Student Debt in Canada:

Education shouldn't be a debt sentence

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Canadians are making sacrifices to prepare themselves for a changing workforce. Federal and provincial government decisions are forcing students to take on more educationrelated debt than any previous generation, while middle class earnings have largely stagnated in the past twenty years.

Skyrocketing tuition fees and the prevalence of loan-based financial assistance have pushed student debt to historic levels. This past year, almost 425,000 students were forced to borrow in order to finance their education. The aggregate of loans disbursed by the Canada Student Loans Program, less the aggregate of loan repayments received is resulting in student debt increasing by \$1 million per day.

A Generation in Debt

In September 2010, the total amount of student loans owed to the government reached \$15 billion, the legislated ceiling set

by the Canada Student Financial Assistance Act. This figure only accounts for a portion of total student debt; it does not include provincial and personal loans, lines of credit, and education-related credit card debt. In response, the government altered the definition of "student loan" to exclude over \$1.5 billion in federal student loan debt. Even with this new

definition, the federal student loan debt surpassed the \$15 billion limit. In response, the federal government amended the Canada Student Financial Assistance Act again in order to increase the limit to \$19 billion while, at the same time, dramatically reducing parliamentary oversight of the program.

Across Canada

For more than a decade, students studying in Ontario and the Maritimes have had the highest average debt loads, averaging more than \$28,000.

In other jurisdictions, pressure from students and their families has prevented student debt from rising to the levels suffered by students in the Maritimes. A massive student mobilisation in Québec in 2005 forced Jean Charest's Liberal government to reverse \$103 million in cuts to a bursary program directed at students most in need, then in 2013 massive student mobilisation against increases in tuition fees contributed to the defeat of the Charest Government in the 2012 provincial elections. Collective action has afforded Québec both the lowest tuition fees and lowest levels of student debt of any province at just over \$13,000. However, recent proposals by Pauline Marois' governing Parti Québecois may lead to tuition fee increases.

Students in Newfoundland and Labrador have been successful in lobbying consecutive governments to freeze and reduce tuition fees since 1999. In 2007 the provincial government implemented an up-front needs-based grant program. As a result, student debt in Newfoundland and Labrador has decreased significantly. For graduates of the one-year programs at the College of the North Atlantic, student debt fell by five percent in one year alone. Since introducing the grants program, in 2011 the government has also eliminated the interest on student loans, giving a break to those who accrued debt.

The Impact of Debt on Students and Society

Among those who have never participated in post-secondary education, "financial issues" have been found by multiple researchers to be the most commonly cited barrier. Financial

struggles lead to a diverse array of consequences.

Debt Aversion

Many potential students are reluctant to take on the required debt and associated risk required to pay for a college or university degree. Research has found that debt aversion is strong among those who chose not to pursue post-secondary education. Of the 70 percent,

of high school graduates who cite financial reasons as the main factor for not pursuing post-secondary education, one in four cited accumulation of debt as the main deterrent. Those from marginalised communities, low-income backgrounds, and single parents are more likely to be strongly averse to accumulating student debt.

More detailed studies on debt aversion have been conducted in the United Kingdom. It has been found that students from racialised communities and lower income backgrounds, as well as single parents are more likely to hold negative feelings about taking on student debt. Two thirds of students who decide against enrolling in university say that the prospect of taking on significant student debt affected their decision.

Students are also finding it more difficult to find meaningful summer employment to help cover the costs of rising tuition fees. According to Statistics Canada, student unemployment is almost twice as high as the rate of unemployment for the general population.

Persistence and Mental Health

Apprehension about accumulating debt can also have a profound impact on the likelihood of completion. As many students work part- or full-time to reduce their borrowing,



In September 2010 the amount of student loans owed to the Government of Canada surpassed \$15 billion dollars—more than the debt of some provinces. Worse, the \$15 billion figure does not include approximately \$5–8 billion in provincial student debt or personal debts such as credit cards, lines of credit, and family loans.

academic commitments can become more difficult to fulfill. Other students simply leave before completion at the first offer of decent employment as a way to stop accumulating debt.

Canadian research suggests that debt levels have a direct impact on success in post-secondary education. One study found that as student debt rose from less than \$1000 to \$10,000 per year, program completion rates for those with only loans (and no grants) plummeted from 59 percent to 8 percent.³ Similar conclusions can be drawn from Statistics Canada's Youth In Transition Survey (YITS), which found that of those who cease their studies early, 36 percent do so for financial reasons.

Full-time study is associated with many different pressures and responsibilities. The pressure of mounting student debt and juggling studying and employment are added burdens. Research from the United Kingdom on student debt and mental health found that students with a high degree of financial worry showed greater levels of tension, anxiety, and difficulty sleeping.⁴ Even students with low levels of debt reported lower perceived levels of achievement. Researchers have concluded that debt, even at low levels, "can have a detrimental impact on students' experience of university." ⁵

Career Choice

In Canada, student loan repayment begins almost immediately after graduation, forcing graduates to make employment decisions based on what can best contribute to loan repayment. Student loan obligations reduce the ability of new graduates to start a family, work in public service careers, buy a house, car and other assets, build career-related volunteer experience, or take lower paying work in their desired field to get a "foot in the door". Research also suggests that high student debt levels dissuade recent graduates from entrepreneurship.

Surveys of students in programs with deregulated tuition fees have demonstrated that student debt changes the career path of young graduates. Studies of medical students and law students found that students expect to seek higher paying jobs in fields or regions that are not necessarily their first choice. Student debt appears to be driving committed young doctors away from family practice and young lawyers away from the public service and pro bono work—adversely affecting access to health care and legal services for all Canadians.

Financial Ruin and Bankruptcy

Bankruptcy is supposed to be the last chance for the honest, but unfortunate, debtor. Yet, since 1998, students who were forced to borrow to finance post-secondary education have been subjected to a law prohibiting bankruptcy on student loans for many years after graduation. In effect, students with debt have been criminalized and are faced with the same type of penalty as those convicted of fraud.

The student loan bankruptcy prohibition targets an already vulnerable population. Those declaring bankruptcy on their student loans before the prohibition was introduced in 1998 were more likely than other bankruptcy filers to be women, have low incomes (\$14,000/year), work in low-skill jobs and have received income assistance.⁷

A study on Canadians and sub-prime lending found student loans to be a major source of concern for indebted Canadians. Student debt"... seems to be contributing significantly to financial problems experienced by young adults".8

Conclusion

Although the Canada Student Loans Program has been in place since 1964 and tens of thousands of students borrow to finance public post-secondary education each year, student debt is neither inevitable nor necessary. Federal and provincial government's divestment from public post-secondary education has led to significant tuition fee increases. Students and their families have shouldered these cuts causing a massive increase in student debt.

The tax credit and education savings schemes currently operated by the federal government allow for personal income tax savings on education-related costs and a higher rate of return on education-related savings, respectively. The indications are, however, that the total cost of the programs will exceed \$2.58 billion this year, making them by far the government's most expensive direct spending on post-secondary education measure.

Despite their large price tag, the education tax credit and savings programs are very poor instruments to improve access to post-secondary education and relieve student debt. All students qualify for tax credits, regardless of financial need, which ultimately benefits those with the lowest amount of debt and those from high-income backgrounds. Savings schemes have largely benefitted those from high-income backgrounds, as individuals from low-income families often do not have the funds necessary to invest in the first place.

If this \$2.58 billion was instead used for up-front grants, it would turn every dollar loaned by the Canada Student Loans Program (CSLP) into a non-repayable grant. The CSLP expects to lend approximately \$2.46 billion during the 2013-14 academic year. If the amount of money the federal government spent on savings schemes and education-related tax credits each year had been simply shifted to the Canada Student Grants Program, student debt owed to the federal government could be greatly reduced.

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