Homeownership and the American Dream – An Analysis of Intergenerational Mobility Effects

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ABSTRACT

The benefits of homeownership feature prominently in the academic and policy discussions alike. Increasing homeownership has been a major policy goal for decades, especially in low-income areas. We show that the positive relationship between homeownership and intergenerational mobility is highly place-dependent. First, we link commuting zone-level homeownership rates to intergenerational mobility, and find a strong positive relationship. The relationship persists after instrumenting for ownership using housing supply and price shocks. Second, we show that the positive relation between of homeownership and upward mobility is significantly diminished or disappears in areas with high sprawl or segregation, whether we use income segregation, racial segregation, or a new measure of homeowner segregation. These results, as well as additional findings on the formation of social capital and on school quality, suggest that homeownership may not benefit, or may even disadvantage children in segregated, poor areas, possibly through reduced residential mobility.

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"No person, even the President, can ... guarantee you ... [that] you will always have the job you have today ... But we can guarantee to people that we're going to empower them to help themselves. We'll make home ownership more accessible."

– President Bill Clinton (1995)

"We can put light where there's darkness, and hope where there's despondency in this country. And part of it is working together as a nation to encourage folks to own their own home."

— President George W. Bush (2002)

I. Introduction

Owning a home has long been considered an integral part of the American Dream and of achieving upward mobility for one's family and children. As the above quotes indicate, the belief has been strongly held across the political aisle.[1] Since the 1930s, numerous policy measures have been enacted to increase homeownership rates, most noteworthy the establishment of Fannie Mae in 1938. Many of these measures aim to ensure lending to underserved groups. The Federal Housing Enterprise Financial Safety and Soundness Act ("GSE Act"), for example, encourages lending by Government Sponsored Enterprises (GSEs) — such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac — to low-income and minority families. The older Community Reinvestment Act ("CRA Act") of 1977 has a similar mandate and applies to all banking institutions that receive the Federal Deposit Insurance (FDIC).

Existing research on the effect of homeownership confirms this notion and points to the better educational achievements, higher employment, and more wealth accumulation among children and families of homeowners.[2] In addition to such direct (individual) benefits, homeownership rates have been linked to indirect benefits (positive externalities) such as social capital formation (through the involvement of homeowners in local government, DiPasquale and Glaeser (1999)) and increased housing prices (through the channel of better maintenance, Coulson and Li (2010), Glaeser and Shapiro (2003)).

The recent crisis, however, has challenged this rationale behind the drive to increase homeownership, and has drawn attention to its lock-in effects. Homeowners witnessed plummeting house prices

[1]Two examples of the numerous articles discussing such homeownership policies for Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush during their terms are `http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/21/business/worldbusiness/21iht-admin.4.18853088.html?pagewanted=all` and `http://spectator.org/articles/42211/true-origins-financial-crisis`.

[2]For example, Green and White (1997) show that children of homeowners are less likely to drop out of high school and have lower rates of teenage pregnancies. Coulson and Fisher (2009) find that homeowners are less likely to be unemployed (though they have lower wages). Orzechowski and Sepiella (2003) point to homeownership as one of the main sources of wealth accumulation.

and increased foreclosures (Mian et al. (2014), Mian et al. (Forthcoming)). Negative equity, in turn, reduces household mobility or household ability to migrate, which was especially detrimental during the Great Recession (Ferreira et al. (2011), Ferreira et al. (2011), Yagan (2013)).

Of course, the lock-in effects of homeownership are always present, not only during a crisis. They are in fact the mechanism behind some of its merits, such as improved social capital: because homeownership creates barriers to residential mobility, it encourages individuals to invest more in their community (DiPasquale and Glaeser (1999)). If we take this logic seriously, the encouragement of homeownership in areas that provide for little upward mobility could be counterproductive as it ties family and children to those disadvantaged areas. For example, policies that encourage homeownership based on aggregate neighborhood characteristics, such as the aforementioned 1992 GSE Act and 1977 CRA Act with respect to low-income neighborhoods,[3] should take this heterogeneity into account. In areas with segregated living, high homeownership rates may exacerbate the effect of living in a bad neighborhood.

In this paper, we analyze the relationship between homeownership and measures of upward mobility and test whether it is significantly different in areas associated with fewer opportunities, such as high-sprawl and high-segregation areas. We use the comprehensive data on intergenerational mobility provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015) and obtain the corresponding homeownership rates from the 2000 Census. To proxy for the access to opportunities and disentangle direct and indirect effects, we construct a new measure of homeownership segregation, and also use existing measures of sprawl as well as racial and income segregation.

The measure of intergenerational mobility is based on federal income tax records of nearly 40 million children and their parents. In a prior paper, Chetty et al. (2015) link children's income to parents' income, and define intergenerational mobility as the rank-rank relationship between children's and parents' position in the national income distribution.[4] These estimates do not disentangle the causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood from sorting effects, i.e., differences due to the characteristics of individuals living in a particular neighborhood. Chetty and Hendren (2015) attempt to tease out

[3]The 1992 GSE Act designates census tracts where median family income is less than 90% of the median family income of the MSA as underserved. The GSE 1992 Act mandates that a certain portion of the GSE lending be targeted to these underserved areas. Similarly, the CRA Act defines areas as underserved if the median family income is less than 80% of the median family income of the MSA.

[4]Chetty et al. (2015) track children born in 1980–82 and measure the parents' income in 1996–2000 when the children are 14–16 years old. Children are ranked at the national level based on their income in 2011–2012. Parents are ranked at the national level based on their mean income between 1996–2000.

the causal effect by using a fixed effects model identified on the subset of five million families who move across neighborhoods.

In our baseline analysis, we relate the causal component of the impact of neighborhoods on intergenerational mobility to homeownership rates. To account for heterogeneity in families' socio-economic status, we separately analyze two groups of children with different income backgrounds: those with below-median income parents (25th percentile) and those with above-median income parents (75th percentile). The baseline analysis reveals a strong positive relationship between homeownership rates and the intergenerational mobility of children. For children growing up in below-median income families, twenty-year exposure to a neighborhood with a 1 standard deviation (SD) higher homeownership rate is associated with a 0.37 percentile increase in income rank. For above-median income families, the effect is twice as large, though (if not instrumented) not always significant.

We strengthen the interpretation of the baseline effect using two instrumental variable strategies. First, we exploit variation in the supply of housing. Glaeser and Shapiro (2003) find that the structure of housing, and in particular single-family detached dwellings are a good measure of housing available to (potential) homeowners. In our data, a 1 SD increase in single-family detached homes in 1990 is associated with about 0.08 SD higher homeownership rates in 2000. In the second stage, we find that 20 years of exposure to a CZ with 1 SD higher instrumented homeownership rate increases a child's income rank by 0.7 percentiles in below-median income families. This translates to almost 2.4 percent higher earnings. For above-median income individuals the effect is almost twice as high: A 1 SD higher instrumented homeownership rate increases the child's rank by 1.4 percentiles.

Second, we exploit house price shocks between 1980 to 1990. Higher house prices are associated with lower homeownership rates, reflecting the reduced affordability of owning a home. The second-stage results remain very similar: children's rank in CZs with a 1 SD higher homeownership rate is 0.8 percentiles higher for below-median income parents, and 0.9 percentiles higher for above-median income parents.

Having established the baseline relationship between homeownership rates and mobility across neighborhoods, we turn to our main research question: how stable are the effects of living in high-homeownership neighborhoods across the large geographic heterogeneity in the US? In particular, how does effect on intergenerational mobility vary in areas that offer fewer opportunities such as neighborhoods that are spatially segregated or feature income and racial segregation? These areas are

targeted in the above-mentioned policy measures of the GSEs.

First, we examine how the impact of homeownership rate on intergenerational mobility varies by segregation and by sprawl. Glaeser (2011) notes that policies that encourage homeownership implicitly encourage people to move away from higher density living towards areas with more sprawl. Areas with high sprawl, however, might be associated with reduced positive effects of homeownership on social capital. For example, high voter turnouts and involvement in local communities may be diminished in sprawling areas due to the higher costs of social interaction. Sprawl may make it harder to access jobs and to experience income mobility. Sprawl may also be associated with more segregated living as well as with difficulties in accessing to grocery stores, retail and schools. Additionally, homeownership results in reduced household mobility and homeownership may exacerbates the impact of living in bad neighborhoods especially in highly segregated areas.

For our analysis we use the measure of sprawl that Chetty and Hendren (2015) use. Sprawl is measured as the fraction of people (not working from home) with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work. Since the focus of our analysis is to capture a measure of sprawl more closely linked to segregated living, the commuting distance based sprawl measure is ideally suited for our purposes. We find that the positive impact of homeownership on intergenerational mobility is diminished in areas with high sprawl. Possibly, the positive spillovers associated with high social capital and high homeownership rates on children is diminished in more sprawling and segregated areas where there are higher costs to interacting with people. We find that for children from below-median income families the negative effect of homeownership in areas with high sprawl dominates, with the positive effect of homeownership disappearing almost completely in some specifications. For children from above-income families, the positive impact of homeownership on intergenerational mobility persists across all specifications and is diminished by 37–40 percent in areas with a 1 SD higher sprawl.

To examine what aspect of sprawling areas is driving this heterogeneity in impact of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility, we turn to two distinct measures of segregation, namely racial segregation and segregation by income. For the racial segregation measure we use the Theil (1972) measure which captures how different on average is the racial composition of each census tract within a CZ compared to the racial composition of the entire CZ. Growing up in a neighborhood with 1 SD higher racial segregation causes a 37 percent reduction in the positive impact of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility of below-median income families (when we instrument using the house

price shocks between 1980–90). The effect for children from above-median income families is a similar 35 percent reduction for children from above-median income families.

Our measure of income segregation based on Reardon (2011). This measure of segregation captures the uneven distribution of income levels within a CZ. Intuitively, this measure captures how different the income distribution in each census tract is on average from the income distribution of the entire CZ. We find that in areas with high level of income segregation, the positive impact of homeownership rates is diminished. That is, for children from below-median income families, growing up in neighborhoods with 1 SD higher segregation diminishes the positive impact of homeownership rates by 40 to 55 percent (for the instrumented regressions). For children from above-median income families, living in a neighborhood with 1 SD higher segregation of income reduces the positive impact of homeownership rate by a lower 32 to 38 percent. For the lower income families, the negative impact of sprawl seems to be driven by segregation of *income* rather than racial segregation.[5]

We then examine the channels through which homeownership leads to higher intergenerational mobility. DiPasquale and Glaeser (1999) find that homeowners invest more in social capital and homeownership may encourage higher investment in local amenities. Glaeser and Sacerdote (2000) find that there are social benefits to homeownership. Motivated by this literature, we look at the impact of homeownership rates on social capital. To proxy for social capital we use the index from Rupasingha and Goetz (2008) also used in Chetty and Hendren (2015). This index is constructed using the response rate to the Decennial Census, the voter turnout rates in the presidential elections and number of tax-exempt non-profit organizations (representing community involvement). We find that a 1 SD higher homeownership rate is also associated with a 0.220 SD higher value of the social capital index. To examine why high sprawl and segregation leads to reduced positive effects of homeownership at the CZ level, we look at heterogeneity of the impact of homeownership rate on social capital. A 1 SD higher homeownership rate in an area with a 1 SD higher sprawl results in a 20 percent reduction in the social capital index. Similarly, segregation of income reduce the social capital index by 15 percent respectively. Consistent with our results on heterogeneity for sprawl the negative impact of sprawl on social capital is driven by segregation of income rather than *racial* segregation. We also see whether the heterogeneity in homeownership can be explained by school quality. As Chetty and Hendren (2015) notes, the sprawl (and segregation) measures affect the children while the children are

[5]Chetty and Hendren (2015) also look at sprawl and segregation of income measures and find that high sprawl and high segregation is associated with lower intergenerational mobility.

growing up and are not associated with the chirldren's outcomes when adult. Thus, one hypothesis is that segregation may influence children through school quality. However, we do not find that the place-based heterogeneity is explained by school quality.

Our paper is organized as follows. Section II explains the data used in our analysis. Section IV shows our baseline estimates estimating the impact of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility. Section V looks at the cross-sectional heterogeneity across areas with differing sprawl and segregation measures. Section VI looks at the relationship between homeownership rates and social capital and school quality. Section VII concludes.

II. Data and Summary Statistics

A. Data

We use the comprehensive data on intergenerational mobility provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015) and Chetty et al. (2015) and obtain the corresponding homeownership rates from the 2000 Census. Previously, data limitations on homeownership and measures of children's outcomes have made the analysis of homeownership effects and location-based heterogeneity challenging. Prior work has used survey data such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) and National Longitudinal Surveys (NLSY) (Green and White (1997), Haurin et al. (2001)). While one advantage of survey data is that they provide outcomes at the individual level, they have very limited geo-coded data (such as at the MSA-level for the public use data) and are based on only a subsample of individuals.

We use data at the commuting zone (CZ) level, as provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015), since it covers the entire US as opposed to Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) which cover only urban areas. Additionally, there is less sorting across CZs than at the more granular county level. Hence, we focus mainly on CZ level analysis. Additional data used and their sources are described below.

A.1. Intergenerational Mobility measure

In an earlier paper, Chetty et al. (2015) use administrative records on the incomes of around 40 million children and their parents to describe features of intergenerational mobility in the United States. The main focus of their paper is on the geographical or spatial variation in intergenerational mobility. In the subsequent paper by Chetty and Hendren (2015), the authors build on this measure and provide

causal estimates of growing up in a neighborhood. We use these causal estimates of intergenerational mobility of a CZ from Chetty and Hendren (2015) in our analysis.

The mobility measures in Chetty and Hendren (2015) track children born between 1980–91 (1980–91 birth cohorts). Parent income is measured as the average family income from 1996 to 2000. For the estimates we use, cohort (children) income is recorded when the child is 26 years old.[6] The children's age when the parents' income is measured will thus vary across cohorts. Chetty and Hendren (2015) then rank parents based on their position in the *national* income distribution. Similarly, they rank children — within a cohort — at the national level. They find that the rank-rank relationship between parents' income rank and children's income rank to be almost perfectly linear.[7]

To get an estimate of the causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood, Chetty and Hendren (2015) focus on the subset of families that move. We describe their estimation procedure below. The following discussion closely follows Section VII in the Chetty and Hendren (2015) paper. To get an estimate of the causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood, first Chetty and Hendren (2015) subset to the families that move. Let T_C represent the age at which children enter the labor market. Let y_i be the outcome of the child when adult. In our estimates this is the child's income rank at age 26. Children's outcome is a function of family input, neighborhood characteristics and the disruption costs of moving. Let μ_{pc} denote the causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood. Let the mean level of parental inputs to child i be $\bar{\theta}_i$.[8] First, Chetty and Hendren (2015) make the simplifying assumption that disruption costs do not vary across neighborhoods. Let $\bar{\kappa}_0$ be the disruption costs of moving.[9]

Second, they assume that neighborhood effects are additive. Focusing only on the first-time movers, who move from origin o to destination d at age m, Chetty and Hendren (2015) model the child's outcome as a simple linear exposure time specification as below:

$$y_i = (T_C - m)(\mu_{pd}) + m\mu_{po} + \bar{\theta}_i + \bar{\kappa}_0 \tag{1}$$

where μ_{pd} is the causal effect of growing up in the destination d with parental income at percentile

[6] Chetty and Hendren (2015) use this as the baseline measure. However, they also provide estimates for other ages of outcome measurement and find that all yield very similar estimates.

[7] Specifically, Chetty et al. (2015) first showed that the rank-rank is almost perfectly linear. Chetty and Hendren (2015) builds on this analysis.

[8] This is the average parental input across the entire childhood.

[9] All Chetty and Hendren (2015) need is that the disruption costs do not vary in a differentially age-dependent manner across neighborhoods. For heterogeneous disruption costs, one can think of $\bar{\theta}_i$ as incorporating these disruption costs.

p. Analogously, μ_{po} is the causal effect of growing up in the destination o with parental income at percentile p.

They make a third assumption that for all origin-destination pairs the choice of when to move is independent of other inputs $\bar{\theta}_i$ conditional on origin and destination. Intuitively, this says that there is no sorting for any origin-destination pair.

The parental inputs $\bar{\theta}_i$ can be decomposed into a component which is origin-destination pair specific and a residual as follows:

$$\bar{\theta}_i = \alpha_{odps} + \eta_{1i} \tag{2}$$

where η_{1i} is independent of exposure time to the origination and destination and α_{odps} captures variation in outcomes across parent income (p), cohort (s), origin (o) and destination (d). In their empirical specification they parameterize separate controls for each origin-destination pair with a linear control for income and a quadratic term for cohort. Adding the cohort controls ensures that they are controlling for the fact that outcome for different cohorts is measured at different years.

This motivates their empirical model as follows:

$$y_i = (T_C - m)[(\mu_d^0 + \mu_d^P p)1\{d(i) = d\} - (\mu_o^0 + \mu_o^P p)1\{o(i) = o\}] + \alpha_{odps} + \eta_{1i} \tag{3}$$

Thus, for every origin-destination pair, Chetty and Hendren (2015) estimate a regression of child outcomes on exposure time to the destination $T_C - m$,

$$y_i = (T_C - m)(\mu_{od}^0 + \mu_{od}^1 p) + \alpha_{odps} + \eta_{2i} \tag{4}$$

where $\mu_{od}^0 + \mu_{od}^1 p$ gives the estimate of spending an additional year of childhood in destination d relative to origin o. α_{odps} includes controls for parental income and cohort described above.

Let $\mu_{od}^p = \mu_{od}^0 + \mu_{od}^1 p$ for each origin-destination pair at percentile p. Them the causal effect of each place μ_{pc} can be estimated from the regression of

$$\mu_{od}^p = G\mu_{pc} + \eta_{3od} \tag{5}$$

where G is a matrix with the rows representing origin-destination pairs and columns representing

the unique places (N_c). For each row the origin column is coded as a -1 and the destination is coded as $+1$. With this, we get the estimates of causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood as μ_{pc}. Note, each row sums to zero, since each entry will have a $+1$ for destination and -1 for origin. Since, the matrix G does not have full rank, the impact of exposure to places is measured relative to one omitted place. μ_{pc} is normalized to have a population-weighted value of zero. Then, μ_{pc} can be interpreted as the effect of exposure to a place (CZ) c relative to where the average population lives.

Intuitively, the procedure can be described as follows. Specifically, they first focus on the population of residents who move across CZs to determine μ_{pc}. Second, they use a exposure-time identification strategy to identify the fixed effects using the movers in the sample. The intuition of how the estimates are constructed is clearer from the following example. Consider families who move from Phoenix to Oklahoma. If children of families who moved at younger ages had higher outcomes when adult compared to children who moved later, then one can posit that this is due to the causal effect of growing up in Oklahoma is higher relative to Phoenix. To claim that the effect if causal they need the assumption that the timing of the moves is orthogonal to the children's potential outcomes. The above procedure gives the causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood (μ_{pc}) which is the main focus of our analysis. In our analysis, we focus on the intergenerational mobility measure for children of parents at the 25^{th} and 75^{th} percentile for which the causal component measure os available. Additionally, focusing on both these percentiles allows us to look at the heterogeneity of the effects of homeownership we observe for both the low and high income families. Note that given the linearity of the rank-rank relationship, 25^{th} and 75^{th} percentile measures correspond to the average outcomes of children from below-median and above-median income families.

A.2. Instrument 1: Single Family Detached Homes

In our analysis we use two different instruments to instrument for homeownership rates in 2000. The first instrument we use is the fraction of single family detached homes to the total housing units in 1990. This instrument has been used in prior literature to instrument for individual level of homeownership rates. Glaeser and Shapiro (2003) instrument for individual homeownership in 1993 using MSA level percentof single family detached homes in 1980. Following this idea, we instrument for CZ-level homeownership rates in 2000 using CZ-level percentage of single-family detached homes to the total housing units in 1990. We use the data from the 1990 Census to calculate the fraction of single family

detached homes to the total housing units in a CZ.

A.3. Instrument 2: House price shock 1980–1990

The second instrument we use in our analysis is the median house price shock between 1980 to 1990. 1990 approximately corresponds to the affordability of homeownership when parents (mothers) are around 35 years of age.[10] The average age of first-time home buyers is between 31 (National Association of Realtors) to 34 (2009 American Housing Survey). Thus, the house price shock corresponds to roughly when the parents of the children in our analysis become homeowners. We estimate the house price shock as the difference in the median value of the house in 1980 to 1990. Median house price data is from the 1990 Census and 1980 Census.

A.4. Measure of Sprawl

For our cross-sectional heterogeneity results we use the measure described in Chetty and Hendren (2015). We use the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work. Glaeser and Kahn (2004) use sprawl to describe cities where people need to drive large distances to conduct their daily lives. Sprawl in this case is higher wherein people need to drive large distances for employment, or in other words, cities in which employment is very decentralized. The commuting time based sprawl measure can be thought of as capturing this version of sprawl. The advantage of using this sprawl measure is that it is constructed using the 2000 Census and thus has the most extensive geographic coverage. Additionally, we are interested in a measure of sprawl that more closely captures the effect of living in more segregated areas and the commuting time based measure of sprawl more accurately captures this.

A.5. Measures of Segregation

We use the same measures of segregation as in Chetty and Hendren (2015). For racial segregation, we use the Theil (1972) measure and for segregation of income we use the measure from Reardon (2011).

The Theil (1972) measure of segregation at the CZ level uses the census tract level data from the 2000 Census. Let $\phi(r)$ be the fraction of individuals of a race r in a CZ. In the analysis, we consider the following racial groups: black, white, Hispanic and others.

[10] This estimate of the mother's age is based on the Chetty et al. (2015) sample.

At the CZ level, the racial diversity is given by the entropy index

$$E = \sum_r \phi_r log_2 \frac{1}{\phi_r} \tag{6}$$

For each tract j, across race r, the level of racial diversity is given by the entropy index:

$$E_j = \sum_r \phi_{rj} log_2 \frac{1}{\phi_{rj}} \tag{7}$$

The degree of racial segregation at the CZ level is then given by

$$H = \sum_j \frac{population_j}{population_{CZ}} \frac{E - E_j}{E} \tag{8}$$

where $population_j$ and $population_{CZ}$ respectively refer to the tract and CZ level population. Intuitively the segregation measure here measures how different the racial distribution of each census tract is from the CZ. $H = 1$ corresponds to the highest level of segregation and $H = 0$ corresponds to when there is no racial segregation at all.

For segregation of income, we use the measure in Reardon (2011). The segregation of income uses a measure analogous to the one above. The idea is to look at the population in different percentiles of income as opposed to the different racial groups in the Theil (1972) index. We measure the degree to which the population below the p^{th} percentile is segregated from the population above the p^{th} percentile. Let p denote the fraction below the p^{th} percentile.

The two-group entropy index is then given by:

$$E(p) = plog_2 \frac{1}{p} + (1-p) log_2 \frac{1}{1-p} \tag{9}$$

The index $H(p)$ at the CZ level for each percentile p is then given by

$$H(p) = \sum_j \frac{population_j}{population_{CZ}} \frac{E(p) - E(p)_j}{E(p)} \tag{10}$$

The overall income segregation is then given by:

$$Income\ Segregation_p = 2log(2) \int_p E(p)H(p)dp \tag{11}$$

This measure is also provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015) and they use the 2000 Census data income data to get a measure of the segregation of income.

In our analysis we also use segregation of homeowners. This is similar to the Theil (1972) index, except we consider only two groups the homeowners and the renters at the census tract level. At the CZ level, the entropy index for each tenure (homeowners or renters) is

$$E = \sum_t \phi_t log_2 \frac{1}{\phi_t}. \tag{12}$$

For each tract j, across tenure t (which is either homeownership rate of renters), the level of tenure diversity is given by the entropy index:

$$E_j = \sum_t \phi_{tj} log_2 \frac{1}{\phi_{tj}} \tag{13}$$

where ϕ_{tj} is the fraction of homeowners (or renters) in a particular census tract j.

The degree of segregation of homeowners at the CZ level is then given by

$$Segregation\, of\, Homeowners = \sum_j \frac{population_j}{population_{CZ}} \frac{E - E_j}{E} \tag{14}$$

where $population_j$ and $population_{CZ}$ respectively refer to the tract and CZ level population. Intuitively the segregation measure here measures how different the tenure (homeowner versus renter) distribution of each census tract is from the CZ. A measure of 1 corresponds to the highest level of segregation of homeownership. Our measure of segregation of homeownership is analogous to the Theil (1972) measure described above but with only two races. The only difference is we look at the fraction of homeowners (versus renters) in a given census tract.

A.6. Other variables

Our main independent variable of interest is the homeownership rate. We use the 2000 Census to measure the homeownership rate at the CZ level. The other control variables included in our analysis are percentage of population below the poverty level, percentage female, percentage divorced and percentage black. All control variables is from the 2000 Census data. For weighting the data we use the number of housing units in each CZ from the 2000 Census.

We also use a social capital index at the county level which is provided by Chetty and Hendren

(2015) and is from Rupasingha and Goetz (2008). The social capital index is constructed based on voter turnout rates, fraction of people who return their census forms, and other measures of participation in community organizations at the county level. This measure is then aggregated up to the CZ level.

CZs for which all the above data is available were used in our analysis. We look at 588 CZ is our final analysis. Since most of the data is available from the 2000 Census, most of the data limitation is imposed by the number of CZs for which the causal effect of intergenerational mobility measure from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is also available.

B. Summary Statistics

Table I gives the summary statistics of the variables used in our analysis. Data are at the county level and there are 588 CZs for which all data is available.

The causal component of intergenerational mobility is the income rank of the children in percentiles — relative to the mean across all CZs — of the children of parents at the 25^{th} and 75^{th}. The causal effect of growing up in a neighborhood for children of parents at the 25^{th} percentile is 3.69 percentiles. For children at the 75^{th} percentile this measure is 2.45 percentiles. Figure 1, Panel A shows the spatial variation of the data. We see that there is substantial regional variation in intergenerational mobility.

Average homeownership rate in 2000 was at 71.31 percent with a standard deviation of 5.51 percent. However, the minimum and maximum homeownership rates are between 43.53 percent to 84.41 percent displaying a wide range of variation across US states similar to the intergenerational mobility measure. Figure 1, Panel B shows the spatial variation of homeownership rates in 2000. Again, we see that there is substantial regional variation in homeownership rates.

On average CZs have around 14.26 percent of population with people below the poverty line, 9.8 percent divorced, 9.4 percent black, 21 percent single mothers and 26 percent with age above 55.

We use the fraction of all housing structures which are single family detached units in 1990 as the first instrument for homeownership rates. On average, around 68 percent of all housing structures are single family detached units in CZ. The second instrument, the difference in median house prices between 1980-1990 ranges from a decline of $15,400 to an increase of $167,070 from 1980 to 1990. On average, median house prices increased $17, 670 between 1980 to 1990.

To analyze the cross-sectional heterogeneity of impact of homeownership against intergenerational mobility, we look sprawl. We use the measure of sprawl from Chetty and Hendren (2015), the fraction

of people not working from home with more than 15 minutes of commute time to work. On average around 59 percent of the population lives more than 15 minutes of their place of work. However, there is a wide range from a low as 24 percent of the population to a high of 84 percent of the population living at large commuting distance. Figure 3, Panel (a) shows the spatial variation of our measure of sprawl. We see that there is some geographical concentration of sprawl with areas with the highest sprawl located in the south. Additionally, since our measure of sprawl is based on commuting distance, areas in the Northeast also appear as having high sprawl.

We look at three additional measures of segregation, namely, segregation of homeowners, racial segregation and segregation of income. The segregation of homeowners ranges from 0 to 0.31 percent. These low values of segregation of homeowners imply that homeownership on average does not seem to be segregated at the CZ level. Figure 3, Panel (b) shows the spatial variation of segregation of homeowners. Unlike sprawl, segregation of homeowners is not geographically concentrated.

Our racial segregation measure based on the Theil (1972) index was on average 14 percent. There was a wide range for this index too from 1 percent to 48 percent. Segregation of income was on average 4.61 percent. Income on the other hand tends to be much more segregated compared to segregation of homeowners. Figure 3, Panel (c) and Panel (d) show the spatial variation of racial and income segregation. As with segregation of homeowners, both racial and income segregation is not geographically concentrated.

The social capital index ranges from -3.2 to 3.07. This measure from Rupasingha and Goetz (2008) is constructed based on voter turnout rates, fraction of people who return their census forms and other measures of participation in community organizations. Low values of the index correspond to low social capital.

We weight all our regressions using the total number of housing units in 2000. On average the CZs in our analysis had 177,226 housing units. The size of the counties captured in our analysis varies widely as can be seen from fact that total number of housing units in the CZ varied from 8166 housing units to CZs with more than 5 million housing units.

III. Empirical Methodology

Our main regression specifications test for the link between intergenerational mobility and homeownership. All regression specifications are at the commuting zone level. Intergenerational mobility is

calculated from Chetty and Hendren (2015). The mobility measures track children born between 1980–91 (1980–91 birth cohorts). Parent income is the average family income from 1996 to 2000. The children's age when the income is measured will vary across cohorts. Cohort (children) income is recorded at age 26. The causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years is measured for children from below-median income families, that is at the 25^{th} percentile and for above-median income families, that is, at the 75^{th} percentile. Homeownership data is from the US Census Bureau and is as of 2000.

A. Baseline Specification

The baseline empirical specification is as follows:

$$Intergenerational\ Mobility_c = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * Homeownership\ Rate2000_c + \gamma X_c + \epsilon \tag{15}$$

All data is at the CZ level c. We repeat this analysis for each of our mobility measures, that is for children from below-median income families, that is at the 25^{th} percentile and for above-median income families, that is, at the 75^{th} percentile. For ease of interpretation we standardize the homeownership rate variable. The controls included are percentage below poverty level, percentage female, percentage divorced and percentage black in the CZ. All regressions are clustered at the state level. All regressions are weighted by the number of housing units in a county in 2000 to get representative estimates of the US population.[11] In all our specifications we show the weighted least squared regressions. While there is a loss of efficiency using the weighted estimators (Deaton (1997), Cameron and Trivedi (2005), Angrist and Pischke (2008)), this criticism only applies when the treatment effect is homogenous. Since the treatment effect of the homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility is heterogeneous — as we will also empirically establish later — we show the weighted estimate results. All results remain qualitatively the same in the unweighted estimates.

The above regression specification, however, only establishes causality. In the subsection below we describe the instruments we use for homeownership rates and provide some justification for their validity.

[11]Note, we also used the number of children in the Chetty and Hendren (2015) sample for weighting and results remain quantitatively and qualitatively the same.

A.1. Instrumenting for homeownership

Our second set of specifications instrument for homeownership using the single family detached homes in 1990. Glaeser and Sacerdote (2000) use the stock of single family detached homes at the MSA level in 1980 as an instrument for homeownership at the individual level in 1990.[12] The idea is that the housing structure is generally a good predictor of homeownership.

Following the same logic, we use the single family detached homes in 1990 to instrument for homeownership rates in 2000. Our regression specification is as follows.

The first stage:

$$Homeownership\ Rate2000_c = \delta X_c + \rho * Fraction\ of\ Single\ family\ detached\ homes\ 1990_c + \epsilon_c \quad (16)$$

The second stage instruments for homeownership:

$$Intergenerational\ Mobility_c = \theta X_c + \beta * \widehat{Homeownership}_{2000c} + \eta_c \quad (17)$$

$HomeownershipRate2000_c$ represents the homeownership rate in 2000 at the CZ level. Equation 16 represents the first stage, where the instrument is the CZ-level fraction of single family detached homes. All standard errors are clustered at the state level. Equation 17 represents the second stage using the instrumented homeownership rate. We include CZ level controls.

Figure 4, Panel A graphically shows the binned scatter plots of fraction of single family detached houses in 1990 against homeownership rates in 2000. This is analogous to the first stage of the instrumented regression, except without the controls. High fraction of single family detached homes in 1990 also predict high homeownership rates in 2000.

We also instrument for homeownership rates using the median house price shock in 1980 to 1990 as an instrument for homeownership rates in 2000. We use the median house price shock between 1980–1990 as a measure of the affordability of owning a home in 2000. The average age of the mothers in the Chetty et al. (2015) sample is 41 in 1996. Thus, the 1990 median house price value corresponds

[12] Coulson and Fisher (2009) use a similar instrument to test the impact of housing tenure on labor market outcomes.

to the affordability of the house when parents (mothers) are around 35 years of age. According to the 2009 American Housing Survey data the average age of the first-time home buyers was 34. Another survey conducted recently by the National Association of Realtors also estimates the average age of the first-time home buyers to be 31 years. Thus, using the median house price shock between 1980 to 1990 as a measure of affordability of owning a home seems reasonable. This instrument aims to capture the effect of owning a home. However, note that the effect of homeownership that we capture will include both the individual impact of homeownership and the aggregate impact of homeownership rate on intergenerational mobility. Figure 4, Panel B, shows the first stage results. Higher house price shocks are associated with lower homeownership rates. The first stage and second stage specification is similar to Equation 16 and Equation 17.

We also tried instrumenting for homeownership rates using the Saiz (2010) measure. The Saiz (2010) instrument has been recently used to instrument for housing prices (Mian et al. (2014), Mian et al. (Forthcoming)). The Saiz (2010) measure calculates the fraction of land unavailable for development due to steep slopes and bodies of water. The hypothesis is that single family detached homes may be easier to build compared to multi-family structures where land availability is higher. The first stage results are robust, that is, unavailability of land is inversely correlated with single family detached homes. However, given the large cross-sectional heterogeneity that we find across sprawl the Saiz (2010) instrument was particularly bad at predicting the impact on intergenerational mobility. Another way to say this is that the exclusion restriction is violated because sprawl (loosely, the inverse of the unavailability measure) also affects intergenerational mobility. For a recent critique of using the Saiz (2010) measure as an instrument for house prices, see Davidoff (2014)

B. Cross-sectional Heterogeneity: Difference-in-difference specification

In Section V and Section C we look at the cross-sectional heterogeneity of the effect of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility. In Section V we examine how the impact of homeownership rate on intergenerational mobility varies by sprawl or the spread of cities. In Section C we also examine cross-sectional heterogeneity with segregation of homeowners, racial segregation and segregation of income. We explicitly show the empirical specifications below for the heterogeneity with the sprawl measure. The other empirical specifications simply replace the sprawl measure with the respective

interaction terms namely segregation of homeowners, racial segregation and segregation of income.

The specification for the instrumented cross-sectional heterogeneity using the fraction of single family detached homes in 1990 is as follows.

The first stage:

$$Homeownership\ Rate2000_c = \delta X_c + \rho * Fraction\ Single\ family\ detached\ homes\ 1990_c + \omega * Fraction\ Single\ family\ detached\ homes\ 1990_c * Sprawl + \epsilon_c \quad (18)$$

The second stage instruments for homeownership:

$$Intergenerational\ Mobility_c = \theta X_c + \beta * \widehat{Homeownership}_{2000_c} + \tau * \widehat{Homeownership}_{2000_c} * Sprawl + \eta_c \quad (19)$$

For ease of interpretation we standardize the homeownership rate and interaction variable. As before the above specifications include CZ-level controls and are weighted at the state level. The specification for house price shock is similar to the above specification.

IV. The link between homeownership and intergenerational mobility

We now turn to our main empirical analysis and examine the relationship between homeownership and intergenerational mobility. As a first step of our analysis, we wish to link homeownership to intergenerational mobility. Prior literature has found that owning a home leads to better outcomes for children (Green and White (1997)). We first present the baseline estimates of the link between homeownership rates and the casual impact of living in a neighborhood.

Figure 5 shows the relationship between average intergenerational mobility and the homeownership rate in 2000 weighted by the population in each CZ. The dependent variable is the causal component of intergenerational mobility measure for children of parents from the 25^{th} percentile (panel (a)) and 75^{th} percentile (panel (b)) from Chetty and Hendren (2015) exposed to a CZ for 20 years. Due to the linearity of the rank-rank relationship between parents' incomes and children's incomes,

this corresponds to the intergenerational mobility measure of the children with parents below the median income and of parents above the median income. Higher values of intergenerational mobility correspond to higher intergenerational mobility. Figure 5 shows that there is a strong positive relationship between the two variables for children from below-median income families and children from above-median income families.

Table II looks at this relationship more formally. To get good estimates of heterogeneity across groups, we look at two different measures of intergenerational mobility.[13] We look at the impact of homeownership rates on the below-median income backgrounds (columns 1–4) and on children with above-median income backgrounds (columns 5–8). The variables for homeownership rate has been standardized for ease of interpretation. All columns are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000 and are clustered at the state level. Except for columns 1 and 5, all specifications include CZ-level controls.

We focus on the causal effect of growing up in a CZ. Specifically, the dependent variable in Panel A is the causal effect of growing up in a CZ for twenty years. Twenty years of exposure to a CZ with 1 SD higher homeownership rate is associated with a 0.728 increase in the child's income rank for families with below-median income. Including the controls percentage with age above 55, percentage single working mothers,percentage below poverty level, percentage divorced, percentage with less than High school education, unemployment rate, percentage black in the CZ and an indicator for whether the CZ is an urban area reduces the impact of homeownership rate to a 0.368 increase in income rank. A 0.601 percentile increase in income translates to a roughly 1.16 percent increase in earnings. For above-income families, children growing up in areas with a 1 SD higher homeownership rate causes the child's income rank to increase by 0.909 percentiles. Including the controls, however, makes this statistically insignificant.

In columns 3 and 7 we instrument for homeownership rate in 2000 using the stock of single family detached homes in 1990 as a percentage of all housing structures in 1990. Instrumenting for homeownership rates in column 3 shows that a 1 SD higher instrumented homeownership rate in 2000 results in 0.707 percentile increase in children's rank from below-median income families. This is similar in magnitude to the results from the OLS regressions in columns 1–2, though slightly higher. For above median-income families (column 7), children growing up in CZs with a 1 SD higher homeownership

[13]Chetty and Hendren (2015) provides these two measures of intergenerational mobility for childhood exposure effects of living in a CZ.

rate causes children's income to increase by 1.410 percentiles.

In columns 4 we use the median house price shock between 1980–1990 as an instrument for homeownership. Twenty years of exposure to a CZ with a 1 SD higher homeownership rate increases the children's rank by 0.812 percentiles for below-median income families and by 0.914 percentiles for above median income families.

V. Does the impact of homeownership on intergenerational mobility vary by sprawl and segrgeation?

In the previous section, we saw that higher homeownership rates is associated with higher intergenerational mobility consistent with the findings in prior literature. We next look at whether there are place-based differences in the impact of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility. In this section we explore the cross-sectional heterogeneity of the effect of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility. We examine how the impact of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility varies by sprawl or the spread of cities. Glaeser (2011) notes that policies that encourage home-owning implicitly encourage people to move away from higher density living. Thus, sprawl is intricately linked with homeownership. The hypothesis is that areas with high sprawl also diminish the positive effects associated with homeownership. Many of the positive effects of homeownership such as the high social capital — for examples, more investment in local amenities and higher involvement in local communities — may be more diminished in more sprawling areas. Sprawl may also be associated with that more segregated living. Additionally, homeownership results in reduced household mobility and homeownership exacerbates the impact of living in bad neighborhoods.

A. Sprawl

We use the measures of sprawl that Chetty and Hendren (2015) use.[14] Sprawl is measured as the fraction of people — not working from home — with more than 15 minutes of commute time to

[14]Sprawl is not the main focus of the Chetty and Hendren (2015) paper. They club it together with the segregation measure and find that high sprawl is associated with lower intergenerational mobility.

work.[15] We use this measure of sprawl since it is based on the 2000 Census has the most expansive coverage across the US. This index implicitly measures the version of sprawl considered in Glaeser and Kahn (2004). Sprawl in this case is higher wherein people need to drive large distances for employment, or in other words, cities in which employment is very decentralized. Additionally, we are interested in measure of sprawl that more closely captures the effect of living in more segregated areas and this measure of sprawl does just that.

Figure 6 examines the heterogeneity of the effect of homeownership rate on intergenerational mobility for CZs across areas with differing sprawl. We split the CZs into terciles based on the sprawl measure. The top tercile corresponds to "high sprawl" and "low sprawl" corresponds to the bottom tercile. In Figure 6 we restrict to CZs with homeownership rates in 2000 above the first percentile and below the 99^{th}. In panel (a) we see that consistent with the previous findings, high homeownership rates is associated with high intergenerational mobility for children of parents with income at the 25^{th} percentile in low sprawl areas. However, in high sprawl areas this relationship is reversed. Higher homeownership rate is in fact associated with lower intergenerational mobility. For children of parents from above-median income backgrounds, we see that homeownership is associated with higher causal impact of growing up in a neighborhood for both high sprawl and low sprawl areas.

In Table III, Panel A, we examine this relationship more formally. Columns 1–3 show the cross-sectional heterogeneity across areas with sprawl for children of below-median income parents. The variables homeownership rates and sprawl measure have all been standardized for ease of interpretation. Column 1 shows the simple OLS results. For the below median income families, the positive coefficient on homeownership disappears (columns 1–2) and is strengthened for the above median income families indicating there is important cross-sectional heterogeneity in the impact of homeownership. Accounting for the heterogeneity with respect to sprawl increases the coefficient on homeownership rates across all specifications for the above median income families. Growing up in a CZ with 1 SD higher homeownership rate is associated with no impact on the child's rank for below-median income families (column 1). The interaction term with the measure of sprawl, our coefficient of interest, is also negative. This indicates that for low income families, the impact of homeownership

[15]For some recent coverage of the relationship between intergenerational mobility and sprawl see: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/29/opinion/krugman-stranded-by-sprawl.html?_r=0) http://bettercities.net/article/intergenerational-mobility-vs-sprawl-there-connection-20382 http://www.newgeography.com/content/003868-distortions-and-reality-about-income-mobility http://realestateresearch.frbatlanta.org/rer/2013/08/does-sprawl-really-limit-income-mobility.html

is negative in CZs with high sprawl. That is, a 1 SD higher homeownership rates of a CZ in more sprawled cities leads to a 0.56 percentile lower income rank for children from below-median income families. In column 3 when we instrument for homeownership rates using the house price shock, we find that the positive effect of higher homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility for below-median income children is diminished by 65 percent in areas with 1 SD higher sprawl. The coefficient on the sprawl measure is also negative indicating that high sprawl cities are in general associated with low intergenerational mobility which is consistent with the findings in Chetty and Hendren (2015). The direct impact of living in areas with high commute times (high sprawl) decreases the causal impact of living in a neighborhood on children's incomes by 2.6 percentiles.

The impact on the children for the above-median income families is starkly different. Growing up in a CZ with 1 SD higher homeownership rate is associated with a 1.639 percentile increase in the child's rank for above-median income families. Looking at the interaction term, the positive impact of homeownership rates diminishes in CZs with high sprawl. That is, a 1 SD higher homeownership rates of a CZ in more sprawled cities leads to a 0.671 percentile lower income rank for children from above-median income families. For children from above-median income families, the positive effect of higher homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility is diminished by 41 percent (compared to only a negative effect of homeownership for below-median income families as seen in column 1) in areas with 1 SD higher sprawl. As before, the coefficient on the sprawl measure is also negative a 1 SD higher sprawl measure decreasing the causal impact of living in a neighborhood on children's incomes by 1.291 percentiles (column 6) and insignificant in some specifications (columns 4 and 5). As Chetty and Hendren (2015) note, that this is the impact on the children's outcomes while they are growing up and hence does not directly correspond to their commute times when adult. Thus, commute times are capturing some characteristic of the CZ that is driving this relationship.

B. Homeowner Segregation

We next explore the idea of disentangling the direct and indirect effects of homeownership. Figure 7 examines the heterogeneity of the effect of homeownership rate on intergenerational mobility for CZs across areas with segregation of homeowners. This segregation of homeowners measure can be thought of as capturing the externalities of homeownership. Though it is not completely possible to disentangle the pure externalities of homeownership from the direct effect, the segregation of homeownership

captures the idea that being surrounded by *more* homeowners should amplify (or exacerbate) the effects of homeownership. In Figure 7 we split the CZs into terciles based on the segregation of homeowners measure. The top tercile corresponds to "high segregation of homeowners" and "low segregation of homeowners" corresponds to the bottom tercile. In panel (a) we see that consistent with the previous findings, high homeownership rates is associated with no impact on intergenerational mobility for children of parents with income at the 25^{th} percentile in low segregation of homeowners areas. However, in areas with high segregation of homeowners this relationship is slightly reversed. For children of parents from above-median income backgrounds, we see that homeownership is associated with higher causal impact of growing up in a neighborhood for both high and low segregation of homeowners.

In Table III, Panel B, we further explore the idea of disentangling the direct and indirect effects of homeownership. As in Panel A, we find that the direct effect of homeownership is insignificant in the un-instrumented regression for below median income families in Column 1. In fact the negative effect of segregation of homeownership dominates. Instrumenting with single family detached homes shows the same results. When we instrument using house prices, we find that there is both a direct positive effect on intergenerational mobility through higher homeownership rates. As before there is a negative effect of segregation of homeownership. Additionally, there is also heterogeneity across segregation (of homeownership). Thus, if homeownership is more geographically segregated, then the externalities of homeownership have a much lower impact on intergenerational mobility.

In contrast, for the above median families the direct effect of homeownership rates dominates. However, this effect is diminished in areas with high segregation of homeownership. Surprisingly, there is no negative effect of segregated homeownership for these above median income families across all specifications. This result is consistent with Table II Panel B. Thus, for the above median income families the direct effect of homeowning dominates and for the poor families the indirect effect of homeownership dominates.

C. Racial segregation

In the previous section, we documented large place-based heterogeneity across areas with varying sprawl. High sprawl areas may also be associated with high segregation. To augment the analysis in the previous section, we look at place-based heterogeneity across segregation. We examine both racial

segregation and segregation of income.

We first graphically examine the relationship between segregation and the effect of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility. Analogous to our analysis in Figure 6, we split the CZs into terciles based on the racial segregation. The top tercile corresponds to "high segregation" and "low segregation" corresponds to the bottom tercile. In Figure 8 we restrict to CZs with homeownership rates in 2000 above the first percentile and below the 99^{th}. In panel (a) the relationship between high homeownership rates and intergenerational mobility for children of parents with income at the 25^{th} percentile is weak in both the high and low segregation areas. For children of parents from above-median income backgrounds, we see that homeownership is associated with higher causal impact of growing up in a neighborhood especially in the low segregation areas. In high segregation areas, homeownership rates still have a positive effect on intergenerational mobility, though the effect is slightly lower. Looking at the segregation of income in Figure 9 shows very similar effects.

In Table IV, Panel A we explore the heterogeneity across areas with varying racial segregation. High homeownership rate is associated with high intergenerational mobility as can be seen from the coefficient on homeownership rate. The direct impact of growing up in a neighborhood with 1 SD higher homeownership rates for the children from below-median income families ranges from 1.716–2.359 percentiles. For children from above-median income families, the effect on children's outcomes is between 1.714–2.699 percentiles.

The direct effect of living in a racially segregated neighborhoods zero across all specifications. This is consistent with Chetty and Hendren (2015) who find racial segregation to have a lower impact on intergenerational mobility. The interaction term of the Theil (1972) measure of racial segregation and homeownership rates has a negative coefficient though significant only when we instrument using the house price shocks between 1980–1990. Thus, neighborhoods with 1 SD higher racial segregation and 1 SD higher homeownership rate results in a reduction in intergenerational mobility of 0.892 percentiles for children from the below-median income families. Thus, the overall impact of 1 SD higher homeownership rate in a neighborhood with 1 SD higher racial segregation neighborhood is a 1.467 percentile lower income for the children from the below-median income families. For children from the above-median income families, we find that the positive effects of homeownership is significant across specifications. A 1 SD higher racial segregation in a neighborhood with 1 SD higher homeownership reduces the positive impact of homeownership rate by 0.606 percentiles. Instrumenting

for homeownership rates yields very similar results though the effect is slightly higher ranging from 1.019 to 1.136 percentile reduction in above-median income children.

D. Income segregation

As before, we first graphically examine the relationship between income segregation and the effect of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility. Analogous to our analysis in Figure 6, we split the CZs into terciles based on the racial segregation. The top tercile corresponds to "high segregation" and "low segregation" corresponds to the bottom tercile. In Figure 9 we restrict to CZs with homeownership rates in 2000 above the first percentile and below the 99^{th}. In panel (a) the relationship between high homeownership rates and intergenerational mobility for children of parents with income at the 25^{th} percentile is weak in both the high and low segregation areas. For children of parents from above-median income backgrounds, we see that homeownership is associated with higher causal impact of growing up in a neighborhood especially in the low segregation areas. In high segregation areas, homeownership rates still have a positive effect on intergenerational mobility, though the effect is slightly lower.

In Table IV, Panel B we explore the heterogeneity across areas with differing segregation of income. First, the causal effect of living in CZs with higher homeownership rates is associated with higher income of children as can be seen from the coefficient on homeownership rates. Twenty years of exposure to CZs with 1 SD higher homeownership rates causes child's income rank to increase between 2.73 and 4.42 percentile for children from below-median income families. For above-median income families this ranges from 1.64 to 5.94 percentiles.

Second, the causal effect of living in CZs with higher segregation of income is lower in areas with higher segregation of income as can be seen from the coefficient of segregation of income. This is consistent with Chetty and Hendren (2015).

Third, we see that 20 years of exposure to CZs with 1 SD higher segregation of income and 1 SD higher homeownership rates decreases a child's income rank by 1.158 to 1.781 percentiles for below-median income families (though it is insignificant for the un-instrumented regression). This corresponds to 40 to 49 percent reduction in child's income. For above-median income families, children's income rank increases by 0.53 percentiles.

VI. Potential channels

In this section we examine the potential channels through which homeownership can impact intergenerational mobility. We examine two potential channels. First we look at the impact of homeownership on social capital. Second, we also look at whether higher school quality explains the positive impact on intergenerational mobility of children.

A. Social Capital

We now supplement our empirical analysis by examining the channels through which homeownership impacts intergenerational mobility. Homeownership is associated with higher outcomes for the children of homeowners. In our analysis, we focused on place-based differences that can operate through the aggregate impact of homeownership. Glaeser and Sacerdote (2000) find that there are large social benefits to homeownership. DiPasquale and Glaeser (1999) find that homeowners are more likely to be involved in local government and areas with high homeownership have higher social capital. To test this channel we analyze whether areas with high homeownership rates are also associated with high social capital. In our setting, we proxy for social capital using the social capital index constructed by Rupasingha and Goetz (2008) (as in Chetty and Hendren (2015) and Chetty et al. (2015)). The index is constructed using voter turnout rates, the fraction of people who return their census forms, and other measures of participation in community organizations. The CZ level social capital index measure is constructed by population weighting the county level measures provided by Rupasingha and Goetz (2008). This measure of social capital index is similar in spirit to the involvement in local government and community explored in DiPasquale and Glaeser (1999).

Table V shows the results of this analysis. In columns 1–2, we first relate homeownership rates to social capital. For ease of interpretation, we standardize both homeownership rates and the social capital index. Column 1 shows that a 1 SD higher CZ level homeownership rate is associated with a 0.220 SD increase in the social capital index. All columns are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000 and are clustered at the state level. Adding CZ-level controls yields very similar results. A 1 SD higher homeownership rates is associated with a 0.281 SD increase in the social capital index measure.

In column 3 we instrument for homeownership rate in 2000 using the stock of single family detached homes in 1990 as a percentage of all housing structures in 1990. The second stage results in column

4 shows the estimates using the instrumented homeownership rates. A 1 SD higher instrumented homeownership rate in 2000 results in 0.540 SD increase in the social capital index. This is consistent with the results from the OLS regressions in columns 1–2 though higher in magnitude.

In column 4 we use the increase in median house price between 1980–1990 as an instrument for homeownership. 1990 corresponds to when the parents buy houses. The increase in median house price between 1980–1990 can be thought of as a measure of how affordable homeownership is in a particular area. Column 4 shows the second stage results. The second stage is similar to the previous results. A one SD increase in homeownership rate is associated with a higher social capital index of 0.355 SD.

In this subsection we confirmed the positive link between homeownership rates and the social capital index. Advocates of pro-homeownership policies cite the positive externalities of homeownership as a reason for encouraging homeownership. Next, we examine whether the heterogeneity of the impact of homeownership rates on social capital. Note, in Section IV and III we established that the impact of homeownership rates on intergenerational mobility diminishes in areas with high segregation and high sprawl. In Table V, Panel B we look at the heterogeneity of the relationship between social capital and homeownership rates. The hypothesis is that segregation and sprawl decrease the impact of homeownership rates on social capital. First, we examine the heterogeneity with respect to sprawl as measured by the fraction of people with less than 15 minutes commuting time to work. As before, higher homeownership rate is associated with higher value of the social capital index. All variables have been standardized for ease of interpretation. Neighborhoods with high fraction of people with commuting times greater than 15 minutes is associated with higher social capital. Higher homeownership rates in areas with high sprawl *decreases* social capital. A 1 SD higher homeownership rate in a a neighborhood with a one SD higher sprawl is associated with 0.082 SD reduction in the social capital index. Instrumenting for homeownership rates yields very similar results. Homeowner segregation shows similar effects as do racial segregation and segregation on income. Thus, the social capital channel is able to explain the heterogeneity in the impact of homeownership rates that we previously saw.

B. School Quality

Another potential channel through which homeownership can impact intergenerational mobility is through higher quality schools. Green and White (1997) find that children of homeowners have lower dropout rates. However, the causality in this case is not very clear. It is possible that homeownership also implies greater stability due to lower residential mobility. Additionally, homeowners can also influence school funding through voting. However, reverse causality implies that parents of children move to CZs with higher school quality (and subsequently higher intergenerational mobility).

In table VI we explicitly analyze the link between schools quality and homeownership. The dependent variable is a binary variable equal to one if the CZ is of above median (better quality) quality based on an income-residualized measure of test scores provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). Higher test scores correspond to better quality schools.[16] Panel A shows that high homeownership is indeed associated with higher quality schools. Thus, the positive impact of homeowners may be driven by the parents moving to CZs with better schools.

In Panel B we now turn to look at the cross-sectional heterogeneity of homeownership with our sprawl and segregation measures. However, across all specifications, we find no effect of higher segregation and higher homeownership on school quality. Thus, the cross-sectional heterogeneity in Section V and Section C cannot be explained by higher quality of schools and high homeownership rates. Thus, these results also address concerns that a reverse causality — wherein parents of children move to CZs with higher school quality — may be driving our results.

VII. Conclusion

In this paper we relate homeownership to children's upward mobility. We establish a positive relationship, on average, but also significant cross-sectional heterogeneity depending on sprawl. We find that in areas with higher sprawl there is a lower impact of homeownership on intergenerational mobility. We also find that in neighborhoods with high segregation and higher homeownership is associated with lower intergenerational mobility, possibly through reduced residential mobility of households. Our results caution against encouraging homeownership based on prior evidence of benefits

[16] We focus on this measure of school quality because it has the widest coverage. Our results remain qualitatively the same even when we use the two other measures of school quality provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015), namely, dropout rates and ratio of number of pupils to teachers.

of homeownership. Instead, policies aimed at encouraging homeownership should take into account the important place-based heterogeneity across the US.

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Table I. Summary Statistics

The Intergenerational mobility measures are from Chetty and Hendren (2015) and represent the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile and 75^{th} percentile of the parents' income distribution. Homeownership rate, the percentages of residents with Age above 55, Single working mothers, Divorced, with less than high school education, Below poverty level, and Black are calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. Unemployment Rate is from the 2000 Census data. Urban area is a binary variable for whether a CZ intersects a Metropolitan Statistical Area from Chetty and Hendren (2015). The percentage single-family detached units is from the 1990 Census. Difference in median HP 1990-1980 measures the change house prices between the 1980 and the 1990 Census and is shown in $1000. Sprawl is defined as the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work based on the 2000 Census. Segregation of homeowners is an entropy-based measure calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. Racial segregation is measured using the Theil (1972) Index. Income segregation is measured as in Reardon (2011) and calculated at the at the CZ level with 2000 Census data and is provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). The Social capital index is from Rupasingha and Goetz (2008) and provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). Above-median school quality is an indicator equal to one if the school quality is above median for an income-residualized measure of test scores at the CZ level, as provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). The count of housing units at CZ level are based on the 2000 Census.

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Intergenerational mobility: 25^{th} percentile	3.69	12.29	-48.32	66.81
Intergenerational mobility: 75^{th} percentile	2.45	13.83	-89.60	69.03
Homeownership rate	71.31	5.51	43.53	84.41
% Age above 55	26.42	3.31	16.61	37.84
% Singe mothers	20.93	4.94	8.21	43.37
% Divorced	9.83	1.55	4.23	14.57
% < High school graduates	21.81	7.44	6.98	57.87
% Below poverty level	14.26	5.24	5.51	35.68
% Black	9.47	13.12	0.01	66.36
Unemployment rate	5.02	1.55	2.36	17.70
% Urban	54.42	49.85	0	100
% Single-family detached units (1990)	68.36	8.40	26.90	86.18
Difference in median HP 1990-1980 [$k]	17.67	19.11	-15.40	167.07
Sprawl	58.79	11.06	24.48	84.39
Segregation of homeowners	0.09	0.06	0.00	0.31
Racial segregation	14.34	9.00	0.67	47.63
Income segregation	4.61	3.15	0.38	13.79
Social capital index	-0.07	1.13	-3.20	3.07
Above-median school quality	76.19	42.63	0	100
Housing units	177226	412976	8166	5355469
Observations	588			

Table II. Homeownership and Intergenerational Mobility

We present the OLS and IV estimates of the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility. The instruments are the CZ-level fraction of single-family detached homes in 1990 (IV1) and the difference in median house prices between 1980 to 1990 (IV2). All columns include controls for the percentage above age 55, single working mothers, below poverty level, divorced, with less than high-school education, for the unemployment rate, the percentage black, and an indicator for urban area. The dependent variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (columns 1–4) and 75^{th} percentile (columns 5–8) of the parents' income distribution. All other data are from the Decennial Census. Observations are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000. The homeownership rate has been standardized for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are clustered by state.

	25^{th} Percentile				75^{th} Percentile			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	OLS	OLS	IV1	IV2	OLS	OLS	IV1	IV2
Homeownership rate	0.728***	0.368*	0.707*	0.812***	0.909**	0.622	1.410**	0.914*
	(0.230)	(0.208)	(0.409)	(0.263)	(0.424)	(0.395)	(0.715)	(0.475)
Observations	588	588	588	588	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.0313	0.206	0.203	0.200	0.0390	0.0856	0.0715	0.0836
Controls		X	X	X		X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table III. Sprawl and Segregation of homeowners

We present estimates of the cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility across sprawl and Segregation of homeowners. The instruments are the CZ-level fraction of single-family detached homes in 1990 (IV1) and the difference in median house prices between 1980 to 1990 (IV2). All columns include controls for the percentage above age 55, single working mothers, below poverty level, divorced, with less than high-school education, for the unemployment rate, the percentage black, and an indicator for urban area. The dependent variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (columns 1–3) and 75^{th} percentile (columns 4–6) of the parents' income distribution. All other data are from the Decennial Census. In Panel A, Sprawl is the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work and is from 2000 Census. In Panel B, segregation of homeowners is an entropy-based measure calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. Sprawl and Homeownership rate have been standardized for ease of interpretation. All observations are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000. Standard errors are clustered by state.

Panel A: Sprawl

	25^{th} Percentile			75^{th} Percentile		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	OLS	IV1	IV2	OLS	IV1	IV2
Homeownership rate	0.675	0.515	2.771***	1.639**	4.341***	3.415***
	(0.505)	(1.221)	(0.750)	(0.648)	(1.343)	(0.962)
(Sprawl) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.555**	-0.868	-1.661***	-0.671***	-1.649***	-1.492***
	(0.218)	(0.569)	(0.415)	(0.244)	(0.480)	(0.406)
Sprawl	-2.591***	-3.369***	-3.306***	-0.929	-0.912	-1.291**
	(0.595)	(0.706)	(0.661)	(0.681)	(0.669)	(0.641)
Observations	588	588	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.253	0.240	0.217	0.0968	0.0555	0.0788
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49	49	49

Panel B: Segregation of homeownership

	25^{th} Percentile			75^{th} Percentile		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	OLS	IV1	IV2	OLS	IV1	IV2
Homeownership rate	0.243	0.751	2.207***	1.861***	6.175***	3.568***
	(0.499)	(1.343)	(0.663)	(0.638)	(1.975)	(0.668)
(Segregation of homeowners) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.201	-0.452	-0.763***	-0.524***	-1.510***	-1.018***
	(0.131)	(0.307)	(0.186)	(0.173)	(0.445)	(0.239)
Segregation of homeowners	-1.391***	-1.715***	-1.459***	-0.542	0.0288	-0.616
	(0.427)	(0.540)	(0.518)	(0.538)	(0.683)	(0.557)
Observations	588	588	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.224	0.219	0.194	0.102	.	0.0836
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49	49	49

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table IV. Racial and Income Segregation

We present estimates of the cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility across racial and income segregation. The instruments for homeownership in columns (2) and (4) are the CZ-level fraction of single-family detached homes in 1990 (IV1), and in columns (3) and (6) the difference in median house prices between 1980 to 1990 (IV2). All columns include controls for the percentage above age 55, single working mothers, below poverty level, divorced, with less than high-school education, for the unemployment rate, the percentage black, and an indicator for urban area. The dependent variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (columns 1–3) and for the 75^{th} percentile (columns 4–6) of the parents' income distribution. All other data are from the Decennial Census. All observations are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in the 2000 Census. The segregation measures and homeownership rate variables have been standardized for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are clustered by state. In Panel A, Racial segregation is measured using Theil (1972) Index. In Panel B, Income segregation is measured as in Reardon (2011), calculated at the at the CZ level with 2000 Census data provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015).

Panel A: Racial Segregation

	25^{th} Percentile			75^{th} Percentile		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	OLS	IV1	IV2	OLS	IV1	IV2
Homeownership rate	0.395	1.716*	2.359**	1.714***	3.748***	2.699***
	(0.452)	(1.040)	(0.943)	(0.486)	(1.165)	(0.516)
(Racial segregation) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.0139	-0.516	-0.892**	-0.606***	-1.136***	-1.019***
	(0.177)	(0.376)	(0.367)	(0.167)	(0.371)	(0.243)
Racial segregation	0.0359	-0.171	-0.351	0.208	0.0369	0.0310
	(0.282)	(0.273)	(0.328)	(0.259)	(0.308)	(0.293)
Observations	588	588	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.206	0.188	0.162	0.105	0.0661	0.0966
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49	49	49

Panel B: Income Segregation

	25^{th} Percentile			75^{th} Percentile		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	OLS	IV1	IV2	OLS	IV1	IV2
Homeownership rate	0.160	2.739**	4.421***	1.643**	5.942***	4.572***
	(0.463)	(1.360)	(1.456)	(0.625)	(1.888)	(1.104)
(Income segregation)*(Homeownership rate)	-0.0257	-1.158**	-1.781***	-0.530**	-1.991***	-1.732***
	(0.152)	(0.503)	(0.560)	(0.218)	(0.631)	(0.469)
Income segregation	-0.847**	-1.274***	-1.345***	-0.578	-0.525	-0.912*
	(0.375)	(0.448)	(0.485)	(0.440)	(0.529)	(0.469)
Observations	588	588	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.214	0.163	0.0877	0.0953	0.00263	0.0478
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49	49	49

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table V. Social Capital

Panel A present the OLS and IV estimates of the effects of homeownership on social capital. The instruments are the CZ-level fraction of single-family detached homes in 1990 (IV1) and the difference in median house prices between 1980 to 1990 (IV2). All columns include controls for the percentage above age 55, single working mothers, below poverty level, divorced, with less than high-school education, for the unemployment rate, the percentage black, and an indicator for urban area. The dependent variable Social capital index is from Rupasingha and Goetz (2008) and provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015) at the CZ level. Panel B presents estimates of the cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on social capital across our measures of sprawl and segregation. Sprawl is defined as the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work and is from 2000 Census. Segregation of homeowners is an entropy-based measure calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. Racial segregation is measured using Theil (1972) Index. Income segregation is measured as in Reardon (2011), calculated at the at the CZ level with 2000 Census data provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). All other data are from the Decennial Census. All observations are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in the 2000 Census. The homeownership rate, sprawl and the measures of segregation have been standardized for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are clustered by state.

Panel A

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) IV1	(4) IV2
Homeownership rate	0.220***	0.281***	0.540***	0.355***
	(0.0537)	(0.0399)	(0.141)	(0.0790)
Observations	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.135	0.649	0.559	0.642
Controls		X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49

Panel B: Sprawl and Segregation

	(1) OLS	(2) IV1	(3) IV2
Sprawl			
Homeownership rate	0.315***	0.910***	0.486**
	(0.0632)	(0.199)	(0.197)
(Sprawl) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.0815***	-0.289***	-0.162**
	(0.0254)	(0.0681)	(0.0701)
Sprawl	-0.420***	-0.399***	-0.457***
	(0.0867)	(0.0680)	(0.0756)
R^2	0.708	0.587	0.698
Segregation of homeowners			
Homeownership rate	0.272***	1.199***	0.537***
	(0.0574)	(0.321)	(0.200)
(Segregation of homeowners) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.0563***	-0.256***	-0.130***
	(0.0133)	(0.0724)	(0.0415)
Segregation of homeowners	-0.340***	-0.182**	-0.343***
	(0.0737)	(0.0909)	(0.0850)
R^2	0.701	0.397	0.675
Racial segregation			
Homeownership rate	0.350***	1.037***	0.537**
	(0.0681)	(0.280)	(0.235)
(Racial segregation) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.0380	-0.251***	-0.104
	(0.0231)	(0.0896)	(0.0882)
Racial segregation	0.0169	-0.0615	-0.00954
	(0.0385)	(0.0572)	(0.0510)
R^2	0.654	0.413	0.636
Income segregation			
Homeownership rate	0.322***	1.429***	0.850***
	(0.0678)	(0.366)	(0.330)
(Income segregation) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.0469**	-0.407***	-0.256**
	(0.0207)	(0.118)	(0.110)
Income segregation	-0.209***	-0.166*	-0.256***
	(0.0692)	(0.0914)	(0.0866)
R^2	0.672	0.304	0.583
Observations	588	588	588
Controls	X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table VI. Alternative Explanations: School Quality

Panel A present the OLS and IV estimates of the effects of homeownership on school quality. The instruments are the CZ-level fraction of single-family detached homes in 1990 (IV1) and the difference in median house prices between 1980 to 1990 (IV2). All columns include controls for the percentage above age 55, single working mothers, below poverty level, divorced, with less than high-school education, for the unemployment rate, the percentage black, and an indicator for urban area. The dependent variable school quality is an indicator equal to one if the CZ is above median (better quality) for an income-residualized measure of test scores at CZ level provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). Panel B presents estimates of the cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on social capital across sprawl and segregation. Sprawl is defined as the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work and is from 2000 Census. Segregation of homeowners is an entropy-based measure calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. Racial segregation is measured using Theil (1972) Index. Income segregation is measured as in Reardon (2011), calculated at the at the CZ level with 2000 Census data provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). All other data are from the Decennial Census. All columns are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000. The homeownership rate, sprawl and segregation variables have been standardized for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are clustered by state.

Panel A

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) IV1	(4) IV2
Homeownership rate	0.105***	0.0861**	0.225***	0.171***
	(0.0243)	(0.0329)	(0.0651)	(0.0378)
Observations	588	588	588	588
R^2	0.101	0.304	0.219	0.273
Controls		X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49	49

Panel B: Sprawl and Segregation

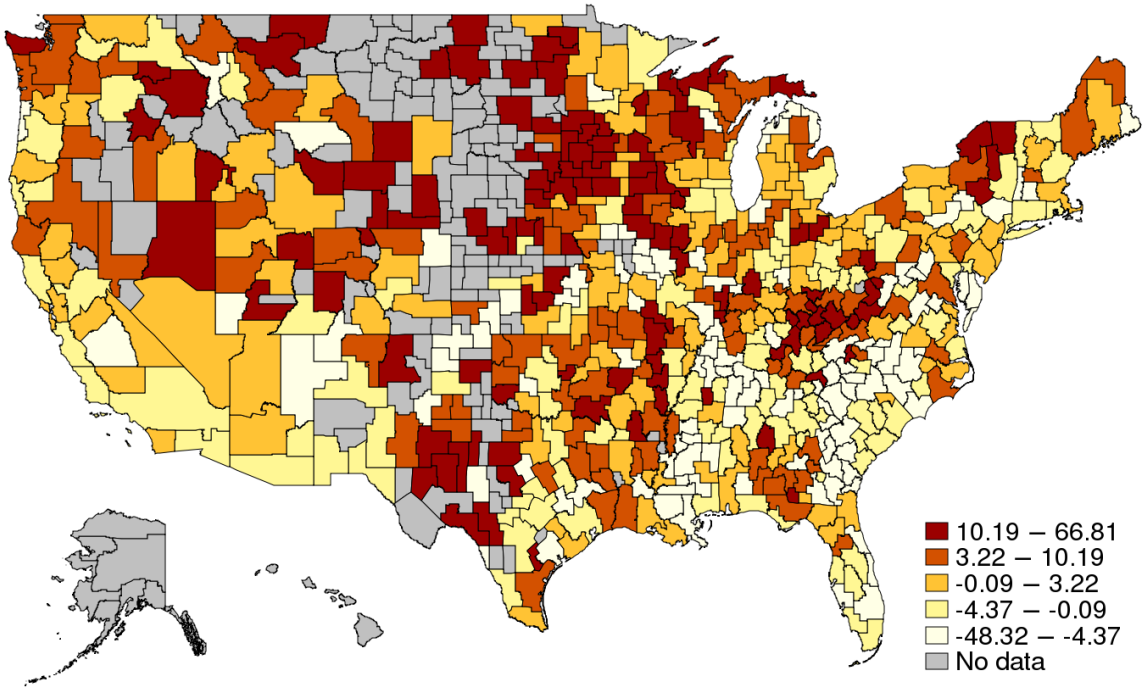
	(1) OLS	(2) IV1	(3) IV2
Sprawl			
Homeownership rate	0.0467	0.278*	0.228*
	(0.0626)	(0.150)	(0.131)
(Sprawl) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.0101	-0.0643	-0.0665
	(0.0255)	(0.0495)	(0.0527)
Sprawl	-0.201***	-0.138***	-0.180***
	(0.0419)	(0.0500)	(0.0459)
R^2	0.354	0.273	0.314
Segregation of homeowners			
Homeownership rate	0.0115	0.421*	0.211*
	(0.0630)	(0.254)	(0.112)
(Segregation of homeowners) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.00422	-0.0767	-0.0323
	(0.0145)	(0.0504)	(0.0248)
Segregation of homeowners	-0.171***	-0.0559	-0.0946**
	(0.0386)	(0.0724)	(0.0471)
R^2	0.352	0.142	0.296
Racial segregation			
Homeownership rate	0.0862	0.269**	0.181***
	(0.0574)	(0.108)	(0.0638)
(Racial segregation) * (Homeownership rate)	-0.00225	-0.0306	-0.00705
	(0.0211)	(0.0379)	(0.0234)
Racial segregation	-0.0647	-0.0685	-0.0607
	(0.0439)	(0.0480)	(0.0471)
R^2	0.319	0.235	0.286
Income segregation			
Homeownership rate	0.0239	0.234	0.115
	(0.0632)	(0.173)	(0.127)
(Income segregation) * (Homeownership rate)	0.00343	-0.0298	0.00626
	(0.0204)	(0.0524)	(0.0415)
Income segregation	-0.173***	-0.102**	-0.112**
	(0.0411)	(0.0479)	(0.0459)
R^2	0.359	0.283	0.326
Observations	588	588	588
Controls	X	X	X
Clusters	49	49	49

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure 1. Map of Intergenerational Mobility

The figures below show the heat maps fo the causal components of intergenerational mobility at the 25^{th} and 75^{th} percentiles (Panel A and Panel B) at the CZ level. Data are divided into 5 quintiles are shown. The intergenerational mobility measures are the causal components of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (Panel A) and 75^{th} percentile (Panel B) of the parents' income distribution.

Panel A: 25^{th} Percentile



Panel B: 75^{th} Percentile

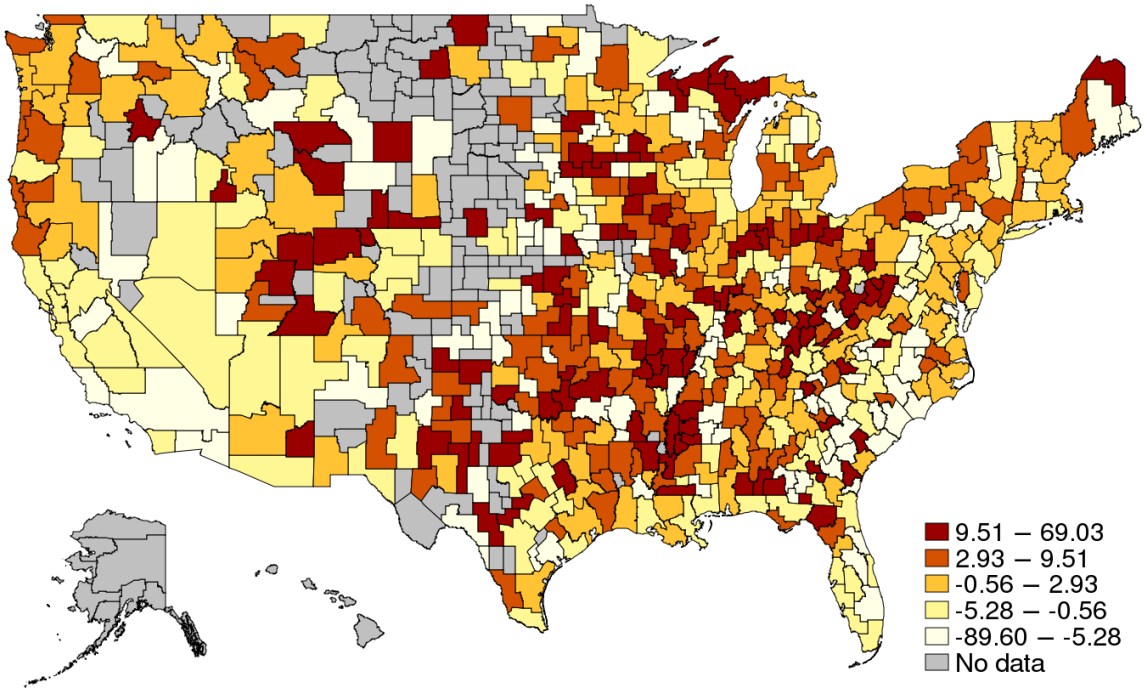


Figure 2. Map of Homeownership Rates 2000

The figures below show the heat maps for homeownership rate in 2000 at the CZ level. Data are divided into 5 quintiles are shown. Homeownership rates in 2000 are from the 2000 Census.

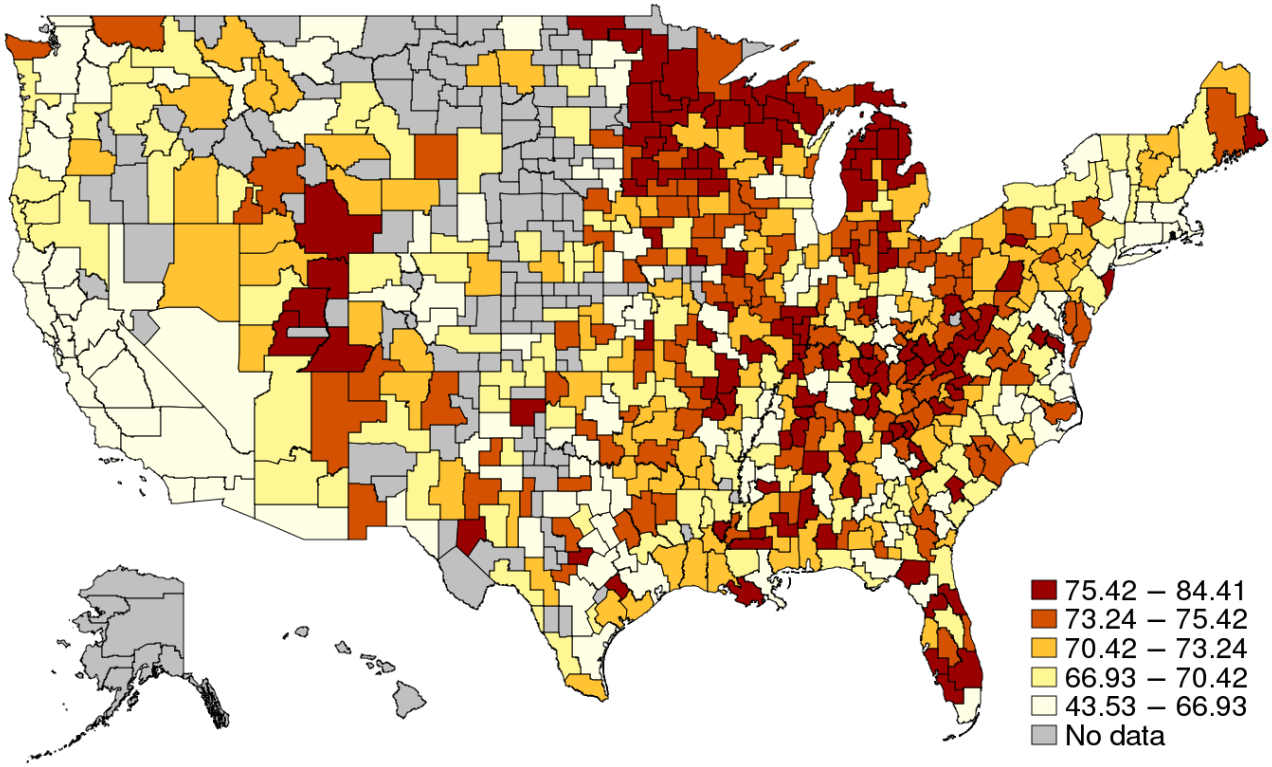
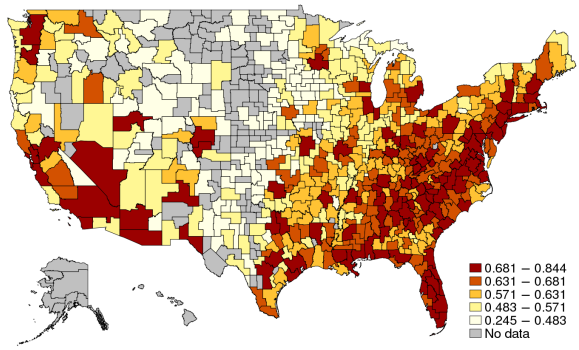
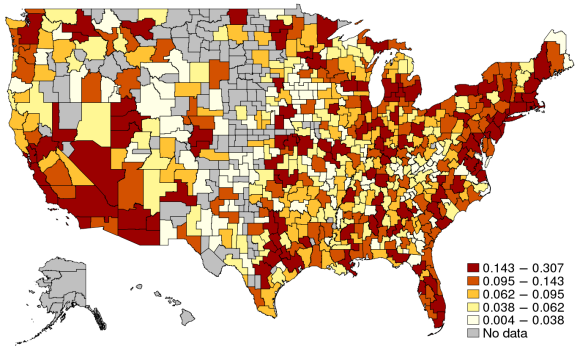


Figure 3. Map of Sprawl and Segregation

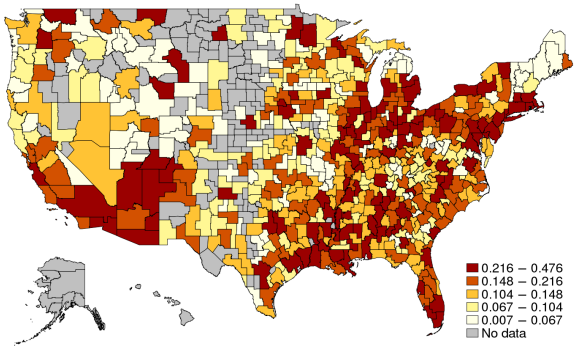
The figures below show the heat maps for the sprawl measure (Panel (a)), Segregation of homeowners (Panel (b)), racial segregation (Panel(c)) and segregation of income measure (Panel (d)) at the CZ level. Data are divided into 5 quintiles are shown. Sprawl is defined as the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work and is from 2000 Census. Segregation of homeowners is an entropy-based measure calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. Racial segregation is measured using Theil (1972) Index. Income segregation is measured as in Reardon (2011), calculated at the at the CZ level with 2000 Census data provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015).



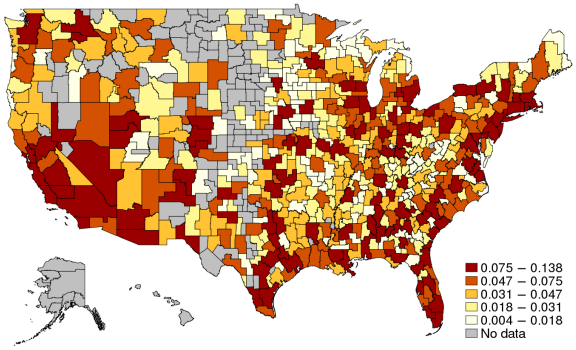
(a) **Sprawl**



(b) **Segregation of homeowners**



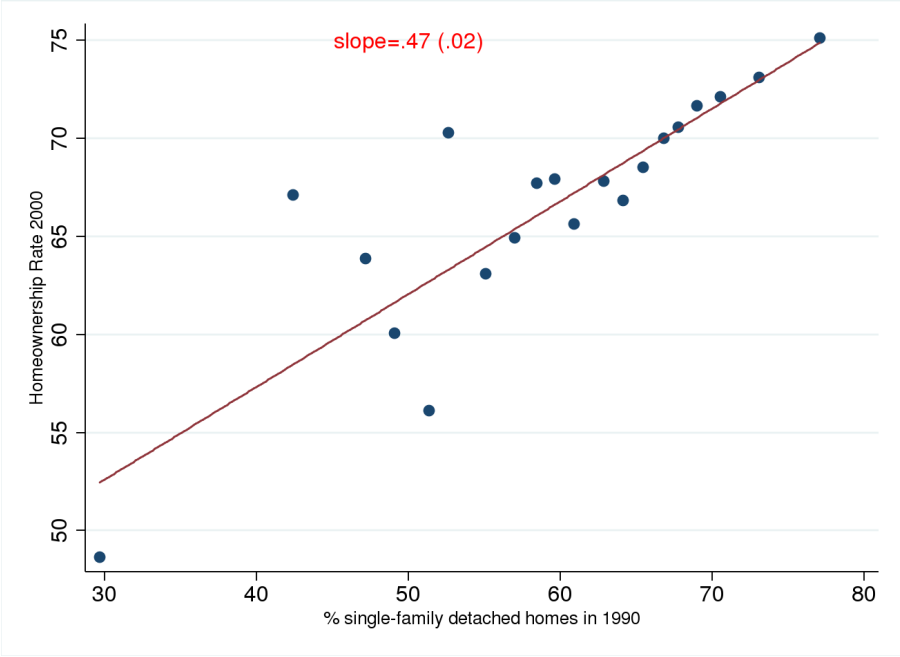
(c) **Racial segregation**



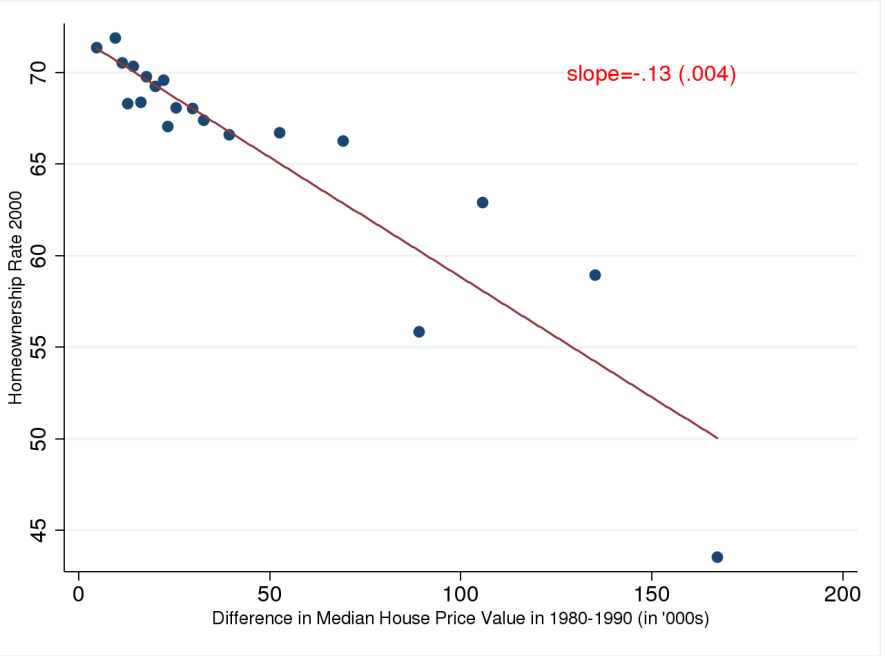
(d) **Income segregation**

Figure 4. Instrumenatal Variable First Stages

The figures below graphically show the first stage of the two instruments we use — CZ-level fraction of single family detached homes in 1990 (IV1) and the difference in median house price value between 1980 to 1990 (IV2) — to instrument for homeownership rates in 2000. Panel (a) shows the binned scatter plots of fraction of single family detached homes in 1990 against homeownership rates in 2000 weighted by total number of housing units in 2000. The binned scatter plots divide the variable along the x-axis (single family detached homes in 1990) into 5 percentile bins and plot the mean of the x-axis and corresponding mean of the y-axis (homeownership rates in 2000) respectively. Panel (b) shows the first stage for our second instrument, the difference in median house price between 1980 and 1990. Homeownership rates, total number of housing units, fraction of single family detached homes and median house price are from the Decennial Census.



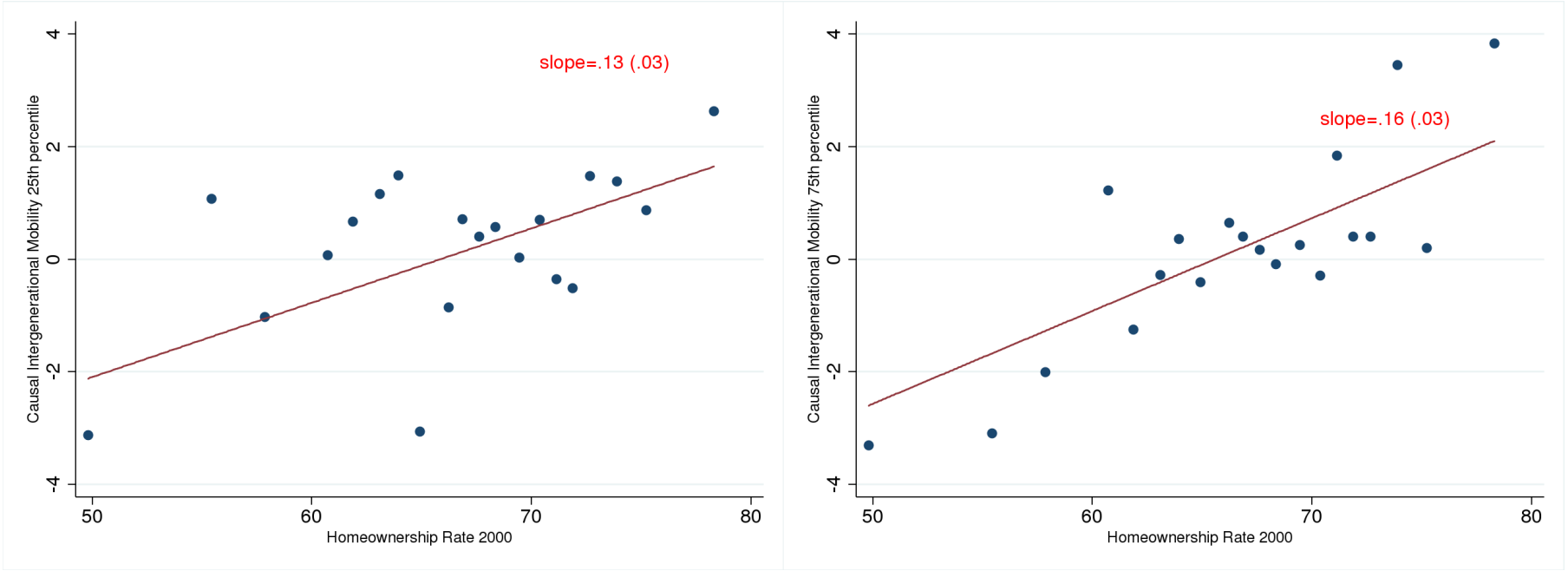
(a) **Single-family detached homes 1990**



(b) **House Price Differences 1980–1990**

Figure 5. Homeownership rates and Intergenerational Mobility

The figures below show the relationship between intergenerational mobility and homeownership rates using CZ level data. The vertical axis variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (panel(a)) and 75^{th} percentile (panel(b)) of the parents' income distribution. Homeownership rate data on the horizontal axis is from the US 2000 Census. Data are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000.



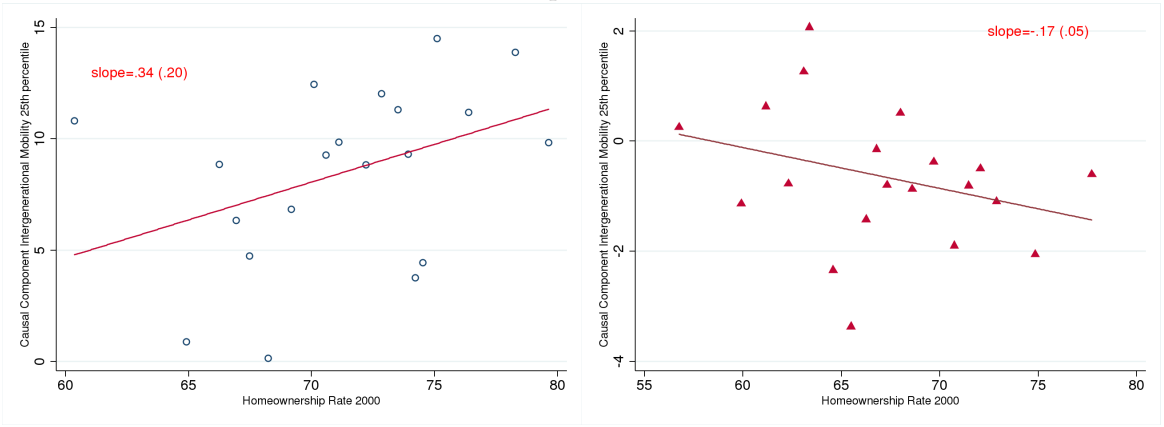
(a) 25^{th} **percentile**

(b) 75^{th} **percentile**

Figure 6. Heterogeneity across Sprawl

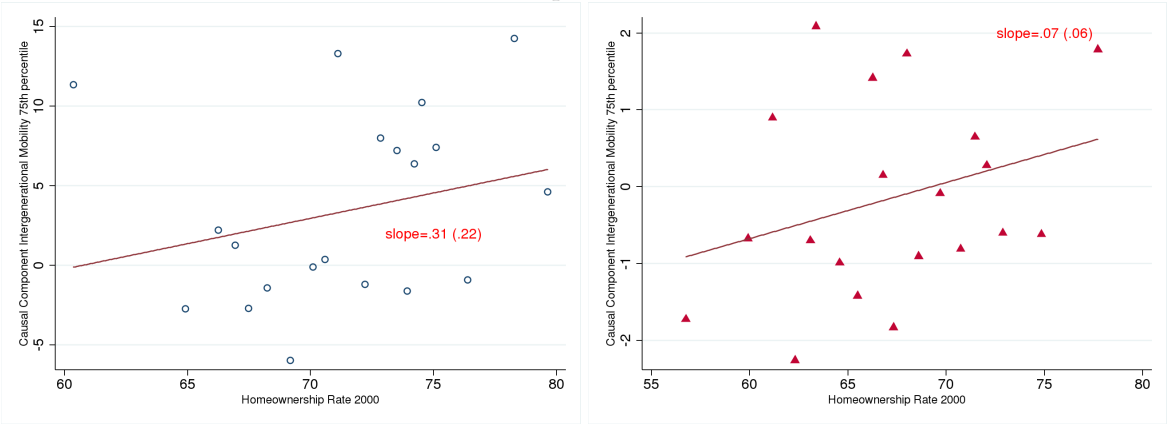
We present cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility across sprawl at the CZ level. Sprawl is defined as the fraction of people not working from home with greater than 15 minutes of commute time to work and is from 2000 Census. The sample is divided into terciles of sprawl. The high sprawl CZs refer to the top tercile (panel (b) and (d)) and the low sprawl CZs refer to the bottom tercile (panel (a) and (c)). The outliers corresponding to the top 1 percentile and bottom 1 percentile of homeownership rates have been dropped in this figure. The vertical axis variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (top panel) and 75^{th} percentile (bottom panel) of the parents' income distribution. Homeownership rate data on the horizontal axis is from the US 2000 Census. Data are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000.

25^{th} percentile



(a) **Low Sprawl** (b) **High Sprawl**

75^{th} percentile

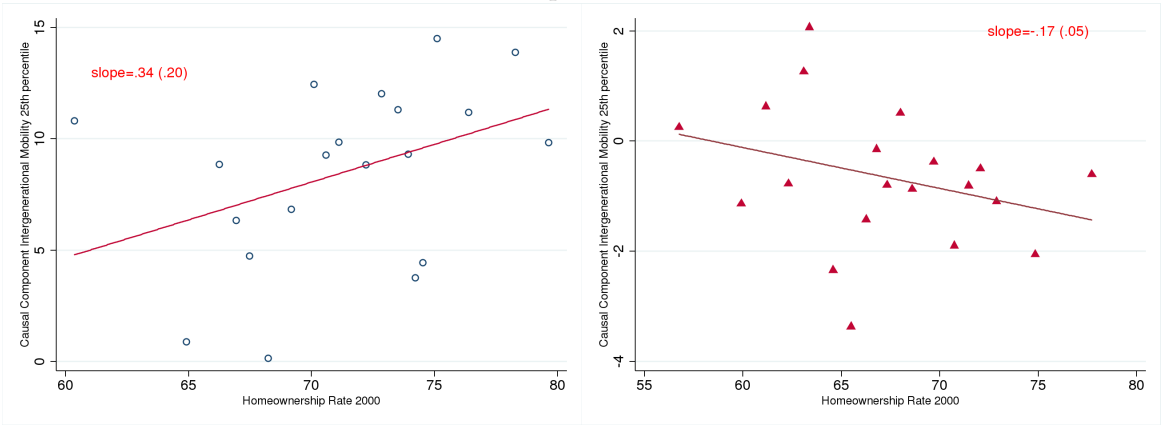


(c) **Low Sprawl** (d) **High Sprawl**

Figure 7. Heterogeneity across segregation of homeowners

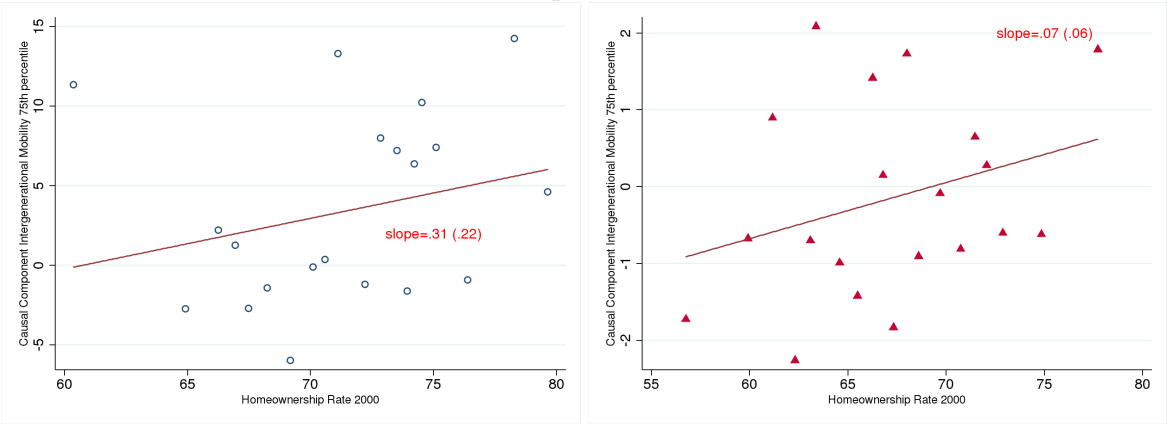
We present cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility across segregation of homeowners at the CZ level. Segregation of homeowners is an entropy-based measure calculated at the CZ level using 2000 Census data. The sample is divided into terciles of Segregation of homeowners. The high segregation CZs refer to the top tercile (panel (b) and (d)) and the low segregation CZs refer to the bottom tercile (panel (a) and (c)). The outliers corresponding to the top 1 percentile and bottom 1 percentile of homeownership rates have been dropped in this figure. The vertical axis variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (top panel) and 75^{th} percentile (bottom panel) of the parents' income distribution. Homeownership rate data on the horizontal axis is from the US 2000 Census. Data are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000.

25^{th} percentile



(a) **Low Segregation** (b) **High Segregation**

75^{th} percentile

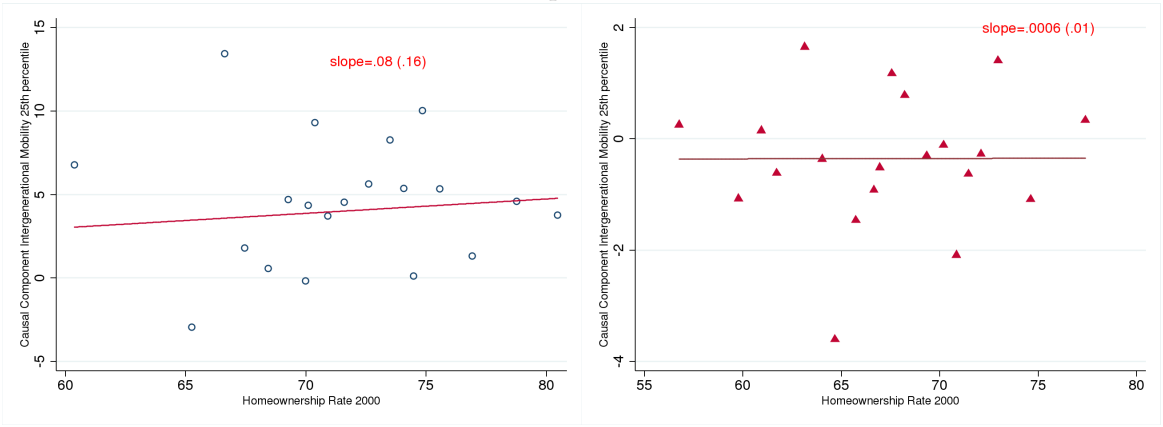


(c) **Low Sprawl** (d) **High Sprawl**

Figure 8. Heterogeneity across Racial Segregation

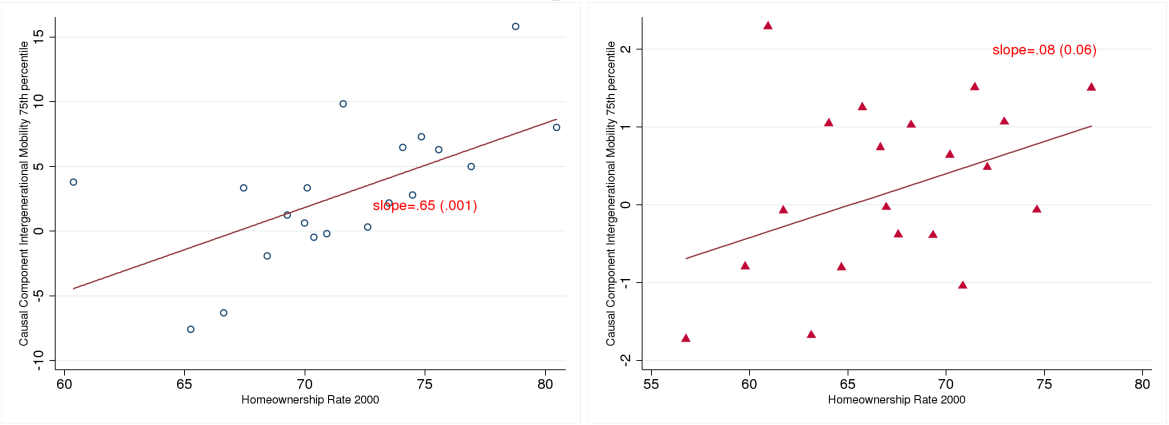
We present cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility across racial segregation at the CZ level. Racial segregation is measured using Theil (1972) Index. The sample is divided into terciles of racial segregation index. The high segregation CZs refer to the top tercile (panel (b) and (d)) and the low segregation CZs refer to the bottom tercile (panel (a) and (c)). The outliers corresponding to the top 1 percentile and bottom 1 percentile of homeownership rates have been dropped in this figure. The vertical axis variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (top panel) and 75^{th} percentile (bottom panel) of the parents' income distribution. Homeownership rate data on the horizontal axis is from the US 2000 Census. Data are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000.

25^{th} percentile



(a) **Low Segregation** (b) **High Segregation**

75^{th} percentile

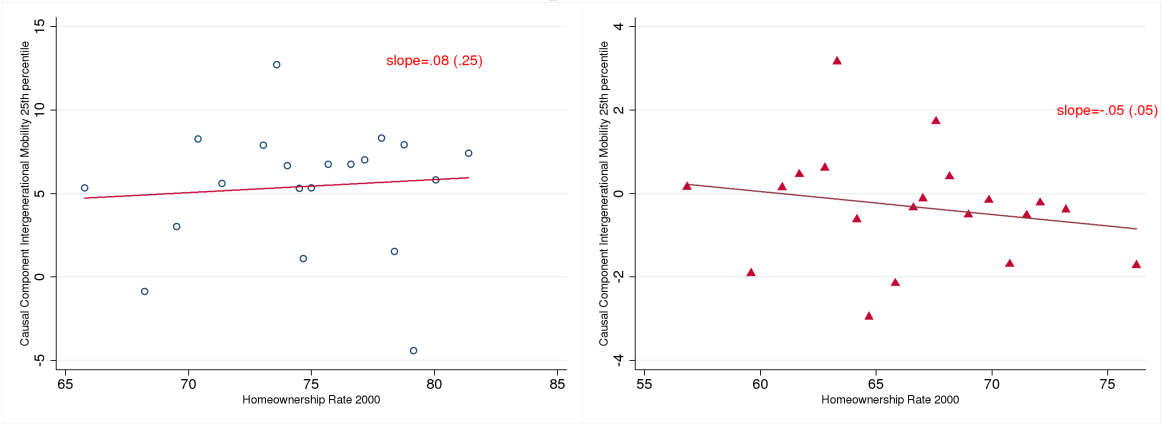


(c) **Low Segregation** (d) **High Segregation**

Figure 9. Heterogeneity across Segregation of Income

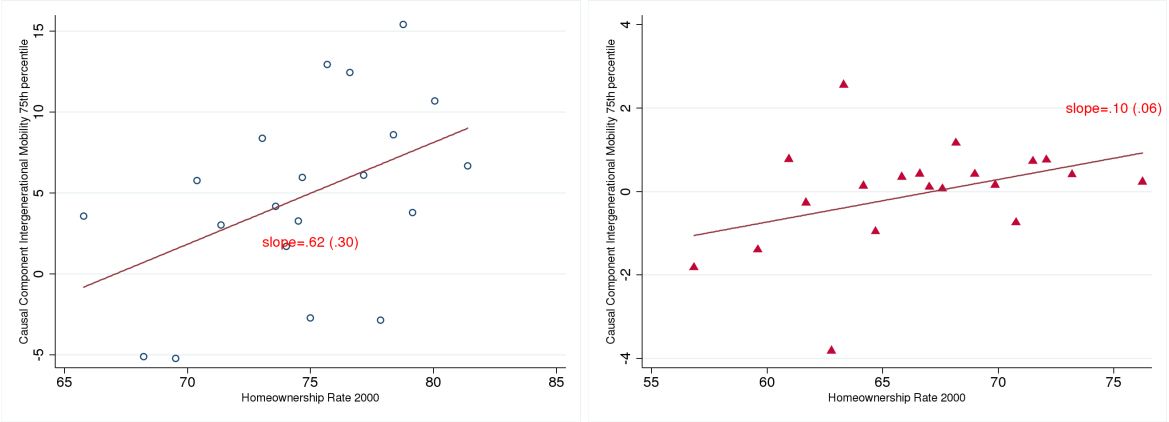
We present cross-sectional heterogeneity in the effect of homeownership on intergenerational mobility across income segregation at the CZ level. Income segregation is measured as in Reardon (2011), calculated at the at the CZ level with 2000 Census data provided by Chetty and Hendren (2015). The sample is divided into terciles of income segregation. The high income segregation CZs refer to the top tercile (panel (b) and (d)) and the low income segregation CZs refer to the bottom tercile (panel (a) and (c)). The outliers corresponding to the top 1 percentile and bottom 1 percentile of homeownership rates have been dropped in this figure. The vertical axis variable from Chetty and Hendren (2015) is the causal component of growing up in a neighborhood for 20 years on intergenerational mobility for the 25^{th} percentile (top panel) and 75^{th} percentile (bottom panel) of the parents' income distribution. Homeownership rate data on the horizontal axis is from the US 2000 Census. Data are weighted by the number of housing units in each CZ in 2000.

25^{th} percentile



(a) **Low Segregation** (b) **High Segregation**

75^{th} percentile



(c) **Low Segregation** (d) **High Segregation**