# Intergenerational Effects of Debt Relief: Evidence from Bankruptcy Protection

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Our question: What are the long-term effects of bankruptcy protection that spillover to the children of recipients, if any?

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- Positive relation between parental and children's income sensitive to the type of shock on parental income used to estimate it and ranges from less than 1pp per \$100k to over 1pp per \$1k

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Using bankruptcy information for parents matched to administrative data on their children and variation in leniency of the randomly assigned judges

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- Mechanisms: asset protection, higher investments in children's education, and avoidance of disruptive geographical moves

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## Literature (Non-exhaustive citations)

- Debt relief and bankruptcy protection
  - Agarwal et al. (2017) show that HAMP increased intensity of renegotiations and prevented a substantial number of foreclosures
  - Di maggio et al. (2020) show that student debt forgiveness leads to decline in delinquencies and increase in income
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- Parental financial characteristics and intergenerational mobility
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  - Long-run effects that help quantify the gains from parental bankruptcy protection on children
  - Our results highlight the potential role that bankruptcy protection can play in helping improve intergenerational mobility & homeownership

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# U.S. Bankruptcy System

#### • Chapter 7 Bankruptcy:

Debtors liquidate all nonexempt assets (house, cars) to discharge eligible debts (credit card loans, medical bills, etc.)

#### • Chapter 13 Bankruptcy:

- 3-5 year plan to repay debt, with most assets protected.
- In our sample, 33% of Chapter 13 filers have their applications accepted
- Those who do not receive Chapter 13 filing, they can file for Chapter 7 or privately negotiate with the creditor

## Data

#### PACER bankruptcy filing data

- From Public Access to Court Electronic Records between 1992 & 2009
- Provided by Gross et al. (2014)
- Includes info on judges along with additional borrower characteristics like assets, liabilities, income, expenses, proposed plan etc.

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#### Equifax data

- Credit data: credit line level information and de-identified demographics. We determine parents and children by
  - Address history
  - Last name
  - Age difference
- Income data: detailed payroll data for over 5000 employers covering about 100 million employees



 Match PACER and Equifax data based on filing characteristics – filing date, disposition dates, and filing zip codes (lower than 5% duplicates, which were removed).

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- Final sample includes 306.9k children associated with 263.3k parents who filed 201.2k unique bankruptcy cases

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# Endogeneity

Unobserved factors related to individual outcomes may generate biased OLS estimates.

- People who are perceived to have a higher chance of defaulting the Chapter 13 plan are less likely to receive protection.
- These people may have more previous default records or lower quality assets.
- These factors are either observable or not observable in OLS.
- Needs identification strategy.

## Identification Strategy

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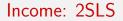
# Identification Strategy

- Use judge heterogeneity in the propensity to approve Chapter 13 bankruptcy protection as an instrument in 2SLS
- Judges are randomly assigned within a bankruptcy court
- Measured as "abnormal" approval rate beyond the average rate in the same district-year (Dobbie & Song (2015))
  - To avoid the mechanical effect of the focal case on the approval rate we follow "leave-one-out" approach

 $ParentalBankruptcyProtection_{i,d,o,j,c,p,f} = \gamma \times JudgeLeniency_{d,j,f} + \alpha_{o,f} + \delta_c + \gamma_p + \epsilon_{i,d,o,j,c,p,f}$ 

$$y_{i,d,o,j,c,p,f+k} = \beta \times ParentalBankrup \widehat{tcyProtection_{i,d,o,j,c,p,f}} + \alpha_{o,f} + \delta_c + \gamma_p + \epsilon_{i,d,o,j,c,p,f+k}$$

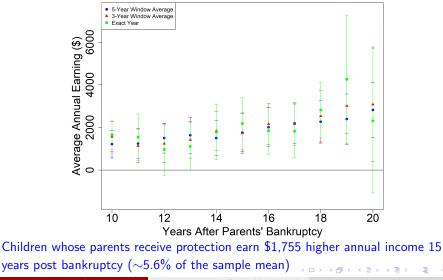
- $\alpha_{o,f}$ : Office x filing year fixed effects
- $\delta_c$ : Children's age fixed effects
- $\gamma_p$ : Parent's age fixed effects



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### Income: 2SLS





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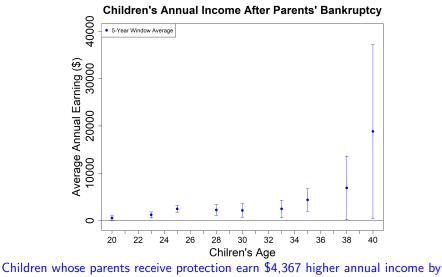
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### Income over life-cycle

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#### Income over life-cycle



age 35 ( $\sim$ 9.1% of the sample mean)

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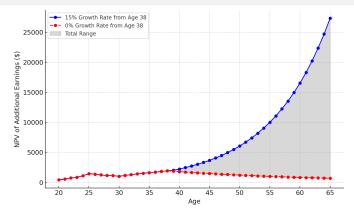
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- Challenge: the amount of debt relief granted under the Chapter 13 protection not easily observable
- We scrape this data from PACER using "Final Report and Account" document trustees are required to file
  - obtained the amount of debt discharged for over 344k Chapter 13 cases
  - Mean debt relief is \$55,574.90 (i.e., 71.4% of total debt)

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Assumptions: (1) 45 year career span from age 20 to 65; (2) discount factor of 4% (mean inflation over 100 years); (3) as of 11 years of age (children's mean age at filing)

Lower bound: After adjusting for no of children, \$1 debt relief  $\implies$  \$2.45 higher income

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# Intergenerational mobility

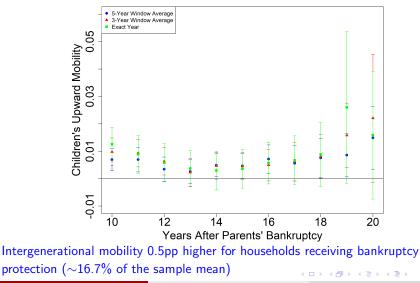
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### Intergenerational mobility

#### **Children's Upward Mobility After Parents' Bankruptcy**



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## Home ownership

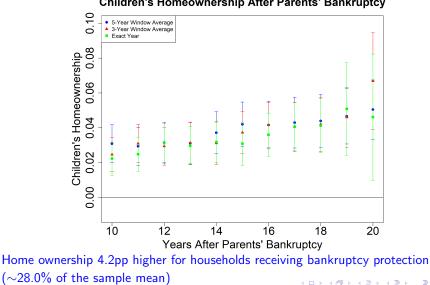
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### Home ownership



**Children's Homeownership After Parents' Bankruptcy** 

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- Asset protection
  - Stronger results in non-judicial states, where foreclosing houses is easier.
  - In these states, the cost of losing bankruptcy protection is much higher.
  - Bankruptcy protection helped households much more in these states.

- Asset protection  $\checkmark$
- Improved children's education and skill-development
  - Parents more likely to borrow on parent PLUS loans
  - Children work in higher-paying jobs (e.g., industry, firm)
  - Children more likely to go to college
  - Higher educational mobility over generations

- Asset protection  $\checkmark$
- Improved children's education and skill-development  $\checkmark$
- Avoiding forced relocations
  - Evaluate heterogeneity based on whether the control group moves shortly after denial
  - Stronger effects in sub-samples where the control group moves following bankruptcy protection denial

- $\bullet$  Asset protection  $\checkmark$
- $\bullet$  Improved children's education and skill-development  $\checkmark$
- Avoiding forced relocations  $\checkmark$
- Neighborhood effects

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- Neighborhood effects
  - Children grow up in similar neighborhoods post parental bankruptcy filing (e.g., income, school district graduation rate)

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- $\bullet$  Asset protection  $\checkmark$
- $\bullet$  Improved children's education and skill-development  $\checkmark$
- Avoiding forced relocations  $\checkmark$
- Neighborhood effects imes
- Experience effects

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- Asset protection  $\checkmark$
- $\bullet$  Improved children's education and skill-development  $\checkmark$
- Avoiding forced relocations  $\checkmark$
- Neighborhood effects imes
- Experience effects
  - Limited evidence that recipients' children sort into riskier jobs with higher income volatility

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- $\bullet$  Asset protection  $\checkmark$
- Improved children's education and skill-development  $\checkmark$
- Avoiding forced relocations  $\checkmark$
- Neighborhood effects  $\times$
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# Heterogeneity/Robustness

- Stronger response for households in states with more strict wage garnishment laws
- Stronger response for smaller families, i.e., those with fewer children
- Stronger response for households that file when children are between 10 and 18 years of age
- Robust to confining to single-time filers and inclusion of different fixed effects

## Conclusion

- \$1 of debt relief granted to parents leads to \$2 higher adjusted present value of lifetime earnings for children
- Our results highlight the potential role of bankruptcy protection (and debt relief more broadly) in helping improve intergenerational social mobility and home ownership for low-income distressed households