

# Flattening the Curve: Pandemic-Induced Revaluation of Urban Real Estate

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Bank of England June 14, 2021

# 1. Urban Flight

Document Population Moves in the time of Covid

# Mobility Gradient Shows Urban Flight

NYC

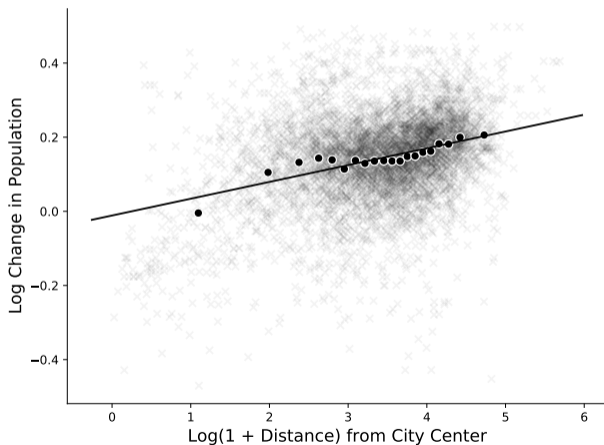
SF

vs. Rent

vs. Prices

Covid gradient

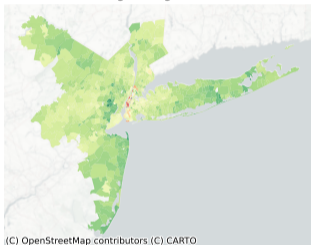
- ▶ Covid-19 prompted a large urban flight to suburbs over Feb 2020–Mar 2020
- ▶ Venpath cell phone data



## 2. Change in Bid-Rent Functions

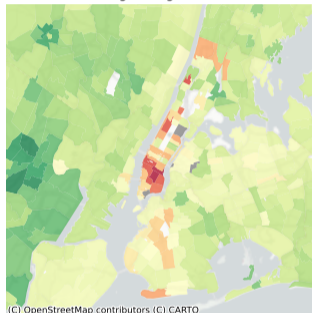
Flattening the Curve

Log Change Price



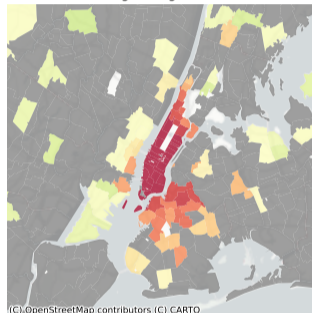
(C) OpenStreetMap contributors (C) CARTO

Log Change Price



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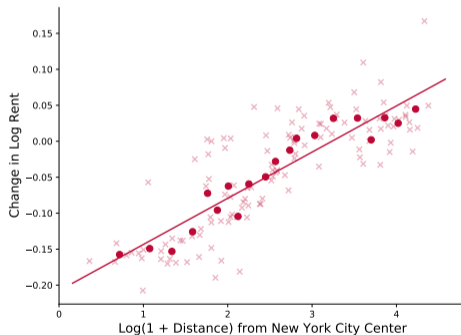
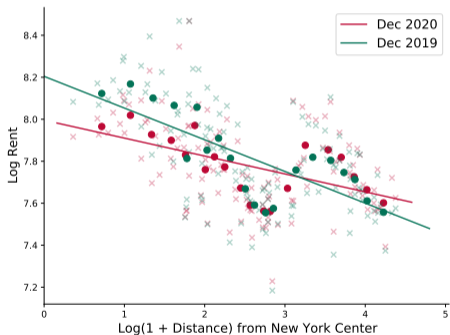
Log Change Rent



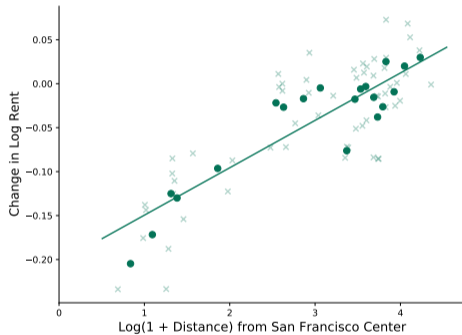
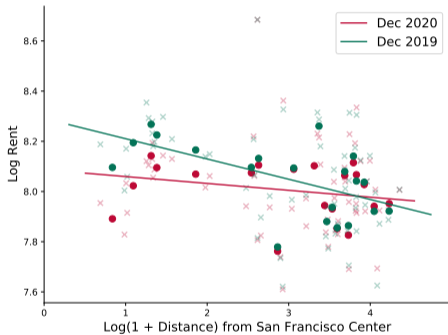
(C) OpenStreetMap contributors (C) CARTO



- ▶ Rents declined drastically in city centers. Grew strongly in suburbs.



# Rent Changes San Francisco



# Complete Reversal of Rent Gradient Top 30 MSAs

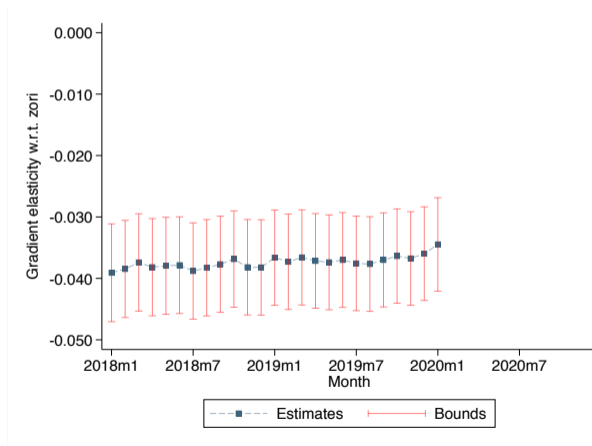
Top 49 MSAs

NYC

SF

LA

$$\ln \text{Rent}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$





# Complete Reversal of Rent Gradient Top 30 MSAs

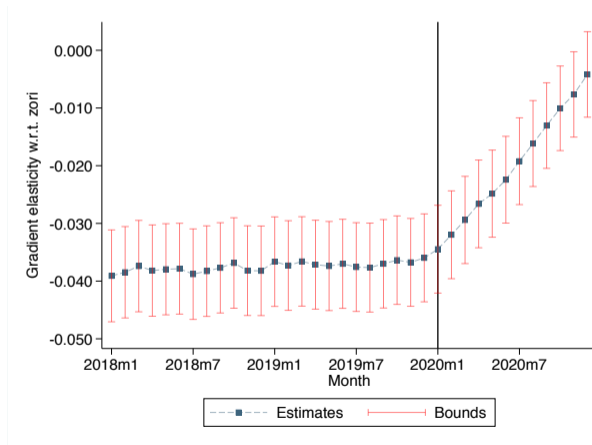
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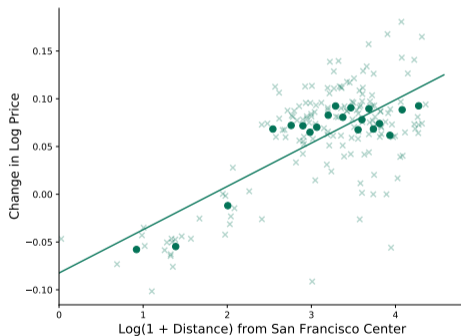
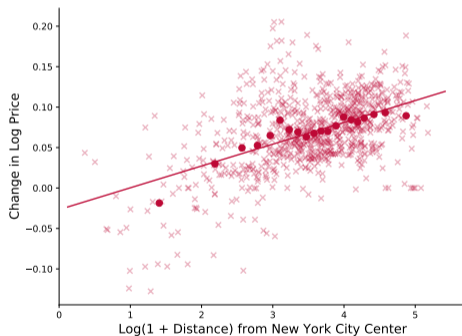
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# Price Changes New York and San Francisco

NY Price Reversal

- ▶ Prices also saw stronger growth in suburbs as seen in New York (left) and San Francisco (right).



# Partial Reversal of Price Gradient Top 30 MSAs

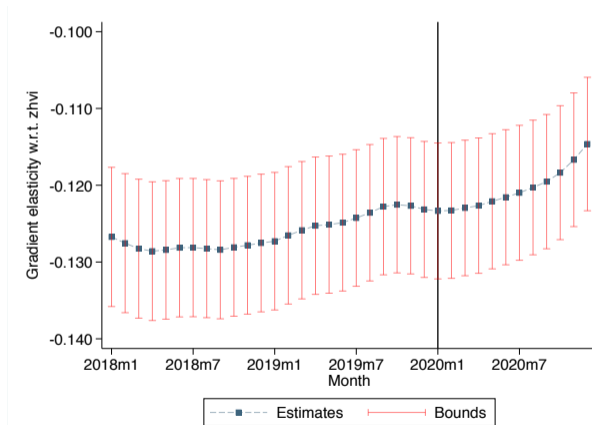
Top 49 MSAs

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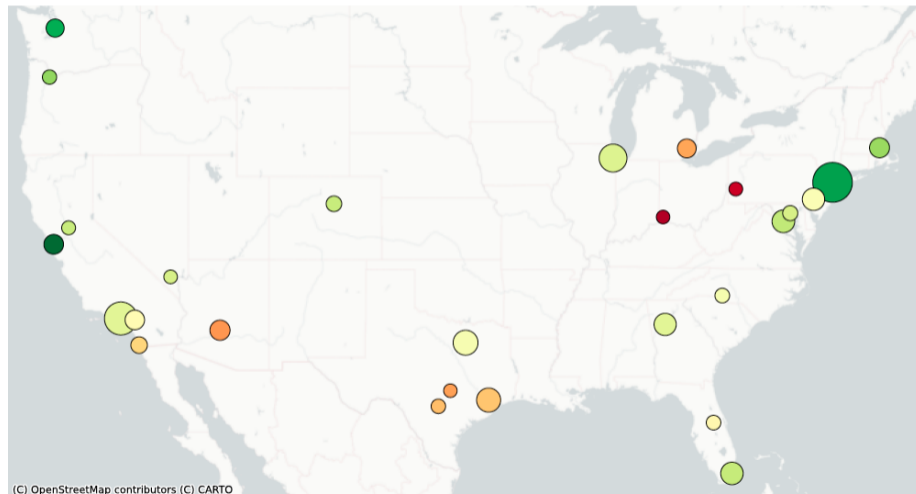
$$\ln \text{Price}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



# 4. Explaining Changes in Real Estate Gradients

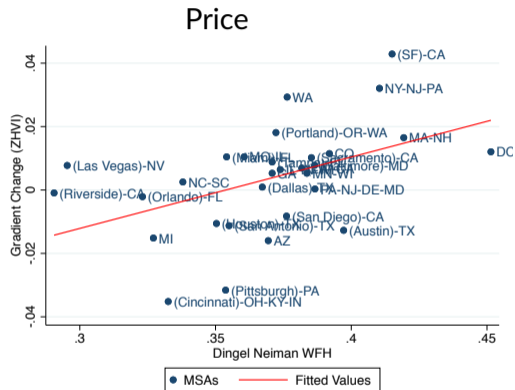
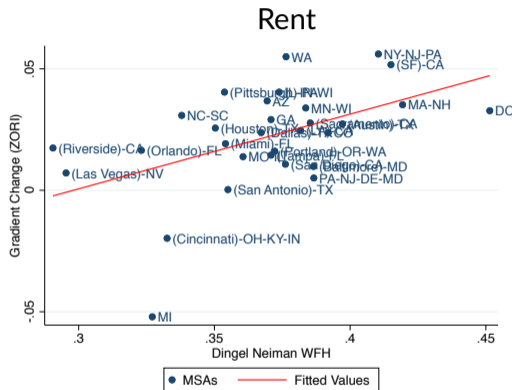
Urban Premia Reverses in Presence of Remote Work and Land Scarcity

# National Change in Price Gradients



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# Correlation with Working from Home



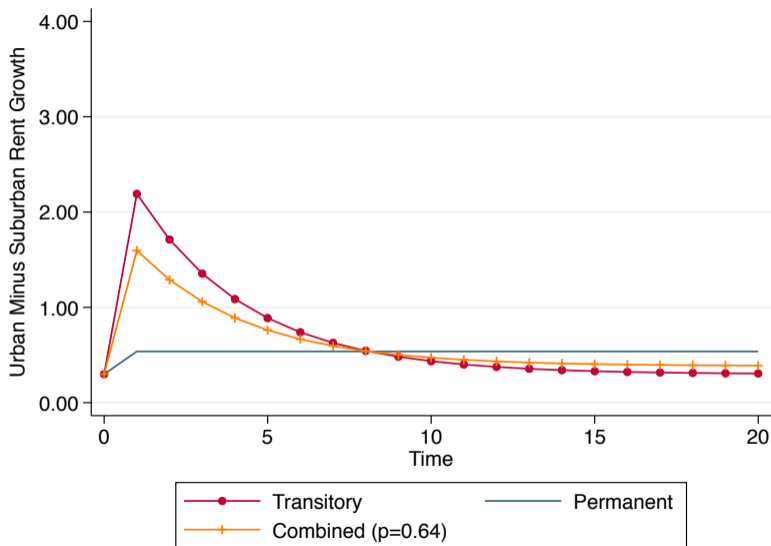
WFH = Dingle and Neiman (2020) measure of ability to work from home, based on detailed job descriptions

# Explaining the Variation in Rent Gradient Changes MSA level

$$\underbrace{\Delta\delta_j}_{\text{Change in Rent Gradient}} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{WFH} + \beta_2 \text{Policy Stringency} + \beta_3 \text{Supply Inelasticity} + \varepsilon_j$$

Work from Home	0.326*** (0.101)			0.267** (0.112)	0.326*** (0.102)
Stringency Measure		0.145** (0.0651)		0.0623 (0.0766)	
Supply Inelasticity Index			0.0300* (0.0172)	0.00862 (0.0188)	
Orthogonalized Stringency Index					0.0797 (0.0664)
Orthogonalized Supply Inelasticity					0.00862 (0.0188)
Observations	30	30	30	30	30
$R^2$	0.270	0.151	0.098	0.314	0.314

# Backing out Expected Rent Growth, Case 1: $\Delta x^j = 0$ [Full Table](#)



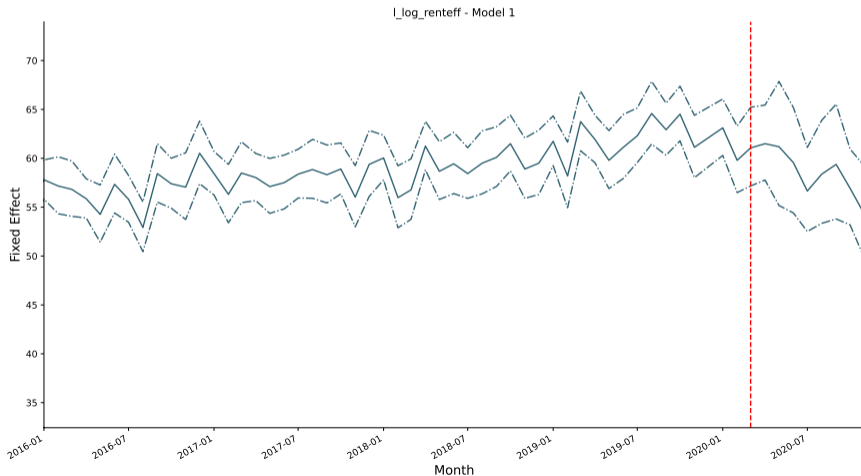


## Concluding Thoughts

- ▶ Pandemic-triggered urban flight has benefited the suburban real estate sector, hurt the urban core.
- ▶ Work from home opportunities explain much of the disappearance of urban rent premium.
- ▶ House prices and rents suggest that much, but not all, of the WFH phenomenon is expected to be transitory. Urban rent revival predicted **and already underway**.
- ▶ How this plays out will affect housing affordability debate and fiscal health of (superstar) cities.
- ▶ Follow-up work: Implications for urban office.

# Urban Office Leases: Net Effective Rent

- ▶ Study new office leases in New York City using Compstak data
- ▶ Net effective rent in \$/sf (combines asking rent, free rent, TI)



## Are Cities Dead, or is this a Temporary Blip for Urban Growth?



Ed Glaeser: “We’ll eventually figure out how to deal with COVID-19. And the forces that gave rise to superstar cities aren’t going to just go away. Zoom calls remain a lackluster substitute for face-to-face chats, and people will still want all the awesome stuff that density creates.”

## Are Cities Dead, or is this a Temporary Blip for Urban Growth?



David Autor: “The COVID crisis appears poised to reshape labor markets along at least four axes: telepresence, urban de-densification, employment concentration in large firms, and general automation... The pandemic will permanently alter the texture of urban life.”

## Large, But Temporary, Decline in (Superstar) City Premia

- ▶ Focus on bid-rent function (or price and rent gradients)
  - ▶ Changes in house prices/rents with respect to distance from center of the city
  - ▶ Urban premia reflects agglomeration effects, commuting, and amenities

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  - ▶ Strong results for rent gradients implying shock is transitory

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- 3. Extract housing market expectations of future urban rent premia
  - ▶ Use Campbell-Shiller decomposition of prices
  - ▶ Use survey expectations data from Pulsenomics to calibrate persistence
  - ▶ Price gradient falls less than rent gradient → future urban rent growth

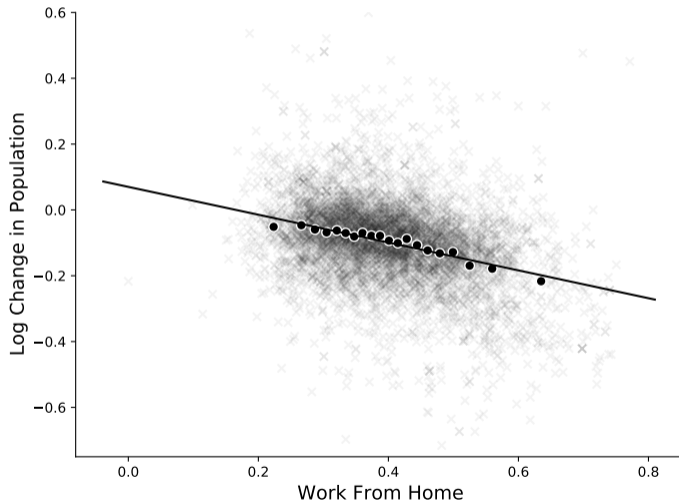


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*Pandemic was a massive temporary shock, but does not appear to herald the permanent demise of the superstar city*

## Remote Workers More Likely to Flee

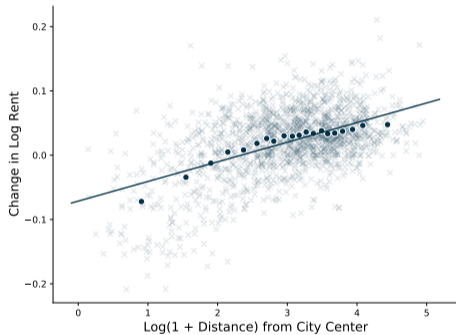
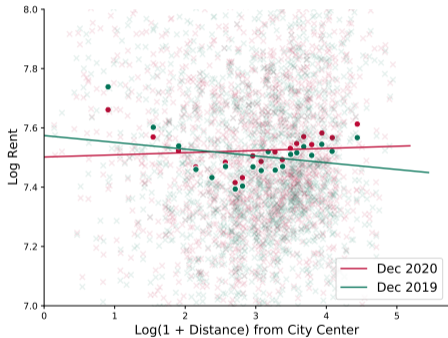


# Rent Changes Top 30 MSAs

USA Rent Reversal

Pre vs. Post

LA



## Other Outcomes:

- ▶ Prices
  - ▶ Listing Prices
  - ▶ Listing Price Per Sq. Ft.
- ▶ Quantities
  - ▶ Active Listings
  - ▶ Median days on market
- ▶ Prices Against Active Listing Changes
- ▶ Price Against Change in Days on Market

# 3. Beliefs About Rent Growth

Predicting Urban Recovery

# Present Value Decomposition of Real Estate Valuations

Define the cum-dividend return on a house:

$$R_{t+1} = \frac{P_{t+1} + D_{t+1}}{P_t}$$

Log-linearize:

$$r_{t+1} = k + \Delta d_{t+1} + \rho p d_{t+1} - p d_t$$
$$\rho = \frac{\exp(\overline{pd})}{1 + \exp(\overline{pd})}, \quad k = \log(1 + \exp(\overline{pd})) - \rho \overline{pd}$$

Iterating forward, applying TVC condition yields Campbell and Shiller (1989):

$$p d_t \equiv \log(P_t) - \log(D_t) = \frac{k}{1 - \rho} + E_t \left[ \sum_{j=1}^{+\infty} \rho^{j-1} \Delta d_{t+j} \right] - E_t \left[ \sum_{j=1}^{+\infty} \rho^{j-1} r_{t+j} \right]$$

## Back out Expected Rent Growth

Subtracting from unconditional average:

$$pd_t - \overline{pd} = E_t \left[ \sum_{j=1}^{+\infty} \rho^{j-1} (\Delta d_{t+j} - \bar{g}) \right] - E_t \left[ \sum_{j=1}^{+\infty} \rho^{j-1} (r_{t+j} - \bar{x}) \right]$$

Price-rent ratios exceed their long-run average when

1. Rent growth expectations are above their long-run average ( $\bar{g}$ ), or
2. Expected returns are below the long-run expected return ( $\bar{x}$ )

Assume exp. rent growth ( $g_t \equiv E_t[\Delta d_{t+1}]$ ) and exp. returns ( $x_t \equiv E_t[r_{t+1}]$ ) follow AR(1) process with persistence  $\rho_g$  and  $\rho_x$

$$\underbrace{g_t}_{\text{current belief rent growth}} = \underbrace{\bar{g}}_{\text{long-run expected growth}} + \underbrace{(1 - \rho\rho_g)(pd_t - \overline{pd})}_{\text{deviation price-rent from LR mean}} + \underbrace{\frac{1 - \rho\rho_g}{1 - \rho\rho_x}(x_t - \bar{x})}_{\text{deviation expected return from LR mean}}$$

## Model 1: Pandemic is Transitory

- ▶ Exp. rent growth, exp. returns, and pd ratio revert to **pre-pandemic means**.
- ▶ ZIPs  $i$  were at long-run average  $(\bar{x}^{ij}, \bar{g}^{ij}, \bar{pd}^{ij})$  in Dec 2019
- ▶ Same persistence of expected returns and rent growth across geographies  $(\rho_x^{ij} = \rho_x$  and  $\rho_g^{ij} = \rho_g)$  and  $\rho^{ij} = \rho^j$ , variation only at MSA  $j$  level

Market expectation on expected urban minus suburban rent growth, 1 period:

$$g_t^{uj} - g_t^{sj} = \bar{g}^{uj} - \bar{g}^{sj} + (1 - \rho^j \rho_g) \Delta pd^j + \frac{1 - \rho^j \rho_g}{1 - \rho^j \rho_x} \Delta x^j$$

with

$$\Delta x^j \equiv (x_t^{uj} - \bar{x}^{uj}) - (x_t^{sj} - \bar{x}^{sj})$$

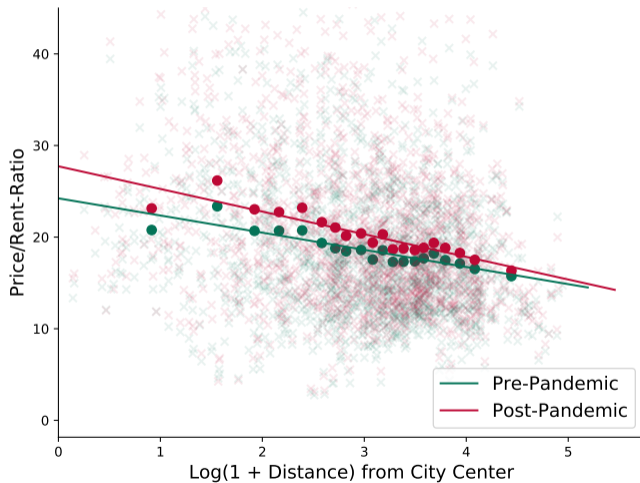


## Model 1: Pandemic is Transitory

Consider two cases for  $\Delta x^j$ , the change in expected returns on urban minus suburban real estate during 2020:

1. Expected returns did not change differentially in urban and suburban areas in the same MSA in the pandemic:  $\Delta x^j = 0$ .
2. (Temporary) increase in urban-minus-suburban risk premia:  $\Delta \bar{x}^j = 0.01$ :  
 $x^{uj} - x^{sj} = \bar{x}^{uj} - \bar{x}^{sj} + 0.01, \forall j$

# Price-Rent Ratio against Distance Top 30 MSAs NYC



## Model 2: Pandemic is Permanent

Dec 2020 is the new, permanent state Expected urban-minus-suburban rent growth:

$$\hat{g}^{uj} - \hat{g}^{sj} = \left( \widehat{pd}^{uj} - \widehat{pd}^{sj} \right) - \left( \log \left( 1 + \exp \widehat{pd}^{uj} \right) - \log \left( 1 + \exp \widehat{pd}^{sj} \right) \right) + \left( \hat{x}^{uj} - \hat{x}^{sj} \right)$$

Again, consider two assumptions on post-pandemic U-S risk premia:

1. Relative premium unchanged:  $\Delta \bar{x}^j = 0$ :  $\hat{x}^{uj} - \hat{x}^{sj} = \bar{x}^{uj} - \bar{x}^{sj}$ ,  $\forall j$
2. Relative premium increased:  $\Delta \bar{x}^j = 0.01$ :  $\hat{x}^{uj} - \hat{x}^{sj} = \bar{x}^{uj} - \bar{x}^{sj} + 0.01$ ,  $\forall j$

## Model 3: Combining Transitory and Permanent

- ▶ Use survey data from *Pulsenomics* on professional forecasters' view on whether the covid-induced housing market changes are transitory (64%) or permanent (36%) to combine two cases
- ▶ Let  $p$  be probability that changes in urban-suburban exp rent growth and exp return are transitory, then **combined case**:

$$\widetilde{g}_t^{uj} - \widetilde{g}_t^{sj} = p(g_t^{uj} - g_t^{sj}) + (1 - p)(\widehat{g}_t^{uj} - \widehat{g}_t^{sj})$$

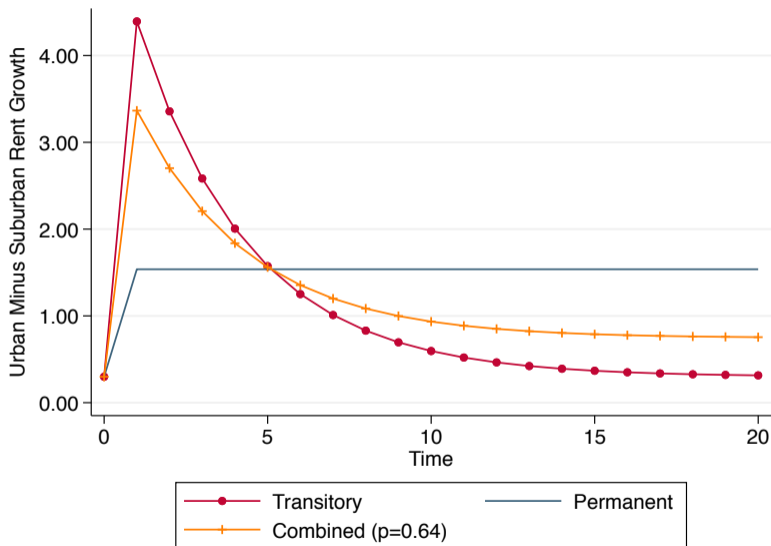
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Survey Question

Expectations Data

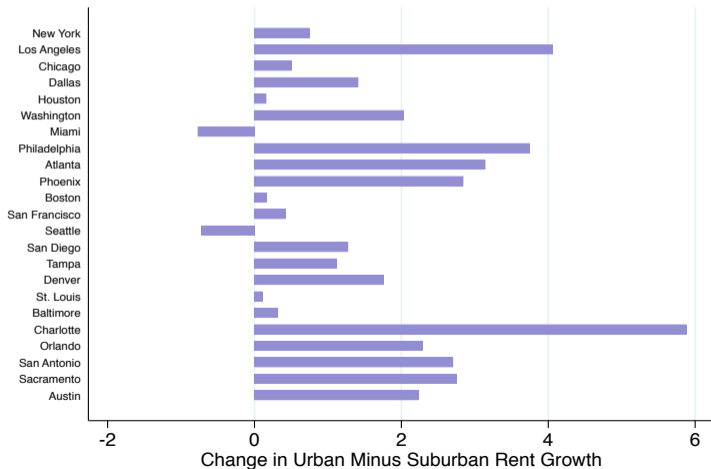
# Backing out Evolution of Rent Growth, Case 2: $\Delta x^j = 0.01$

Full Table

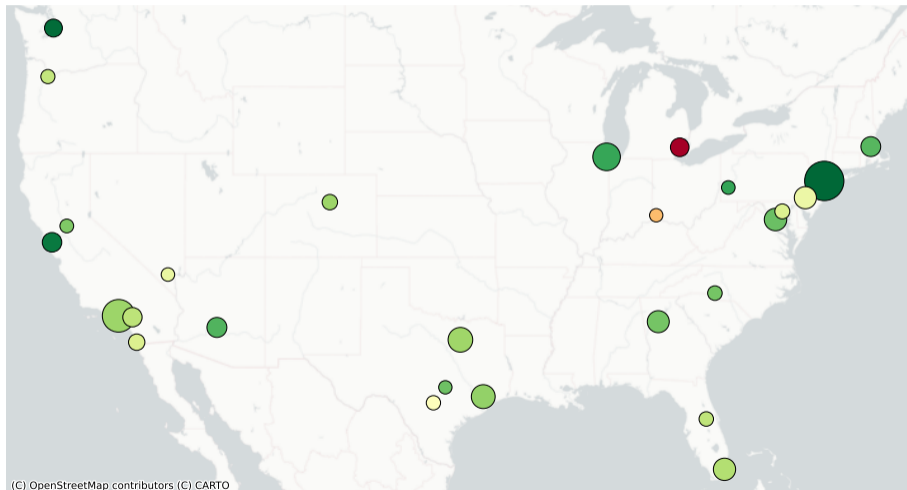


## Expected Rent Growth in the Cross-Section

- ▶ NY MSA expected to see 4.5% faster urban than suburban rent growth cumulatively (over several years) in transitory case
- ▶ For 2021, 0.75% in combination case



# National Change in Rent Gradients



# Explaining the Variation in Price Gradient Changes MSA level Across MSAs

$$\underbrace{\Delta\delta_j}_{\text{Change in Price Gradient}} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{WFH} + \beta_2 \text{Policy Stringency} + \beta_3 \text{Supply Inelasticity} + \varepsilon_j$$

Work from Home	0.215*** (0.0747)			0.151* (0.0751)	0.215*** (0.0683)
Stringency Measure		0.107** (0.0464)		0.00776 (0.0513)	
Supply Inelasticity Index			0.0372*** (0.0109)	0.0290** (0.0126)	
Orthogonalized Stringency Index					0.0663 (0.0445)
Orthogonalized Supply Inelasticity					0.0290** (0.0126)
Observations	30	30	30	30	30
$R^2$	0.228	0.160	0.293	0.400	0.400



## Remote Work Lowers Rent Increases ZIP-Level

10 percentage point increase in remote work at ZIP-level → 1.8–2.9 percentage point decrease in rents

Log(Distance)	0.0292*** (5.95)	0.0247*** (5.33)	0.0252*** (6.29)	0.0240*** (5.49)	0.0233*** (6.82)
<b>Work from Home</b>	<b>-0.274***</b> (-9.12)	<b>-0.287***</b> (-9.22)	<b>-0.225***</b> (-12.79)	<b>-0.182***</b> (-6.17)	<b>-0.227***</b> (-9.68)
Log(2017 Income)				-0.00237 (-0.43)	-0.000886 (-0.18)
Median Age				0.000136 (0.25)	0.000212 (0.70)
Percent of Black Households				0.00667 (0.29)	0.0223* (2.03)
Share of High Income Households				-0.0663** (-2.14)	0.0264 (1.34)
Log(Restaurants & Bars)				-0.0144*** (-5.36)	-0.00865*** (-4.52)
MSA fixed effects	✓	✓	✓		✓
Observations	1697	1697	1697	1697	1697
R <sup>2</sup>	0.566	0.527	0.475	0.671	0.690

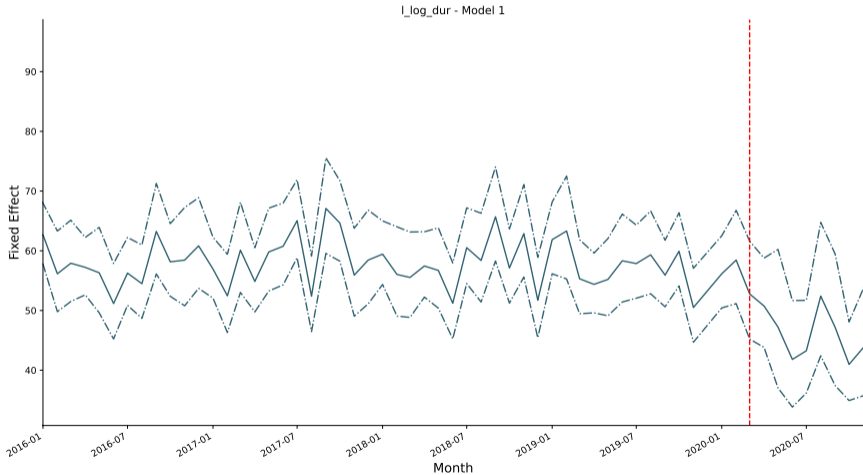
## Remote Work Lowers Prices at ZIP-Level

10 percentage point increase in remote work at ZIP-level → 0.7–1.4 percentage point decrease in prices

Log(Distance)	0.00283 (0.64)	-0.00130 (-0.30)	-0.000480 (-0.10)	0.00412 (0.94)	0.00705 (1.57)
<b>Work from Home</b>	<b>-0.136***</b> (-7.12)	<b>-0.120***</b> (-5.75)	<b>-0.138***</b> (-9.19)	<b>-0.0663**</b> (-2.64)	<b>-0.0927***</b> (-4.85)
Log(2017 Income)				0.00144 (0.65)	0.000773 (0.29)
Median Age				-0.0000367 (-0.10)	-0.000253 (-1.45)
Percent of Black Households				0.0195* (1.83)	0.0396*** (5.78)
Share of High Income Households				-0.0583** (-2.72)	-0.0278 (-1.41)
Log(Restaurants & Bars)				0.000626 (0.63)	0.00114 (0.88)
MSA fixed effects	✓	✓		✓	✓
Observations	6387	6387	6387	6387	5760
R <sup>2</sup>	0.180	0.240	0.055	0.240	0.110
					0.329

# Urban Office Leases: Lease Durations

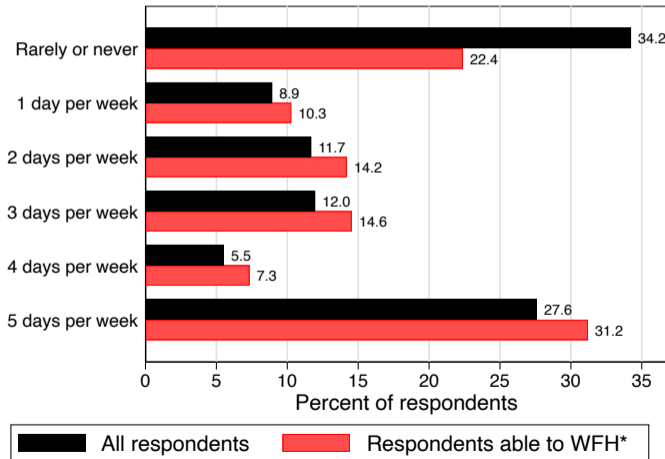
- ▶ Lease contract length fallen off substantially



# Future of Work From Home

Barrero, Bloom, Davis (2021)

**Figure 3: Most workers want to work from home two or more days per week**



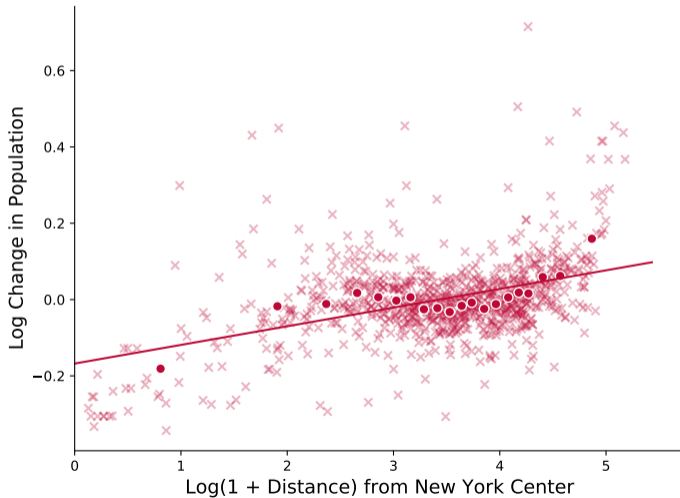
**Source:** Responses to the question:

*In 2022+ (after COVID) how often would you like to have paid work days at home?*

**Notes:** Data are from 33,250 survey responses collected from May 2020 through March 2021 by Inc-Query and QuestionPro. "Respondents able to WFH" are those who say they can work from home at least partially and those who report having mainly worked from home at some point during the COVID-19 pandemic. We re-weight raw responses to match the share of working-age respondents in the 2010-2019 CPS in a given {age x sex x education x earnings} cell.

\*64% of the full sample meets this criterion

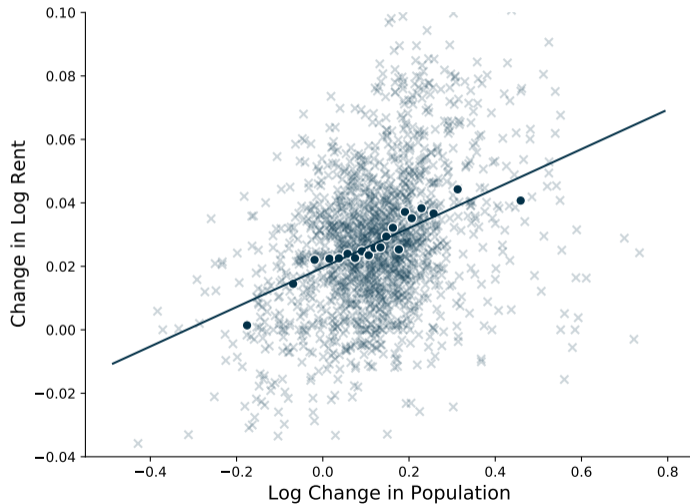
# Mobility Gradient Shows Urban Flight New York

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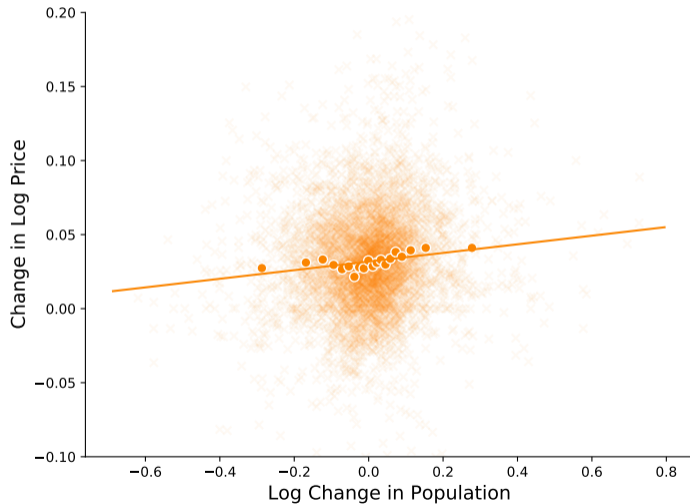
# Mobility Gradient Shows Urban Flight San Francisco [Back](#)



# Mobility Flight Against Rents [Back](#)

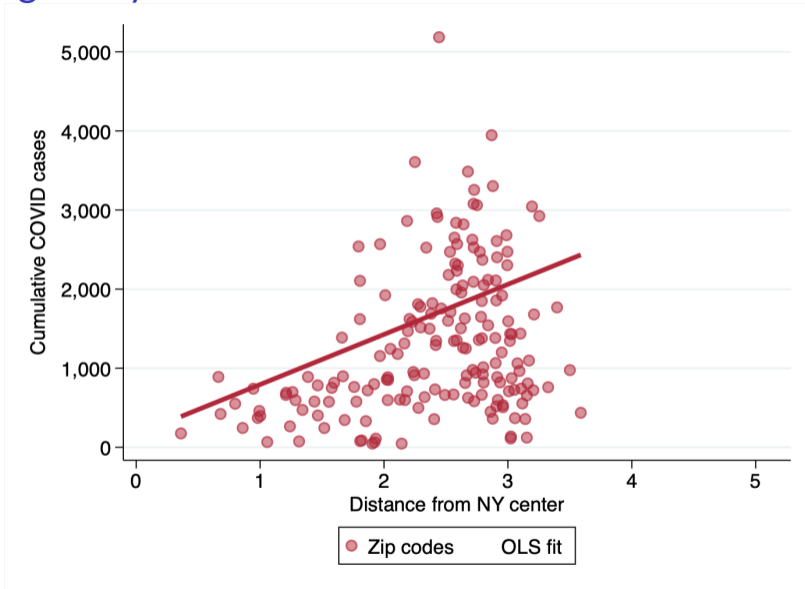


# Mobility Flight Against Prices [Back](#)

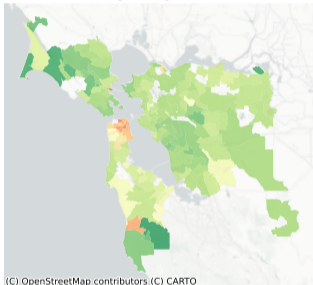




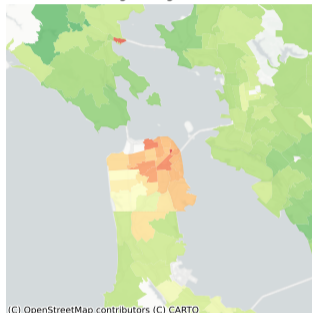
# Density Negatively Associated with COVID-19 Cases [Back](#)



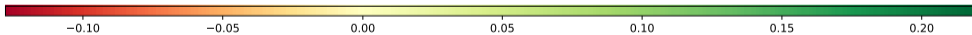
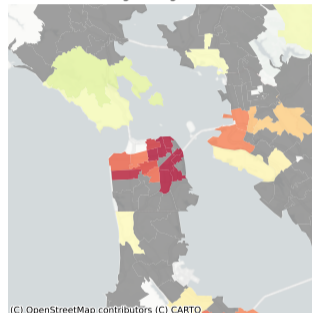
Log Change Price



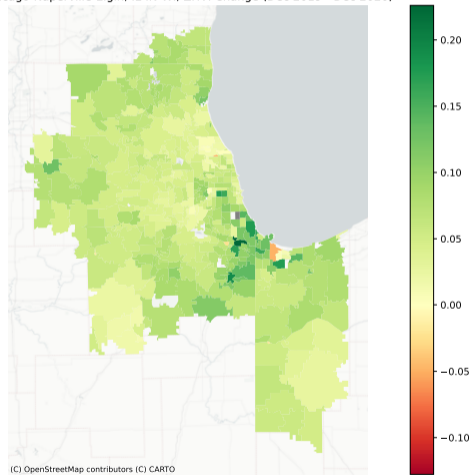
Log Change Price



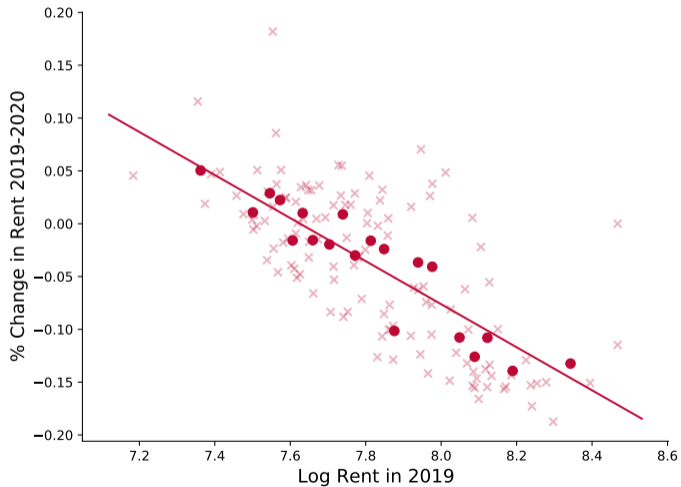
Log Change Rent



Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI, ZHVI Change (Dec 2019 - Dec 2020)

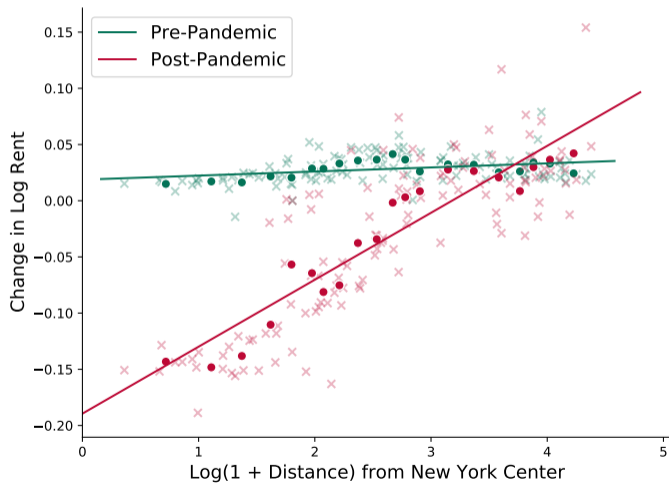


# Rents Reverting in Most Expensive Areas New York [Back](#)

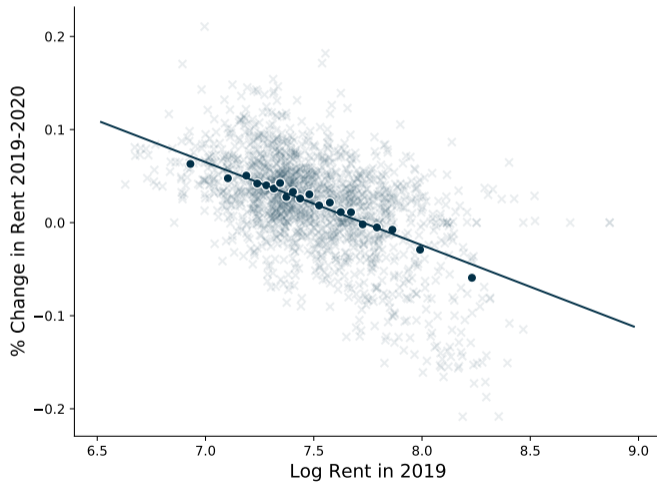


# NY: Changes in Rent Growth

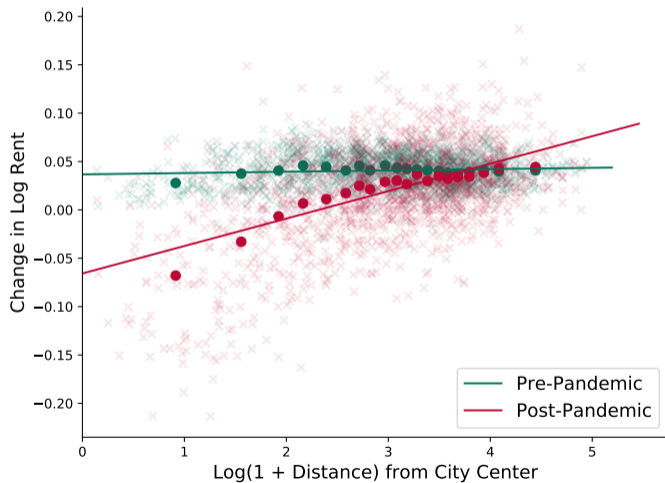
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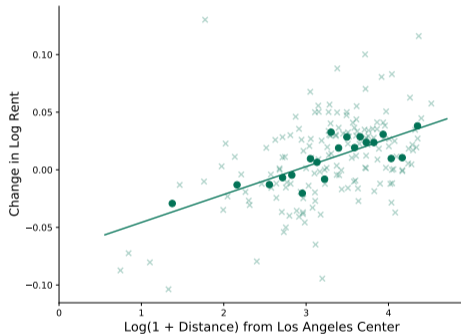
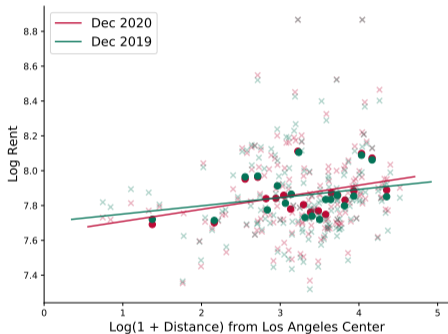
# Rents Reverting in Most Expensive Areas [Top 30 MSAs](#) [Back](#)



# Rent Growth Nationwide [Back](#)



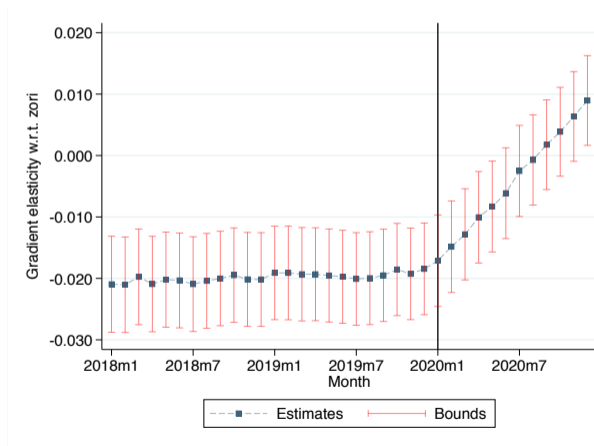
# Rent Changes Los Angeles [Back](#)





# Gradient for Top 49 MSAs [Back](#)

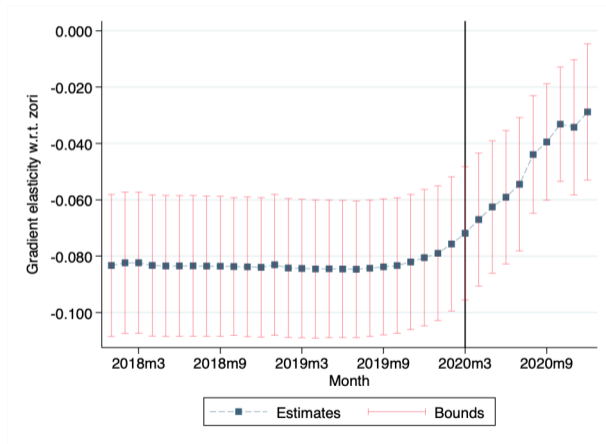
$$\ln \text{Rent}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



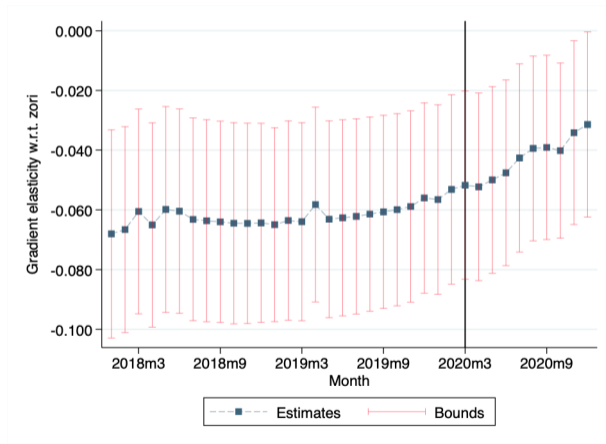
$$\ln \text{Rent}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



$$\ln \text{Rent}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$

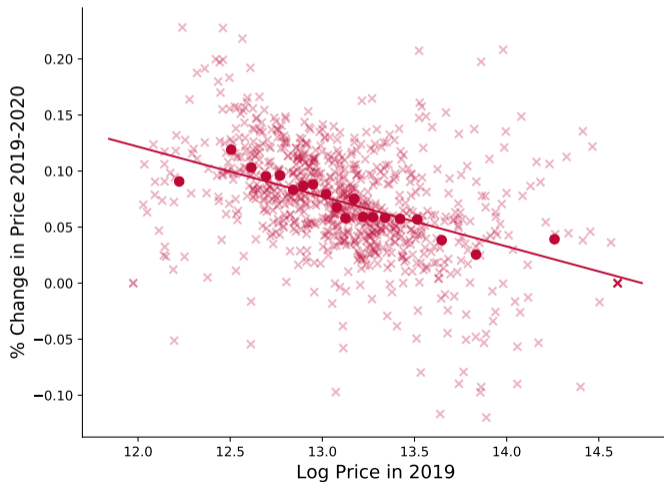


$$\ln \text{Rent}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$

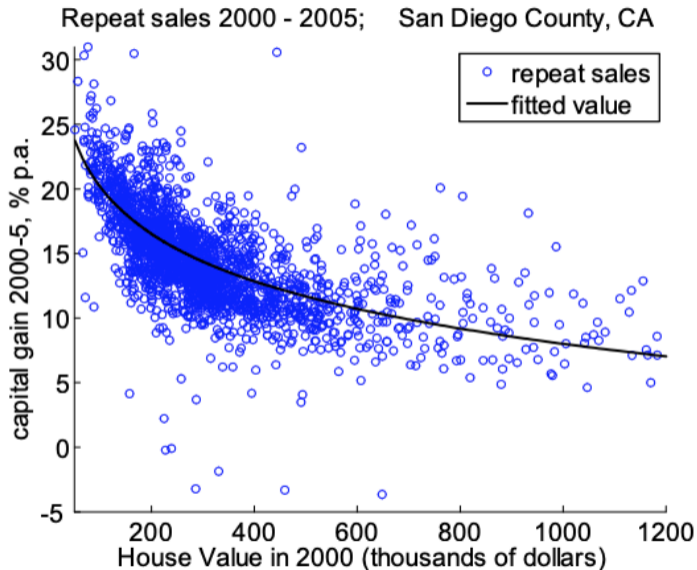


# Prices Increasing in Cheapest Areas New York [Back](#)

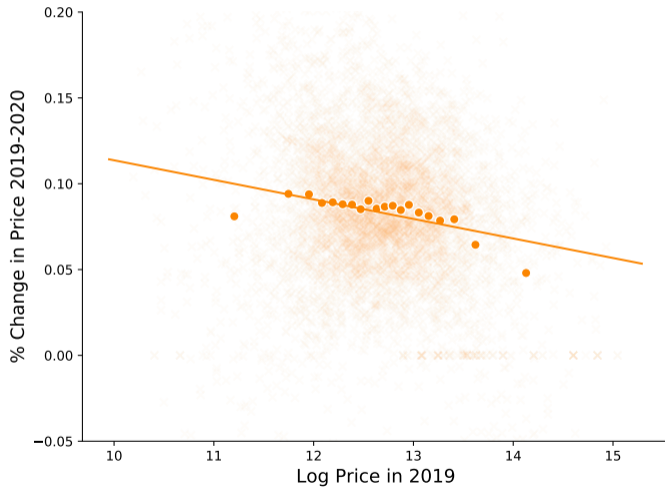
Comparison with Landvoigt Piazzesi Schneider (2015)



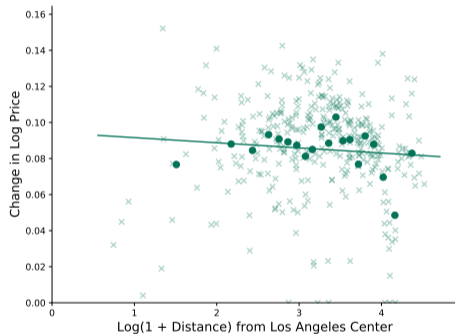
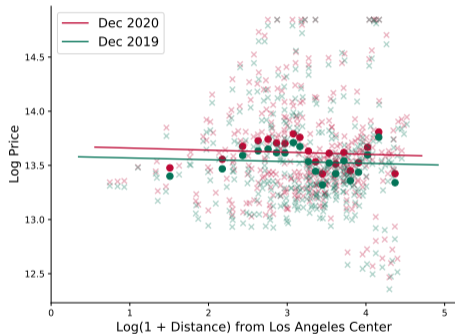
# Landvoigt Piazzesi Schneider (2015) [Back](#)



# Prices Increasing in Cheapest Areas Top 30 MSAs [Back](#)



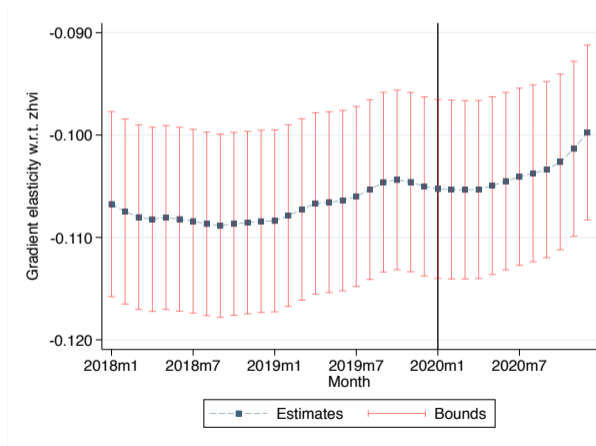
# Price Changes Los Angeles [Back](#)



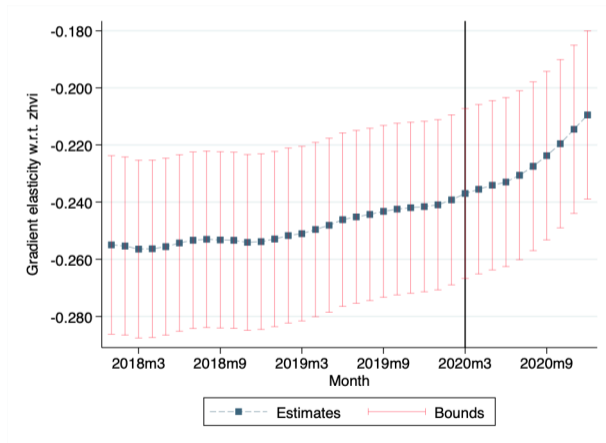


# Gradient for Top 49 MSAs [Back](#)

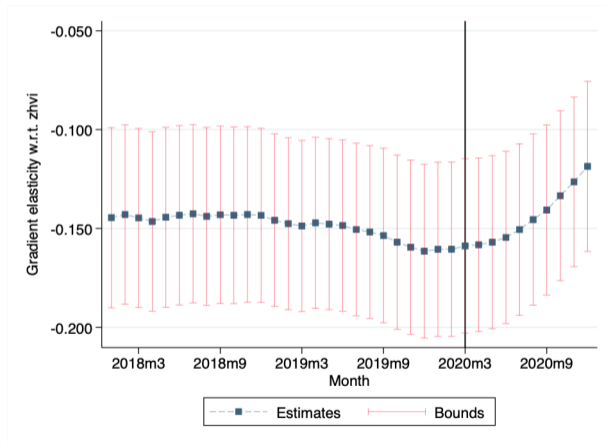
$$\ln \text{Price}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



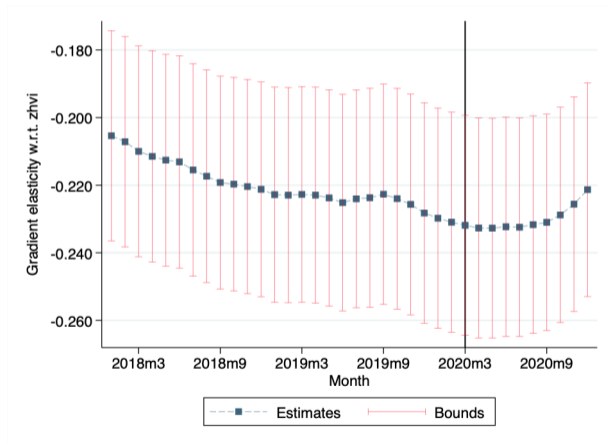
$$\ln \text{Price}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



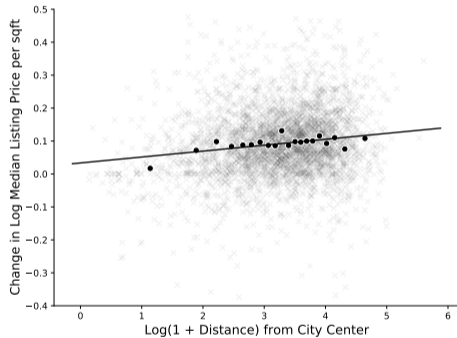
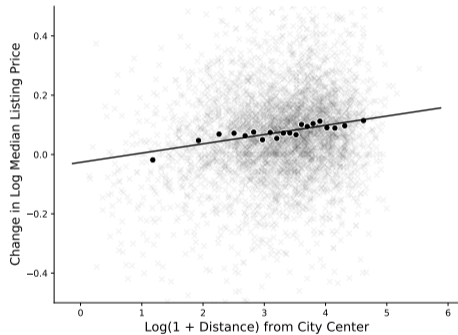
$$\ln \text{Price}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



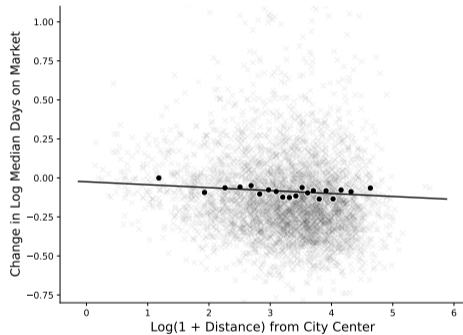
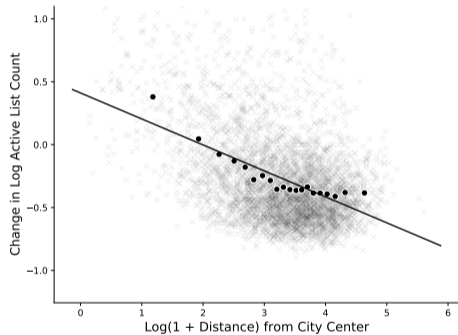
$$\ln \text{Price}_{ijt} = \alpha_{jt} + \delta_{jt} [\ln(1 + D(\mathbf{z}_{ij}^z, \mathbf{z}_j^m))] + \beta X_{ij} + e_{ijt}$$



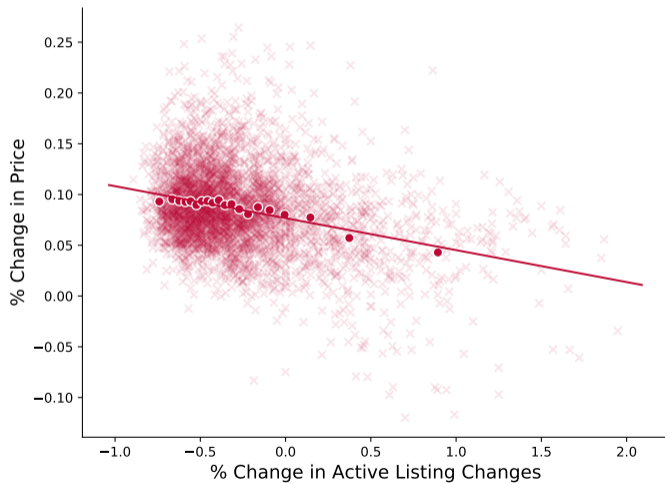
# Change in Listing Prices Top 30 MSAs [Back](#)



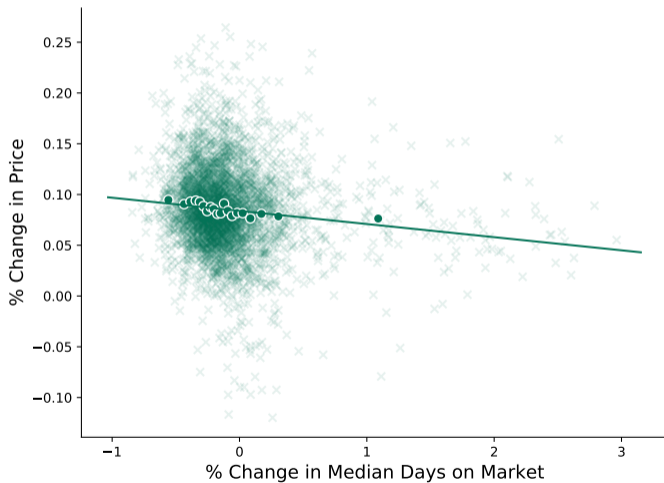
# Change in Quantities Top 30 MSAs [Back](#)



# Price change against active listing changes Top 30 MSAs [Back](#)



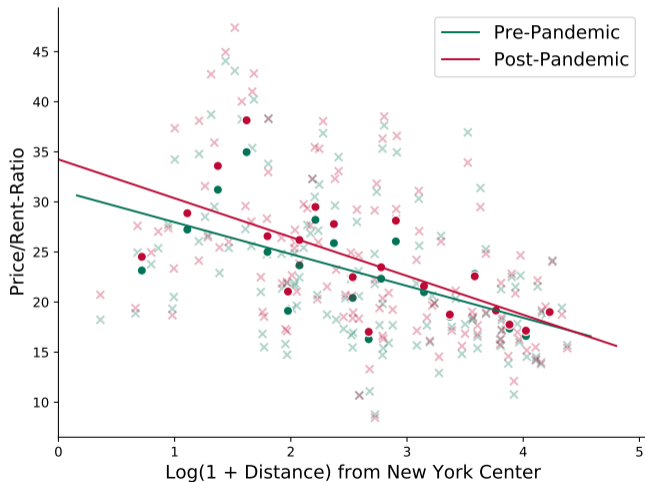
# Price Against Change in Days on Market Top 30 MSAs [Back](#)





# Price-Rent Ratio against Distance for New York City

Top 30 MSAs



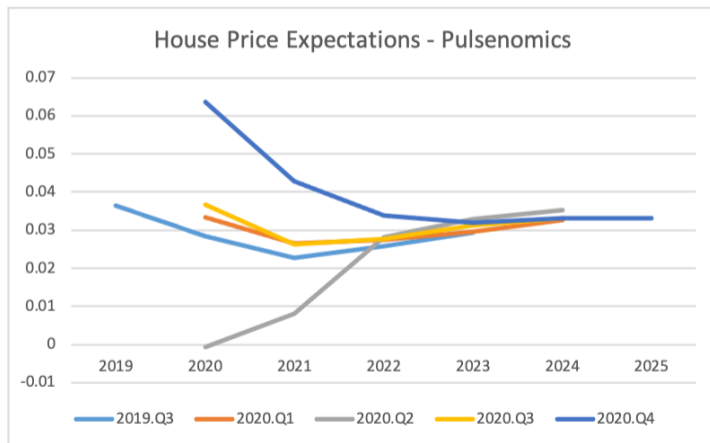
Question from 2021.Q1: “The pandemic and rise of remote work have altered housing needs and preferences, though it is uncertain if these changes will prove to be permanent or temporary. For each of the following, would you say that consumer preferences have shifted permanently, temporarily, or not at all?  
Full-time work from home in favor of full-time work from company office.”

102 survey respondents; real estate experts from banking, consulting, academia

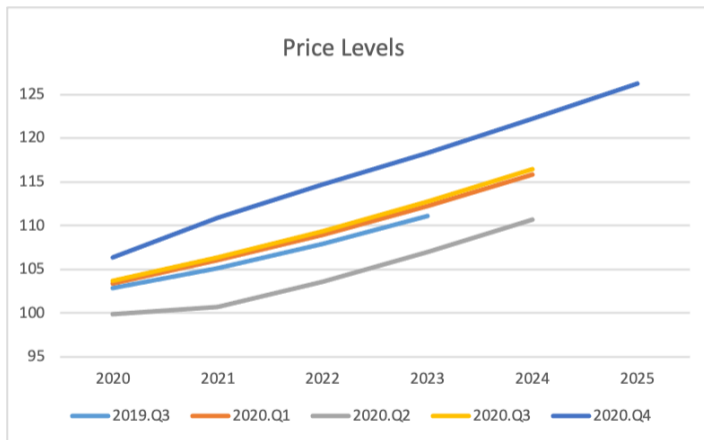
## Expectations from Pulsenomics [Back](#)

From periodic survey of 106 real estate economists and experts.

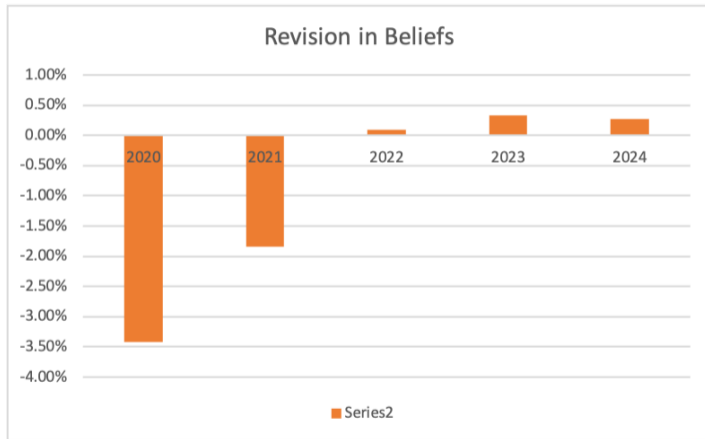
Q: "What do you think the increase in the ZHVI will be in 2021/2022/..."



## Price level forecasts reflect permanent shifts from pandemic



# Expectations from Pulsenomics [Back](#)

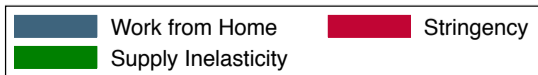
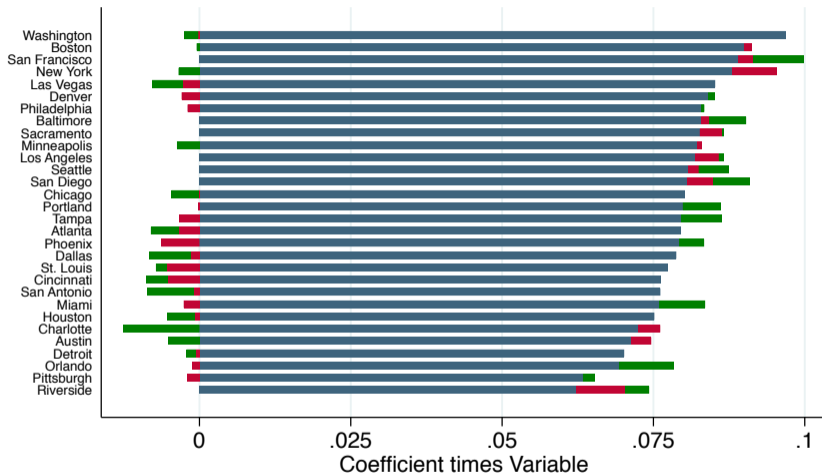


# Backing Out Expected Rents [Back](#)

#	MSA	(1)	(2)	(3) (4)		(5)	(6)	(7) (8)		(9)	(10) (11)		(12) (13)	
		$\overline{PD}^{uj}$	$\overline{PD}^{sj}$	$\overline{g}^{uj}$	$\overline{g}^{sj}$	$\overline{x}^{uj}$	$\overline{x}^{sj}$	$PD_t^{uj}$	$PD_t^{sj}$	$\Delta pd^j$	Transitory Change $(\hat{g}_t^{uj} - \hat{g}_t^{sj}) / (1 - \rho^j \rho_g)$		Permanent Change $\hat{g}^{uj} - \hat{g}^{sj}$	
										$\Delta x^j = 0$ $\Delta x^j = 0.01$		$\Delta \overline{x}^j = 0$ $\Delta \overline{x}^j = 0.01$		
1	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	24.85	17.47	2.50	2.91	6.44	8.47	27.06	17.93	5.99	4.56	12.64	-0.23	0.77
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	29.55	24.48	5.76	4.12	9.09	8.13	34.95	25.47	12.82	18.65	27.25	1.99	2.99
3	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	17.40	11.34	2.88	2.79	8.47	11.24	18.73	11.94	2.18	2.48	9.51	0.07	1.07
4	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	15.18	12.62	4.27	4.02	10.65	11.65	17.51	13.76	5.55	6.37	13.12	0.46	1.46
5	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	20.52	14.05	0.99	1.83	5.74	8.71	22.18	14.46	4.87	2.10	8.89	-0.69	0.31
6	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	23.91	17.74	2.94	1.99	7.04	7.47	26.71	18.75	5.59	8.88	16.78	1.09	2.09
7	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	16.26	11.93	2.79	4.00	8.75	12.05	18.08	12.96	2.29	-1.66	5.04	-1.25	-0.25
8	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	10.60	14.85	3.11	2.43	12.12	8.95	12.88	15.75	13.61	15.82	22.63	1.85	2.85
9	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	16.26	13.66	6.21	4.58	12.18	11.64	18.40	14.39	7.13	12.49	19.31	1.96	2.96
10	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	14.98	15.84	7.31	6.26	13.78	12.38	16.82	16.34	8.47	12.03	19.37	1.56	2.56
11	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	21.30	17.08	3.88	4.64	8.47	10.33	24.40	18.65	4.83	2.19	10.15	-0.65	0.35
12	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	33.56	26.38	4.02	4.68	6.95	8.40	39.07	28.94	5.92	3.55	12.33	-0.58	0.42
15	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	30.71	16.04	5.59	6.46	8.79	12.51	36.29	18.67	1.50	-1.56	6.60	-1.22	-0.22
17	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	21.46	22.13	5.56	4.95	10.11	9.37	23.72	23.66	3.36	5.51	13.73	0.76	1.76
18	Tampa-St Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	11.51	9.46	5.03	4.89	13.36	14.95	14.39	11.26	4.82	5.27	11.71	0.20	1.20
19	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	21.68	18.58	5.68	5.03	10.18	10.27	24.34	19.72	5.63	7.87	15.65	0.84	1.84
20	St Louis, MO-IL	13.77	12.93	3.11	2.67	10.12	10.12	14.70	14.01	-1.44	-0.02	6.26	0.32	1.32
21	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	8.84	14.93	1.43	1.57	12.15	8.05	9.47	15.74	1.64	1.21	7.80	0.23	1.23
22	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	15.06	13.25	6.07	3.14	12.50	10.42	18.36	14.06	13.91	23.55	30.46	3.65	4.65
23	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	12.99	11.85	5.45	4.31	12.87	12.41	15.01	12.98	5.34	9.08	15.84	1.43	2.43
24	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	11.63	13.94	3.99	2.46	12.24	9.39	13.27	15.13	5.09	10.05	16.63	1.99	2.99
26	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	17.91	22.18	7.09	7.99	12.53	12.40	19.32	19.97	18.08	14.96	22.80	-0.04	0.96
29	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	21.07	14.47	4.16	3.11	8.80	9.80	25.30	16.32	6.26	9.82	17.28	1.07	2.07
MSA Population Weighted Average										6.45	7.47	14.96	0.54	1.54

# Explaining Variation in Price Gradient Changes Across Cities

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# Price Gradient - Rent Gradient [Back](#)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Log(Price/Rent) 2018	-0.00196 (0.0118)					
Saiz supply elasticity		-0.00383 (0.00374)				
Land unavailable percent			0.0239 (0.0300)			
Wharton Regulatory Index				-0.00310 (0.00506)		
Dingel Neiman WFH					-0.112 (0.0858)	
Stringency Measure						-0.000207 (0.000573)
Observations	30	30	30	30	30	27
$R^2$	0.001	0.036	0.022	0.013	0.057	0.005
Adjusted $R^2$	-0.035	0.002	-0.013	-0.022	0.024	-0.035

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$