Research Division Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Working Paper Series



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Working Paper 2016-007A http://research.stlouisfed.org/wp/2016/2016-007.pdf

April 12, 2016

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The Postwar Conquest of the Home Ownership Dream*

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Abstract

Post-World War II witnessed the largest housing boom in recent history. This paper develops a quantitative equilibrium model of tenure choice to analyze the key determinants in the co-movement between homeownership and house prices over the period 1940-1960. The parameterized model matches key features and is capable of accounting for the observed housing boom. The key driver in understanding this boom is an asymmetric productivity change that favors the goods sector relative to the construction sector. Other factors such as demographics, income risk, and government policy are important determinants of the homeownership rate but have small effect on house prices.

Keywords: Housing finance, first-time buyers, life-cycle **J.E.L.:**E2, E6

^{*}We acknowledge the useful comments of Benjamin Bridgeman, Morris Davis, Daniel Fetter, Price Fishback, David Genesove, Matin Gervais, Jeremy Greenwood, Shawn Kantor, B. Ravikumar, Richard Rogerson, Juan Sánchez, Olmo Silva, Denis Snowden, Guillaume Vandenbroucke, Dave Wheelock, and Eugene White. Some of the ideas in the text have been presented at the 6th Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, 2011 Society for Economic Dynamics Meetings, 2011 Society for the Advancement of Economic Theory Meetings, 1st European Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, 2011 NBER-URC's Housing and Mortgage Markets in Historical Perspective Conference, Fifth Annual NBER Conference on Macroeconomics Across Time and Space. The editorial comments from Judith Ahlers have been useful. Don Schlagenhauf acknowledges the travel support from De Voe Moore Center. The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect those of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis or those of the Federal Reserve System. Corresponding author: Carlos Garriga, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, PO Box 442, St. Louis, MO 63166. Carlos.Garriga@stls.frb.org. Tel.: 314-444-7412.

1 Introduction

In modern societies home ownership has often been identified as a symbol of prosperity and social status that separates the middle class from the poor. Traditionally, the United States has been identified as a country where the majority of households have access to owner-occupied housing, which happens to be one of the cornerstones of the "American Dream." However, historically high home ownership rates have not always been the norm. Prior to the postwar period, the United States was identified as a nation of renters and access to home ownership was limited to a small fraction of the population. Between the 1940s and 1960s, the fraction of households that owned their home increased from 43 to 64 percent. In the post-World War II period, the U.S. economy had to transition back to a normal production economy from a direct war economy. Millions of individuals, including returning war veterans, desired to reintegrate into normal civilian life. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, government policy was favorable toward home ownership as well as the investment in higher education. As a result, a record number of American households started a family and bought their first home. The increase in the number of participants in the owner-occupied housing market coincided with a significant appreciation of the value of homes. In the aftermath of the postwar housing boom, it seems reasonable to state that for a large number of households the American Dream of home ownership was achieved. Since the 1960s, the home ownership rate has been fluctuating around the levels achieved during the postwar boom.²

The key driver of the postwar home ownership boom has been an issue of contention in the literature as a number of factors have been offered as the explanation. Some scholars attribute the increase to economic forces such as income growth and education. Other authors focus more on the role of government policies (i.e., regulation of housing finance, and tax policy) and non-economic factors such as demographics. For example, Kain (1983) and Katona (1964) both argue that the increase in home ownership was due to an increase in real income. Chevan (1989) argues that changes in income and the demographic age composition of the population explain more than half of the growth in home ownership between 1940 and 1960. Others argue that the government played a large role shaping the future of the housing market and the mortgage industry through various programs and tax exemptions. Yearn (1976) argues that federal policies that made mortgage funds available

¹The home ownership rate is defined as the ratio of owner-occupied units to total residential units in a specified area.

²The 2000s housing boom increased the home ownership rate to a peak of 69.0% before it fell back to the pre-boom levels. Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf (2009) studied this period and found that mortgage innovation in the form of mortgages that were highly leveraged and had variable-rate interest payments were a key factor in accounting for the increase in the homeownership rate. From a historical perspective, the recent expansion in ownership is small compared with the 1940-1960 period.

with lower down payment requirements, for longer durations, and at lower interest rates were the critical factor. In contrast to Yearn, Rosen and Rosen (1980) argue that federal tax policy was a key factor. They estimate that about one-fourth of the increase in home ownership between 1949 and 1974 was a result of benefits toward housing embedded in the personal income tax code. Hendershott and Shilling (1982) support this claim by finding that the decline in the cost of owning a home relative to the cost of renting during the period 1955 to 1979 was due to income tax provisions, as well as the easy monetary policy of the Federal Reserve System. Shiller (2007) argues that the postwar boom was substantially the result of new government policies to encourage home ownership after the surge of mortgage defaults prior to the Great Depression in the 1930s. Fetters (2010) has estimated that the VeteranAdministration (VA) policy of making zero downpayment mortgage loans available to veterans returning from World War II and the Korean War accounts for 10 percent of the increase in home ownership. All of these studies have attempted to measure the importance of a proposed explanation using a regression-based framework that attempts to hold other potential factors constant. The problem with such an approach is the interaction between many of the proposed explanations: a change in the housing participation decision can have an impact on housing markets and thus housing prices, which has further ramifications.

This paper uses a complementary approach based on a structural model that allows the key determinants of the postwar housing boom to be quantitatively analyzed. A stylized version of the quantitative model is developed to show how the various factors discussed in the literature affect the home ownership threshold and housing prices. The stylized model shows that the key to explaining the positive co-movement in home ownership and house prices is a productivity change that favors the goods sector relative to the housing (real estate) sector. In the absence of this asymmetric productivity change, the model can explain the achievement of the home ownership dream, but cannot simultaneously rationalize the increase in house prices. Empirical evidence is presented that supports the presence of a productivity bias toward the goods sector relative to the housing construction that started during the Second World War and lasted through the Korean War.

The quantitative model evaluates the theoretical findings using a multi-sector model version of the model used by Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf (2009) that allows for various sources of individual heterogeneity to be reflected in the housing tenure decision. In the model, individuals purchase consumption goods and housing services and invest in capital and/or housing. Housing is a lumpy investment that requires a down payment, long-term mortgage financing, while receiving preferential tax treatment. Mortgage loans are available from a financial sector that receives deposits from households and also loans capital to private firms. The goods sector produces consumption and nonresidential investment, while the construction sector produces residential investment. Households provide rental

services to individuals who may not want to access owner-occupied housing. The model endogenously determines the price of tenant and owner-occupied housing as well as the factor prices. The government implements a housing policy and collects revenue with a progressive income tax system. In the model, economic agents make optimal decisions in an environment that reflects the relevant economic and institutional conditions observed over the period. This approach allows the different factors to dynamically interact and provides a laboratory to study the effect of changes in economic conditions, government regulation, and relative prices.

The strategy to identify the relative importance of the different factors discussed in the literature is a three-step process. The first step is to parameterize the baseline economy to be consistent with key aggregate and distributional features of the U.S. economy between 1930 and 1940. The second step requires holding the fundamental parameters (preferences and technology) constant, while adjusting all the relevant factors that changed, thus allowing the impact of the change in these factors to jointly determine the model's determination of the total change in 1960.³ By performing counterfactual experiments, the third and last step provides bounds on the relative contribution of each factor.

The parameterized model is consistent with key aggregate and distributional features observed in the 1940 U.S. economy and is able to rationalize the positive co-movement of home ownership and house prices observed between the 1940s and 1960s. Consistent with the theoretical model that is presented, the critical explanatory factor is the sectoral biased productivity change. According to the model, the sectoral productivity change must increase around 25 percent more in the goods sector than in the construction sector. This magnitude appears to be consistent with the relative sectoral change observed using historical data. It is important to note that any productivity gain in the model generates an increase in the fraction of owner-occupied housing. However, a particular combination of sectoral productivity changes accounts for the observed co-movement. This point is illustrated by performing some counterfactuals cases where the sectoral bias is eliminated. The model suggests that if productivity in both sectors had increased by the sector with the highest growth, home ownership should have increased to 74.7 percent instead of 64.5 percent. However, prices would have increased by only 12 percent instead of the observed 40 percent increase. If the productivity of both sectors is increased by the productivity increase observed in the construction sector, both house prices and home ownership would increase slightly. Use of a two-sector general equilibrium model imposes discipline not only on the magnitude of the income increase, but also on the compositional effect across

³This paper follows the tradition of Cole and Ohanian (2000,2004), Hayashi and Prescott (2002), Ohanian (2009), and Perri and Quadrini (2002) that uses quantitative techniques to study historical episodes.

the different sectors in the economy. While the various factors discussed in the literature continue to play a role, their importance is diminished once relative productivity changes have been considered. More specifically, the role of demographic factors has an impact on the home ownership rate that ranges between 5 and 8 percent, but represents only 3 percent of the increase in housing prices. The impact of government subsidies, housing policy, and regulation of mortgage finance accounts for between 5 and 7 percent of the increase in home ownership and between 1 and 1.5 percent of the increase in housing prices. The key message for explaining the increase in homeownership and house prices is sectoral productivity increases that favor the goods sector relative to the housing (or construction) sector.

The analysis in this paper is limited to a comparison of steady-state equilibriums, rather than a transitional analysis. The period between 1940 and 1960 is characterized by a number of major events that would greatly complicate a transitional analysis. In the early 1940's the United States formally entered World War II. This meant the central government directed resources toward industries that produced war-type goods. The focus was to provide private housing accommodations for recruits and additional workers in key industries. During the war and early postwar years the government established price controls in several sectors in the economy. The aftermath of the Second World War was a period of transformation back to a market-based economy. This meant jobs and housing accommodations were required for returning troops. As a result, a number of new government programs were developed. Many of these programs had direct implications for housing and employment markets. In the early 1950s, the Korean War introduced additional frictions, although of a much smaller magnitude. Given the magnitude of the unexpected events and the large scale of the quantitative model, the strategy of the paper is to try to understand the change in levels and abstract from transitional dynamics.

2 Postwar Housing Boom Evidence: 1930-1960

This section documents the change in the home ownership rate and house prices in the United States. In addition, historical background for a number of factors that have appeared in the literature as explanations for the postwar housing boom is provided.

2.1 Trends in Home Ownership and House Prices

The decennial Census contains information on the fraction of individuals who own the home they occupy. The evolution of the home ownership rate and real house price index for the period 1920-2000 are summarized in Figure 1A. Prior to 1960, the data for the home

ownership rate are available only in the decennial Census, which limits the understanding of short-run fluctuations. However, from a long-run perspective, the general consensus is that the home ownership rate prior to 1940 remained relatively stable at about 45 percent. In the postwar boom, the percentage of owner-occupied households increased from 45 to 65 percent. While the increase was quite significant across all age cohorts, the largest increase occurred for relatively young households. This is partially due to the low initial home ownership rate for individuals between 25 and 35 years of age, which can be seen in Table 1A. Their access to owner-occupied housing was about half the national average. The literature argues that low income and limited access to credit were limiting factors for this age group.

The series for house prices depicted in Figure 1A corresponds to Robert Shiller's historical house price index. Many historians have used construction cost indices to proxy for a housing price index as measures of repeated sales were not available for the time period. Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956) examine the implications of using a construction cost index as a proxy for housing prices. They argue that "for short-term analysis, then, some margins of error are involved in using the cost index as an approximation of a price index. With regard to long-term movements, however, the construction cost index conforms closely to the price index, corrected for depreciation. ... For long-term analysis the margin of error involved in using the cost index as an approximation a price index cannot be great." (p. 358)

A selection of the most prominent construction cost indices in the Survey of Current Business are presented in Figure 1B. The general pattern across indices seems very clear. Despite having different short-term fluctuations probably due to regional variations, these indices suggest that housing costs between 1940 and 1960 increased in the range of 40 percent. The house price index estimated by Shiller for this period is consistent with the various construction cost indices.⁴

The increase in the participation of owner-occupied housing coincided with a significant increase in the average size of houses. Between 1900 and 1940, the average house size in the United States increased from 800 to only 900 square feet. The postwar housing boom started an increasing trend in the average house size. By 1960, the average house size had increased to over 1,200 square feet and this trend has shown no signs of ending. The trend in larger houses relative to population per households can be clearly seen in Table 1B. According to the table, the average population per family household did not significantly

⁴Recent research on housing has stressed the importance of considering the cross-regional variation in house prices. Given the problems with aggregate data availability for the period under consideration regional dimensions clearly exceed data availability. In addition, any short or medium run regional variation due to supply constraints are less likely to affect the observed aggregate trends in homeownership and house prices.

change during the postwar years; as a result, the space available per person increased by roughly 50 percent in 20 years and nearly doubled in 30 years.⁵ The increase in family size could certainly be an important driver in the demand of housing space. During this period birth rates increased from 20.4 in 1945 to 26.6 in 1947 and stayed at high levels until the early 1960s.⁶,⁷ The potential contribution of demographics in the increase in the home ownership rate is discussed in the next section.

2.2 Determinants of Home Ownership

2.2.1 Demographics

Demographers, such as Chevan (1989), suggest social norms toward housing changed over this period. This could partially be a result of the baby boom that started in 1945 as well as the return of the large number of war veterans. Many veterans delayed marriage and the formation of families until their military obligation ended and they received their benefits, which made owner-occupied housing more accessible, as suggested by Fetters (2010). Demographic changes that could impact home ownership could come in the form of changes in the relative size of age cohorts, a transitory population boom, or an increase in average life expectancy. As shown in Table 2A, the percent of the population accounted for by the 20-35 age cohorts in 1940 is 40 percent. In 1960, the relative size of the 20-35 age cohort is 31 percent. Where did the 9 percent difference go? The difference is distributed among the cohorts that comprise ages 36 to 82. As suggested by Table 1, the highest home ownership rates in 1940 occur in cohorts older than age 36. An increase in the size of these cohorts in the total population would result in an increase in home ownership due soley to a composition effect. The data supports a reduced significance of the 20-25 and 26-35 cohorts in 1960. Between 1940 and 1960 the percent of the population between ages 36 and 65 increased from 57.5 percent to 62.6 percent.

Could the change in the observed home ownership rate be entirely due to a composition effect? This question can be partially answered using a simple back-of-the-envelope calculation based on the definition of the home ownership rate. Define the home ownership rate for a given year t as $\Pi_t = \sum_{i \in I} \mu_t^i \pi_t^i$, where μ_t^i is a population weight for households of age (or type) i in period t, and π_t^i denotes the fraction of individuals of age (or type) i in period t that own their homes. The results in Table 2B provide an estimate of the

 $^{^5}$ The metric equivalence implies an average house size increase from 74 m² to 84 m². During the postwar boom house size increased to 112-125 m².

⁶The birth rate (technically, births/population rate) is the total number of live births per 1,000 persons of the population in a year.

⁷While demographics are a relevant driver of housing demand (see, for example, Mankiw and Weil, 1989, and Garriga, Tang, and Wang, 2015), fertility rates were even larger in the early part of the 1900s and houses were relatively small compared with 1960.

composition effect due to demographics. The simple decomposition shows that the decomposition effect, where π_t^i is held constant at 1940 values, can only rationalize an increase in the home ownership rate from 42.7 to 45.5 percent, or approximately 14 percent of the total change. A change in individual behavior, where only the π_t^i are allowed to change, accounts for over 84 percent of the change.⁸ This change is also consistent with the increase in life expectancy. Housing is a long-term and risky investment. An increase in survival rates, which measures the probability of being alive at the beginning of the next period, mitigates the riskiness of a home purchase, and increases the likelihood of making such an investment. Life expectancy increased significantly between 1940 and 1960. This channel for demographics to impact home ownership has not been stressed in the empirical literature.

2.2.2 Growth and Wage Income

In the postwar period, the United States witnessed stable and prosperous economic growth. In 1940 real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 101.4 billion (in 1940 prices) and by 1960 real GDP increased by a factor of 2.4 to 243.3 billion (1940 prices). Since the total population increased significantly during this period, a comparison in per capita values would indicate an increase in GDP per capita by a factor of 1.8. This increase in real GDP translates into a 4 percent annual growth rate between 1940 and 1960.

For millions of U.S. households the relevant driver to purchase a house was income growth. Over this period, (real) wage income per capita increased by a factor of 2.6.9 The real issue is why did real income increase and how did the increase vary by age? Over the 1940-60 period, government programs provided incentives to increase levels of education. Wage levels are correlated with educational levels. If more individuals have higher educational levels, the resulting higher income levels may account for the increase in home ownership over this period. Using Census data it is possible to construct (real) wage income efficiency indices for each educational level by age cohort. Figure 2A presents these indices for 1940 and 1960 for individuals with fewer than 8 years of education, 8 years of education, fewer than 12 years of education, and 12 or more years of education. Relative to 1940, the 1960 efficiency indices are higher for all educations over the age distribution and the peak of earnings occurs at an earlier age. Vandenbroucke, Kong, and Ravikumar (2015) provide supporting evidence that the accumulation of human capital for younger households is a very important mechanism for rationalizing the flattening of the income

⁸The total effect also includes a small positive covariance term that amounts to 2.4 percent.

⁹Wage income is defined as total compensation of employees plus .65 of proprietors' income. Wage income is expressed in 1940 prices. Converting this into a per capita value requires dividing by total employment.

profile by age. In the context of buying a house, when an individual has access to higher earnings at an earlier age, in addition to a greater ability to borrow (using longer-term mortgages with lower down payments), the result could be an increase in home ownership at a younger age. The argument that an increase in household income is the key driving factor could be plausible.

Another way that income could increase the demand for housing would be through a reduction of income risk. After the Great Depression and Second World War, households could have felt that better times lay ahead by expecting less income instability. Even though panel data required to measure the evolution of income risk at the individual level does not exist for this period, Census data can be used to construct measures of income dispersion by educational level. Figure 2B compares the standard deviation of income by age for the four educational groups. As can be seen, the variation of income by age increases by age in both periods. The income dispersion for young individuals is relatively small compared with individuals around their peak income in 1940. The increasing variation in income is consistent with some of the facts documented in Badel and Huggett (2014). The relevant fact is the significant reduction in income dispersion observed between 1940 and 1960 across all groups. Using age specific standard deviation as a measure of income risk, the reduction of this risk could provide incentives to own a home at an early age in 1960 compared with 1940. This would be another way for income changes to be a key driving factor.

2.2.3 Regulation of Housing Finance and Government Policy

Over this period, the government played a large role in shaping the future of U.S. housing finance and housing policy. In 1900, mortgage lenders consisted of mutual savings banks, life insurance companies, savings and loan associations, and commercial banks. Mutual savings banks were the dominate lenders, while commercial banks played a small role. This is a direct result of the National Banking Act, which made real estate loans inconsistent with sound banking practice, thus restricting mortgage loans to state-chartered banks. In 1913, the Federal Reserve Act liberalized these restrictions. As a result, the importance of commercial banks in this market steadily increased to the point where they became dominant lender after the Second World War.

Perhaps a more important change was in the structure of the mortgage contract. Before the Great Depression many mortgages were short-term (5-7 years) balloon-type contracts (non-amortizing) with large down payment requirements (50-60 percent). As a result of New Deal policies, government agencies began to offer standard fixed-rate mortgage (FRM) contracts with longer maturities (20-30 years) and a higher loan-to-value ratio (80 percent

and above).¹⁰,¹¹ A government agency was established to create a secondary market to provide additional liquidity and expand credit in the housing market by purchasing Federal Housing Administration (FHA)-insured loans. The expansion of government and private lending could have important effects on the interest rates. The availability of mortgage rates during these years was very limited. Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956, Table O-1, p. 496) provide data for mortgage rates and bond yields for Manhattan (NY) for the years 1900 and 1953. As shown in Figure A2 in the Appendix, mortgage rates declined over this period. This has often been used as an argument in favor of the creation of a national credit market and the elimination of regional markets.

A second government policy was the benefit package for returning World War II veterans.¹² The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the "GI Bill of Rights," encouraged home ownership and investment in higher education through low or zero interest rate loans to veterans. In the case of housing, veterans had access to loans with no down payment to help them overcome the need to accumulate savings for the down payment. Were these programs quantitatively significant? Fetters (2010) estimates that the effect of the VA's zero downpayment policy accounts for approximately 10 percent increase in home ownership. Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf (2014) report that the combined share of FHA and VA loans increased from a 1.3 percent of market share in 1936 to 44 percent in 1952.

Another channel through which the government could have influenced homeownership is through the personal income tax code. Prior to the Great Depression, the role of government programs was limited; as such, a sizable fraction of the population did not pay income

¹⁰In the 1920s and 1930s, mortgage loans tended to originate from life insurance firms and savings and loan associations. Commercial banks played only a small role because of regulations. During the period from 1920 to 1935, the average duration was between 6 and 7 years for mortgages originated by life insurance firms. Mortgages from savings and loan associations tended to be for 11 years. Loan-to-Value (LTV) ratios over this same period for life insurance firms and S & L associations were approximately 50 and 60 percent, respectively. After 1934, commercial banks became a more important alternative for mortgage financing. It is clear that the length of mortgages increased and was starting to approach 20-year mortgages. This was especially true for mortgages offered by life insurance companies. Loan-to-value ratios also changed over this period. While the LTV value ratios in 1920-34 were around 50 percent, these ratios began to increase after 1934. By 1947 LTV ratios started to approached 80 percent.

¹¹Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956) examine mortgage loan data from life insurance companies, commercial banks, and savings and loans for the period 1920 to 1940 and find that the share of loans with partial amortization was very limited. Commercial banks had the highest share near 50 percent, whereas insurance companies and savings and loans had significantly lower shares around 20 and 7 percent respectively. However, over the period 1940-1946, Saulnier (1950) reports that 95 percent of mortgage loans issued by savings and loan associations were fully amortizing. In the case of commercial banks, Behrens (1952) claims 73 percent of loans were fully amortized, whereas in the case of savings and loans Edward (1950) finds about 99.7 percent were fully amortized.

¹²A "veteran" means an individual served at least 90 days on active duty and was discharged or released under conditions other than dishonorable. Service time was much higher for an individual who was in the military but not on active duty. For World War II active duty was between September 1940 and July 1947. The Korean War covered the period June, 1950 to January 1955.

taxes. The financing of the Second World War and the Korean War increased direct government spending including the purchase of structures. Financing of the resulting increase in government expenditure occured partially through the issuance of government bonds, but also via an increase in income tax collections as shown in Figure A3 in the Appendix. Rosen and Rosen (1980) argue that in an environment with higher marginal tax rates, tax provisions toward housing (i.e., the interest rate deduction on the mortgage and the deduction of property taxes) introduced, at the margin, an incentive to purchase homes. They estimate that about one-fourth of the increase in home ownership between 1949 and 1974 can be attributed to benefits toward housing embedded in the personal income tax code. Hendershott and Shilling (1982) support this claim by finding that the decline in the cost of owning a home relative to the cost of renting during the period 1955 to 1979 was due to income tax provisions, as well as the easy monetary policy of the Federal Reserve System in the 1940.

3 Home Ownership and House Prices: The Co-Movement

This section presents a simple theory and supporting evidence of the key mechanisms that determine the co-movement of house prices and ownership.

3.1 A Simple Theory of Home Ownership and House Prices

Consider an economy with a sector that produces consumption goods and another sector that produces housing goods. Each sector has access to linear technologies, $C = z_c N_c$ and $H = z_h N_h$ where the terms z_c and z_h represent the productivity of each sector, and N_j is the labor input of sector j = c, h. Households are ex ante heterogeneous in their labor ability $\varepsilon \in [\underline{\varepsilon}, \overline{\varepsilon}]$, where the ability distribution is uniform $\varepsilon^{\sim} U(\underline{\varepsilon}, \overline{\varepsilon}) \equiv f(\varepsilon)$. Preferences are represented by a utility function $u(c, h) = c(\gamma + h)$, where consumption goods are perfectly divisible, $c \in R_+$, and housing is an indivisible/discrete good with only one size of home available, $h \in \{0, \overline{h}\}$. The parameter $\gamma > 0$ is the reservation value for rental housing (i.e., preferences for owner-occupied housing, family composition).

For a consumer of income ability ε , the tenure decision problem is simple the choice of h that yields the highest utility $v(\varepsilon) = \max_h \{u^r(c^r, 0), u^o(c^o, \overline{h})\}$, where home owners resources are $c^o = w\varepsilon - (p\overline{h} + \phi)$ and renters $c^r = w\varepsilon$. The term w represents labor compensation per effective unit of labor, p is the price of a house of size \overline{h} , and the price of

¹³This formalization is consistent with the housing investment decision in the quantitative model. One distinction in the simplified formulation is that renters consume zero housing, whereas homeowners consume a positive amount. This can easily be relaxed allowing purchases of different size homes at the cost of introducing unnecessary notation.

nonhousing goods is the numeraire. The term ϕ is a transaction cost associated with buying a house, which is measured in terms of consumption goods. This cost can be interpreted as the transaction cost net of any government subsidies toward housing. For an interior solution to this problem, the optimal decision rule must determine a cutoff level of earning, $\varepsilon^*(\gamma, \overline{h}, \phi, p, w)$, that is required for an individual to become a home owner:

$$\varepsilon^*(\gamma, \overline{h}, \phi, p, w) \ge \frac{p}{w}(\gamma + \overline{h}) + \frac{\phi}{w\overline{h}}.$$

In the model, the determinants of ownership are the cost of housing relative to income, p/w; the minimum size available, \overline{h} ; transaction costs, ϕ ; and the reservation value of rental housing, γ .¹⁴ In a simple way, these variables represent the major drivers that have been stressed in the literature.

To calculate the equilibrium threshold of ownership, house price and wages need to be determined. Each sector operates in a competitive market and firms must hire workers to produce goods. Total employment is determined by aggregating abilities across workers in the population, $N = \int_{\underline{\varepsilon}}^{\overline{\varepsilon}} \varepsilon f(\varepsilon) d\varepsilon = (\overline{\varepsilon} + \underline{\varepsilon})/2$. The linearity of the production possibility frontier of each sector implies that the labor compensation is given by $w = z_c$ and house prices by $p = z_c/z_h$. The equilibrium quantities are determined from household demand and the sectoral allocation of labor inputs. The definition of market equilibrium is standard and therefore omitted.

The equilibrium home ownership rate is given by

$$HOR = \int_{\varepsilon^*}^{\overline{\varepsilon}} U(\underline{\varepsilon}, \overline{\varepsilon}) d\varepsilon = \frac{1}{\overline{\varepsilon} - \underline{\varepsilon}} \left[\overline{\varepsilon} - \left(\frac{(\gamma + \overline{h})}{z_h} + \frac{\phi}{z_c \overline{h}} \right) \right].$$

This expression shows the key determinants of home ownership. For instance, a reduction in the reservation value γ (i.e., an increase in the family size or taste for more housing amenities) or in the transaction cost parameter ϕ (i.e., innovations in housing finance and homogenization of housing markets) reduces the home ownership cutoff level. Since house prices depend soly on relative productivity, these variables have no impact on house prices. Increases in the productivity in either sector generates increases in the homeownership rate (via a direct or indirect income effect) and potentially affect house prices. The key to understand the co-movement between both variables, requires an examination of changes in sectoral productivity.

In this economy, the growth rate of (wage) income is entirely determined by the change in the level productivity in the goods sector, $\Delta w = w'/w = z'_c/z_c = \Delta z_c$. However, a

¹⁴When the transaction cost is proportional to the value of the house. The budget constraint of the buyer is slightly different $c^o = w\varepsilon - (p+\phi)\overline{h}$ and the homeownership threshold is $\varepsilon^* \geq \frac{(p+\phi)}{w}(\gamma + \overline{h})$.

change in housing prices depends on the relative growth of productivity across sectors, or $\Delta p = \Delta z_c/\Delta z_h$. The above expressions have important implications for understanding the dynamics of home ownership and house prices. Consider two different cases:

- 1. Symmetric productivity changes, $\Delta z_c = \Delta z_h$: When the productivity growth in both sector changes at the same rate, $\Delta z_c = \Delta z_h$, the equilibrium homeownership rate increases, $\Delta HOR > 0$, but house prices do not change, $\Delta p = 0.15$ Clearly, this combination is inconsistent with the observed behavior of both variables.
- 2. Asymmetric productivity changes, $\Delta z_c \neq \Delta z_h \geq 0$: The relevant case is where the change in productivity in the goods sector exceeds the change in housing sector, $\Delta z_c > \Delta z_h$. This combination suggests a sectoral biased technological change that results in an increase in wages that is larger than the increase in house prices, $\Delta w > \Delta p$, which results in a positive co-movement between home ownership and house prices.

The implication of this analysis is that it is possible to explain a change in the home ownership rate in a one-sector model, but it would be very challenging to rationalize the simultaneous change in house prices. A two-sector model can characterize the observed change in house prices and home ownership, but it requires productivity growth in the goods sector to exceed productivity growth in the housing construction sector.¹⁶ The next section explores the empirical evidence on productivity growth across sectors.

3.2 Evidence of Sectoral Productivity Change: 1930-1965

Based on the theoretical results presented in the previous section, an obvious question is what happened to the productivity in the goods sector relative to the productivity in the construction housing sector this period? In order to construct measures of productivity by sector it is important to include capital as a productive input. Ignoring capital can bias the estimated measures of productivity. The production function for each sector is assumed to be of Cobb-Douglas form but allows for different technological coefficients. The technology for the construction sector is represented by $Y_h = z_h K_h^{\alpha_h} L_h^{1-\alpha_h}$, where α_h represents the capital share and K_h is the capital used by this sector. The technology for the goods sector is $Y_g = z_g K_g^{\alpha_g} L_g^{1-\alpha_g}$. For model consistency, the empirical analysis defines the good's

¹⁵This observation is consistent with the empirical analyses of Katona (1964), Kain (1983), and Chevan (1989) that identify increases in real income as a driver of homeownership between 1940 and 1960 but ignore movements in housing prices.

¹⁶In this model, the production of homes only used labor inputs, but a more general framework should allow additional inputs such as equipment and materials. A generalization with constant returns to scale technology with more inputs appears the quantitative section.

sector as the whole economy minus the construction sector. The evolution of the sectoral inputs and outputs is presented in Figure 3A.¹⁷ The left panel summarizes the evolution of output, employment, and capital in the goods sector and the right panel represents the construction sector. All the series have been normalized to 1 in 1936. It is clear from these data that the U.S. economy was recovering from the Great Depression in the late 1930s. The participation in Second World War provided a sizable economic boom mainly fueled by the conversion of the private industrial base to the production of armaments and other war material as discussed by Milward (1979).¹⁸

The effect of military spending did not benefit the construction sector as much as other sectors in the economy. The initial boom in 1940 lasted only two years. Most of the increase in construction was driven by military relocation to the West from the South and the Midwest as discussed by Kennedy (1999). The large migration flow forced cities to produce temporary housing to accommodate the population growth. Around 1947, output and employment return to their apparent trends. The trend levels in the housing sector appear to be somewhat flatter than the trend in the output sector. The construction sector boomed with the return of war veterans.

The estimated productivities for each sector as well as relative productivity across sectors (z_g/z_h) are depicted in Figure 3B. In the aftermath of the Great Depression, productivity in the construction sector was growing at a rate similar to the productivity rate in the rest of the economy. The preparedness and the conversion stages of the Second World War are characterized by an increase in the productivity for the overall economy relative to construction. In period 1942-1945, a spike in the productivity in the construction sector is apparent.¹⁹ Dealing with the war period is tricky. However, even if this episode is ignored, the asymmetric change in productivity between the late 1930s and the 1960s is significant.

¹⁷The data used in this analysis is sectoral Census data. The time series for sectoral capital stock between 1930 and 1947 are constructed using the perpetual inventory method using investment series and sectoral depreciation rate. The details and definitions of each variable are available in the appendix.

¹⁸Further evidence of the government involvement in the economy was the creation of the War Productions Board, which was responsible for awarding defense contracts, allocating scarce resources for military uses (i.e., raw materials such as rubber, copper, and oil), and persuading businesses to convert to military production. As Tassava (2008), suggests the government involvement between the preparedness stage in 1939 through the peak of war production in 1944 was very large: "American leaders recognized that the stakes were too high to permit the war economy to grow in an unfettered, laissez-faire manner. American manufacturers, for instance, could not be trusted to stop producing consumer goods and to start producing materiel for the war effort. To organize the growing economy and to ensure that it produced the goods needed for war, the federal government spawned an array of mobilization agencies which not only often purchased goods (or arranged their purchase by the Army and Navy), but which in practice closely directed those goods' manufacture and heavily influenced the operation of private companies and whole industries."

¹⁹For example, Kennedy (1999) argues that despite the reconversion period from military production back to civilian production, the U.S. economy did not suffer a postwar recession as many feared. This could partially be due to the high level of defense spending that could have contributed to the development of a network of private companies, nongovernmental organizations, universities, and federal agencies that collectively shaped American national defense policy and activity during the Cold War.

The evidence in Figure 8 seems supportive of the idea that the war years generated an important shift in the level of productivity of the economy relative to the construction sector. What is driving the relative shift in productivity? Historians speculate that the change is partially due to scientific and technological innovations developed during the war years (i.e., the Manhattan Project, aerospace, shipbuilding) that had positive effects on the rest of the productive economy. ²⁰ Certainly, the construction sector had some innovations in the production of single-family units (i.e., Levittown on the East Coast), but from an aggregate perspective these innovations did not appear to be as important as the innovation of the other sectors in the economy.

What are the implications for house prices? In the context of the previous model, the observed change in sectoral productivities would generate an increase in the relative price of housing of $\Delta p = \Delta z_c/\Delta z_h \geq 1.4$. This change is consistent with the change observed in Figure 1B. In the quantitative model discussed in Section 3, house prices are determined by additional costs in the production of housing units.

4 The Quantitative Model

The model is a multisector, incomplete markets, overlapping-generations economy with housing tenure decisions and long-term mortgages.

4.1 Households

Age structure. The economy is populated by life-cycle households that are ex-ante heterogeneous. Let j denote the age of an individual and let J represent the maximum number of periods an individual can live. In every period, an individual faces mortality risk and uninsurable labor earning uncertainty. The survival probability, conditional on being alive at age j, is denoted by $\psi_{j+1} \in [0,1]$, with $\psi_1 = 1$, and $\psi_{J+1} = 0$. Earnings uncertainty implies that the individual is subject to income shocks that cannot be insured via private contracts. Accidental bequest are redistributed as a lump-sum payment.

Preferences. Individuals have time-separable preferences over consumption and housing services represented by $u(c,d) = \gamma c^{1-\sigma_1} (1-\sigma_1)^{-1} + (1-\gamma) d^{1-\sigma_2} (1-\sigma_2)^{-1}$, where the parameters $\gamma, \sigma_1, \sigma_2 \geq 0$.²¹

²⁰Kennedy (1999,p. 648) argues that innovations from the War "ultimately proved capable of some epochal scientific and technical breakthroughs, [but] innovated most characteristically and most tellingly in plant layout, production organization, economies of scale, and process engineering."

²¹When $\sigma_1 > \sigma_2$ the marginal utility of consumption exhibits relatively faster diminishing returns. In general, as income increases households choose to spend a larger fraction of income on housing. This is consistent with an increasing housing services/consumption ratio by age, which is observed in the data as discussed by Jeske (2005).

Asset structure and housing. Individuals have access to a portfolio of two assets to mitigate income and mortality risk: financial asset are denoted by a' with a net return r and a housing durable good denoted by h' with a market price p, where the prime is used to denote the next period value. A housing investment of size h' can be thought of as the number of square feet in the house. A house of size h' yields s services. If a household does not invest in housing, h = 0, the household is a renter and must purchase housing services from a rental market. The rental price of a unit of housing services is R.

Long-term mortgage contracts. Consider the expenditure associated with purchase of a house of size h (i.e., square feet) with a unit price p (per square feet). In general, a mortgage loan requires a down payment equal to χ percent of the value of the house. The amount χph represents the amount of equity in the house at the time of purchase, and $b_0 = (1 - \chi)ph$ represents the initial amount of the loan. In a particular period, n, the borrower faces a payment amount m_n (i.e., monthly or yearly payment) that depends on the size of the original loan, b_0 ; the length of the mortgage, N; and the mortgage interest rate, r^m . This payment can be subdivided into an amortization (or principal) component, A_n , which is determined by the amortization schedule, and an interest component, I_n , which depends on the payment schedule. That is, $m_n = A_n + I_n$, $\forall n$, where the interest payments are calculated by $I_n = r^m b_n$. An expression that determines how the remaining debt, b_n , changes over time can be written as $b_{n+1} = b_n - A_n$, $\forall n$. This formula shows that the level of outstanding debt at the start of period n is reduced by the amount of any principal payment. A principal payment increases the level of equity in the home. If the amount of equity in a home at the start of period n is defined as H_n , a payment of principal equal to A_n increases equity in the house available in the next period to H_{n+1} . Formally, $H_{n+1} = H_n + A_n$, $\forall n$, where $H_0 = \chi ph$ denotes the home equity in the initial period.²⁴

This formalization is flexible enough to capture the two most prominent mortgage contracts available during this period. A balloon loan is a very simple contract in which the entire principal borrowed is paid in full in the last period, N. The amortization schedule is equal to zero, $A_n = 0$, for all periods with the exception of the last one, $A_n = (1 - \chi)ph$. This means that the mortgage payment in all periods, except the last period, is equal to the interest rate payment, $I_n = r^m b_0$.

The fixed-rate mortgage loan appeared after the Great Depression and it is characterized

²²For the sake of simplicity, we assume a linear relationship between house and services generated that satisfies, s = h'.

²³The calculation of the mortgage payment depends on the characteristics of the contract, but for all contracts the present value of the payments must be equal to the total amount borrowed, $D_0 \equiv \chi ph = \sum_{n=1}^{N} m_n/(1+r)^n$.

²⁴In the absence of refinancing or equity withdrawals, these contracts impose a rigid structure on the

²⁴In the absence of refinancing or equity withdrawals, these contracts impose a rigid structure on the path of the loan repayment and home equity accrual. The home buyer takes that into consideration when choosing a particular mortgage loan.

by a constant mortgage payment over the term of the mortgage, $m \equiv m_1 = ... = m_N$. This value, m, must be consistent with the condition that the present value of mortgage payments repays the initial loan. That is, $b_0 \equiv \chi ph = \sum_{n=1}^{N} m/(1+r)^n$. Solving for the mortgage payment gives $m = \lambda b_0$, where $\lambda = r^m[1 - (1+r^m)^{-N}]^{-1}$. Because the mortgage payment is constant each period, and $m = A_t + I_t$, the outstanding debt decreases over time and the equity in the house increases.

Household Income. Household income varies over the life-cycle and depends on whether the household is a worker or a retiree, the return from savings, transfer programs, and the income generated from housing rentals.

Households supply their time endowment inelastically to the labor market and earns a wage, w, a productivity component that is age and education level dependent. This component is denoted as ϵ_j^e . In addition, wage income depends on a transitory component. In each period, the household is subject to an iid shock. The income shock depends on both age and education and is denoted as $v_{j,i}^e$, where $i \in I$ and is drawn from the probability distribution Π_j^e . For an individual younger than j^* , labor earnings are then $y_w(e,i,j) = w\epsilon_j^e v_{j,i}^e$. Households of age j^* and older receive a social security transfer that is proportional to average labor income and is defined as $y_w(e,i,j) = \theta$.

A second source of income that is available to households who invest in housing is rental income. A household that does not consume all housing services generated from the housing investment, h' > d, will receive rental income $y_R(h', d)R(h' - d) - \varpi$ where ϖ is a fixed cost required to enter the rental market.

Saving and accidental bequest transfers provide additional sources of income. Households with positive savings receive (1+r)a. The accidental bequest transfers are derived from the households that die with positive wealth. The value of all these assets is uniformly distributed to the households that remain alive in an equal lump-sum amount of tr. The (pretax) income of a household, y, is simply

$$y(h', a, e, d, i, j) = y_w(e, i, j) + y_R(h', d) + (1+r)a + tr$$

The various income sources generate a tax obligation of T, which depends on labor income, y_w ; net interest earnings from savings, ra; and rental income, y_R , less deductions that are available in the tax code, Ω . Examples of deductions could be the interest payment deduction on mortgage loans or maintenance expenses associated with tenant-occupied housing. Total tax obligations are denoted as $T = T(y_w(e, i, j) + ra + y_R(h', d) - \Omega)$.

The Household Decision Problem. The individuals face multiple discrete choices. To present the decision-making problem of the consumer it is useful to write it in recursive form. The household state variables are summarized by s = (a, h, b, z, e, j), where a represents

asset holding, housing investment is represented by h, mortgage balances are represented by b, the type of mortgage is captured by z, the educational level is noted by e, and the age of the individual is represented by j. The decision problem for the various cases is described below.

- **1. Renters:** A household that begins the period renting and has the option of continuing renting (h'=0) or purchasing a house (h'>0). The discrete choice problem is given by $v(a,0,0,e,j) = \max\{v^r,v^o\}$.
 - Continue renting: The value associated with continue renting is determined by the choice of consumption, c; housing services, d; and asset holdings, a, that solve

$$v^{r}(a, 0, 0, 0, e, j) = \max_{c, d, a' \ge 0} \left\{ u(c, d) + \beta_{j+1} \sum_{i=1}^{I} \prod_{j=1}^{e} v^{r}(a', 0, 0, 0, e, j+1) \right\},$$

$$s.t. \quad c + a' + Rd = y_{w}(e, i, j) + (1+r)a.$$

Note that the restriction in the choice set indicates that asset markets are incomplete since individuals have access only to an uncontingent asset and borrowing via this asset is precluded.

 Purchase a house: An individual who purchases a house solves a different problem characterized by

$$v^{o}(a, 0, 0, 0, e, j) = \max_{c, d, a', h' \ge 0, z', I_{r}} \left\{ u(c, d) + \beta_{j+1} \sum_{i=1}^{I} \prod_{j,i}^{e} v^{o}(a', h', (1 - \chi(z'))ph', z', e, j + 1) \right\},$$

$$s.t. \quad c + a' + (\phi_{b} + \chi(z'))ph' = y(h', a, e, d, i, j).$$

The home buyer needs to decide the size of the house, h', and the type of mortgage used to finance the purchase, z'. The purchase requires a down payment that varies with the choice of mortgage $\chi(z')$. The choice of mortgages imposes an exogenous law of motion on mortgage debt, b', that determines the continuation value.

The choice of whether to continue renting or purchase a home is determined by the highest value between $v^r(s)$ and $v^o(s)$. When $v^r(s) \geq v^o(s)$, the individual continues to rent. Otherwise, the individual becomes a homeowner.

2. Owners: The decision problem for an individual who starts the period owning a house (h > 0) faces a number of choices. The homeowner can choose to stay in the house (h' = h), purchase a different house $(h' \neq h)$, or become a renter (h' = 0). The discrete problem solves $v(a, h, b, z, e, j) = \max\{v^s, v^m, v^b\}$, where the different value functions are calculated by solving three subproblems.

• Stayer or non-mover: The decision problem of the home owner that stays in the same house is given by

$$v^{s}(a, h, b, z, e, j) = \max_{c, d, a' \ge 0, I_r} \left\{ u(c, d) + \beta_{j+1} \sum_{i=1}^{I} \prod_{j,i}^{e} v^{s}(a', h, g(b, z), z, e, j + 1) \right\},$$

$$s.t. \quad c + a' = y(h', a, e, d, i, j) + (b' - b) - i(z)b.$$

If the mortgage balance is positive, the law of motion determines the new value of mortgage debt, b'. If the mortgage balance is zero, the consumer solves a standard dynamic consumption-savings problem with the option of obtaining rental income.

• Sell the current property and rent: Some individuals might sell the house and rent. They solve

$$v^{m}(a, h, b, z, e, j) = \max_{c, d, a' \ge 0} \left\{ u(c, d) + \beta_{j+1} \sum_{i=1}^{I} \prod_{j,i}^{e} v^{r}(a', 0, 0, 0, e, j + 1) \right\},$$
s.t. $c + a' + Rd = y_{w}(e, i, j) + (1 + r)a + (1 - \phi_{s})ph - b,$

whereas the term on the right side of the budget constraint captures the revenue associated with selling the property net of transaction costs, $(1 - \phi_s)ph - b$.

• Sell current property and buy: Some home owners adjust their housing investment, $h' \neq h$. Their problem is given by

$$v^{b}(a, h, b, z, \epsilon, j) = \max_{c, d, a', h' \ge 0, z', I_{r}} \left\{ u(c, d) + \beta_{j+1} \sum_{i=1}^{I} \prod_{j,i}^{e} v^{o}(a', 0, 0, 0, e, j+1) \right\},$$
s.t. $c + a' + (\phi_{b} + \chi(z'))ph' = y(h', a, e, d, i, j) + (1 - \phi_{s})ph - b.$

The net proceedings from selling the house, $(1 - \phi_s)ph - b$, can be used to purchase a new one, ph'.

4.2 Mortgage Lending Sector

The financial intermediary is a zero-profit firm. This firm receives deposits from households, a', and uses these funds to make loans to firms, K, and households, b. Firms acquire loans of capital to produce goods, and households use long-term mortgages to finance housing investment. Conditional on the legal lending arrangements, lenders provide credit and receive flows of payments to maximize profits. In addition, financial intermediaries receive principal payments from those individuals who sell their homes with an outstanding

mortgage position, as well as the outstanding principal of individuals who unexpectedly die.

4.3 Goods Sector

A representative firm produces a good in a competitive environment using a constant returns to scale Cobb-Douglas production function, $Y_g = z_g K_g^{\alpha_g} L_g^{1-\alpha_g}$, where K_g and L_g denote the amount of capital and labor used by the sector, and the term α_g represents the capital-income share. The aggregate resource constraint is given by $C + I_K + G + \Upsilon = Y_g$, where C, I_K , G, and Υ , respectively, represent aggregate consumption, capital investment, government spending, and transactions costs (i.e., resources used in the transaction of homes and leasing tenant-occupied property).

4.4 Construction Sector

The stock of new homes is produced by a competitive real estate construction sector. Producers manufacture housing units using a Cobb-Douglas technology $Y_h = z_h K_h^{\alpha_h} L_h^{1-\alpha_h}$. The optimization problem of the representative firm in the construction sector together with free factor mobility across sectors determines the expression for house prices in this economy, $p = \tilde{z}_h(r + \delta_h)^{\alpha_h}(w)^{1-\alpha_h}$, where $\tilde{z}_h = z_g/z_h\alpha_h^{\alpha_h}(1-\alpha_h)^{1-\alpha_h}$. The house price is determined by the marginal cost of the inputs used to produce one unit of housing. In this model, changes in the price of housing are driven entirely by changes in fundamentals. As suggested by the empirical evidence reported in Section 3.2, most of the change in house prices is driven by relative changes in productivity between the goods and the construction sector.

New residential investment is added to the existing housing stock as either new units or as repairs of the existing stock. The aggregate law of motion for housing investment is $Y_h = (1+\rho_n)H' - H + \varkappa(H, \delta_o, \delta_r)$, where $\rho_n \geq 0$ represents the population growth rate. The depreciation of the housing stock $\varkappa(H, \delta_o, \delta_r)$ depends on utilization (i.e., owner- vs. tenant-occupied housing). The larger the size of the rental market, the larger the investment in housing repairs. If the depreciation rate is the same for owner-occupied and rental housing, $\delta_o = \delta_r$, then residential investment is linear in the stock, or $\varkappa(H, \delta_o, \delta_r) = \delta H$.

²⁵All the aspects of the supply side of the market can be controlled by changing the technological parameter z_h .

4.5 Government Activities

In this economy, the government regulates markets by imposing particular lending arrangements on the mortgage loan market. This includes a reduced interest on certain mortgage contracts that could be a result of direct policy, such as a veteran's benefit or an implicit government guarantee on a specific mortgage product. The government can encourage housing ownership through the tax code. In addition to these passive regulatory roles, the government plays a more active role through other programs. First, retirement benefits are provided through a pay-as-you-go social security program. Social security contributions are used to finance a uniform transfer upon retirement that represents a fraction of average income. Second, exogenous government expenditure is financed by using a nonlinear income tax scheme. The financing of government expenditure and social security is conducted under different budgets.

4.6 Stationary Equilibrium

In the model, a stationary equilibrium includes optimal decisions that are a function of the individual state variables, prices, market clearing conditions, and a distribution over the state space $\Phi(x)$ that are constant over time.²⁶

5 Parameterization and Analysis

This section calibrates and evaluates the quantitative model and its ability to rationalize the movements in home ownership rate and housing prices.

5.1 Parameterization of the 1940s

The parameterization strategy is primarily based on the method of moments estimation to replicate key properties of the U.S. economy in the aftermath of the Great Depression (1935-1940). This period is chosen to minimize the potential structural effects on the housing market such as the National Housing Act. While this act was passed in 1934, the substantive effects of this legislation did not begin to impact housing markets until the late 1930s. Some of the model parameters are taken directly from data, whereas as others are parametrized using a minimum distance approach.

Population Structure: A period in the model corresponds to five years. An individual enters the labor force at age 20 (model period 1) and lives a maximum of 83 years (model period 14). Mandatory retirement occurs at age 65 (model period 11). The survival

 $^{^{26}}$ A formal definition of the recursive equilibrium is available from the authors.

probabilities $\{\psi_{j+1}\}$ are from the National Center for Health Statistics, United States Life Tables (1935, 1940). The initial size of a cohort, μ_{ij} , is endogenously determined by the share of these individuals at age 25 or younger and the population growth rate.

Family Size: The size of the average household family is constructed using Census data for the relevant years. Since the baby boom takes place during this period, the goal is to allow for the effects of changing household family size on the demand for owner-occupied housing.

Functional Forms: The utility functions require values for the parameters γ , β , σ_1 , and σ_2 . The parameter γ is estimated to be consistent with a housing-to-consumption ratio of 0.180. The implied value is 0.75. The parameter β is determined to match a capital-output ratio of 2.54. The capital stock is defined as private fixed assets plus the stock of consumer durables less the stock of residential structures (to be consistent with the capital stock in the model). Output is GDP plus an estimate of the service flow from consumer durables less the service flow from housing. The curvature of housing in the utility function, σ_2 , is set one, and the curvature of consumption, σ_1 , is calibrated to reproduce the growth of c/h, and the value used is 2.

Each production sector in the model is assumed to have production functions of the Cobb-Douglas form. The approach follows Cooley and Prescott (1995) and uses The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1965 from the U.S. Department of Commerce (1965). The average estimated coefficient for the construction sector is $\alpha_h = 0.16$. The goods sector, defined as total industry output less the construction sector output, has a capital-income share of $\alpha_g = 0.33$. Both sectors have a common annual depreciation rate of 6 percent. The calculation of the sector Solow residuals, z_h and z_g , is based on the analysis in Section 3.2. The details on how the various series required for the construction of the historical residuals are discussed in the appendix.

Income Endowments: A household's income depends on its education level, *i*. Four exogenous education levels are available: (i) fewer than 8 years of education, (ii) 8 years of education, (iii) fewer than 12 years of education, and (iv) 12 or more years of education. The initial distribution of ex-ante types is 0.11 for fewer than 8 years of education, 0.20 for 8 years of education, 0.43 for fewer than 12 years of education, and 0.25 for 12 or more years of education.

For each education level, a household's income has two components; one is deterministic and the other is stochastic. The values of these components are constructed from Public Use Microdata Series (PUMS) for the 1940 and 1960 Censuses. The deterministic, or life-cycle component, ϵ_j^e , is generated using the average salary and wage income by age and education. A polynomial is fit to age-specific averages per education level to smooth this

²⁷These values are consistent with the values presented in Koh, Santaeulália-Llopis, and Zheng (2015).

component as summarized in Figure 3.²⁸

The determination of the uncertain component hinges on the available data. The reliance on Census data (which restricts data availability to once every 10 years) does not allow the estimation of a serially correlated income process. ²⁹ Our strategy is to assume the stochastic component, $v_{j,i}^e$, is independent and identically distributed over education and age. This component of income, along with the associated probabilities, is estimated using a kernel density estimation for every age cohort, $\Pi_j^e(v)$, over the cross section of individuals. Since the unit in the model is the household, the estimation considers only households that work full-time. Therefore, the model captures the observed dispersion of labor income for each education level. The dispersion of income is summarized by the standard deviation of income over the mean of income for each age group as presented in Figure 4. This shock combined together with the ex-ante heterogeneity are the main drivers of heterogeneity in the model.

Government and the Income Tax Function: In 1940, the government funds the Social Security program and finances government spending/subsidies via income taxes. Even though the U.S. Social Security program was in its infancy, the quantitative model accounts for this program. Using data from the U.S. Social Security Administration allows setting the payroll tax rate for a worker to be 1 percent of wage income up to a wage income of \$3,000. Government spending is financed using the actual tax code that existed in 1940, but the units are adjusted by a calibrated parameter τ_0^{1940} . The details of the calibration of the income tax code are discussed in the Appendix.

Housing: Consistent with the primary mortgage contracts available in the 1935-1940 period (as documented by Grebler, Blank, and Winnick, 1956), the baseline model for 1940, homeowners have choices over two mortgage products: a short-duration balloon loan of 10 years length with a 50 percent down payment and a 20-year FRM with a 20 percent down payment requirement. These values are consistent with the primary mortgage contracts available in the 1935-1940 period as documented by Grebler, Blank, and Winnick, (1956). Changes in housing investment are subject to some transaction costs. The costs of buying and selling are set to $\phi_s = 0$ and $\phi_b = 0.06$, respectively. The minimum house size, h, is estimated to be consistent with the set of specified targets. The values δ_o and δ_r are from Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf (2009), where the annual depreciation rates for

²⁸The wage efficiency index for an educational level is created by taking the wage income of an individual and distributing to the appropriate age cohort. After all distributions, averages of wage income for each age cohort are calculated.

²⁹Storesletten, Telmer, and Yaron (2004) find that income shocks have a persistent component even when conditioned on all the observables. Their finding is based on a sample of household data over many periods from the Panel Survey on Income Dynamics. Other recent works (e.g., Castaneda, Díaz-Gimenez, and Rios-Rull (2003) find that a smaller persistent component is needed once ex ante heterogeneity is considered. Their model is constructed to generate the observed income and wealth differences.

owner- and tenant-occupied housing are $\delta_o = 0.011$ and $\delta_r = 0.014$, respectively.

The estimation of the set structural parameters for 1940 is based on an exactly identified method of moments approach nested with the computation of equilibrium. The parameters we estimate are $\beta, \gamma, \bar{h}, \tau_0, z_h$, and z_g . The targets are the ratio of the capital stock to GDP, the ratio of housing consumption to the consumption of nonhousing goods, the homeownership rate, the ratio of personal income tax revenue to GDP, the share of labor in the goods sector, and the share of goods output to total output. The value for the parameter estimates are summarized in Table 3A. The estimated parameters are all within the 1 percent error of the observed targets.

5.2 Parameterization of the 1960s

Between 1940 and 1960 the U.S. economy went through an important number of institutional changes. To evaluate the contribution of the different factors, the strategy in the quantitative analysis maintains constant the fundamental parameters (preferences and technology) from the baseline model and adjusts the relevant factors documented in Section 2. These include modifications to demographics, labor earnings, housing policy, tax policy, and productivity.

Demographics factors such as cohort size, survival probabilities, and family structure for 1960 are adjusted using United States Life Tables (1960) and Census data. Similarly, the labor income process is adjusted to include the new efficiency profile by educational attainment and a new distribution of income risk.

In terms of policy, the federal government increased its involvement in mortgage markets by extending the maturity of loans and providing federal guarantees. These institutional details are captured by extending the maturity of the FRM from 20 to 30 years, and adjusting the implicit government subsidy on FRM loans relative to other mortgage products to 0.72 percent annually. This value is consistent with the range of estimates suggested by Behrens (1952) and Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956).

The tax code became more progressive due to the need for increased revenue to finance World War II and the Korean War. As discussed in the Appendix, the progressivity is taken from the data, but the parameter, τ_0^{1960} , is estimated to be consistent with the personal income tax-to-GDP ratio for 1960.

As discussed in Section 3.2, perhaps the most important change between 1940 and 1960 occurred in sectoral productivities. The parameterization strategy adjusts the productivity in each sector to match the employment and the output shares observed in 1960. In 1940, the calculated ratio of productivities between the goods and the housing sector was 0.33. According to the model, the estimated ratio for 1960 changes to 0.42, which is a nearly 30

percent increase relative to the baseline in 1960. From the decomposition exercise reported in Figure 8, the range of values of the productivity increase varies between 25 and 40 percent depending on the choice of base year. As such, the parameterized change of productivities is well within the range of plausible values. The updated parameter estimates are summarized in Table 3B.

5.3 A Quantitative Evaluation

The quantitative implications of the model parameterized for 1940 and 1960 with respect to the home ownership rate and housing prices are summarized in Table 4A. As suggested in the table, the quantitative model can rationalize the positive co-movement between home ownership and house prices. More specifically, the model suggests that the home ownership rate increased from 43.3 in 1940 to 64.5 percent in 1960, or a percent difference of 21.2 points. The corresponding number from the data is a change of 19.9, thus indicating the model slightly overstates the actual increase in the observed increase in the home ownership rate. According to various house price measures, including Shiller's, the appreciation during this period ranged between 40 and 45 percent. The baseline model generates a 40.4 percent increase, which is in the range of plausible estimates of house price appreciation.

The model can be evaluated along several important dimensions. Since the aggregate home ownership rate is an estimation target, it not surprising that the 1940 model economy matches the 1940s value. However, the home ownership rate for the 1960s economy is endogenously determined from the institutional changes and it is not explicitly targeted. Perhaps a better approach to evaluate the model from a home ownership perspective is to examine age-specific home ownership rates. These rates are not targeted in either 1940 or 1960. Table 4B summarizes the compositional differences across age groups between both periods in the data and the model. As can be seen, the differences in the age-specific home ownership rate between 1940 and 1960 generated by the model and the actual Census estimates are relatively close. The model captures not only the aggregate change, but also the fact that most of the contribution is from cohorts between ages 25 and 45.

The model also makes predictions not only about the number of participants accessing owner-occupied housing, but also the size of housing units purchased by the participants. According to the data summarized in Table 1B, the average house size increased from 900 square feet in 1940 to 1,200 in 1960, or a 33 percent increase. This increase measured in terms of square feet per person was 36 percent. Relative to the 1940 baseline, the model predicts an average increase in house size of 28 percent. This is consistent with the evidence.³⁰

³⁰For home owners, the average increase predicted by the model is 20 percent and for the average

The shift in housing finance also provides complementary evidence of the declining importance of balloon loans. Table 4C summarizes some aggregate statistics about housing finance in the model. From the perspective of 1940, two facts stand out. First, all households choose the balloon contract. According to the estimates by Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956, p.243), in 1936 only 1.3 percent of the mortgages held were governmentbacked FRMs, and this number increases to 13.5 in 1940. In the baseline calibration for 1940, the interest rate for both mortgage contracts (balloon and FRM) were identical. If interest rates on government-sponsored FRM were lower, perhaps due to an implicit subsidy, additional households might choose the FRM. It is difficult to find micro data on the distribution of mortgage contracts, but there is indirect evidence that balloon loan was the dominant contract around 1940s. The model is consistent with this observation. The second fact suggests that in 1960 the FRM contract dominated the balloon contract. In the model 89.1 percent of the home owners with a mortgage chose the FRM contract over the balloon. The dominance of the FRM is partially due to the estimated interest rate subsidy. Repeated buyers with high income prefer a mortgage with a higher downpayment and shorter duration, and thus, they use balloon loans.

5.3.1 Asymmetry in sectoral productivity

An important factor behind the results presented in Tables 4A through 4C are the estimates of total factor productivity in the goods and construction-real estate sectors. The model presented in Section 3.1 suggests that an asymmetric productivity change in favor of the goods sector can generate the correct co-movement in ownership and housing prices. The quantitative exercise suggests that the size of the relative change is nearly 30 percent. An obvious question is how important is the asymmetric productivity change to rationalize the change in home ownership and house prices in the postwar period?

In order to address this issue, one can use the model to perform a series of counterfactual experiments to evaluate the importance of the asymmetry in sectoral productivity. In the baseline economy the change is biased toward the goods sector. In the counterfactual simulations, the productivity change is symmetric across sectors as in a one-sector model of housing. In the first experiment, the productivity in both sectors increases at the observed level of the construction sector of 47.5 percent, and in the second at the observed level of the goods sector of 86.5 percent. The implication for home ownership and house prices are reported in Table 5A. Compared with the baseline case with an asymmetric productivity change, the first counterfactual generates an increase in the homeownership rate from 43.3 percent to 53.5 percent. In this case the home ownership rate increases only about half

tenant-occupied unit 43 percent.

the amount observed in the data, while house prices increase about a 17 percent. Despite the relatively small increase in house prices, the number of individuals who can access owner-occupied housing is greatly diminished relative to the baseline model. In the second counterfactual, the productivity of both sectors changes at a higher rate as a result of a larger fraction of individuals entering the home ownership status. In this case, the model predicts an increase that is 16 percent larger than the number captured by the baseline. Part of this increase is due to the fact that house prices increase only about 12 percent instead of the 40 percent observed in the data.

These two counterfactuals highlight the fact that when the productivity change across sectors is the same, $\Delta z_c^* = \Delta z_h^*$, the model can capture the observed change in home ownership rate. However, corresponding change in house prices is not replicated. Hence, sectoral differences in productivity are important to understand the postwar housing boom.

5.3.2 Decomposing the Postwar Housing Boom

The decomposition conducts a series of counterfactual experiments to re-evaluate the relative contributions of the prominent explanations used in the literature to rationalize the postwar home ownership boom. The exercise provides two bounds on the relative importance of each factor. One bound is calculated from the 1940s economy, where only one factor is changed, to the 1960s level. The other bound is calculated from the 1960s economy, where the aforementioned factor is maintained at the 1940s level. Intuitively, the first case abstracts from productivity changes, whereas the second case incorporates the asymmetric productivity change.³¹

Demographics: The obvious challenge to measure the contribution of demographic factor is that other relevant drivers were also changing during the period. In order to analyze the role of demographics, the next counterfactuals evaluate the importance of life expectancy, family size and demographic structure. Decomposing the impact of demographics from the 1960s baseline generates an increase in the home ownership rate of 63.2 percent instead of the predicted 64.5 percent. Decomposing its contribution from the 1940s baseline results in a 46.6 percent increase instead of 43.3 percent. The results are summarized in Table 5B. Instead of measuring the difference, it is useful to measure the specific contribution of this factor in absolute terms relative to the benchmark year. The resulting numbers provide bounds on the relative contribution of this factor. In this case, the model suggests that demographic factors account for between 7.8 and 15.3 percent of the increase in the home ownership rate in the postwar boom. These numbers are lower than the empirical findings of Chevan (1989) but still significant. However, the contribution of

³¹Since the model is highly nonlinear, one should not expect the decomposition to be additive.

demographic factors to house prices is substantially lower. The implied bounds suggest that demographic factors had an impact that ranges between 0.8 and 1.7 percent on house prices. As such, the model suggests that demographic changes play essentially no role in explaining the house price appreciation.

Innovations in housing finance: Several authors (i.e., Yearn, 1976, Shiller, 2007, Fetters, 2010, and Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf, 2009a) have argued that government policies in the mortgage market played an important role in increasing the home ownership rate.³² These policies ranged from changes in the regulation of housing finance to changes in mortgage design and assistance programs. In the counterfactual simulation households choose between the short-term balloon contract with a 50 percent LTV ratio and a 20-year FRM with a 20 percent LTV ratio.³³ As shown in Table 5C, the model suggests that innovations in housing finance accounted for between 5.1 and 13.3 percent of the increase in the home ownership rate. How important were these innovations in explaining the increase in housing prices? Using a similar strategy, innovations in housing finance explain between 0.8 and 2.6 percent of the actual increase in housing prices. In other words, innovations in housing finance played a small role in the house price appreciation.

Innovation in the Tax structure: Rosen and Rosen (1980) argued that 25 percent of the increase in home ownership observed between 1949 and 1974 was a result of the benefits to housing included in the tax code that became more valuable due to the more progressive tax structure in 1960. The counterfactuals that controls for the change of the income tax progressivity between 1940 and 1960 suggest that the two bounds are significantly smaller than Rosen and Rosen's estimates as can be seen in Table 5D. The model suggests that the contribution of the tax code accounts for between 2.9 and 3.7 percent of the increase in the home ownership rate. The more interesting result is the role of innovations in the tax structure for the increase in house prices. The model suggests that changes in the tax structure can explain between 1.8 and 13.2 percent of the in increase house prices. The upper bound of this effect is entirely driven by the general equilibrium effects that affect the relative price of capital and labor.

³²Chambers, Garriga, and Schlagenhauf (2009a) found that mortgage market innovation was the key factor in explaining the increase in the home ownership rate between 1996 and 2005. The introduction of highly leveraged loans with graduated mortgage payments was found to be important as these contracts attracted first-time buyers into the housing market. By 1960, fixed mortgage contracts had become more leveraged as the loan-to-value ratio increased and the duration of the mortgage contract lengthened. It seems that the mortgage contact innovation could be an important determinant of the home ownership boom in the postwar period.

³³A common belief is that mortgage interest loans were non-amoritizing in the period 1920 to 1940. Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956) find that partially amortizing loans did exist in the period 1920-1950. Between 1920 and 1940, approximately 50 percent of mortgage loans issued by commercial banks were amortizing contracts. For life insurance companies, approximately 20 percent in the period 1920-1934 were non-amortizing while the percent of non-amortizing loans for saving and loans associations did not exceed 7 percent in this same period.

Life-Cycle Labor Earnings Risk: Many authors (Katona, 1964, Kain,1983, and Chevan, 1989) have argued that the key to understanding the postwar home ownership boom was the large increase in real income. In the data real income can be measured in a number of ways. While an increase in real income is important, it is equally important to see how real wage income changed over the life-cycle. This is particularly important as the majority of the increase in home ownership occurred in cohorts of ages between 25 and 45. A problem that plagues economic historical analysis is the lack of panel data. As a result, the analysis has to rely on Census data from 1940 and 1960 to construct (real) wage income as well as the (real) wage efficiency indices by age cohort for various educational levels. These issues are discussed in Section 4.1.

The most important issue is the fact that life-cycle labor earnings are not likely to be independent of the large increase sector productivities observed over this period. To avoid mixing explanatory factors, the analysis in this section focuses on one particular income component: idiosyncratic risk. As documented in Section 2.2.2, some measure of income risk changed drastically in the postwar period. In particular, the standard deviations associated with income over the various age groups seem to have a concave pattern in the age cohort in 1940. By 1960, for each education group, the plots of the standard deviation relative to age cohort are relatively flat. This suggests that individual income risk declined between 1940 and 1960, which makes the purchase of a home more attractive. This final decomposition exercise evaluates the relative contribution of wage income risk for home ownership, something not previously examined in the literature and the findings are summarized in Table 5E.

Starting with the 1960s baseline, the insertion of the 1940s educational-wage risk profiles reduces the home ownership rate from 64.5 to 52.6 percent, which is a change of 12.3 as shown in Table 13. This suggests that the higher income risk associated with the 1940s would have limited the increase in the home ownership rate significantly. In other words, the change in educational-income risk account for 56.9 percent of the change in homeownership explained by the model. Similarly, using the 1940s baseline and introducing the 1960s income risk profiles increases the home ownership rate to 55.5 percent from the baseline 43.3 percent. The lower bound suggests that income risk accounts for 12.2 percent increase in participation in the housing market. The bottom line is that changes income risk are an important driver of the postwar boom in home ownership.

However, the changing income risk profiles are not important factors in the explanation of the large increase in house prices. The bounds implied by the model suggest that this factor can account for only between 0.8 and 1.75 percent of the change in house prices.

6 Conclusions

The postwar housing boom led the largest and most sustained increase in home ownership and house prices. Most of the existing literature focuses on a paricular variables, but does not provide a unified theory where home ownership and house prices are jointly determined. The objective of this paper is to evaluate various explanations of the rise in house prices and the home ownership rate using a quantitative general equilibrium model of tenure choice. The parameterized model is consistent with key aggregate and distributional features observed in the 1940 U.S. economy can account for the observed co-movement in prices and ownership. The paper shows, both theoretically and quantitatively, that the key to explaining this co-movement is an asymmetric sectoral productivity change that favors the goods sector relative to the housing (real estate) sector. A Solow residual analysis of these sectors supports that such a change occurred. While there is a plethora of anecdotal evidence in favor of this shift, this paper does not provide a theory of why that was the case. This is left for future research. Demographics, income risk, and government intervention in the housing market are found to be determinants for the homeownership rate, but these factors have a relatively small effect on housing prices. The lessons learned from this historical episode could provide guidance on reforming housing markets and housing finance.

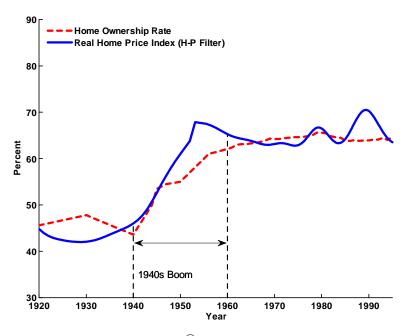
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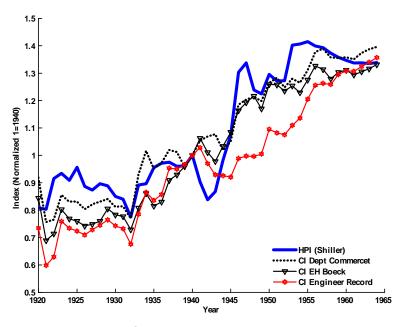
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Figure 1A: House Prices and Home Ownership: U.S.(1920-2000)



Source: U.S. Census and Alfred[©], Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis

Figure 1B: Construction Cost Indices and House Prices (1920-1986)



Source: Alfred[©], Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis

Figure 2A: Wage Efficiency Indices (1940 and 1960)

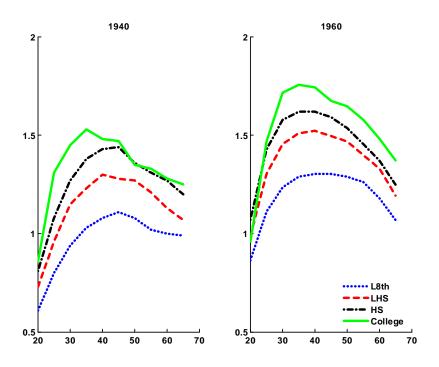
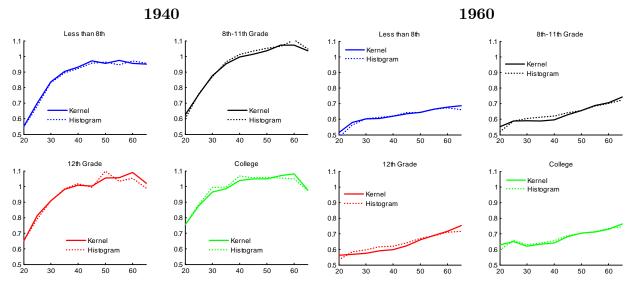
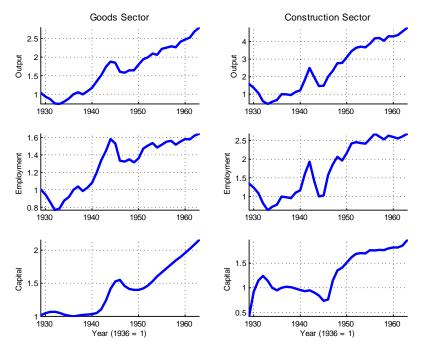


Figure 2B: Standard Deviation of Income by Age and Education



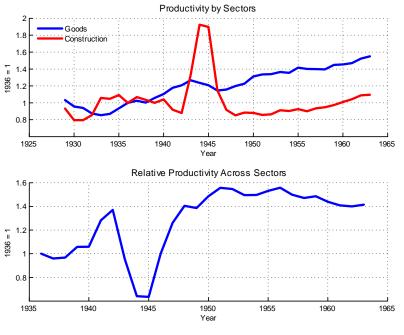
Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS).

Figure 3A: Sectoral Performance (1929-1965)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau and authors' calculations.

Figure 3B: Sectoral Productivity (1929-1965)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau and authors' calculations.

Table 1A: Home Ownership by Age (%)

Age/Year	1930	1940	1960	Difference
25-35	20.0	19.1	56.2	37.1
36-45	48.5	42.1	68.1	26.0
46-55	57.7	51.0	69.5	18.5
56-65	65.1	57.5	69.3	11.8
Total	48.1	42.7	62.5	19.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 1B: Family Households and House Size

	Popula	tion for Family	Household	H	louse Size
	All Ages	Less than 18	18 and older	Sq. Ft.	Sq. Ft./Person
1940	3.76	1.24	2.52	900	240
1950	3.54	1.17	2.37	1,000	282
1960	3.67	1.41	2.26	1,200	327
1970	3.58	1.34	2.25	1,400	391

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 2A: Relative Size Cohort and Survival Rates

5 26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	76-82
0.27	0.21	0.19	0.12	0.07	0.02
0.21	0.21	0.18	0.14	0.10	0.04
3	3 0.27	3 0.27 0.21	3 0.27 0.21 0.19	3 0.27 0.21 0.19 0.12	

Conditional Survival Probabilities

$\mathbf{Year} \backslash \mathbf{Age}$	20-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	76-82
1940	0.986	0.969	0.949	0.898	0.798	0.609	0.483
1960	0.993	0.986	0.971	0.927	0.840	0.677	0.568

 $[\]ast$ The relative size is based on age 20 through age 82

Source: U.S. Life Cycle Tables and U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 2B: Estimate of the Demographic Composition Effect

	Ownership	Total
Expression	Rate $(\%)$	
$\sum_{i \in I} \mu_{1940}^i \pi_{1940}^i$	42.7	
$\sum_{i \in I} \mu_{1960}^i \pi_{1960}^i$	63.5	21.0
$\sum_{i \in I} \mu_{1960}^i \pi_{1940}^i$	45.5	2.8
$\sum_{i \in I} \mu_{1940}^i \pi_{1960}^i$	60.1	17.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 3A: Parameterization of 1940 Baseline

Targets 1940	Data	Model	Parameter	Value
Ratio of capital stock to GDP	2.54	2.68	β	0.827
Ratio housing to consumption	0.16	0.16	γ	0.748
Home ownership rate	0.44	0.43	\overline{h}	2.900
Income tax revenue to GDP	0.01	0.01	${\tau}_0^{1940}$	0.008
Share of labor in goods sector	0.95	0.96	z_h	1.352
Share of output in goods sector	0.96	0.92	z_g	4.036

Table 3B: Parameterization of 1960 Model

Targets 1960	Data	Model	Parameter	Value
Income tax revenue to GDP	0.05	0.05	$ au_0^{1960}$	-0.160
Employment share goods sector	0.95	0.96	z_h	2.514
Output share goods sector	0.96	0.92	z_g	5.955
Share of mortgages of FRM	>0.90	0.90	subs	0.036

Source: NIPA Data.

Table 4A: Ownership and Prices in 1960

Data	1940	1960	Difference
Ownership rate (%)	43.6	63.5	19.9
House price index	100	140.5	40.5
\mathbf{Model}			
Ownership rate (%)	43.3	64.5	21.2

100 Source: U.S. Census Bureau and authors' calculations.

House Prices

140.4

40.4

Table 4B: Home Ownership Rate by Age

	Difference 1940-60				
\mathbf{Age}	Data (%)	$\operatorname{Model}\ (\%)$			
25-35	37.1	32.1			
36-45	26.0	23.8			
46-55	18.5	14.5			
56-65	11.8	15.7			
Total	19.9	21.2			

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4C: Mortgage Choice in the Model (%)

Type of Mortgage Loan	1940	1960
Share balloon (5-year)	100.0	10.9
Share FRM (20-year)	0.0	89.1

Source: Authors' calculations.

Table 5: Decomposition Postwar Housing Boom

	Ownershi	p Rate	House P	rices
Baseline Economies	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$
Model 1940	43.3		0.283	
Model 1960	64.9	21.6	0.397	0.114
A) Asymmetric Productivity	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$
Baseline: $\Delta z_g > \Delta z_h = 30\%$	64.5	21.2	140.4	40.4
Counterfactual 1: $\Delta z_g = \Delta z_h = 47.5\%$	53.5	10.2	106.4	6.4
Counterfactual 2: $\Delta z_g = \Delta z_h = 86.5\%$	74.7	31.4	111.6	11.6
B) Demographics	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$
Model 1960 with 1940 Demographics	63.2	-1.7	0.395	-0.002
Model 1940 with 1960 Demographics	46.6	3.3	0.284	0.001
C) Housing Finance	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$
Model 1960 with 1940 Mortgages	63.8	-1.1	0.396	-0.001
Model 1940 with 1960 Mortgages	44.9	2.9	0.286	0.003
D) Income Tax Structure	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$
Model 1960 with 1940 Taxes	64.3	-0.6	0.412	0.015
Model 1940 with 1960 Taxes	44.9	1.6	0.281	-0.002
E) Income Risk	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$	Level (%)	$oldsymbol{\Delta}_{60-40}$
Model 1960 with 1940 Risk	52.6	12.3	0.399	0.002
Model 1940 with 1960 Risk	55.5	9.4	0.282	-0.001

Source: Author's calculations

7 Appendix (Not Intended for Publication)

7.1 Data for Construction of the Solow Residuals: 1929-1965

In order to empirically evaluate the two-sector model, Solow residuals had to be constructed for the two sectors. In this section of the appendix we explain how these data are constructed for sectoral employment, capital stock, and output. These data are readily available for the period 1948-1960. The problem is data availability for the period 1929-1947, which is a critical period given the focus of this paper.

Output: All data pertaining to output is from The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1965, (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1966). Sectoral output data are available in Table 1.12 in terms of nationaincome (or valued added) units. Since output is normally reported in final goods prices as in gross national product (GNO), we had to create a measure of construction output in final goods prices. The major hurdle in creating such a measure is the measure of construction output in net national product units. The reason is that sectoral measures for indirect business tax and nontax liability, business transfer payments, statistical discrepancy and subsidies less current surplus of government enterprises are not available. As a result we calculated the ratio of national income to net national product for each year in that sample. This ratio is used with the construction sector national income to generate a measure of construction net national product. The construction sector gross national product adds construction sector capital consumption allowances from Tables 6.9 and 6.18 to the net national product of construction.

Capital Stock: The capital stock data are from Musgrave (1992).³⁴ The aggregate capital stock is defined as constant-cost net stock of fixed reproducible tangible wealth and is presented in Table 2, page 136. The construction sector capital stock is defined by BEA code 2300. The capital stock for the goods sector is defined as the residual after the construction capital stock is subtracted from the sum of all BEA sectoral codes. The BEA data we assembled start in 1940. In order have capital stock data starting in 1930, we reverse engineered the capital evolution equation with the annual sectoral investment data. We constructed estimates of the construction sector investment series based on data provided in Buddy and Gort (1973). In addition, we assumed the various sectoral depreciation rates for the period 1940-1947 are equal to the average sectoral depreciation rate over the period 1947-1950.

Employment: Employment is defined as the average number of full and part-time employees. These data are from the The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-65. Statistical Tables, (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1966, Table

³⁴John C. Musgrave (1992). "Fixed Reproducible Tangible Wealth in the United States, Revised Estimates," Survey of Current Business, January 1992.

6.3, pp 98-101). The construction measure is line 10, while the goods sector measure is the total of all industries (line 1) less construction sector employment.

Annual Earnings: The wage and salary earnings of labor is defined as the compensation of employees. These data are from the The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-65, Statistical Tables, (United States Department of Commerce, 1966, Table 6.1, pp 90-101). The construction measure is line 10, while the goods sector measure is the total of all industries (line 1) less construction sector employment. Compensation of employees in the construction sector is define as contract construction (line 11). The goods sector is defined as compensation of employees in all sectors (line1) less compensation of employees in the construction sector.

Implicit Price Deflators: Nominal values were converted to real values using the GNP implicit price deflator reported in The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1965, (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1966, Table 8.3). The base year was adjusted to be consistant with the base year of the constant cost capital stocks.

Capital Share Parameters: The calculation of the parameter on capital in the capital and goods sectors production function follows the approach in Cooley and Prescott (1995). The idea of this approach this that proprietors' income (and some other smaller categories of national income) include both labor and capital income. As a result, these measures must address this issue of capital shares are to be properly measured. income. To make these adjustments, we use data available in The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1965, (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1966, various Tables in Section 6). Net national product are not available at a sectoral level. In order to estimate the construction sector net national product, the ratio of national Income (Table 1.9) to net national nroduct (Table 1.9) for the entire economy is calculated. The average value of this ratio between 1929 and 1965, which is 0.904, which is then used along with the value of the construction sector national income to create a value of construction sector net national product. The value of the construction sector GNP is calculated by adding the value of depreciation in the construction sector, defined as the sum of corporate capital consumption allowance (Table 6.18) and noncorporate capital consumption allowance (Table 6.9) to the value of net national product in the construction sector. Unambiguous capital income in the construction sector is defined as Net Interest (Table 6.11) plus construction sector corporate profits (Table 6.13 plus Table 6.10). Rental income for the construction sector is not reported so it is not included as part of unambiguous capital income in this sector. The ambiguous part of capital is then defined as Proprietors Income in construction, which is the sum of income from unnicorporated firms (Table 6.8) and adjusted inventory evaluation adjusted (Table 6.10) plus construction net national product of less construction national

income. Given these definitions, the share of capital income in the construction sector is

$$\alpha_c = \frac{(\text{Unambiguous Capital Income}^{Const} + \text{CCA}^{Const})}{(\text{GNP}^{Const} - \text{Ambiguous Capital Income}^{Const})}$$

Data for the goods sector are calculated by subtracting the variable for the construction sector from the aggregate variable for the economy. For example, the goods sector net national product is simply the difference between the economy-wide value of net national product and the construction sector measure of net national product. The share of capital income in the goods sector is defined as

$$\alpha_g = \frac{(\text{Unambiguous Capital Income}^{Goods} + \text{CCA}^{Goods})}{(\text{GNP}^{Goods} - \text{Ambiguous Capital Income}^{Goods})}$$

Figure A-1 presents the annual values of this parameter for the goods and the construction sectors.

Construction Sector Goods Sector 0.45 0.4 0.35 0.3 0.25 0.2 0.15 0.1 0.05 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 1965

Figure A-1: Annual Values of Sectoral Capital Share Parameters

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and authors' calculations.

As shown, the capital shares of both sectors fell during the war with the more pronounced decline in the construction sector. This should not be surprising as the government made a conscious decision to allocate resources away from the construction sector and toward sectors needed for the war buildup. The value of the capital share parameter used in the model calibration is the average of the yearly share parameters from 1929 to 1965. These values are presented in Table A-1.

Table A-1: Average Sectoral Capital Share Parameters

Sector	Capital Share
Goods	0.334
Construction	0.162

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and authors' calculations.

7.2 Evidence and Calibration: Regulations and Policy Provisions Towards Housing

The foreclosure problem that coincided with the 1929 collapse and the Great Depression changed the federal government involvement in the housing market. In 1932, Congress responded initially with Home Loan Bank Act which brought thrift institutions under the Federal regulation umbrella. This legislation was followed by the Home Owners Loan Act Bank in 1933 and the National Housing Act in 1934. The objective of these acts was to stabilize the financial system and prevent future collapses of housing finance. A part of the National Housing Act established the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). The FHA introduced a new mortgage product with longer maturity (20 years), self-amortizing so a homeowner could build equity, more affordable by requiring only a 20 percent downpayment) and with government guarantees with the overall goal of increasing residential investment.³⁵ According to Carliner (1989) the introduction of this new loan contract had an influence on the behavior of lending institutions, albeit slow. The slow adoption can be explained by the fact that state laws limiting loan-to-value ratios had to be modified. According to Yearn (1976) and Shiller (2007), federal policies towards housing were a critical driver of the home ownership boom. This information and evidence is used to calibrate some auxiliary parameters

7.2.1 Regulation and Special Housing Programs

The expansion of government and private lending could have important effects on the interest rates. The availability of mortgage rates during these years was very limited. Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956, Table O-1, p. 496) provide data for mortgage rates and bond yields for Manhattan (NY) for the years 1900 and 1953. Figure A2 shows that both mort-

³⁵Marriner Eccles (1951), a central figure in the development of the FHA, stated that the main intent of the program was "pump-priming" and not reform of the mortgage market.

gage and the bond rates were relatively low prior to 1900. Between 1900 and 1920 mortgage interest rates had an increasing trend, and the bond yields declined. Mortgage rates remained high during the 1920s housing boom. During the Great Depression, mortgage rates decline. Some economic historians have used this information to argue that an easy money policy played a large role in the increase in home ownership. Perhaps more important are the government policies and regulations that led to the creation of a national credit market, the elimination of regional markets, and the creation of special loan programs for veterans (VA) and FHA. These could well be responsible for the decline in the mortgage rates.

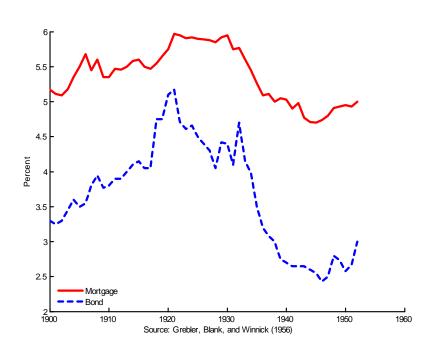


Figure A2: Bond and Mortgage Rates (1900-1953)

In addition to the creation of FHA, Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, or the "GI Bill." This program was a benefit to veterans. Initially no down payments were required on the theory that soldiers were not paid enough to accumulate savings and did not have an opportunity to establish a credit rating. Under the original VA loan guarantee program, the maximum amount of guarantee was limited to 50% of the loan, not to exceed \$2000. Loan durations were limited to 20 years, with a maximum interest rate of 4%. These ceilings were eliminated when market interest rates greatly exceeded this ceiling. The VA also set a maximum value for the house purchase. Because of rising house prices in 1945 the maximum amount of the guarantee to lenders was increased to \$4,000 for home loans. The maximum maturity for real estate loans was extended to 25 years for residential homes. In 1950, the maximum amount of guarantee was increased to

60% of the amount of the loan with a cap of \$7,500 and the maximum length of a loan was lengthened to 30 years. Were FHA and VA programs quantitatively significant? While these government mortgage programs took time to have an impact, by 1940 FHA and VA mortgages accounted for 13.5 percent of mortgages, and by 1945 these mortgages accounted for nearly a quarter of total mortgages. In 1952 the home mortgage share of FHA and VA mortgages was 43.6 percent.

How does the model capture some of these institutional features? In calibration for 1960, the maturity of the FRM is extended from 20 to 30 years, and the interest rate of FRM loans has an implicit government subsidy. Relative to the baseline in 1940, the estimated subsidy implies that FRM mortgages are reduced by 0.72 percent annually. A data set reporting the actual differences in interest rates between FHA and VA mortgages and conventional loans does not seem to exist. Behrens (1952, p45) examines a sample of mortgage loan interest rates held by 170 commercial banks in June 1947 and finds the average interest rate on VA loans was 4.0 percent and FHA loans was 4.5 percent. Since the average interest rate on conventional loans was 4.8 percent, the spread between FHA and conventional loans is 0.3 percent annually. Grebler, Blank, and Winnick (1956) report that data from the 1950 Census of Housing indicate that median interest rates on outstanding VA-guaranteed mortgages were 4.0 percent, on FHA-insured mortgages 4.5 percent and conventional loans 5.0 percent. These interest rates suggest the government interest rate subsidy should be in the range of 0.3 to 1.0 percent. These studies suggest our estimate of the government mortgage interest rate subsidy is a midpoint estimate.

7.2.2 Calibration of Personal Income Tax

The Tax Foundation has constructed marginal tax rates by income level for the period 1935 to 1960. Figure A3 compares the marginal taxes for 1940 and 1960 where the base units have been normalized by the average (real) income in the economy. The dashed line for 1960 indicates how the marginal tax rates increased over all income groups compared to the dotted line for the 1940s marginal tax rates. Since rapid growth in income occurred between 1940 and 1960, we attempt to eliminate this effect by constructing an adjusted income tax rate for individuals in 1940 but based on 1960s progressivity. This adjusted tax rate shows similar marginal tax rates for individuals around average income, but clearly much higher rates for individuals earning above average income. Since these two decades are periods with rapid income growth it is useful to eliminate this effect and construct an adjusted income tax based on 1960s progressivity for individuals in 1940. The observed change in marginal tax rate provides a rationale for Rosen and Rosen's argument, that

shifting investment toward housing is a simple way to mitigate tax obligations.

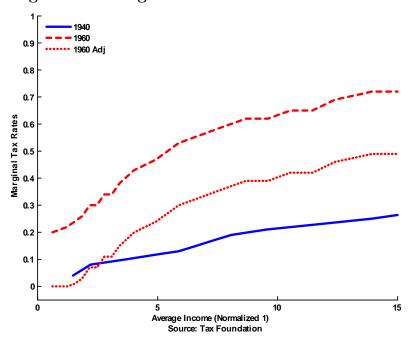


Figure A3: Marginal Tax Rates in 1940 and 1960

The calibration for the personal income tax captures the effective taxation as close as possible. In particular, in 1940 tax code differentiated wage income from total net taxable income, which is equal to wage and interest earnings minus interest payments (i.e., mortgage interest payments). Each household received an earned income credit. This credit is equal to 10 percent of wage income as long as net income is less than \$3,000. If net income exceeds \$3,000, the credit is calculated as 10 percent of the minimum of wage income or total taxable income. The tax credit is capped at \$1,400. In addition to the earned income credit, each household received a personal exemption of \$800. If these two credits are subtracted from total net taxable income, adjusted taxable income can be determined. For the 1940 tax code, the marginal tax rate is 0.79, which is applicable to income levels exceeding \$500,000. In 1940, an income tax surcharge existed, which is equal to an additional 10 percent of taxable income that must be included in the income tax obligation. The documentation for the 1940 tax code is from the Internal Revenue Service and the Tax Foundation.³⁶ The households in the model face exactly the same tax schedule with the appropriate normalization of units. To ensure that the income tax function generates the proper amount of revenue for 1940, an adjustment factor must be added to the tax code, τ_0^{1940} . This factor is estimated by targeting the personal income tax revenue-to-GDP ratio in 1935 of 0.01. The same approach is used to capture the change in

 $^{^{36}}$ This data can be found at http://taxfoundation.org/article/us-federal-individual-income-tax-rates-history-1913-2013-nominal-and-inflation-adjusted-brackets

marginal tax rates for 1960. In the new baseline, the parameter τ_0^{1960} is calculated to be consistent with the personal income tax-to-GDP ratio for 1960.

7.3 Labor Income Risk

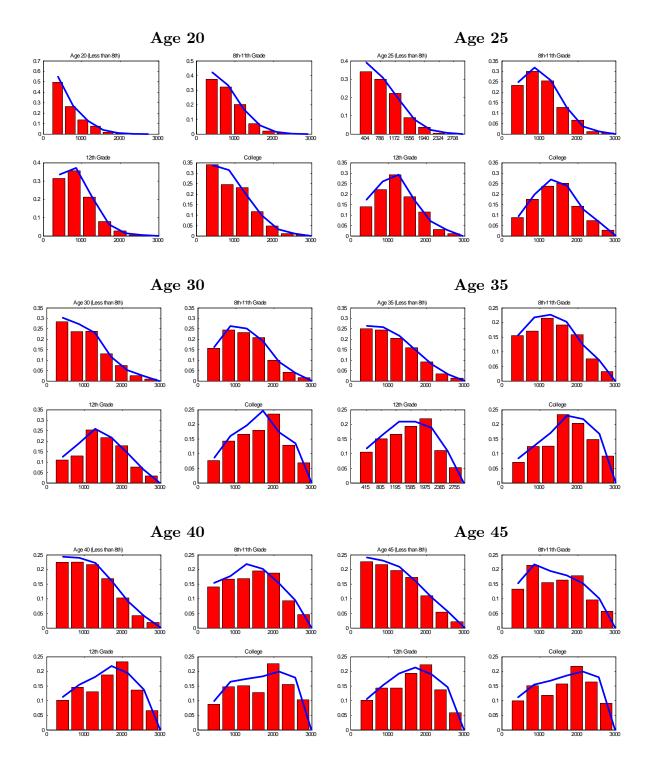
This section discusses the approach used to estimate the income risk for the baseline economy in 1940 and 1960. The main approach uses a kernel density estimate and the other uses the whole distribution observed in the Census data. Figure A4 compares the standard deviation of normalized income by age and education levels.

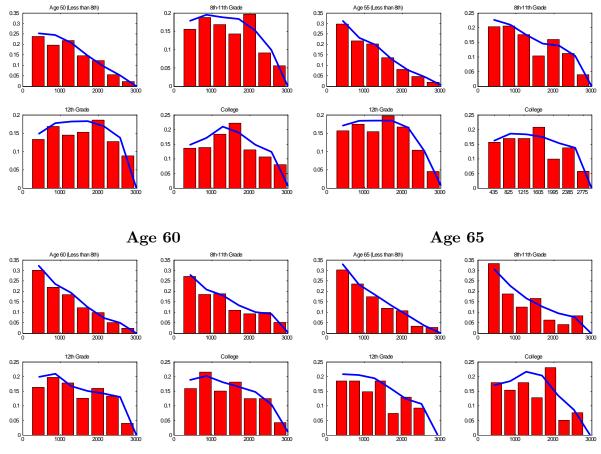
1940 1960 Less than 8th 8th-11th Grade 8th-11th Grade Less than 8th Histogram 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 ····· Histogram 8.0 0.8 8.0 8.0 0.7 0.7 0.7 0.7 Kerne ····· Histogram 0.6 ······ Histogram 0.6 0.6 0.5 0.5 **L** 0.5 40 40 12th Grade College 12th Grade College 1.1 ····· Histogram 0.9 0.9 ····· Histogram 0.9 0.8 0.8 8.0 0.8 0.7 0.7 0.7 0.7 ······ Histogram 0.6 0.6 0.6 Histogram 0.5 <u>L</u> 20 0.5 0.5 L 20 40 50 60 30 40 60 40 Source: US. Census Bureau.

Figure A4: Standard Deviation of Income by Estimation

As shown, the kernel density estimation fits remarkably well the underlying income dispersion for both periods. Figures A5 and A6 show the fit of the kernel density estimation for every age cohort and education level for 1940 and 1960.

Figure A5: Estimation Income Process by Age and Education 1940



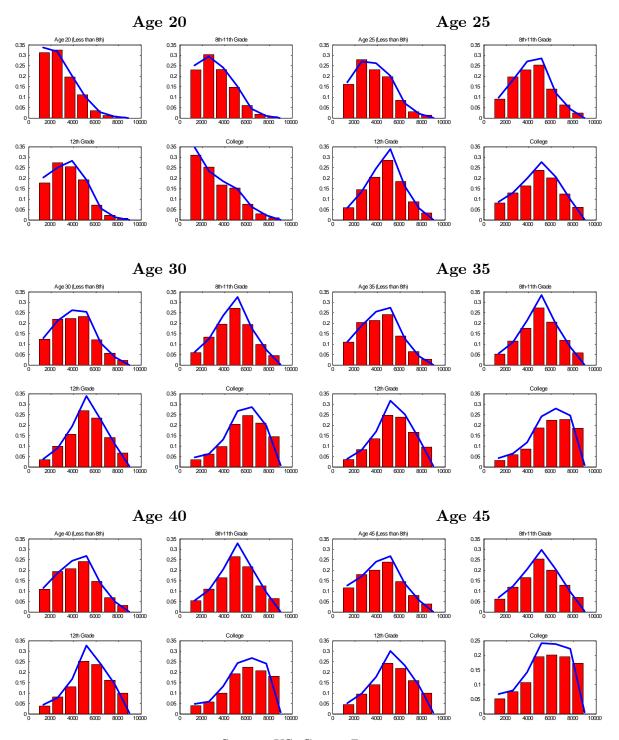


Age 55

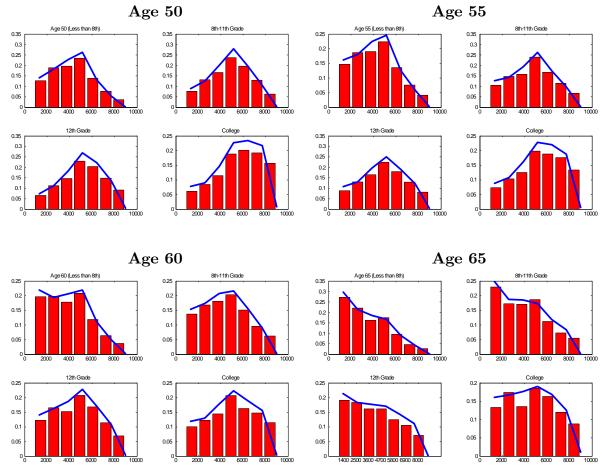
Age 50

Source: US. Census Bureau.

Figure A6: Estimation Income Process by Age and Education 1960



Source: US. Census Bureau.



Source: US. Census Bureau.