# Falling Behind: Has Rising Inequality Fueled the American Debt Boom?

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Wifo | January 10, 2024

## Outline

#### Introduction

**Relation to the Literature** 

Model & Results

Conclusion

# Motivation I: Keeping up with the richer Joneses

#### Empirical Evidence of Social Comparisons

- When somebody wins in the lottery their neighbors buy bigger cars and borrow more (Kuhn et al., 2011; Agarwal et al., 2016)
- When top incomes rise, the bottom 80% shift expenditures towards visible goods (like housing; see Bertrand and Morse, 2016a)
- When someone builds a big house, their neighbors will lose satisfaction with their own house and invest in home improvements (Bellet, 2019)

#### Kuchler and Stroebel (2021)'s Review of "Social Finance" Literature: peer effects in household financial decisions are pervasive, large in magnitude, and come through several channels, including [...] <mark>"social utility"</mark> channels.

#### **Open Question**

What are the aggregate effects of social comparisons in light of increasing inequality?

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## **Motivation II: US Household Debt Boom and Income Inequality**



#### Non-Rich Debt and Top Incomes Across US States, 2005-2007 vs. 1980-1982

Figure 1: Non-Rich Debt and Top Incomes: 1980 – 2007



Non-rich = bottom 90% | Top incomes = avg. income in top 10% | Source: DINA

## **This Paper**

#### **Research Questions**

- How do redistribution affect aggregates through social comparisons?
- Can rising income inequality account for (part of) the mortgage debt boom?

#### A Tractable Macro Model with Social Externalities in Housing

- Time-invariant heterogeneity in income (and wealth)
- Arbitrary social comparisons in housing (Keeping up with the Joneses)

## **Findings**

- Optimal choices are linear functions of incomes of reference agents
- With asymmetric comparisons, redistribution affects aggregates housing & debt increase iff redistribution towards more popular agents
- Rising inequality & upward-looking comparisons  $\rightarrow$  up to 20% of debt boom

## How Rising Income Inequality Raises Demand for Housing and Debt

# rising top inequality

Keeping up with the richer Joneses

mortgage boom

- 1. rich become richer (exogenously)
- 2. rich improve their houses, raise reference point
- 3. non-rich want to keep up with the richer Joneses
- 4. non-rich improve their houses using a mortage
- 5. higher debt-to-income ratios across the distribution

Note: non-rich  $\approx$  bottom 90 % (almost everyone!)

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   e.g. Kumhof et al. (2015), Favilukis et al. (2017), Kaplan et al. (2020), Mian et al. (2021)
   ~ new (demand-side) mechanism to complement supply-side factors
- External habits (Keeping up with the Joneses)
   e.g. Abel (1990), Campbell and Cochrane (1999), Ljungqvist and Uhlig (2000)
  - → heterogenous agent model, use micro-evidence for parameterization
- Network economics e.g. Ballester et al. (2006), Ghiglino and Goyal (2010) ~ infinite-horizon model with general comparison network
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### Model: Households I

- types  $j \in \{1, \dots, N\}$
- population weights  $\omega_j$
- constant incomes  $y^1 < y^2 < \cdots < y^N$
- utility depends on
  - consumption  $\boldsymbol{c}$
  - housing status  $s(h, \tilde{h}) = h \phi \tilde{h}$
- reference housing of type-i agents

$$ilde{h}_i = \sum_{j=1}^n g_{ij} h_j, \quad ext{where } g_{ij} \ge 0$$

- comparison matrix  $G = (g_{ij})_{ij}$
- $\tilde{\mathbf{h}}_{N \times 1} = \underset{N \times N}{G} \cdot \underset{N \times 1}{\mathbf{h}}$

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# Simple Comparison Networks



## Model: Households II

#### Preferences

•  $\sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u(c_t, s(h_t, \tilde{h}_t))$ 

• flow utility 
$$u(c,s) = \frac{((1-\xi)c^{1-\varepsilon}+\xi s^{1-\varepsilon})^{\frac{1-\gamma}{1-\varepsilon}}}{1-\gamma}$$

#### Endogenous states

- durable housing  $h_{t+1} = (1 \delta)h_t + x_t$
- asset  $a_{t+1} = y_t + (1 + r)a_t c_t px_t$  (savings device and mortgage)
- $a_0 = 0$  for convenience

## **Equilibrium objects**

- house price  $\mathit{p}_{\text{r}}$  interest rate  $\mathit{r}=1/\beta-1$
- reference housing  $ilde{ extsf{h}}_{N imes 1}$

## **Proposition 1: Agents' Optimal Choices Depend on Others' Incomes**

Assume the Leontief inverse  $(I - \phi G)^{-1}$  exists. ( $\implies$  it is equal to  $\sum_{i=0}^{\infty} \phi^i G^i$ ) Then, optimal housing and debt are given by:

 $\mathbf{h} = \kappa_2 (I + \mathbf{L}) \mathbf{y}.$  $-\mathbf{a} = \kappa_3 (I + \mathbf{L}) \mathbf{y}$ 

where  $\kappa_1 \in (0,1)$ ,  $\kappa_2, \kappa_3 > 0$  and  $L = \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} (\kappa_1 \phi G)^i$  is the social externality matrix

*L* measures the strength of all externalities between any pair of agents (from all direct and indirect paths in the network of comparisons)

L<sub>ij</sub> = externality of j on i (how much does j's income impact i's decisions?)

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## **Examples: Social Externality Matrix**

	(a) no Joneses	(b) Mean Joneses	(c) Richer Joneses	(d) Rich Joneses
G	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$
L	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$	$\frac{\tilde{\phi}}{1-\tilde{\phi}} \begin{pmatrix} \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \end{pmatrix}$	$egin{pmatrix} 0 &  ilde{\phi} &  ilde{\phi}^2 \ 0 & 0 &  ilde{\phi} \ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$	$\frac{\tilde{\phi}}{1-\tilde{\phi}} \begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$

where  $\tilde{\phi} = \kappa_1 \phi \in (0,1)$  and  $\omega^T = (\omega_P, \omega_M, \omega_R)$  are the population weights.

## How optimal debt depends on others' incomes

$$-\begin{pmatrix}a_{P}\\a_{M}\\a_{R}\end{pmatrix} = \kappa_{3}\begin{pmatrix}y_{P}\\y_{M}\\y_{R}\end{pmatrix} + \kappa_{3} \underbrace{\left(\sum_{i=1}^{\infty}\tilde{\phi}^{i}G^{i}\right)}_{\approx \text{Leontief inverse of }G} \begin{pmatrix}y_{P}\\y_{M}\\y_{R}\end{pmatrix}$$

→ Households need not be directly linked! (effects trickle-down) → Impact of changing  $y_i$  determined by column sums of L

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## **Aggregate Effects of Redistribution**

• Assume: Redistribute income from type *i* to type *j* (keeping the aggregate constant)

$$(\omega_j \underbrace{\Delta y_j}_{+} + \omega_i \underbrace{\Delta y_i}_{-} = 0)$$

• What will happen to aggregate debt and house prices?

## **Useful Definition: Popularity**

Agent *j*'s popularity is the weighted sum of externalities from *j* onto other types *i*.

$$b_j = \sum_{i=1}^N \omega_i L_{ij} \ge 0$$

#### Population-weighted column sum of the social externality matrix L

Intuitively, type-j agents' popularity measures

- how many other types are affected by type  $j_i$  and how strongly:  $L_{1j}, \ldots, L_{Nj}$
- how many of them exist in the population:  $\omega_1,\ldots,\omega_N$

(Bonacich-Katz *in*-centrality)

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# **Examples of Popularities**

	(a) no Joneses	(b) Mean Joneses	(c) Richer Joneses	(d) Rich Joneses
G	$ \left(\begin{array}{rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr$	$egin{pmatrix} \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$
L	$\left(\begin{array}{rrrr} 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{array}\right)$	$\frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha} \begin{pmatrix} \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & \alpha & \alpha^2 \\ 0 & 0 & \alpha \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$	$\frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha} \begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$
b	$\begin{pmatrix} 0\\0\\0 \end{pmatrix}$	$rac{lpha}{1-lpha}\cdot egin{pmatrix} \omega_P \ \omega_M \ \omega_R \end{pmatrix}$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0\\ \omega_{P\alpha}\\ \omega_{P\alpha}^{2} + \omega_{M}\alpha \end{pmatrix}$	$\frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha} \cdot \begin{pmatrix} 0\\0\\1 \end{pmatrix}$

#### Lemma

Aggregate housing demand and aggregate debt can be written in terms of popularity.

$$\sum_{i} \omega_{i} h_{i} = \kappa_{2} (\boldsymbol{\omega} + \boldsymbol{b})^{T} \boldsymbol{y}, \quad -\sum_{i} \omega_{i} a_{i} = \kappa_{3} (\boldsymbol{\omega} + \boldsymbol{b})^{T} \boldsymbol{y}$$

#### **Proposition**

The impact of a change in type j's income  $y_j$  on aggregate housing and aggregate debt is proportional to j's popularity.

### **The Consequences of Redistribution**

Redistribute income from type i to type j

$$(\omega_j \underbrace{\Delta y_j}_{+} + \omega_i \underbrace{\Delta y_i}_{-} = 0)$$

#### Result

housing & debt rise iff j is more popular than i

Definition: Type j is more popular than type i $\frac{b_j}{\omega_j} > \frac{b_i}{\omega_i}$ 

## Towards General Equilibrium: Clearing the housing market

**Housing demand** 

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^{N} \omega_i h_i$$

#### Housing supply (as in Favilukis et al., 2017; Kaplan et al., 2020)

• use effective labor  $\Theta N_h$  and land permits  $\overline{L}$  for new construction

$$I_h = (\Theta N_h)^{\alpha} \bar{L}^{1-\alpha}$$

- optimal construction is  ${\it I}_h^*=(p\alpha)^{\frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha}}\bar{L}$ 

#### Market clearing

$$I_h = \delta H$$

# **General Equilibrium I: Top incomes and house prices**

#### Special case: Cobb-Douglas (arepsilon ightarrow 1)

- optimal debt is independent of p (previous results survive)
- the equilibrium house price is

$$p = \alpha^{-\alpha} \left( \frac{\delta \xi(\boldsymbol{\omega} + \boldsymbol{b})^T \boldsymbol{y}}{\bar{L}(r + \delta)} \right)^{1 - \alpha}$$

• Redistribution increases  $p \iff j$  is more popular than i

# Does inequality drive debt and house prices? (I)

	no Joneses mean Joneses		richer Joneses	rich Joneses
G <b>b</b>	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$ $(0, 0, 0)$	$\begin{pmatrix} \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \\ \omega_P & \omega_M & \omega_R \end{pmatrix}$ $\frac{\tilde{\phi}}{1-\tilde{\phi}}(\omega_P, \omega_M, \omega_R)$	$egin{pmatrix} 0&1&0\0&0&1\0&0&0\end{pmatrix}\ egin{pmatrix} 0,\omega_P ilde{\phi},\omega_P ilde{\phi}^2+\omega_M ilde{\phi}\end{pmatrix}$	$ \begin{pmatrix} 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix} $ $ \frac{\tilde{\phi}}{1 - \tilde{\phi}}(0, 0, 1) $
$\frac{\frac{b_R}{\omega_R} > \frac{b_P}{\omega_P}}{\frac{b_R}{\omega_R} > \frac{b_M}{\omega_M}}$	no no	no no	yes yes*	yes yes

## Does inequality drive debt and house prices? (II)

- What comparison matrix G is empirically relevant?
  - comparison motive is strongest (and best documented) with respect to the rich (e.g. Clark and Senik, 2010; Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2005; Card et al., 2012)
  - this would correspond to rich(er) Joneses
- model suggests: yes, income inequality drives mortgages and house prices
- what about non-mortgage debt?
  - mechanism only holds for durable and conspicuous goods
  - expect similar mechanism for cars, jewelry; but not for fancy food and hotels
  - model predicts weaker correlation, if any

# Quantifying the effect

- 1. income types: Bottom 50%, Middle 40%, Top 10%
  - start from 1980 income shares and redistribute to match 2007 income shares
- 2. strength of the comparison motive
  - match sensitivity w.r.t others' housing
  - use estimate from Bellet (2019) as upper bound



# Calibration

		comparison network				
	Parameter description	no J.	mean J.	richer J.	rich J.	Source
Preferences						
$\frac{1}{m}$	average life-time	45.0	45.0	45.0	45.0	working age 20–65
$\rho$	discount factor	0.147	0.147	0.147	0.147	internally calibrated
ξ	utility weight of housing	0.162	0.0434	0.0306	0.0434	internally calibrated
$\frac{1}{1-\varepsilon}$	elasticity of substitution (s vs $c$ )	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	literature, see text
$\phi$	strength of comparison motive	0.716	0.765	1.13	0.457	internally calibrated
Technology						
$\frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha}$	housing supply elasticity	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	Saiz (2010)
δ	depreciation rate of housing	0.134	0.134	0.134	0.134	internally calibrated
$\overline{L}$	flow of land permits	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	ad hoc

## **Model Fit**

		Мо	del			
Moment	no J.	mean J.	richer J.	rich J.	Target	Source
mortgage-to-income expenditure share of housing sensitivity to reference housing empl. share in construction sector	0.462 0.162 0.0 0.05	0.462 0.162 0.8 0.05	0.462 0.162 0.8 0.05	0.462 0.162 0.8 0.05	0.462 0.162 0.8 0.05	DINA (1980) CEX (1982) Bellet (2019) Kaplan et al. (2020)

# The Effect on (Aggregate) Debt (I)



Take-away: Significant reaction of the Bottom 90% (With upward looking comparisons)

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Take-away: Significant reaction of the Bottom 90% (With upward looking comparisons)

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# The Effect on (Aggregate) Debt (II)



Take-away I: Only Upward looking comparisons generate rising debt in all groups Take-away II: Rationalize about a quarter of the debt boom <sup>26/27</sup>

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Take-away I: Only Upward looking comparisons generate rising debt in all groups Take-away II: Rationalize about a quarter of the debt boom

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## Conclusion

- We formalize a causal link between rising top incomes and the debt boom based on "keeping up with the richer Joneses"
- We show analytically that aggregate debt-to-income ratio is increasing in top incomes if the rich are *sufficiently popular*
- We show empirically that higher top incomes are associated with higher mortgage debt and house prices across states and time
- We show that rising income inequality "keeping up with the Joneses" are a quantitatively important driver of mortgage debt

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