

MARTIN KOENEN
martin_koenen@g.harvard.edu
617-352-9570
<https://martinkoenen.com/>



HARVARD
UNIVERSITY

36 Highland Ave
Apt 38
Cambridge MA 02139

Placement Director: Jeremy Stein
Placement Director: Gabriel Chodorow-Reich
Administrative Director: Brenda Piquet

jeremy_stein@harvard.edu 617-496-6455
chodorowreich@fas.harvard.edu 617-496-3226
bpiquet@harvard.edu 617-495-8927

Education

Harvard University	Ph.D. Political Economy and Government (Economics track)	2019-2025 (expected)
University of Mannheim, Germany	M.Sc. Economics	2015-2017
Humboldt-University of Berlin, Germany	B.Sc. Economics	2012-2015

Fields Labor Economics, Political Economy, Public Economics

References

Professor Raj Chetty Harvard University chetty@fas.harvard.edu	Professor Nathan Hendren MIT nhendren@mit.edu	Professor Edward Glaeser Harvard University eglaiser@harvard.edu
--	---	--

Fellowships & Awards

Distinction in Teaching Award, Harvard Bok Center for Teaching and Learning, 2021, 2022
Germany Scholarship (Deutschlandstipendium), University of Mannheim, 2016
Germany Scholarship (Deutschlandstipendium), Humboldt-University of Berlin, 2015

Teaching Teaching Fellow for Ec985, Senior Thesis Seminar, Dr. Kiran Gajwani 2021-2023

Research

Harvard University, research assistant for Prof. Raj Chetty	2024
Harvard Business School, research assistant for Prof. Vincent Pons	2023-2024
Harvard University and Stanford University, pre-doctoral fellow for Raj Chetty, Nathan Hendren and John Friedman	2017-2019

Job Market Paper **Social Ties and Residential Choice: Micro Evidence and Equilibrium Implications**
(with Drew Johnston)

Why don't more people move to places where they can earn higher incomes? We use individual-level data from Facebook to find that social ties play a crucial role in explaining this puzzle: social ties are concentrated locally and shape migration decisions. On average, individuals live within 100 miles of nearly 80% of their friends, with less-educated individuals having even more concentrated social networks. To establish a causal link between the location of one's friends and migration, we exploit plausibly exogenous variation in the timing of friends' moves around individuals' college graduation. Having one more friend in a given commuting zone at the time of graduation increases one's likelihood of living there by 0.3 percentage points, which is comparable in magnitude to the effect of a \$470 increase in annual wages. We incorporate these findings into a spatial equilibrium model and show that the magnitude of social network effects can explain why people stay in poorer places and why less-educated people are much less responsive to economic shocks. Overall, this study shows that social networks play a first-order role – as important or more important than canonical economic factors such as wages and rents – in determining residential choice at the individual and aggregate level.

Publications

Social Networks Shape Beliefs and Behavior: Evidence from Social Distancing during the COVID-19 Pandemic (with Mike Bailey, Drew Johnston, Theresa Kuchler, Dominic Russel, and Johannes Stroebel, *Journal of Political Economy Microeconomics*, 2024)

We analyze de-identified data from Facebook to show how social connections affect beliefs and behaviors in high-stakes settings. During the Covid-19 pandemic, individuals with friends in regions facing severe disease outbreaks reduced their mobility more than their demographically similar neighbors with friends in less affected areas. To explore why social connections shape behaviors, we show that individuals with higher friend exposure to Covid-19 are more supportive of social distancing measures and less likely to advocate to reopen the economy. We conclude that friends influence individuals' behaviors in part through their beliefs, even when there is abundant information from expert sources.

Social Capital I: Measurement and Associations with Economic Mobility (with Raj Chetty, Matthew O. Jackson, Johannes Stroebel, Theresa Kuchler, Nathaniel Hendren, Robert Fluegge, Sara Gong, Federico Gonzalez, Armelle Grondin, Matthew Jacob, Martin Koenen, Eduardo Laguna-Muggenburg, Florian Mudekereza, Tom Rutter, Nicolaj Thor, Wilbur Townsend, Ruby Zhang, Mike Bailey, Pablo Barberá, Monica Bhole, and Nils Wernerfelt, *Nature*, 2022)

Social capital—the strength of an individual's social network and community—has been identified as a potential determinant of outcomes ranging from education to health. However, efforts to understand what types of social capital matter for these outcomes have been hindered by a lack of social network data. Here, in the first of a pair of papers, we use data on 21 billion friendships from Facebook to study social capital. We measure and analyse three types of social capital by ZIP (postal) code in the United States: (1) connectedness between different types of people, such as those with low versus high socioeconomic status (SES); (2) social cohesion, such as the extent of cliques in friendship networks; and (3) civic engagement, such as rates of volunteering. These measures vary substantially across areas, but are not highly correlated with each other. We demonstrate the importance of distinguishing these forms of social capital by analysing their associations with economic mobility across areas. The share of high-SES friends among individuals with low SES—which we term economic connectedness—is among the strongest predictors of upward income mobility identified to date. Other social capital measures are not strongly associated with economic mobility. If children with low-SES parents were to grow up in counties with economic connectedness comparable to that of the average child with high-SES parents, their incomes in adulthood would increase by 20% on average. Differences in economic connectedness can explain well-known relationships between upward income mobility and racial segregation, poverty rates, and inequality. To support further research and policy interventions, we publicly release privacy-protected statistics on social capital by ZIP code at <https://www.socialcapital.org>.

Social Capital II: Determinants of Economic Connectedness (with Raj Chetty, Matthew O. Jackson, Johannes Stroebel, Theresa Kuchler, Nathaniel Hendren, Robert Fluegge, Sara Gong, Federico Gonzalez, Armelle Grondin, Matthew Jacob, Drew Johnston, Eduardo Laguna-Muggenburg, Florian Mudekereza, Tom Rutter, Nicolaj Thor, Wilbur Townsend, Ruby Zhang, Mike Bailey, Pablo Barberá, Monica Bhole, and Nils Wernerfelt, *Nature*, 2022)

Low levels of social interaction across class lines have generated widespread concern and are associated with worse outcomes, such as lower rates of upward income mobility. Here we analyse the determinants of cross-class interaction using data from Facebook, building on the analysis in our companion paper. We show that about half of the social disconnection across socioeconomic lines—measured as the difference in the share of high-socioeconomic status (SES) friends between people with low and high SES—is explained by differences in exposure to people with high SES in groups such as schools and religious organizations. The other half is explained by friending bias—the tendency for people with low SES to befriend people with high SES at lower rates even conditional on exposure. Friending bias is shaped by the structure of the groups in which people interact. For example, friending bias is higher in larger and more diverse groups and lower in

religious organizations than in schools and workplaces. Distinguishing exposure from friending bias is helpful for identifying interventions to increase cross-SES friendships (economic connectedness). Using fluctuations in the share of students with high SES across high school cohorts, we show that increases in high-SES exposure lead low-SES people to form more friendships with high-SES people in schools that exhibit low levels of friending bias. Thus, socioeconomic integration can increase economic connectedness in communities in which friending bias is low. By contrast, when friending bias is high, increasing cross-SES interactions among existing members may be necessary to increase economic connectedness. To support such efforts, we release privacy-protected statistics on economic connectedness, exposure and friending bias for each ZIP (postal) code, high school and college in the United States at <https://www.socialcapital.org>.

Working Papers

Political Sorting in the U.S. Labor Market: Evidence and Explanations (with Sahil Chinoy)

We study political sorting in the labor market and examine its sources. Merging voter file data and online résumés to create a panel of 34.5 million people, we show that Democrats and Republicans choose distinctive career paths and employers. This leads to marked segregation at the workplace: a Democrat or Republican's coworker is 10% more likely to share their party than expected. Then, we ask whether segregation arises because jobs shape workers' politics or because workers' politics shape their job choices. To study the first, we use a quasi-experimental design leveraging the timing of job transitions. We find that uncommitted workers do adopt the politics of their workplace, but not workers who were already registered Democrats or Republicans. The average effect is too small to generate the segregation we document. To study the second, we measure the intensity of workers' preferences for politically compatible jobs using two survey experiments motivated by the observational data. Here, we find that the median Democrat or Republican would trade off 3% in annual wages for an ideologically congruent version of a similar job. These preferences are strong enough to generate segregation similar to the observed levels.

The Effect of Childhood Environment on Political Behavior: Evidence From Young U.S. Movers, 1992-2021 (with Jacob Brown, Enrico Cantoni, Sahil Chinoy and Vincent Pons)

We ask how childhood environment shapes political behavior. We measure young voters' participation and party affiliation in nationally comprehensive voter files and reconstruct their childhood location histories based on their parents' addresses. We compare outcomes of individuals who moved between the same origin and destination counties but at different ages. Those who spend more time in the destination are more influenced by it: Growing up in a county where their peers are 10 percentage points more likely to become Republicans makes them 4.7 percentage points more likely to become Republican themselves upon entering the electorate. The effects are of similar magnitude for Democratic partisanship and turnout. These exposure effects are primarily driven by teenage years, and they persist but decay after the first election. They reflect both state-level factors and factors varying at a smaller scale such as peer effects.

The Social Integration of International Migrants: Evidence from the Networks of Syrians in Germany (with Mike Bailey, Drew Johnston, Theresa Kuchler, Dominic Russel, and Johannes Stroebel, Revision requested, *Journal of Political Economy*)

We use de-identified friendship data from Facebook to study the social integration of Syrian migrants in Germany. Our analysis establishes five key findings: (1) Places differ substantially in their propensities to socially integrate migrants. This regional variation in integration outcomes largely reflects causal place-based effects. (2) Spatial variation in migrants' social integration can be decomposed into the rate at which Germans befriend their neighbors in general and the particular rate at which they befriend migrants versus other Germans. We follow the friending behavior of Germans that move across locations to show that both forces are more affected by local institutions and policies than by persistent individual characteristics or preferences of local natives. (3) Integration courses causally affect place-specific equilibrium integration levels by increasing the rate at which Germans befriend Syrian migrants. (4) Social integration helps migrants obtain help from natives across a range of settings such as finding jobs and housing. (5) Natives quasi-

randomly exposed to a migrant in high school are more likely to befriend other migrants later in life.

Does Contact Reduce Affective Polarization? Field Evidence from Germany (with Adrian Blattner)

We analyze whether and how exposure to political opponents can impact attitudes towards political opponents (affective polarization) and extremity of political opinions (ideological polarization). We present findings from a quasi-experiment in Germany that matched 15,000 participants for a virtual one-on-one conversation with a stranger. Leveraging staggered treatment assignment, we find significant reductions in affective polarization among treated participants in both incentivized economic interactions and survey outcomes. The reductions are concentrated among participants who are more polarized and less interested in conversations at baseline. In contrast, we do not find corresponding effects on ideological polarization suggesting that exposure increases tolerance but not support for opposing positions. In ongoing work, we are extending the analysis to a series of field experiments in Brazil and the U.S. to study factors that drive demand for contact and mechanisms explaining under which conditions contact leads to durable reductions in animosity.

Papers in Progress **Intergenerational Transmission of Politics** (with Enrico Cantoni, Sahil Chinoy, Alice Danon, Ryan Enos, and Vincent Pons)

This study examines the impact of family ties on political behavior using a US-wide voter-level panel, 2010-2022. We find that the correlation between the political behaviors of parents and their children surpasses the correlation observed between individuals of the same age groups and residing in the same neighborhood. The influence of mothers on daughters and of fathers on sons is stronger than cross-gender intergenerational influences, suggesting a potentially causal relationship. In ongoing work, we exploit parental deaths to isolate the causal component of the political alignment between parents and children.

How Social Networks Shape Migration Decisions: Evidence from Russia's War in Ukraine (with Drew Johnston)

We study how social networks impact migration decisions in the wake of crises, during the Russian invasion of Ukraine. We find that individuals are disproportionately likely to migrate to regions in which they have friends. To understand how much of the relationship between one's network and their migration is causal, we compare migrants with friends moving between European cities outside Ukraine shortly before the war to those with friends making the same move shortly after the start of the war. We find a large causal effect of friend location on individual migration decisions, though cross-sectional estimates of this effect are biased upward due to unobservable factors correlated with one's network. In ongoing work, we build on these estimates to study how the presence of friends affects downstream economic and social outcomes among migrants.

Seminars & Conferences

ASSA 2024 Annual Meeting – American Economic Association, San Antonio, 2024
12th European Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, Milan, 2023
CEMIR Junior Economist Workshop on Migration Research, Munich, 2022
EBRD & King's College Workshop on the Economics and Politics of Migration, London, 2022
American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), Chicago, 2022
Networks 2021: A Joint Sunbelt and NetSci Conference, virtual, 2021

Academic Service

Referee for *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Journal of Public Economics*, *Journal of Urban Economics*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*
Organizer of the labor/public graduate workshop, Harvard Economics department, 2022-2023

Research Grants

Kenneth C. Griffin Economics Research Fund, Harvard Economics Department, 2024
Chae Family Economics Research Grant, Harvard Economics Department, 2023
Warburg Prize, Harvard Economics Department, 2023
Kenneth C. Griffin Economics Research Fund, Harvard Economics Department, 2023

Chae Family Economics Research Grant, Harvard Economics Department, 2022
GSAS Division of Social Sciences Fund, Harvard University, 2022
Institute for Quantitative Social Science (IQSS) Research Grant, Harvard University, 2021
Lab for Economic Applications and Policy (LEAP), Harvard University, 2021

Languages German (native); English (fluent); French (basic)

Software skills Stata, R, Presto, SQL, Hive, ArcGIS, QGIS, Matlab

Clearance Special Sworn Status US Census Bureau

Personal information *Citizenship:* German