# Parents’ Wealth Helps Explain Racial Disparities in Student Loan Debt 

By Fenaba R. Addo

TThe amount of educational loans that students of color are taking out to finance their higher education may be contributing to racial wealth gaps.
Federal financial aid decisions are primarily based on income, not wealth, and family wealth is an important resource for discharging student debt. Therefore, existing racial wealth disparities and soaring higher education costs may actually replicate racial wealth disparities across generations by driving racial disparities in student loan debt load and repayment.

If today's black young adults who attended college are the next generation of the black middle class, then they are not very different than their predecessors. They have made significant gains in educational attainment but don't have the wealth profile to match. This disparity appears to stem from the educational debt acquired to pursue their education. College is an increasingly expensive investment for students and their families, who have had to shoulder a growing share of the college cost burden.

And while studies indicate that the lifetime earnings of those with a college degree continue to outpace those of individuals without, ${ }^{1}$ black students appear to be taking on a great deal more financial risk in pursuit of higher education. They tend to rely on student loans more than whites, have higher debt burdens, express more concern about the affordability of loan payments, and are more likely to default. ${ }^{2}$

## Disparities in Transfers and Composition of Wealth Matter

Given that the average net wealth of college-educated blacks is less than a tenth that of whites, ${ }^{3}$ white families are better able to draw from their wealth to pay
for college, transfer their wealth to their children, and protect their children from debt than are black families. The proportion of families who provide assistance and the average amounts that they are able to give also differ considerably. An analysis of data from a youth survey ${ }^{4}$ found that 58 percent of black young adults reported that their parents contributed an average of $\$ 4,200$ over the course of their college career. That compares to an average of $\$ 12,000$ given by 72 percent of white families. (See Table 1.)

Black parents compose only 3.2 percent of the top wealth distribution quintile, defined as those holding at least $\$ 191,000$. These families have substantially less home equity and only half as much in financial assets as white counterparts at similar points in the distributions. (See Table 2.) Parents at the high end of the black wealth distribution may be less able to transfer wealth to their children than are their white counterparts. This may be due in part to the black parents having fewer liquid assets, such as stocks, bonds and savings, which can be passed more easily to the next generation.

## Racial Wealth Gaps Appear Early

As early as age 25 , racial wealth gaps begin to emerge. In the age 25 asset survey, ${ }^{5}$ college-educated white young adults reported having approximately $\$ 17,000$ more wealth than black young adults who had attended college. We calculated that a $\$ 10,000$ increase in young adult net wealth is associated with 7.6 percent less student loan debt. Young adults with high net wealth may have benefited from transfers of wealth from their parents and subsequently may be in a better position
(continued on Page 2)

Researching Family Balance Sheets to Strengthen Families and the Economy | stlouisfed.org/hfs

## The Center for Household Financial Stability at the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis focuses on family balance

 sheets. The Center's researchers study the determinants of healthy family balance sheets, their links to the broader economy and new ideas to improve them. The Center's original research, publications and public events support researchers, practitioners and policy-makers seeking to rebuild and strengthen the balance sheets of all American households, but especially those harmed by recent economic and financial shocks. For more information, see the web site at www.stlouisfed.org/hfs.
## (continued from Page 1)

to pay down their student loans quicker. This analysis suggests that social class positioning defined by familial wealth may not persist for this recent cohort of young adults, and especially not for black children from middle-class and higher net wealth households. They, like their parents' and grandparents' generations, might find their pathway to middle-class status, financial security, and stability to be a tenuous one. If student loan debt is more burdensome and consequential for black young adults, one of the unintended consequences of rising college costs may be that the long unstable and fragile position of the black middle class will persist.

Fenaba R. Addo is a visiting scholar with the Center for Household Financial Stability.

By the Numbers

| $\$ 4,200$ | Average amount parents of majority of black students contributed <br> for college |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\$ 12,000$ | Average amount parents of majority of white students contributed <br> for college |
| $\$ 17,000$ | Amount of greater wealth college-educated white young adults <br> had compared to black young adults by age 25 |
| 7.6 percent | Amount of decrease in student debt associated with \$10,000 <br> increase in young adult net wealth |
| 3.2 percent | Black parents in top wealth quintile |

TABLE 1
Finances by Race

|  | Student Loan Debt | Full Sample | White |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $41 \%$ | $41 \%$ | Black |
| Young Adult Has Debt | $\$ 22,057^{*}$ | $\$ 21,956$ | $\$ 19,654$ |
| Average Debt among Holders |  |  |  |
| Young Adult Status at Age 25 | $\$ 32,149$ | $\$ 37,182$ | $\$ 20,186$ |
| Net Worth | $69 \%$ | $72 \%$ | $58 \%$ |
| Parent Contributed to College Cost | $\$ 10,384$ | $\$ 11,679$ | $\$ 4,217$ |
| Total Parent Contribution over College Career |  |  |  |
| Parents' Wealth | $\$ 149,842$ | $\$ 174,871$ | $\$ 48,494$ |
| Net Worth | $\$ 73,333$ | $\$ 101,377$ | $\$ 9,498$ |
| Median | $\$ 25,819$ | $\$ 31,001$ | $\$ 6,363$ |
| Financial Assets | $\$ 62,416$ | $\$ 72,866$ | $\$ 19,377$ |
| Home Equity | $\$ 41,387$ | $\$ 48,211$ | $\$ 13,279$ |
| Retirement Accounts | $10 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| Has College Saving Account (CSA) | $\$ 38,776$ | $\$ 40,786$ | $\$ 27,068$ |
| Amount among CSA Holders | $\$ 8,385$ | $\$ 11,231$ | $\$ 4,092$ |
| Other Assets |  |  |  |

NOTES: Dollar figures are rounded to the nearest dollar. The number of white young adults responding was 3,258 , and the number of black young adults responding was 1,244 . All averages are statistically different at the 5 percent level by race, indicating that the differences are not a result of random chance.
SOURCES: 1997 cohort of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth and author's analysis.
*Includes groups other than young white and young black adults.

## (continued from Page 2)

## ENDNOTES

1 See Jones and Schmitt.
2 See Jackson and Reynolds.
3 See Emmons and Noeth.
4 Data are from the 1997 cohort of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97) https://www.bls.gov/nls/nlsy97.htm. The NLSY97 is an annual study following a representative sample of youth living in the U.S. who were 12 to 16 years old as of Dec. 31, 1996. The current analysis uses annual data from 1997-2011 and 2013.
5 Data from the NLSY97 Asset 25 section was collected in the interview year at the time or after the young people reached age 25 .

## REFERENCES

Addo, Fenaba R., Houle, Jason N., and Simon, Daniel. Young, Black, and (Still) in the Red: Parental Wealth, Race, and Student Loan Debt. Race and Social Problems, 2016, Vol. 8, Issue 1, pp. 64-76. https://link.springer.com/ article/10.1007/s12552-016-9162-0
Emmons, William R. and Noeth, Bryan J. Why Didn't Higher Education Protect Hispanic and Black Wealth? In The Balance: Perspectives on Household Balance Sheets, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2015, Vol. 12. https://www. stlouisfed.org/publications/in-the-balance/ issue12-2015
Jackson, Brandon A., and Reynolds, John R. The Price of Opportunity: Race, Student Loan Debt, and College Achievement. Sociological Inquiry, May 2013, Vol. 83, pp. 335-68.
Jones, Janelle, and Schmitt, John. A College Degree is No Guarantee. Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR), May 2014.
table 2
Average Holdings by Types of Wealth among Parents in the Highest Quintile

| Holdings | Average Amount (\$) |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | White | Black |
| Home Equity | 154,627 | $92,555^{*}$ |
| Retirement Accounts | 116,960 | 91,915 |
| Financial Assets | 81,827 | $46,579^{*}$ |
| College Savings Account (CSA) | 12,323 | 14,023 |
| Other Assets | 30,374 | 51,655 |

NOTES: Highest quintile includes those with \$191,180-plus in wealth. The number of people responding was 1,069 .

SOURCES: 1997 cohort of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth and author's analysis.
*Statistically different by race at the 5 percent level.

