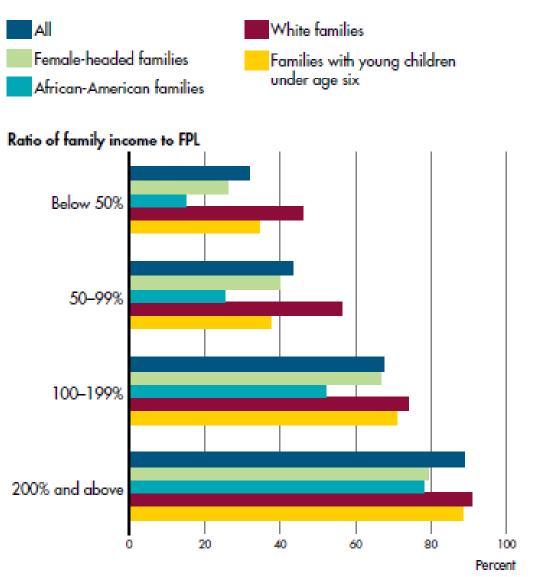
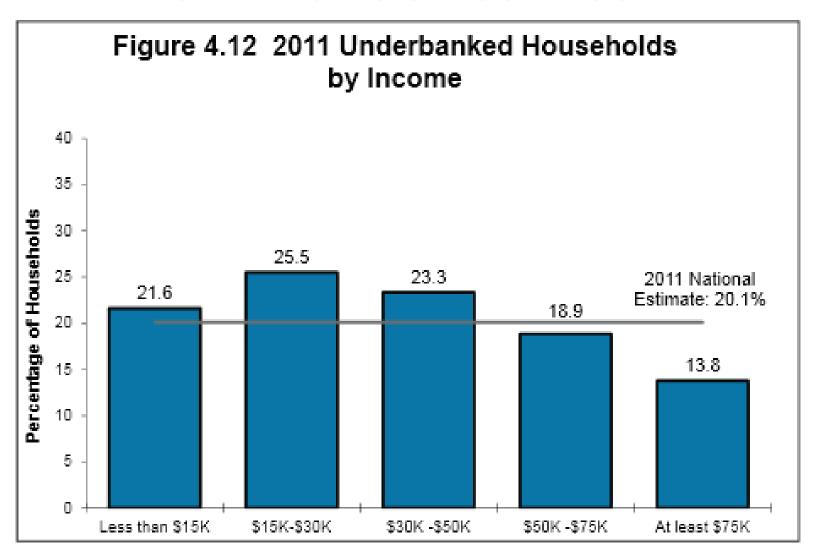


Figure 3. Percentage of Families with Children Who Own a Savings/Checking Account by Income Level, 2007



Aratani, Yumiko, and Michelle M. Chau. "Asset poverty and debt among families with children." (2010). http://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:126218

Un & Under-banked



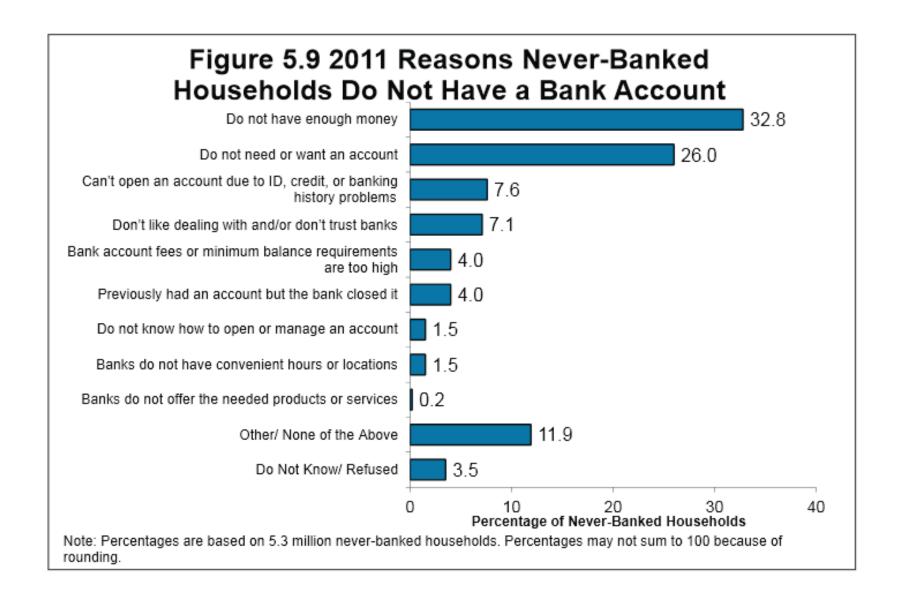
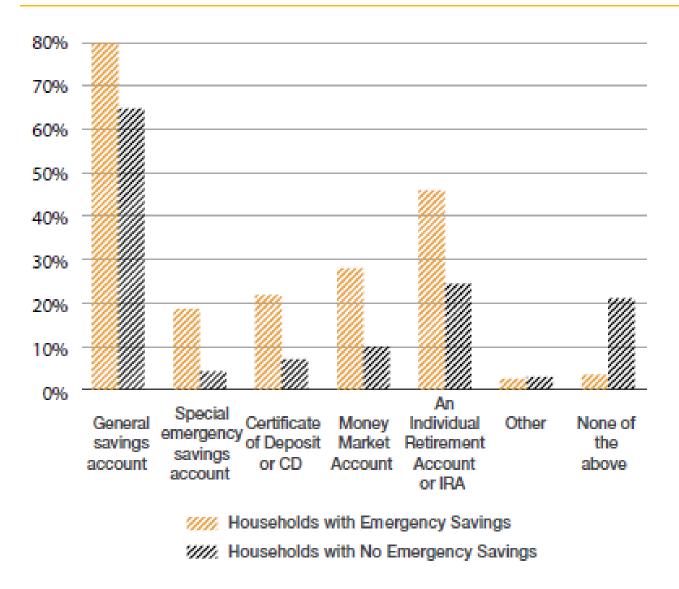


Chart 5: What savings products do households have?



Abbi, Sarika. "A need for product innovation to help LMI consumers manage financial emergencies.." D2D Fund: Doorways to Dreams. (2012).

Compared to What?



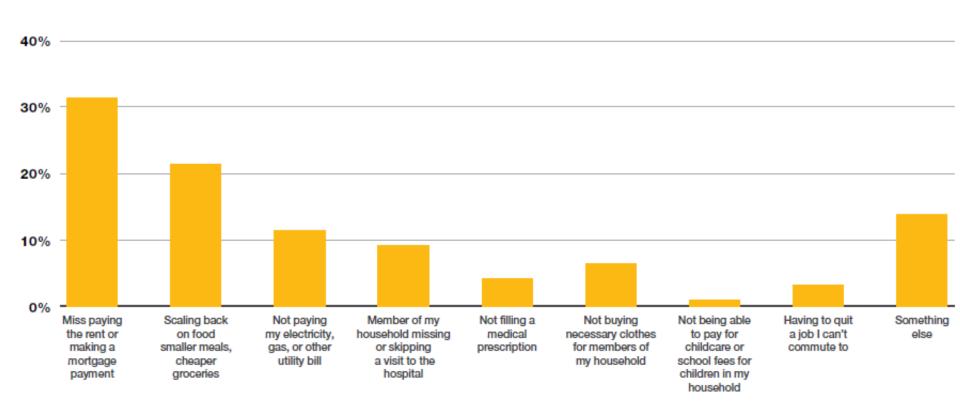
Eliminate access to liquidity...what happens next?

- bounced checks
- missed payments

What do you note about window signs?

14 - Day Term	FEE	APR ¹
Overdraft Protection & Non Sufficient Funds (NSF) Fee	\$28.95	621.57%
Overdraft Protection Fee:	\$27.00	579.71%
Credit Card Late Fee: 1st Time Late	\$25.00	536.76%
Credit Card Late Fee: 2nd Time Late	\$35.00	751.48%
Utility Late/Reconnect Fee	\$46.00	987.65%
Payday Loan	\$15.00	322.06%

How Households Handle Shortfall:



Abbi, Sarika. "A need for product innovation to help LMI consumers manage financial emergencies.." D2D Fund: Doorways to Dreams. (2012).

TABLE 1. Percentage of Households with Nonelderly Heads Experiencing Material Hardship, by Income Quintile

Hardship measure	Lowest quintile	Second quintile	Middle quintile
General			
Unmet essential expenses	28.6	19.8	12.9
Specific			
Missed utility payment	20.4	14.1	8.7
Missed housing payment	12.8	9.1	5.7
Utility shutoff	3.9	2.3	1.5
Phone shutoff	10.4	6.4	4.4
Forgone doctor visit	14.6	9.6	6.1
Forgone dentist visit	16.2	12.3	7.5
Food insecurity	6.7	2.9	1.2
Two or more of the above	23.9	16.2	9.5
Sample size	3,435	3,436	3,435

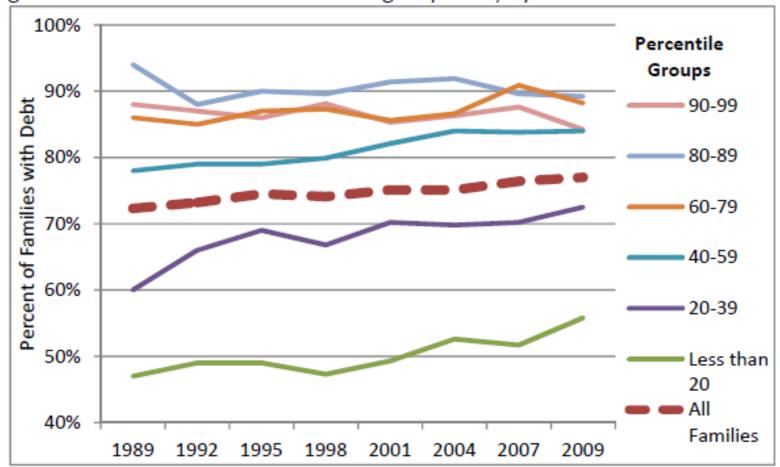
Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the 2001 Survey of Income and Program Participation.

Note: Food insecurity is measured over a four-month reference period. All other hardships are measured over a 12-month period.

Mills, Gregory, and Joe Amick. "Can Savings Help Overcome Income Instability?." *Washington, DC: The Urban Institute* (2010). http://www.urban.org/publications/412290.html

Debt

Figure 3. Percent of Families Holding Any Debt, by Percentile of Income



Source: Survey of Consumer Finances, 2009

Klawitter, M., & Collin Morgan-Cross. "Assets, credit use and debt among low-income households." (2012). http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205 23 12.pdf

Debt Holding by Type

Table 2. Percent of Households Holding Debt and Value of Debt, by Type

	Percent Holding Debt			Median Value of Debt	
		Families With	Families With		Families With
	All	Income Less	Net Wealth	All	Income Less
Type of Debt	Families	Than \$22,400	Under \$1,200	Families	Than \$22,400
Any Debt	76%	56%	69%	\$75,600	\$10,000
Mortgage	47%	12%	15%	\$114,000	\$48,000
Home equity line of credit	11%	3%	0%	\$22,000	\$22,000
Credit card balance	43%	29%	37%	\$3,300	\$1,100
Education loan	18%	12%	28%	\$15,000	\$16,000
Vehicle loan	14%	34%	30%	\$12,000	\$8,000
Other loans	14%	16%	20%	\$3,300	\$2,000

Source: Survey of Consumer Finances, 2009

Debt to Make Ends Meet

- Demand for alternative credit driven by:
 - Bills due before the next paycheck
 - Unexpected expenses
 - Expenses that exceeded income
 - Drop in income
- Most common uses of alternative credit:
 - Pay basic living expenses
 - Pay or utility/housing bills
 - Home or car-related repairs and purchases

FDIC. "2011 FDIC National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked Households." Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. (2012); Levy, Robert, and Josh Sledge. "A complex portrait: An examination of small-dollar credit consumers." Center for Financial Services Innovation, (2012).

Debt: Alternative Financial Services

Table 6. Debt through Alternative Financial Services (in the Past 5 Years)

Type of Alternative Financial Service	Less Than \$25,000	\$25,000- \$75,000	More Than \$75,000
Auto title Ioan	5%	7%	10%
Payday loan	6%	6%	2%
Tax refund anticipation loan	12%	7%	3%
Pawn shop	16%	7%	1%
Rent-to-own	8%	4%	1%

Source: Financial Capabilities Survey, FINRA 2009

Financial Literacy

- Jump\$tart High school tests 31 multiple choice questions. Average score = 47% correct.
- Financial Literacy Measures Lusardi and Mitchell
 - 1. Suppose you had \$100 in a savings account and the interest rate was 2% per year. After 5 years, how much do you think you would have in the account if you left the money to grow: more than \$102, exactly \$102, or less than \$102?
 - 2. Imagine that the interest rate on your savings account was 1% per year and inflation was 2% per year. After 1 year, would you be able to buy more than, exactly the same as, or less than today with the money in this account?
 - 3. Do you think that the following statement is true or false? "Buying a single company stock usually provides a safer return than a stock mutual fund."

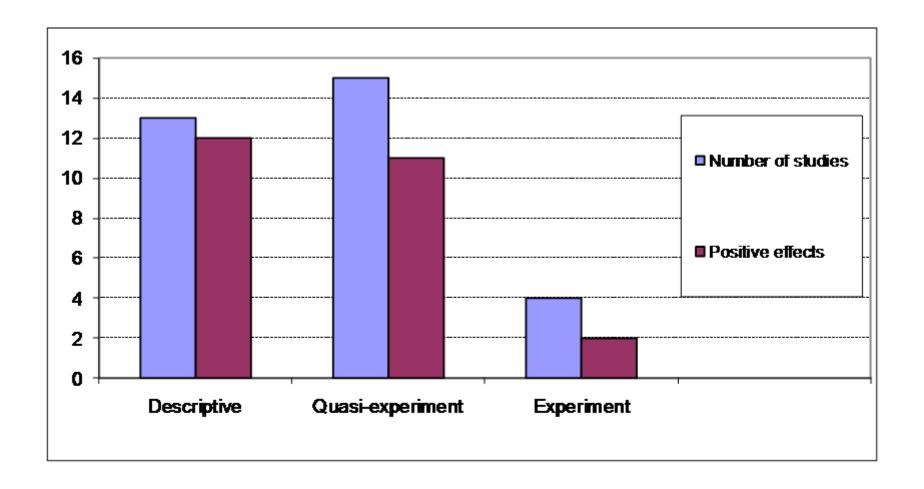
Financial Decisions that Matter for Low-Income Families

- Schooling: Human Capital Investments
- Debt Management: Default, Judgments,
 Bankruptcy, Tax delinquency
- Income Tax filing: EITC claiming and use of Refund
- Managing program rules; Enroll, qualify, retain
- Avoiding Scams
- Use of Social Security and Disability
 - Claiming too early
 - Using DI when no alternative jobs

Studies of Financial Education

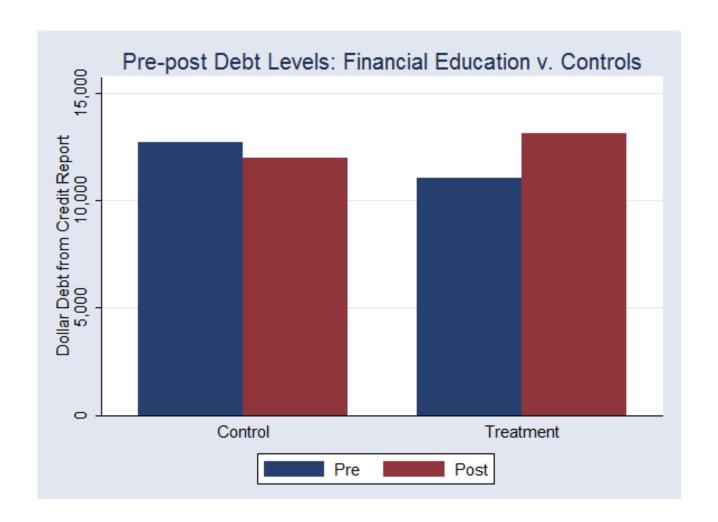
- Array of methodological weaknesses
 - Selection bias due to non-randomized designs
 - Self-reported measures
 - Behavior vs. knowledge
 - Heterogeneous 'treatment' (content and mode)

Weak Evidence for Financial Education



Collins, J. Michael, and C M. O'Rourke. "Financial education and counseling—Still holding promise." *Journal of Consumer Affairs* 44.3 (2010): 483-498.

Education = More Debt?



Collins, J. Michael. "The Impacts of Mandatory Financial Education: Evidence from a Randomized Field Study." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, (2012).

Asset Building

- Idea came from Michael Sherraden: Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy in 1991
- Private foundations provided funds to test idea
- Assets for Independent Act passed in 1998 with broad bipartisan support

- More than 57,000 IDA accounts today: most funded by U.S. Assets For Independence Program in HHS
- 540 IDA programs serve 73,000 savers
- 8,400 new homeowners, 6,000 higher education purchases & 5,200 small business startups
- 33 states provide some support for IDA programs

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNTS

Match amount -- 2:1 is typical

SAVINGS MOBILIZATION

Deliberate and consistent savings over time

FINANCIAL EDUCATION

- Boosting consumer knowledge
- Building personal financial management skills
- Application

INCENTIVES/ACCRUED MATCH

Match support to close the income gap

ASSET PURCHASE

A blend of savings and match are directed toward a high return asset

FACILITATION

The mechanism for continued savings

IDAs should be designed to improve access to savings institutions the for poor, address public policy mechanisms that subsidize savings, and grow wealth among the poor through asset accumulation

Center for Social Development Washington University

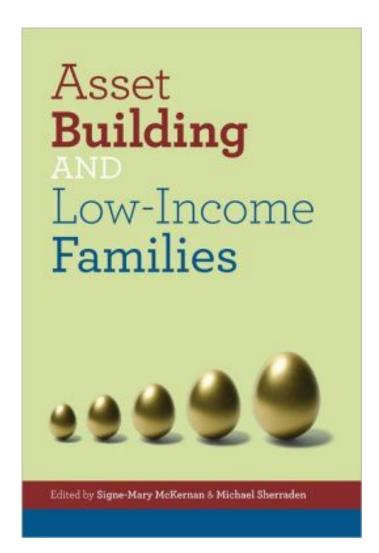
IDA Impacts

Social Experiment: 10 years of studies

- IDA participation is associated with:
 - Increased employment
 - Better budgeting and financial planning
 - Increased homeownership rates of renters
- But NOT:
 - Reduced receipt of public assistance benefits
 - No evidence that IDA participation increases net worth in the first 3 to 4 years.
 - 40% withdrew the entire balance for non-qualifying purposes
 - Willing to forfeit the match in order to access funds
- Program costs to dollars saved: \$1 of net savings costs \$3.

Child Development Accounts

- SEED Accounts
- Matched accounts for children
 about half are 529 plans
- Withdrawals for postsecondary education, vehicles, computers, health
 - \$1,518 saved after 5 years
- SEED for Oklahoma Kids experiment (RCT)
 - 2008: 1,360 kids given \$1000529 accounts at birth



Overall

- Seems Assets are an important consideration
 - Barriers to saving
 - Use for savings in emergency or for contingency
- Less clear how to promote savings
 - Education weak at best
 - Direct subsidy (pay to save) not cost effective so far
- Policy and practice implications...
 - Further experiments
 - Need for evidence
 - Caution about 'right' behavior or outcome

Course Topics

- Asset vs. Income Poverty
 - Distinctions and importance
- Financial services and unbanked
 - Alternative financial services
- Financial Literacy
 - Behavior & knowledge (behavioral economics)
- Financial Capability and Self Sufficiency
 - Cases from public programs

Potential Extensions

- Asset tests in public programs
- Predatory lending, auto title pawn and payday loan restrictions
- EITC refund and savings at tax time
- Retirement savings and employer options relative to Social Security annuity value
- Homeownership and mortgage access
- Medical debt and bankruptcy
- Financial security and domestic violence
- Behavioral economics and decision-making of people in poverty

Prisoner Re-entry

Former offenders have few financial resources but many needs/obligations

- Needs/Obligations:
 - Financial liquidity need at moment of re-entry
 - Civilian clothing, food, transportation, basic toiletries, housing
 - Court costs/restitution
 - Supervision fees
 - Child support arrears problems
- How to address these financial problems?
 - Education? Financial Access?

living expenses for first 30 days post-release to offenders at risk of homelessness

Oregon: Oregon Trail Card allows offenders to access funds in their prison trust account, food stamps, and other public benefits immediately upon release

Case Study: Prisoner Re-entry

Former offenders have few financial resources but many needs/obligations

Resources:

- 'Gate money' issued via check \$54 mean amount (30% of states provide \$0)
- Access to any prison earned wages is often delayed by several weeks
- 1 in 5 have employment arranged at time of release
- Reliance on family/friends is common but relationships may be strained



Key Readings

- Blank, R. M., & Barr, M. S. (2009). Insufficient funds: Savings, assets, credit, and banking among low-income households.
 New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publications. Chapter 1
- 2. Lusardi, A., Schneider, D. J., & Tufano, P. (2011). *Financially fragile households: Evidence and implications* (No. w17072). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- 3. Bertrand, M., Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2006). Behavioral economics and marketing in aid of decision making among the poor. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 25(1), 8-23.
- 4. Aratani, Y., & Chau, M. (2010). Asset Poverty and Debt Among Families with Children. New York: National Center for Children in Poverty.

Accessible Readings

- Aratani, Y., & Chau, M. (2010). Asset Poverty and Debt Among Families with Children. New York: National Center for Children in Poverty.
- Bertrand, M., Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2006). Behavioral economics and marketing in aid of decision making among the poor. *Journal of Public Policy* and Marketing 25(1), 8-23.
- Klawitter, M., & Morgan-Cross, C. (2012). Assets, Credit Use and Debt of Low-Income Households (May 11, 2012). Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington.
 - http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205 23 12.pdf
- Mills, G. B., & Amick, J. (2010). Can Savings Help Overcome Income Instability?
 Urban Institute, http://www.urban.org/publications/412290.html
- O'Brien, R. (2012). We don't do banks: Financial Lives of Families on Public Assistance. *Geo. J. Poverty Law & Policy* 19, 485-535.
- Shapiro, T. M., Meschede, T., & Sullivan, L. (2010). Wealth Gap Increases
 Fourfold. Research and Policy Brief, The Heller School for Social Policy and
 Management, Brandeis University.

Books (* suggested chapters):

- Barr, M. S. (2012). No Slack: The Financial Lives of Low-income Americans.
 Brookings Institution Press.
- Blank, R. M., & Barr, M. S. (2009). Insufficient funds: Savings, assets, credit, and banking among low-income households. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publications.
 - Barr, M, & Blank, R. Savings, assets, credit, and banking among low-income households:
 Introduction and Overview. (pp. 1-23).
 - Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. Savings policy and decision-making in low-income households. (pp. 121-142).
 - Sherraden, M. Individual development accounts and asset-building policy: Lessons and directions. (pp. 191-217).
- Edin, K., & Lein, L. (1997). Making ends meet: How single mothers survive welfare and low-wage work. Russell Sage Foundation Publications.
- Schreiner, M., & Sherraden, M. (2007). *Can the Poor Save? Saving and Asset Building in Individual Development Accounts.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Shapiro, T. M., & Wolff, E. N. (2001). Assets for the Poor: the benefits of spreading asset ownership. New York Russell Sage Foundation Publications.
 - Carney, S. & Gale, W. G. Asset accumulation among low-income households. (pp. 165-205).
 - Edin, K. More than money: The role of assets in the survival strategies and material well-being of the poor. (pp. 206-231)

Journal Articles:

- Bertrand, Marianne, Sendhil Mullainathan, and Eldar Shafir. (2006). Behavioral economics and marketing in aid of decision making among the poor. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 25(1): 8-23.
- Beverly, S. G., & Sherraden, M. (1999). Institutional determinants of saving: Implications for low-income households and public policy. *Journal of Socio-economics*, 28(4), 457-473.
- Brandolini, A., Magri, S., & Smeeding, T. M. (2010). Asset-based measurement of poverty. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 29(2), 267-284.
- Carter, M. R. & C. Barrett (2006). The economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: An asset-based approach. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 42 (2), 178-199.
- Collins, J. Michael, and Collin M. O'Rourke. Financial education and counseling—Still holding promise. *Journal of Consumer Affairs* 44.3 (2010): 483-498.
- Haveman, R., & Wolff, E. N. (2005). The concept and measurement of asset poverty: Levels, trends and composition for the US, 1983–2001. *Journal of Economic Inequality*, 2(2), 145-169.
- Hogarth, J. M., & Anguelov, C. E. (2003). Can the poor save? Financial Counseling and Planning, 14(1), 1-18.
- Hurst, E., & Ziliak, J. P. (2006). Do Welfare Asset Limits Affect Household Saving? Evidence from Welfare Reform. *Journal of Human Resources*, 41(1), 46–71.
- Lerman, Robert I. and Eugene Steuerle, Life-Cycle Investing: Financial Education and Consumer Protection (and response), Research Foundation Publications (November 2012): 85-96. http://www.cfapubs.org
- Lusardi, A., Schneider, D. J., & Tufano, P. (2011). *Financially fragile households: Evidence and implications* (No. w17072). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Mills, G., Gale, W. G., Patterson, R., Engelhardt, G. V., Eriksen, M. D., & Apostolov, E. (2008). Effects of individual development accounts on asset purchases and saving behavior: Evidence from a controlled experiment. *Journal of Public Economics*, 92(5), 1509-1530.
- O'Brien, R. (2009). Ineligible to Save? Asset Limits and the Saving Behavior of Welfare Recipients. *Journal of Community Practice*, 16(2), 183-199.
- O'Brien, Rourke. "POLICY & PRACTICE:" We don't do banks": Financial Lives of Families on Public Assistance." *Geo. J. Poverty Law & Policy* 19 (2012): 485-535.
- Sullivan, J. X. (2006). Welfare Reform, Saving, and Vehicle Ownership Do Asset Limits and Vehicle Exemptions Matter?. *Journal of Human Resources*, *41*(1), 72-105.
- Zinman, J. (2010). Restricting consumer credit access: Household survey evidence on effects around the Oregon rate cap. *Journal of Banking & Finance*, *34*(3), 546-556.

Briefs

- Abbi, S. (2012). A need for product innovation to help LMI consumers manage financial emergencies. D2D Fund: Doorways to Dreams.
- Aratani, Y. &, Chau, M. (2010) Asset Poverty and Debt Among Families with Children, February. http://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:126218
- Beverly, S., Sherraden, M., Cramer, R., Shanks, T. R. W., Nam, Y., & Zhan, M. (2008).
 Determinants of asset building: A Report in the Series Poor Finances: Assets and Low-Income Households. The Urban Institute, Center for Social Development, and the New America Foundation.
- McKernan, S. M., Ratcliffe, C., & Vinopal, K. (2009). Do Assets Help Families Cope with Adverse Events?. *Washington, DC: Urban Institute*.
- Mills, G. & Amick, J. (December 2010). Can savings help overcome income instability?
 The Urban Institute: Perspectives on Low-Income Working Families, Brief 18.
 http://www.urban.org/publications/412290.html
- Ratcliffe, C., & Zhang, S. (2012). *US Asset Poverty and the Great Recession*. Urban Institute.
- Shapiro, T. M., Meschede, T., & Sullivan, L. (2010). Wealth Gap Increases
 Fourfold. Research and Policy Brief, The Heller School for Social Policy and
 Management, Brandeis University.



J. Michael Collins Faculty Director, Center for Financial Security University of Wisconsin-Madison Madison, WI 53706 (608) 616-0369 jmcollins@wisc.edu

For More Information: cfs.wisc.edu

For More Information: cfs@mailplus.wisc.edu

Follow us on and UWMadisonCFS