

Long-run intergenerational social mobility and the distribution of surnames*

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Abstract

We develop a novel methodology to analyze intergenerational social mobility over long periods of time when the precise ancestors of the individual cannot be identified. We base our approach on the incorporation of surnames in the analysis of social mobility, applying our methodology to assess the degree of intergenerational social mobility within two Spanish regions from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century. The results show that the probability of having a high educational level, or of belonging to a high-status socioeconomic group, still depends on the socioeconomic status of the great-great-grandparents. Our analysis suggests, however, that such dependence will vanish in the next-to-present generation.

Keywords: Long-run social mobility; surnames; socioeconomic class.

1 Introduction

Intergenerational socioeconomic mobility (ISM, henceforth) determines the degree to which individuals change their relative positions in the social hierarchy with respect to those of their

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parents or ancestors. The degree of ISM can be seen as an indicator of the level of equality of opportunity in society. The absence of intergenerational mobility in socioeconomic status might arise through the effect of parental educational level and parental wealth on the offspring's educational levels and wealth. Other possible reasons are genetic inheritance and group effects. A large body of research tries to measure the level of intergenerational mobility. Economists have focused mostly on the measurement and analysis of intergenerational mobility in income or wealth—Black and Devereux (2010) provide an excellent survey on the literature, and Piketty (2000) on the theoretical models— and usually estimate an intergenerational elasticity coefficient, which measures the strength of the statistical correlation between parental income and offspring's income. Alternatively, sociologists have focused their analysis on the mobility in educational levels and occupations, with the standard approach using transition matrices to describe and measure social mobility (for a survey of this literature, see Erikson and Goldthorpe 2002).

Most of the estimates of ISM level use "one-generation data", i.e., data on some socioeconomic variable from a sample of individuals in a certain cohort and from their corresponding parents. Thus, for an already considerable number of countries there are good estimates of one-generation mobility in income during the second half of the 20th century (see the mentioned surveys and, for example, Blanden, Gregg, and Machin 2005 for comparisons on the level of intergenerational mobility in North America and some European countries). However, the number of papers dealing with intergenerational mobility during the first part of the 20th century or earlier times is very limited¹. Important exceptions are the works by Ferrie (2005) and Ferrie and Long (2005) on ISM in the United States and the United Kingdom since the late 19th century. However, they use a small sample size that might suffer from an important selection problem.

Our approach differs from the existing work on intergenerational mobility in two main

¹Pekala and Lucas (2007) study intergenerational income mobility in Finland using a panel data with more than 250.000 son and daughters born between 1930 and 1970. However, their results might be affected by the so-called life-cycle bias (see Haider and Solon 2006).

aspects. First, we try to measure the correlation between the socioeconomic status of individuals in the current generation and the socioeconomic status of their ancestors (through the paternal family line) at the end of the 19th century. Thus, we do not focus on the "one-generation case" although we will be able to say something about it and compare our findings with the existing literature. Second, we have data on the socioeconomic status of individuals in a population at the end of the 19th century and on the status of their descendants at the end of the 20th century. We do not know, however, who the descendants of any specific individual are. Nonetheless, we know the full name of all individuals from both generations. Thus, we develop a novel methodology for estimating the statistical association between the status of individuals in a population and the status of their corresponding descendants based on the use of information contained in the surnames. Surnames are useful in our analysis because their distribution and the distribution of socioeconomic characteristics among people are not independent, that is, there is a bias in the distribution of surnames among different socioeconomic groups. Collado et al (2008) characterize and quantify such bias in the distribution of surnames in Spain during the last years of the 20th century and also at the end of the 19th century. Güell et al. (2007) provide a similar result regarding the surnames in the region of Catalonia at the end of the 20th century.

The closest work to ours comes from Clark (2009, 2010), who also uses surname distributions in different centuries to measure long-run social mobility. His methodology, however, is quite different since, contrary to our findings for Spain, he shows that in England the socioeconomic bias in the distribution of surnames disappeared as early as in the middle of the 17th century. In fact, Clark explains this lack of bias as the result of a significant level of social mobility in the Middle Ages. Therefore, since surnames in England convey no information about social status, Clark has to rely on a different methodology based on the wealth correlation between pair of individuals bearing rare surnames. One potential problem with this approach is the sample size, which in general is much smaller than in the case of considering all the surnames in a region. In section 7 we conduct an additional exercise

with a methodology similar to that of Clark and obtain results showing an almost complete "regression to the mean" only after four or five generations. This result is consistent with some of the main results of our paper and with those of Clark himself.

Webber (2004) analyzes the geographic distribution of different types of surnames in some British regions to estimate that individuals of Scottish descent have experienced more upward mobility than have descendants of Irish migrants. Thus, his work does not estimate the values of individual social mobility, and although it uses surnames it has a different goal and methodology from those of the present work.

Güell et al. (2007) use surnames to analyze long-run social mobility. Their approach is entirely different from that in this paper, as the former uses only one-generation data on the distribution of surnames and income. They have to impose strong assumptions on the dynamics and on the parameters of the model, which are difficult to verify in empirical work.

We apply our methodology to the analysis of social mobility in the Spanish regions of Cantabria and Murcia. We argue, however, that our methodology can be applied to study long-run social mobility in any other country that also has the type of data used here, as long as there is a socioeconomic bias in the distribution of surnames. Our main data sets are the electoral census of 1898 and the 2001 population census of Cantabria. We will carry out some robustness exercises using a different data set, namely, the Yellow Pages of the telephone directory of 2004. In a second exercise we apply our methodology to study social mobility in the region of Murcia, for which we have only the electoral census of 1898 and the 2004 Yellow Pages but not the 2001 population census.

We will consider only two socioeconomic classes (although our methodology allows for any number of classes) corresponding basically to an upper class covering around 19% of the population with the highest educational level (or economic level in some cases), and a low class with the rest of the population. Our main conclusion is that our estimations strongly support the argument that the probability of belonging to the high-status class is still correlated with the socioeconomic status of the great-grandfathers and great-great-

grandfathers. We show that for a (male) person at the end of the 19th century, the relative probability of having a descendant, via paternal line, of high-status class at the beginning of the 21st century over that of having a descendant of low-status class is on average around 30% higher for people of high-status class than for people of low-status class. We also compute, under certain assumptions, the average "one-generation" level of social mobility that is compatible with our findings on the three to four generation social mobility level. We compare such average one-generation level of social mobility with those reported by other authors for Spain (Klakbrenner and Villanueva 2006) and get approximately equal results. Comparing the one-generation estimates with those obtained for other countries suggests that these Spanish regions have enjoyed levels of social mobility that are between the estimates for the United States and for Italy (Checchi et al. 1999)

An additional difference from the standard approach studying intergenerational social mobility is that we also take into account the reproduction rates of the different social classes. Furthermore, our estimates of the parameters of social mobility together with the estimates of reproduction rates allow us to study how the current class composition depends on the social classes in the past. We show that after three or four generations, there is still an excess of agents with ancestors from the upper class among the current upper class population. Our analysis suggests, however, that the individual composition of social classes beyond the year 2030 will be basically independent of the individual class composition in 1898. Thus, our results can be seen as showing that there is still a 19th-century influence in today's society, but this influence will disappear shortly. This result is in line with Clark (2009, 2010), who argues that England has been a society of great social mobility, with no permanent upper class. It is important to recall that we focus our analysis exclusively on the influence via paternal lines. One would suspect that the total influence of all ancestors (throughout the maternal and paternal lines) is higher than the one we are able to quantify here.

2 The Model

Consider a society with no migration flows from outside. Suppose we just have data for two specific years, which we denote as year 1 and year T . In the empirical part of the paper 1 and T will correspond to the years 1898 and 2001, respectively. Since we are considering an isolated society, all the individuals in year T are descendants of the individuals in year 1.

Let Y^1 be the cohort of adult male individuals in year 1, i.e., the set of adult **male** individuals within a certain age bracket in year 1 such that none of them has an **adult** descendant in year 1. Define in a similar way Y^T as the set of **adult** individuals in year T . Notice that Y^T does not exclude female individuals. In some of our empirical findings we will also consider the case in which Y^T contains exclusively male individuals, as in Y^1 , and the case of only female individuals. We denote by N^1 and N^T the total number of individuals in Y^1 and in Y^T , respectively. In the empirical part we approximate such set of "young adults" by the age bracket (22,46) for year T and (25,45) for year 1.² The individuals in these two sets Y^1 and Y^T will be the object of study throughout the paper.

For each individual in Y^T his/her *paternal ancestry lineage* (PAL) is given by his/her father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on (all of them in the paternal line). Note that each individual in Y^T has only one individual in Y^1 belonging to his/her PAL, because if he/she has two individuals in Y^1 it follows that one of them should be the son of the other and this cannot happen since the individuals in Y^1 have no descendant in Y^1 . Therefore, for any individual in Y^T there exists a unique individual in Y^1 in his/her PAL that we name his/her *ancestor*. Correspondingly, for any individual in Y^1 we consider as his *descendants* the set of individuals in Y^T who have that individual in Y^1 as their ancestor. Importantly, we assume that the only data available that may help to link descendants and ancestors are the full names of all the individuals in Y^1 and Y^T .

²We use 25 as the minimum age in year 1 since individuals younger than 25 are not included in the electoral census. We choose a wider age bracket in year T since individuals in the current generation tend to have children when they are older than their ancestors were a century ago.

Our goal is to analyze the link between certain socioeconomic characteristics of the individuals in Y^T and the characteristics of the corresponding ancestors in Y^1 . Suppose that individuals in Y^T and in Y^1 can be classified as belonging to one of the two social classes: high class (H) and low class (L). In the empirical section the criteria to define the two classes will be the level of education and the type of profession. Since, in general, years 1 and T might be very distant in time the criteria to define the social classes in each of these two periods might be different. At this point, the restriction to two classes is a simplification to keep consistency with the empirical part of the paper where individuals are classified as belonging to one of two groups, but the model can be easily generalized to an arbitrary number of social classes. Sometimes we shall say that an individual in class i is of *type* i . We assume that individuals remain in the same class during their entire lifetime, leaving aside issues on intra-generational social mobility.

Let us define the *reproduction rate* of an individual in Y^1 as the number of his descendants in Y^T . The reproduction rate of an individual in class i is a random variable with expectation r_i for $i \in \{H, L\}$. Notice that the reproduction rate is not equal to the fertility rate. In fact, H type individuals could have a lower fertility rate than those of type L and still the reproduction rate of the former would be higher due to a lower mortality rate.

The type of any individual in Y^T is also a random variable that might depend on the type of his/her ancestor. We denote by p_{ij} the conditional probability that an individual with ancestor of type i is itself of type j . Note that p_{ij} is also read as the probability that a given descendant of a person of type i is of type j . Notice that since $p_{HL} = 1 - p_{HH}$ and $p_{LL} = 1 - p_{LH}$ it is enough to know the two probabilities p_{HH} and p_{LH} . One important difference from the standard approach in the literature on social mobility is that one-generation studies aim to estimate the probability of being of type j given that the father (or mother) is of type i . In our case, the probability is conditional on the type of the ancestor, which in general is not the father (in our empirical part the ancestry would be the great-grandfather and sometimes the great-great-grandfather). Obviously, when the ancestor coincides with

the father our probabilities coincide with the one-generation measures of intergenerational mobility.

Definition 1 *We say that a society displays perfect intergenerational social mobility if $p_{HH} = p_{LH}$.*

One way to assess the degree of social rigidity, or the lack of social mobility, is by measuring the odds ratio (OR) of those probabilities:

$$\text{OR} = \frac{p_{HH}/p_{HL}}{p_{LH}/p_{LL}}.$$

Clearly, perfect intergenerational social mobility implies an odds ratio of 1.

Let n_H^T and n_L^T be the expected number of descendants of type H and type L of any individual in Y^1 . Given the conditional probabilities p_{HH}, p_{LH} and the expected reproduction rates r_H, r_L we may compute n_H^T and n_L^T as:

$$n_H^T = p_{HH} r_H d_H + p_{LH} r_L d_L \quad (1)$$

$$n_L^T = p_{HL} r_H d_H + p_{LL} r_L d_L \quad (2)$$

where d_H (d_L) is a dummy variable that takes value 1 if the ancestor is of type H (type L) and zero otherwise. If we aggregate equations (1) and (2) for the entire population in Y^1 , we have

$$N_H^T = p_{HH} r_H N_H^1 + p_{LH} r_L N_L^1 \quad (3)$$

$$N_L^T = p_{HL} r_H N_H^1 + p_{LL} r_L N_L^1 \quad (4)$$

where N_H^1 (N_L^1) is the number of individuals of type H (type L) in Y^1 , and N_H^T (N_L^T) is the expected number of individuals of type H (type L) in Y^T .

Then, we can define an alternative measure of social mobility that takes into account reproduction rates and is based on the previous equations.

Definition 2 We define the expected outflow ratio F_{HH} (F_{HL}) as the percentage of individuals in class H (class L) with ancestor of type H :

$$F_{HH} = \frac{p_{HH} r_H N_H^1}{N_H^T} \times 100 \quad (5)$$

$$F_{HL} = \frac{p_{HL} r_H N_H^1}{N_L^T} \times 100 \quad (6)$$

Using the outflow ratio we can study how the current individual class composition depends on the individual composition of the social classes in the past:

Definition 3 A society presents history independent class composition (HICC) if both outflow ratios coincide with the percentage of individuals of type H in Y^1 , i.e.:

$$\frac{N_H^1}{N^1} \times 100 = F_{HH} = F_{HL}$$

Note that perfect intergenerational social mobility does not imply HICC. Thus, in a society with equal conditional probabilities ($p_{HH} = p_{LH}$) and different reproduction rates the proportion among H -type individuals in Y^T of individuals with ancestor of type H could be different from the proportion of individuals of type H in Y^1 . In this case, even though the society presents perfect intergenerational social mobility, the individual composition of the different classes in year T would not be independent of the individual class composition in year 1.³

If we had data to determine the class of each individual in Y^T and Y^1 (or data on a large enough sample of them) and we knew the ancestor of each individual in Y^T , we could easily estimate the probabilities p_{ij} and the reproduction rates r_i by applying indirect ordinary least squares (OLS) to equations (1) and (2). Then we could use these estimates to assess

³Clark (2007) argues that for many generations in England the rich had a higher reproduction rate than the poor had. This implied a downward social mobility that made possible the emergence of the Industrial Revolution.

the degree of intergenerational social mobility and whether HICC holds. Unfortunately, for large values of T , data on the ancestry of agents in Y^T are rarely available. In some cases, however, there are data on the surnames of the individuals in Y^1 and in Y^T . Such information may come, for instance, from the population census. Population census data are available for many countries for several periods and our method is specially designed to estimate the parameters of interest of the ISM using this type of data. Thus, we propose an "indirect" way of estimating the degree of ISM based on the use of surnames.

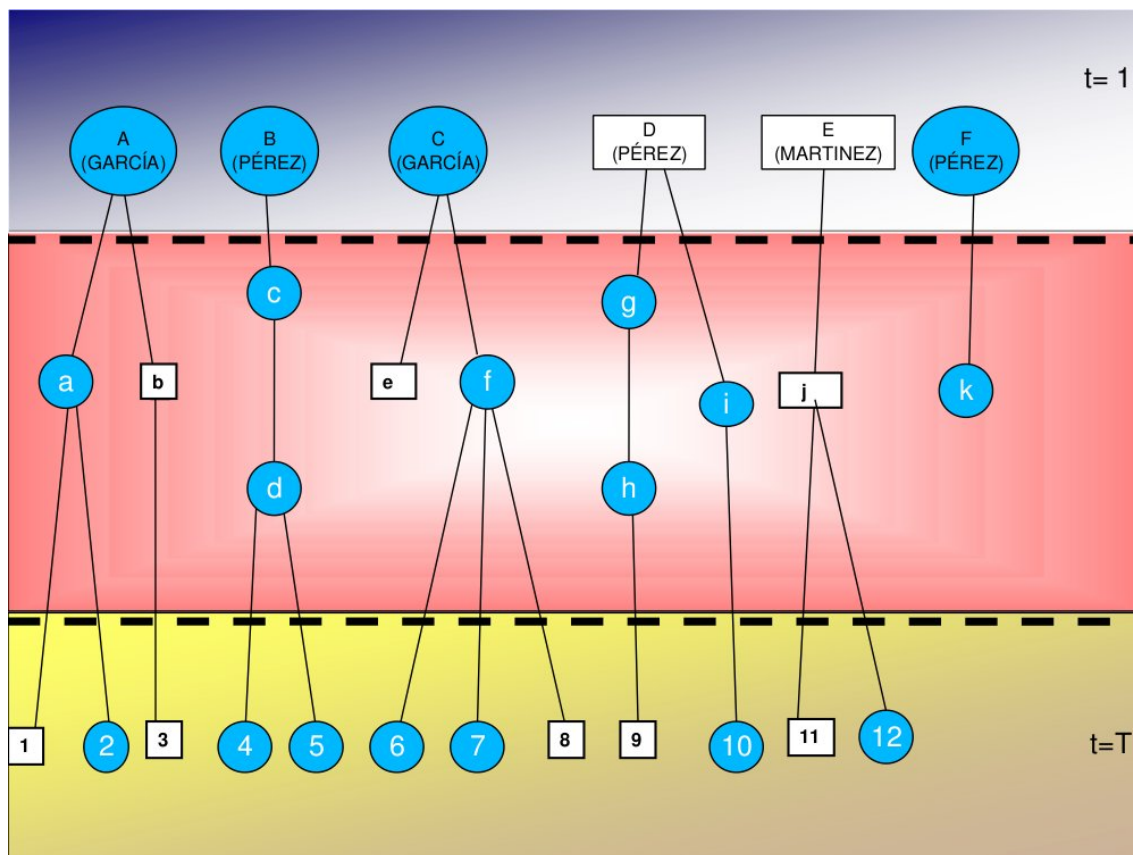
2.1 Surnames

Suppose that all the individuals in society bear a unique surname⁴ that is inherited from the father. Thus, all the individuals in the same PAL bear the same surname. In most cases, however, the surname is not enough to identify the ancestor in Y^1 of an individual in Y^T as the same surname may be shared by different PAL. Nonetheless, the surname for each individual in Y^T delimits the set of that individual's potential ancestors. Now we show that, if there is enough variety of surnames and the surnames are not independently distributed across classes we can use them to estimate p_{ij} , and r_i .

Figure 1 shows a simple example to illustrate the way we will use the "information" contained on surnames. In the first period ($t = 1$) the set Y^1 contains six persons $\{A, B, C, D, E, F\}$. We indicate in parenthesis the surname of each of these six persons. Each line represents a descendant. Notice that person F does not have descendants in period T . In the last period, T , 12 persons form our set Y^T . The figure shows the PAL of all the individuals in Y^T . Thus, the PAL of, for example, person 1 is $\{a, A\}$, and the PAL of person 4 is $\{d, c, B\}$. Individuals with PAL that coalesce must have the same surname. For example, person 1 and person 2 both have the surname "García". However, the PAL of person 1 and the PAL of person 6 do not coalesce and they have the same surname "García". The figure also shows the class

⁴In Spain people have two surnames. The first one is the first surname of the father and the second one is the first surname of the mother. Here we focus mainly on the first surname, that coming from the father, since the second one is "lost" in the second generation.

Figure 1: An example of social class and surname inheritance: three generations and 12 PALs.



to which each person belongs. Individuals within a circle belong to the low class and those within an square belong to the high class.

If for all the individuals we knew their PAL and their social class, estimating the parameters of the model would be easy. However, we deal with situations of “incomplete” information as in the example of the figure where we do not observe the intermediate individuals between Y^1 and Y^T , i.e., we do not observe the individuals in the red area of the figure. How can we estimate the parameters p_{ij} , r_i in this case? Knowing the surnames of individuals in Y^1 and Y^T **delimits the set of possible ancestors of individuals in Y^T** . In Figure 1, person 1 can be a descendant of just two people, either A or C . The case of person 11 is even better since he has to be a descendant of the unique person with the

surname “Martínez” in Y^1 . Thus, in our analysis of intergenerational social mobility we know that the ancestor of person 1 is for sure a low-type person, whereas the ancestor of person 11 is a high-type person. For person 4, however, his surname (Pérez) does not fully identify the class of his ancestor, who could be of any type.

At this point it might be useful to comment on two polar situations regarding the variety of surnames in the population. Suppose there is only one surname in the whole population Y^1 . It is clear that in such a case surnames are of no help in our problem. The opposite would hold in a society where there are as many surnames as individuals in Y^1 , in which case, we would know with certainty the ancestor of each individual in Y^T just by observing his surname. The real world lies between those two polar situations. Thus, many societies present a few very common surnames, a large number of surnames borne by very few persons, and most of the population bearing surnames of intermediate frequency.

In addition to the requirement of enough variety of surnames there is a second necessary condition for surnames to be useful in our analysis. If for all surnames in period $t = 1$ the percentage of people of high type were the same, surnames would not include any useful information for the study of social mobility. Thus, the distribution of surnames and the distribution of social classes among the population cannot be independent. Collado et al. (2008) show indeed that surnames and individuals among socioeconomic groups in Spain are not independently distributed. Moreover, they find a specific “bias” on the distribution of surnames. The more uncommon surnames appear in higher frequencies among groups of high socioeconomic status (see also Güell et al. 2007 for a similar result).

2.2 Estimation Method

We can write equations (1) and (2) as

$$n_H^T = \gamma_{HH} d_H + \gamma_{LH} d_L \tag{7}$$

$$n_L^T = \gamma_{HL} d_H + \gamma_{LL} d_L \quad (8)$$

where $\gamma_{ji} = p_{ji} r_j$ represent the (expected) number of descendants of type i of an individual of type j . We will first estimate the parameters in equations (7) and (8). Then, we will recover the structural parameters, i.e., the conditional probabilities and the reproduction rates, by solving the equations $\gamma_{ji} = p_{ji} r_j$, for $i, j \in \{H, L\}$.

If, for any individual k in Y^1 , we could observe his type, the set of his descendants and their types, we could consistently estimate the parameters by estimating

$$n_{H,k}^T = \gamma_{HH} d_{H,k} + \gamma_{LH} d_{L,k} + \varepsilon_{H,k} \quad (9)$$

$$n_{L,k}^T = \gamma_{HL} d_{H,k} + \gamma_{LL} d_{L,k} + \varepsilon_{L,k} \quad (10)$$

by OLS, where $d_{H,k}$ ($d_{L,k}$) is a dummy variable that takes the value 1 if individual k is of type H (type L) and zero otherwise, $n_{H,k}^T$ ($n_{L,k}^T$) denote the observed number of type H (type L) descendants of k , and $\varepsilon_{H,k}$ and $\varepsilon_{L,k}$ are the error terms. These two equations, however, cannot be directly estimated because we do not have information on the descendants of each particular individual. What we observe is the type and the surname of each individual in Y^1 and Y^T . Notice that, as mentioned, the surnames delimit the set of potential ancestors of each individual in Y^T . Our identification strategy consists in aggregating the equations by surname.

Let $m_{i,s}^1$ ($m_{i,s}^T$) be the number of individuals in class i with surname s in Y^1 (Y^T). Then, from (9) and (10) we have

$$m_{H,s}^T = \gamma_{HH} m_{H,s}^1 + \gamma_{LH} m_{L,s}^1 + u_{H,s} \quad (11)$$

$$m_{L,s}^T = \gamma_{HL} m_{H,s}^1 + \gamma_{LL} m_{L,s}^1 + u_{L,s} \quad (12)$$

Since in our data we observe the number of individuals in class i with surname s in Y^1

and Y^T , by aggregating to the surname level we overcome the unobservability problem that equations (9) and (10) present.

The properties of the errors terms in equations (11) and (12) depend on the assumptions made on the original error terms in equations (9) and (10). If we assume that $\varepsilon_{H,k}, \varepsilon_{L,k}$ are iid and display a non-diagonal covariance matrix, i.e.,

$$\begin{pmatrix} \varepsilon_{H,q} \\ \varepsilon_{L,q} \end{pmatrix} \sim \text{iid} \left[\begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} \sigma_H^2 & \sigma_{HL} \\ \sigma_{HL} & \sigma_L^2 \end{pmatrix} \right]$$

then, the error term of the aggregated equations displays heteroskedasticity of a known form:

$$\begin{pmatrix} u_{H,s} \\ u_{L,s} \end{pmatrix} \sim \text{iid} \left[\begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} m_s^1 \sigma_H^2 & m_s^1 \sigma_{HL} \\ m_s^1 \sigma_{HL} & m_s^1 \sigma_L^2 \end{pmatrix} \right]$$

where m_s^1 denotes the size of surname s , i.e., the number of people with surname s in Y^1 . Since the form of the heteroskedasticity is known, we may reach efficiency estimating equations (11) and (12) by feasible generalized least squares (GLS) dividing both sides of the equation by the square root of the surname size in Y_1 . Moreover, to account for the potential heteroskedasticity of the errors in equations (9) and (10), we calculate a robust-to-heteroskedasticity variance matrix for our GLS estimator to compute the standard errors.

3 The Data

We apply the estimation methodology described in the previous section to the Spanish regions of Cantabria and Murcia. These regions are located in almost opposite sides of the country and are quite different in their climate, in their orographic and geophysical conditions, and in their socioeconomic and productive structures. Cantabria has a current population of about 589,000 and Murcia about 1,446,000. The GDP per capita in Cantabria is just slightly above the average of the whole country and in Murcia it is 82% of such average. In this

empirical application, period $t = 1$ for the region of Cantabria corresponds to the year 1898 and period T to 2001 (in some of the robustness exercises we also use data from the year 2004). We focus mostly on the region of Cantabria because, as we will explain later, this is the only region for which we have two census data sets (in electronic format) with a time separation of more than one century. In the case of Murcia we only have census data for the period $t = 1$ (year 1890), with the data used for period T obtained from the telephone directory. Thus, our benchmark case will deal exclusively with the region of Cantabria. The estimations regarding the region Murcia will be used just as a robustness check.

Two notes of caution must be raised at this point. First, it is not clear that these regional samples are representative of the whole country.⁵ Second, our theoretical model assumes no immigration flows and this can introduce a bias in the results. However, the region of Cantabria was a net exporter of migrants during the 20th century with very reduced immigration flows. Thus, 1980-90 was the only decade with a positive net migration flow, consisting of only 6,500 people, 1.2% of the original population (see Alcaide 2007). In any case, this recent immigration is discounted in the analysis since our 2001 data contain information on the birthplace of each individual and we discard all the individuals born in a different region from Cantabria. In the case of Murcia, the region has been even a stronger net exporter of migrants⁶ during the period. Despite all the precautions, we cannot rule out that such immigrants might have some influence on our result. In any case, we should bear in mind that our reproduction rates r_i should be understood as the number of descendants living in Cantabria in 2001. Thus, the total number of descendants in the whole country might be different from such rate. In the same way, our estimates of intergenerational social mobility refer exclusively to the lineages remaining in the region.

⁵We hope that the data of the 1898 census corresponding to the rest of the Spanish regions will be available soon in electronic format.

⁶The process changed in the 1980's when a significant number of the people who emigrated during the previous decades returned to the region.

3.1 Period 1: Data on Year 1898 and 1890

The data for the year 1898 (or 1890 for Murcia) come from the Spanish electoral census of that year. Such census lists the full name, age, address, and occupation of the person, and whether the person is illiterate or not, for the entire male population over 25 years old. This is a nationwide census but currently is only available in electronic format for the regions of Cantabria and Murcia.

The number of (male) people in Cantabria in the census is 58,000 and in Murcia almost 100,000. We select the individuals within the age range of 25-45 years.⁷ These individuals form our set Y^1 which contains 32,557 people in Cantabria and 49,789 in Murcia.

We would like to classify the individuals in such sets according to their educational level. A natural classification would be to consider any person to be of high type if he is able to read and write. Unfortunately, such information in Cantabria's census contains too many errors, so we decided not to use it. Thus, we instead classify the people according to the socioeconomic status of their professions. We clustered all the 330 professions listed in the census into two groups: The high-class group (H) contains professions that can be seen as denoting a high socioeconomic status and covers 19.62% of the population in Cantabria (19.31% in Murcia), whereas the low-class group (L) contains all the other professions. It is important to note that this profession-based classification is probably very highly correlated with the classification we would obtain with the mentioned literacy criteria. In fact, we classified the population in the electoral census of Murcia first according to this profession-based criteria and second according to whether a person is able to read and write (contrary to the situation with Cantabria, this information in the census of Murcia is very reliable) obtaining that the two classifications are highly correlated (the percentage of people in class H who are able to read and write is almost 70%, whereas the percentage of people in class L is about 17%). Thus, we are confident that the groups used for the socioeconomic classification

⁷Our results are robust to small changes in the age range considered. This and the rest of robustness checks not provided in the paper are available from the authors upon request

of the population of Cantabria in 1898 also classify people according to their human capital level.

3.2 Period T: Data on Year 2001

The main data set used here is the 2001 population census of Cantabria. In a second exercise we will use the data from the Yellow Pages of the telephone directory corresponding to Cantabria and Murcia as a way of checking the robustness of our results.

The 2001 population census of Cantabria contains information, among other variables, on the full name, age, occupation, and educational level of all individuals, both males and females. The set Y^T is now obtained by selecting all the individuals, men and women, from the census in the specified age range of 22-46⁸. To test the robustness of our results to the sample selection, we also consider the case of only male and only female individuals. After excluding people born in other regions the total population in Y^T is 150,962 (73,837 women).

We use two criteria to distinguish the H and L types. First, we classify people according to the type of education acquired. We include in the high class all the individuals with a bachelor's degree or a higher educational level. This class covers 17.44% of the population in Y^T (14.85% among men and 20.15% among women). Notice that the share of the population in the high class is relatively similar to the share of the population in the high class in Y^1 . In the low class we include all the remaining individuals.

Second, we also consider classifying people in Y^T according to the socioeconomic status of their professions. The census provides a classification of professions in 18 groups and we classify those groups in two socioeconomic classes, high and low. Table A in the Appendix provides the classification of those 18 groups. Since the profession is only reported for those who are working, we have to drop inactive and unemployed individuals; thus, the population size is smaller than when we use the educational level. According to this socioeconomic

⁸We also analyzed what happens when the set Y^T is given by the individuals between 46 and 70 years old. The results are consistent with the findings reported in this paper.

classification of people in Y^T we have 101,133 individuals (38,000 women) with 25.96% of them belonging to the high class (24.73% among men and 28.02% among women).

It can be argued that, to study issues of intergenerational social mobility, the use of educational level as the variable that generates our social classes is more correct than using the socioeconomic status of the professions. Thus, a problem with our data on professions is that for each individual the profession that appears in the census is the one the individual had at the time the census was performed. Many individuals change their profession throughout their lives and only considering the profession at a moment in time can bias the results significantly. This problem is similar to the one Solon (1992) emphasized in the case of intergenerational income mobility. The educational level, by contrast, seems to be safer from these changes over the adult life of an individual. In any case, we believe that, despite this problem, it is interesting to carry out all of our estimates, both with the type of profession and with the level of education.

A potential critique to defining social classes based on the level of education is the possible inconsistency with our definition of classes in the 19th century, which is based on the socioeconomic status of the professions. In fact, as we have argued, our social classes in the 19th century could be highly correlated with levels of education. However, we think that even if this is not the case the results are interesting because there is nothing inconsistent in such approach. Thus, we could ask questions like, "How many of those with higher education today are descended from people with a high-status profession in the 19th century?" This is interesting even though the definitions of social classes in each period are different. Aware of the advantages and disadvantages of each approach and for the sake of completeness, we will carry out all of our analysis using both the profession and the level of education as separating criteria.

The data of the population census in the 21st century are available only for Cantabria, not for Murcia. This forced us to use an alternative data source that is available in electronic

format for any Spanish region: the 2004 business section of the telephone directory⁹ (Yellow Pages). We compiled information from the Yellow Pages for both Cantabria and Murcia. For Cantabria this business section contains 15,991 numbers registered under the names of persons¹⁰ (49,789 in the case of Murcia) and provides information on the name and address of the subscriber and the type of business or professional activity. The number of different professions is about 1,000. We classify the professions in the Yellow Pages according to the level of education required to practice such professions.¹¹ The high group contains professions that require a bachelor's degree or a higher educational level. In the low class we include all the remaining professions. According to this classification of people, 31.10% in Y^T belong to the high class (32.54% in the region of Murcia).

As the Yellow Pages provide no information on the age of people we cannot directly select a generation of people between the desired age interval of 22-46 years. We are confident that most people listed in the Yellow Pages belong to approximately the same generation and that the number of listed people whose father and/or mother is also listed is probably small. However, we are aware that it is only an approximation that may distort the results.¹² Therefore, we consider that our main results are those obtained using the population census of Cantabria. The use of the Yellow Pages is motivated for two reasons: in the case of Cantabria, as a robustness analysis of the results obtained with the census, and in the case of Murcia, as an exercise of inter-regional comparison.

⁹Notice that the population census refers to year 2001 and the telephone directory to 2004. We believe that this small date difference is of no consequence for our analysis.

¹⁰The telephone directory is available on a commercial CD-ROM (INFOBEL, <http://www.infobel.com>).

¹¹The classification of the more than a thousand professions was done in a subjective manner by each of the three authors independently. The limited number of discrepancies was solved by consulting different information sources. The classification is available from the authors upon request.

¹²An advantage with respect to the census, though, is that the list of professions in the Yellow Pages is very large (more than a thousand possible different professions) while the classification of occupations in the census contains only 19 different types.

4 Main Empirical Results

We apply the methodology developed in sections 2 and 3 to estimate the parameters γ_{ji} using equations (11) and (12). Then, as mentioned above, we will recover the structural parameters, i.e., the conditional probabilities and the reproduction rates, by solving the equations $\gamma_{ji} = p_{ji} r_j$, for $i, j \in \{H, L\}$. All the results presented in this section, except for those in the last subsection, refer to the region of Cantabria. In all of them Y^1 is given by all male individuals in the 1989 electoral census aged 25-45 years, and the classes are based on the socioeconomic status of the professions. We first present the benchmark case for which i) Y^T is given by all individuals age 22-46 years in the 2001 population census of Cantabria and (ii) the classes in 2001 are based on the educational level criterion.

The cases presented subsequently differ in the type of data used to generate Y^T (only the male population or only the female population, or the telephone directory) or in the classification used to obtain the classes in Y^T (socioeconomic status of the profession instead of educational level). In the last subsection we present the results for the region of Murcia using the telephone directory to generate the population in Y^T .

4.1 Benchmark Case

Tables 1 and 2 show the results for the region of Cantabria when Y^T is based on the 2001 population census and the corresponding two classes, H and L , are generated by educational level. This case contains the core results of the paper.

Table 1*Parameters γ_{ji}* *Source: Population census 2001.**Education groups.*

Equation 11		
Parameter	Estimate	SE
γ_{HH}	1.057	0.071
γ_{LH}	0.767	0.018
Equation 12		
γ_{HL}	4.024	0.308
γ_{LL}	3.872	0.089

The difference between the γ_{ji} parameters clearly points in the direction of no HICC. A high-type person in the 19th century had on average 1.057 descendants belonging to the high-class group in 2001, and 4.024 descendants belonging to the low-class group, whereas for a low-type person in the 19th century those figures are 0.767 and 3.872.

Given the estimated values of the parameters γ_{ji} we can easily compute the conditional probabilities p_{HH} and p_{LH} , the reproduction rates r_H and r_L , the odds ratio OR and the outflow ratios F_{HH} , F_{HL} . Table 2 presents all these values, with the corresponding standard errors, with a last column showing the percentage of people of type H in Y^1 .

Table 2*Mobility parameters and reproduction rates.**Source: Population census 2001. Education groups.*

p_{HH}	p_{LH}	r_H	r_L	OR	F_{HH}	F_{HL}	$(N_H^1/N^1) \times 100$
0.208	0.165	5.081	4.640	1.325	25.17	20.23	19.62
(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.368)	(0.102)	(0.075)			

These results show that the degree of social mobility has not been strong enough to erase the influence of the 19th-century ancestors on today's descendants. An odds-ratio of $OR = 1.325$ shows that the relative probability of having a descendant of type H over having a descendant of type L is around 32% higher for people of type H than for people of type L . Note that the number of generations between people in Y^1 and people in Y^T , i.e., the length of the PAL, must be three or four generations for the largest majority of the population (people in Y^1 are the great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers of people

in Y^T). Thus, such bias on the relative probability of having descendants of type H three or four generations forward seems quantitatively important.

A complementary approach to assess the degree of social mobility consists in comparing the outflow ratio F_{HH} to the percentage $\frac{N_H^1}{N^1} \times 100$ of high-class ancestors. Our definition of HICC requires those two variables to take the same value. Our estimation shows, however, that 25.17% of H -type people in Y^T have ancestors of type H instead of the 19.62% required under HICC. In other words, after three/four generations, there is around a 28% "excess" of agents with ancestors of type H among the current population in class H . It is interesting to note that the outflow ratio F_{LH} is also bigger, although just slightly, than the proportion of high-class individuals in Y^1 . This is due to the fact that the reproduction rate is higher for individuals of type H than for individuals of type L , and therefore, the proportion of descendant of H -type individuals is larger than their share in Y^1 .

This higher reproduction rate for H type than for L type (5.081 versus 4.640), although not statistically significant, appears in most of our estimates and is consistent with the findings of Clark (2007), who proves that reproduction rates in England have been higher for the high-class people than for the low-class people.

Thus, we conclude that our estimations show that the probability of belonging to the high-education group is still correlated with the socioeconomic status of the great-grandfathers and great-great-grandfathers. It is important to recall that we focus our analysis exclusively on the influence via paternal lines. One would suspect that the total influence of all ancestors (throughout the maternal and paternal lines) is still higher than the one we are able to detect here.

4.2 Gender Differences

Recall that the set Y^T contains the entire population (male and female) within the age bracket 22-46 years. The set Y^1 , however, contains no female population. It might be interesting to carry out the previous analysis, but first considering exclusively the male

population in Y^T and then the female population in Y^T . In a similar way to Tables 1 and 2 above, Tables 3 and 4 summarize the results for the two cases.

Table 3
Parameters γ_{ji} for men and women
Source: Population census 2001.
Education groups.

Equation 11		
Parameter	Estimate	SE
γ_{HH} , men	0.478	0.035
γ_{HH} , women	0.578	0.040
γ_{LH} , men	0.328	0.009
γ_{LH} , women	0.438	0.011
Equation 12		
γ_{HL} , men	2.120	0.163
γ_{HL} , women	1.903	0.148
γ_{LL} , men	2.038	0.046
γ_{LL} , women	1.834	0.044

Table 4
Mobility parameters and reproduction rates. Men and women.
Source: Population census 2001. Education groups.

	p_{HH}	p_{LH}	r_H	r_L	OR	F_{HH}	F_{LH}	(N_H^1/N^1)
Men	0.184 (0.007)	0.138 (0.003)	2.599 (0.190)	2.367 (0.051)	1.4 (0.095)	26.23	20.25	19.62
Women	0.233 (0.009)	0.193 (0.003)	2.481 (0.181)	2.273 (0.052)	1.27 (0.082)	24.35	20.21	19.62

The general picture is the same for men and for women, and it coincides with that obtained in the aggregated case. However, there are some differences worth mentioning. The odds ratio is 1.4 for men and only 1.27 for women (even though the difference is not statistically significant). The proportion of men in group H with ancestors of type H is 26.23, whereas for women the proportion is 24.35. Thus, it seems that the influence of (male) ancestors is somewhat stronger for men than it is for women¹³.

¹³Mazumder (2005) finds an equivalent intergenerational income elasticity for daughters and sons in U.S. However, according to Black and Devereux (2010) the Scandinavian evidence suggests a higher elasticity for men than for women. Pfeffer (2007) provides empirical evidence in favour of an equal educational intergenerational mobility in most countries.

4.3 Telephone Directory

In this case the set Y^T is constructed using the 2004 business section of the telephone directory in Cantabria. Tables 5 and 6 present the results.

Table 5
Parameters γ_{ji}
Source: Telephone directory.

Equation 11		
Parameter	Estimate	SE
γ_{HH}	0.236	0.019
γ_{LH}	0.136	0.005
Equation 12		
γ_{HL}	0.406	0.031
γ_{LL}	0.330	0.008

Table 6
Mobility parameters and reproduction rates.
Source: Telephone directory.

p_{HH}	p_{LH}	r_H	r_L	OR	F_{HH}	F_{HL}	$(N_H^1/N^1) \times 100$
0.367	0.291	0.643	0.466	1.41	29.77	23.11	19.62
(0.015)	(0.006)	(0.045)	(0.012)	(0.125)			

Note that the values of the γ_{ji} parameters and the reproduction rates are lower than in the benchmark case due to a smaller population in the telephone directory than in the population census. However, the odds ratios are very similar (1.41 here and 1.325 in the benchmark case), thus confirming that the main results of the previous section are robust to the use of a different data source.

4.4 Socioeconomic Groups

We use the 2001 population census of Cantabria for Y^T , as in the benchmark case, but now the two classes, H and L , are determined by the socioeconomic status of the professions. Tables 7 and 8 present the results.

Table 7*Parameters γ_{ji}* *Source: Population census 2001.**Socioeconomic groups.*

Equation 11		
Parameter	Estimate	SE
γ_{HH}	0.613	0.043
γ_{LH}	0.459	0.012
Equation 12		
γ_{HL}	1.443	0.108
γ_{LL}	1.500	0.032

Table 8*Mobility parameters and reproduction rates.**Source: Population census 2001. Socioeconomic groups.*

p_{HH}	p_{LH}	r_H	r_L	OR	F_{HH}	F_{HL}	$(N_H^1/N^1) \times 100$
0.304	0.247	3.358	3.123	1.33	24.40	19.53	19.62
(0.008)	(0.003)	(0.234)	(0.067)	(0.069)			

It must be noted that the census only reports the profession of adult individuals if they are working; therefore, a large number of observations concerning profession are missing. Thus, the set Y^T here contains less individuals (101,133) than in the benchmark case (150,832) which explains why the values of the γ_{ji} parameters and the reproduction rates are lower here than in section 4.1 (see Appendix 1 for details on the classification of professions). When this is taken into account, the main conclusion obtained when people are classified according to their educational level also holds in this case. The probability of having a profession in group H is higher for people whose great-grandfathers, or great-great-grandfathers, had themselves high-type professions.

Notice the similarity between the odds ratio here (1.33) and in the benchmark case (1.325). The outflow ratios F_{HH} in both cases are also similar (24.40 and 25.17). Considering men and women separately yields a similar type of results to those in section 4.2. The odds ratio is a little bit higher for men (1.389) than for women (1.238), reinforcing the idea that the socioeconomic status of women depends less on their ancestors than does the socioeconomic status of men.

4.5 A Different Region

Here we focus on the region of Murcia. As explained above we construct Y^1 with data from the 1890 electoral census and Y^T using the 2004 business section of the telephone directory. Tables 9 and 10 give the results. It is important to note that Murcia and Cantabria are very different geographically and socially. Even so the two have relatively similar odds ratios (1.864 and 1.41). Murcia has been a more backward region with great emigration flows to other regions, which could explain why the odds ratio is somewhat higher. It is also interesting to note that the reproduction rate is higher for the low type, indicating perhaps a bias in emigration (the higher probability of the most skillful emigrating).

Table 9

Parameters γ_{ji}

Source: Telephone directory (Murcia).

Education groups.

Equation 11		
Parameter	Estimate	SE
γ_{HH}	0.260	0.022
γ_{LH}	0.198	0.007
Equation 12		
γ_{HL}	0.325	0.039
γ_{LL}	0.462	0.013

Table 10

Mobility parameters and reproduction rates.

Source: Telephone directory, Region of Murcia. Education groups.

p_{HH}	p_{LH}	r_H	r_L	OR	F_{HH}	F_{HL}	$(N_H^1/N^1) \times 100$
0.444	0.300	0.585	0.660	1.864	23.91	14.42	19.31
(0.023)	(0.005)	(0.056)	(0.0128)	(0.207)			

5 Validating the main results

We conduct several additional extensions and modifications of the model to check the robustness of the main results obtained in the previous section. In all the cases, the results here are very similar to the ones reported in the benchmark case. In what follows, we present

the most prominent results though for the sake of brevity not all of the figures and tables are shown.

5.1 Using different specifications and sample selection

People in Spain bear two surnames, the first being the father’s first surname and the second being the mother’s first surname. In all our previous results, only first surnames were used. This is consistent with the idea that we follow the paternal ancestry lines, but leaves open the question of whether intergenerational transmission of social status may also act through the maternal channel. For this reason, we repeat all the estimations of the previous sections using the second surname instead, i.e., individuals in Y^T are identified by their second surnames. Notice that now the ancestry lineage is not the paternal but the mother-grandfather-great-grandfather, etc., lineage. The results obtained are very similar to those reported in section 4.1. The odds ratio now is 1.298 (s.e. 0.07), a bit smaller than in the benchmark case (1.325) but with the difference not statistically significant. Even more, if we now use the women-only subsample in Y^T our estimates of the odds ratio using either the first surname or the second surname almost coincide (1.271 and 1.270 and standard errors of 0.082 and 0.08, respectively). Thus, the results using the second surname are very consistent with those using the first surname, although they suggest a possible difference between maternal and paternal influence on social mobility.

We also check the validity of the linear assumption of our model. Recall that the parameters γ_{ji} represent the (expected) number of descendants in class i for an individual of type j and can be written as $\gamma_{ji} = p_{ji}r_j$, where p_{ji} is the transition probability that a descendant of a person of type j is of type i and r_j is the reproduction rate for individuals of type j . We estimate the parameters γ_{ji} assuming that their values are independent of the surname size m_s^1 , i.e., of the number of people in Y^1 bearing surname s . Thus, we assume that neither the reproduction rate nor the transition probabilities depend on the number of people bearing each surname. One might think, however, that people with unusual surnames

face a different mobility parameter or reproduction rate from people with most common surnames. For instance, rare surnames may be rare precisely because they are borne by people with a low reproduction rate. Thus, in our second extension of the model we allow for the reproduction rates r_j and the mobility parameters p_{ji} to be linear functions of the logarithm of the surname size m_s^1 . Here the comparisons with previous results are not straightforward because the estimated γ_{ji} are now a function of the size of the surname. We find the odds ratio for the individuals with a surname of average size to be 1.227, somewhat analogous to what we obtain in the benchmark case (1.325).

As additional checks of the robustness of our results we carry out the following exercises: i) we modify the age bracket to 30-54 years in the definition of Y^1 and Y^T ; ii) we drop the five most common surnames; iii) we drop the most unusual surnames; and iv) we use some slightly different classification of professions in the 1898 electoral census and in the telephone directory. The results obtained in all these cases are consistent with the main findings reported in the paper and are available upon request.

5.2 Mobility among Bearers of Unique Surnames

Unique surnames in Y^1 are a very special case in our sample, because these are the only cases in which we have an exact identification of the ancestor. As explained in section 2.2 when this happens, we can consistently estimate the parameters by estimating equations (9) and (10). Obviously, there may be, and there is in fact, a sample selection bias issue here due to the already explained socioeconomic bias on the distribution of surnames (see Collado et. al. 2008). For instance, among people with unique surnames in 1898 about 35.8% of them are of H type. Nevertheless, this exercise has the advantage that an exact identification of the ancestors is possible. Thus, we build the subsample of individuals in Y^1 bearing unique surnames (1,915 individuals) and their descendants in Y^T (6,557 individuals), using the Cantabria data and taking the classes based on the education level. Tables 11 and 12 show the results. The odds ratio is now 1.338, basically the same we obtain in the benchmark case

(1.325). Reproduction rates are now lower than in previous cases, but this might be due to a genetic bias. Many of these people have unique surnames because their ancestors had a low reproduction rate, and they may have inherited it. The men-only and women-only cases (not reported here) obtain very similar parameters in both cases. The odds ratio is again higher for men (1.40) than for women (1.279), although it is not statistically significant.

Table 11

Parameters γ_{ji}

Source: Population census 2001.

Unique surnames. Education groups.

Equation 9		
Parameter	Estimate	SE
γ_{HH}	0.774	0.086
γ_{LH}	0.650	0.046
Equation 10		
γ_{HL}	2.527	0.283
γ_{LL}	2.842	0.198

Table 12

Mobility parameters and reproduction rates.

Source: Population census 2001. Unique surnames. Education groups.

p_{HH}	p_{LH}	r_H	r_L	OR	F_{HH}	F_{HL}	$(N_H^1/N^1) \times 100$
0.234	0.186	3.301	3.492	1.338	39.92	33.17	35.82
(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.358)	(0.234)	(0.114)			

6 Comparisons with previous empirical findings

One of the most prominent features of our approach is that it is a low-cost method because it uses census data that can be readily obtained for many countries. The "price" to pay is the need to make some assumptions; thus, we would like to know if these assumptions are acceptable. One way of knowing this is to compare our findings with the estimates that other authors have found using different methods and data. However, making these comparisons is not easy because, as already noted, there are very few contributions that try to measure social mobility during long periods of time. We may, however, try to compare our findings with those of one-generation studies of ISM. Since we only have data on generations

1 and T we cannot provide an estimate of one-generation social mobility unless we make some additional assumptions. We assume that the length of PAL is three generations, which approximately covers the 103-year span between 2001 and 1898.¹⁴ Thus, the individuals in Y^1 are assumed to be the great-grandfathers of individuals in Y^T . We need further to assume constant reproduction rates and constant conditional probabilities of social mobility along the different generations. Furthermore, to obtain estimations on the one-generation reproduction and mobility parameters consistent with our previous findings we have to restrict the set Y^T to the male population.

Under these assumptions, estimates of the one-generation parameters may be obtained by viewing the dynamic process as a Markov chain. Denote by \tilde{r}_i the one-period reproduction rate of individuals of type i , i.e., the expected number of (male) children of a person of type i who reach adult life. Let \tilde{p}_{ij} be the probability that a son of a person of type i is of type j . Thus, given the previously estimated values of r_i and p_{ij} the one-generation parameters are the solution to

$$\begin{pmatrix} \tilde{p}_{HH}\tilde{r}_H & \tilde{p}_{LH}\tilde{r}_L \\ (1 - \tilde{p}_{HH})\tilde{r}_H & (1 - \tilde{p}_{LH})\tilde{r}_L \end{pmatrix}^G = \begin{pmatrix} p_{HH}r_H & p_{LH}r_L \\ (1 - p_{HH})r_H & (1 - p_{LH})r_L \end{pmatrix} \quad (13)$$

where G denotes the number of generations, three in our case. The one generation odds-ratio can be now computed as

$$\widetilde{OR} = \frac{\frac{\tilde{p}_{HH}}{\tilde{p}_{HL}}}{\frac{\tilde{p}_{LH}}{\tilde{p}_{LL}}}$$

Using the parameters reported in Table 4 we solve equation (13) and obtain $\tilde{p}_{HH} = 0.44$, $\tilde{p}_{LH} = 0.092$, $\tilde{r}_H = 1.412$ and $\tilde{r}_L = 1.326$. The one-generation odds ratio is $\widetilde{OR} = 7.75$

¹⁴Taking three generations is based on a rough calculus. Assuming that each generation takes 30 years and that most of the children are born when their fathers are 25-30 year old, for most people in Y^T of age 22 the PAL has at least length four. For individuals age 46 we could assume that the average length is three. Since the median age in Y^T is 34 years it is difficult to establish with certainty if the average length of all the PALs is closer to three or to four, but we find it conservative to take it as three. Assuming four generations yields lower levels of one-generation social mobility.

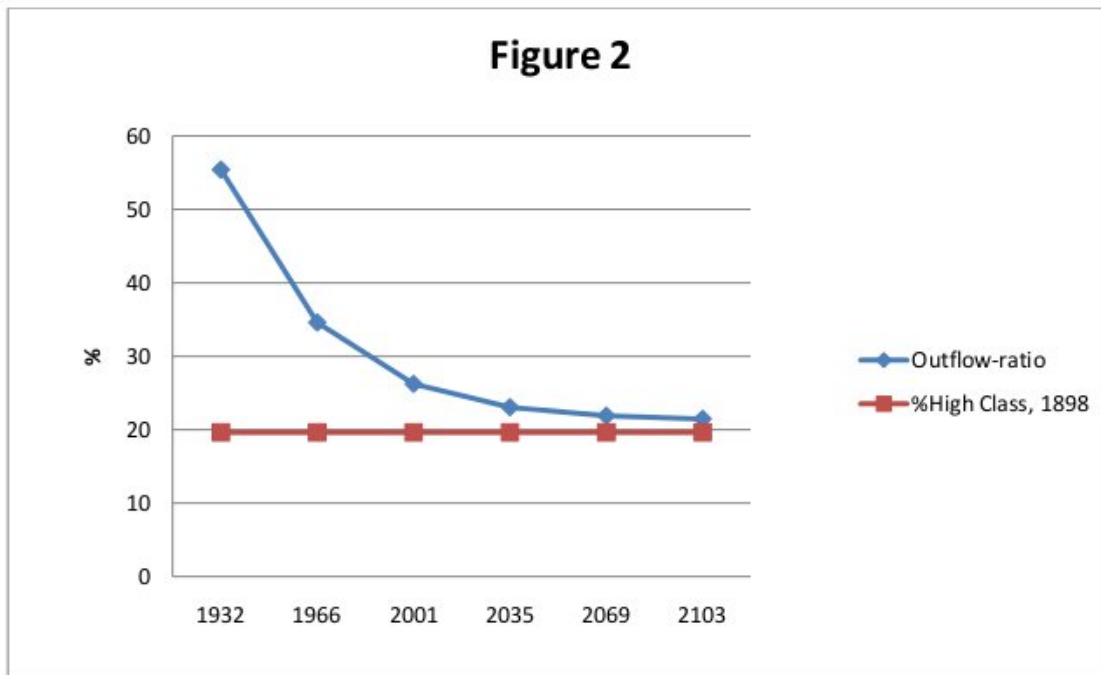
(with standard error of 1.095). This ratio has a magnitude within the range of other studies on one-generation social mobility. In particular, Klakbrenner and Villanueva (2006) find a transition matrix from no-college to college education among Spanish father-son pairs in 1990 with a odds-ratio of 10.5. These odds ratios are between the estimations for United States (6) and for Italy (25) reported in Checchi et al. (1999) in similar matrices of educational intergenerational mobility.

We can also compute the theoretical class composition that should have prevailed from those reproduction rates and transition probabilities for each of the three generations between our first year and the final year T (between 1898 and 2001). Let's identify those three generations with years 1932, 1966, and 2001. Thus, we can calculate the total male population and the shares of H and L -type people for each of those three years. Similar to what we did in our previous sections we can compute the outflow ratio F_{ij}^g for each generation $g \in \{1932, 1966, 2001\}$, i.e., the proportion of individuals in generation g in class j with ancestor¹⁵ of type i . Furthermore, by assuming that the parameters $\tilde{p}_{HH}, \tilde{p}_{LH}, \tilde{r}_H$, and \tilde{r}_L remain always constant we can also estimate such outflow ratios for future generations. Figure 2 provides the outflow ratios F_{HH}^g for our three generations (1932, 1966, 2001) and for the next three future ones (2035, 2069, 2103). The figure shows, for each generation, the proportion of high-type people with ascendant of high type. Recall that HICC requires the outflow ratio to be equal to the proportion of high-type individuals in Y^1 , which is 19.62%. Thus, our analysis suggests that i) we have not reached a HICC yet, ii) but the individual composition of social classes beyond the year 2035 is basically independent of the class composition in 1898 so that four/five generations are enough to erase the traces of the past.

We have also estimated the model using an older generation in the 2001 census. In particular we have considered all males within the age range of 47-70 years. The results for the one generation parameters are very similar to the previous ones, confirming the assumption of constant one-generation parameters, at least regarding the last generation

¹⁵The ancestors are individuals in 1898, i.e. in Y^1

Figure 2: Proportion of High status descendants for each generation



as compared to the average of the previous ones. The conditional probabilities are $\tilde{p}_{HH} = 0.45$ and $\tilde{p}_{LH} = 0.10$, and the one-generation odds ratio is $\widetilde{OR} = 7.37$. Regarding the reproduction rates, we find $\tilde{r}_H = 1.14$ and $\tilde{r}_L = 1.28$. These figures are lower than the ones found when using the young generation in 2001. The reason is that the proportion of people who have already died is larger within the age range 47 to 70 than within the age range 23 to 46.

Regarding the comparison with long-run studies, our results are in line with Clark (2009, 2010) who argues that England has been a society of great social mobility, with no permanent upper class. Clark (2010) studies social mobility in England in the period 1858-2009. He uses a methodology different from ours, but also uses surnames. He selects a set of 284 rare surnames in the 1858-1879 period and computes the correlation in wealth among all pairs of individuals sharing one of such rare surnames. The estimated correlation (0.334) is very similar to that found among fathers and sons, and for brothers, in the population in

general. Next he estimates the wealth correlation among all pairs of people bearing those surnames in the following generations. The correlation in the period 1996-2010 is only 0.04 (not statistically different from 0), which indicates "complete regression to the mean", i.e., disappearance of the link connecting the socioeconomic status in the 1858-1879 generation and that in the current generation. Thus, our estimates are roughly similar to those of Clark, suggesting that about five generations are enough to erase the traces of the past.

As a robustness check of this result, we do an additional exercise using a similar methodology to that in Clark (2010). We select all pairs of people in 1898 (in the region of Cantabria) bearing rare surnames. These are surnames borne by two to five people. This represents a total of 991 different surnames and 2,796 individuals. It is very likely that most of the individuals sharing any of these rare surnames are brothers or cousins¹⁶. We compute the correlation in the socioeconomic status of such pairs of people, obtaining a value of 0.22. Next we select from the 2001 population census the set of male descendants of the people bearing those rare surnames in 1898 (6523 individuals). As in the previous case, we compute the correlation (on educational level) among the pairs of people sharing one of such surname. The correlation in this case is 0.027, close to zero but still statistically different from zero.¹⁷ This result is largely in line with the results obtained by Clark.

As a final exercise we continue with the set of individuals with rare surnames in the 19th century. We compute that 28.7% of them are of high type. Among their descendants in the 2001 population census the percentage of high-type individuals is 16.39%. Thus, in the 19th century the percentage of high type in the sample of rare names is much larger than in the whole population (19.62%), whereas among their descendants the percentage is still larger than in the whole population (14.85%) but the difference is much smaller. Consider now all the pairs of such individuals sharing one of those rare surnames in the 19th century. Let us

¹⁶There is a considerable and more recent literature that attempts to measure intergenerational mobility through the analysis of correlations between siblings. See, for example, Hauser and Wong (1989), Solon (1999), Björklund et al. (2002), Björklund et al. (2007), and Mazumder(2011).

¹⁷This result remains true if we focus on still rarer surnames.

focus on the high-high ($H-H$) pairs, i.e., pairs in which both individuals are of high type. If the socioeconomic status of any given person is independent of the socioeconomic status of the father, and given that the percentage of high-type individuals in this sample is 28.7%, the percentage of such $H-H$ pairs should be 8.23% (0.287×0.287). However, we observe that there are 12% of such $H-H$ pairs of individuals, which implies a substantial lack of social mobility in the one-generation case. Next, we compute the same percentage of $H-H$ pairs among their descendants in the 2001 population census. In this case we obtain a 2.75% of $H-H$ pairs. This is just a little bit higher than 2.68% (0.1639×0.1639), which is the number we should observe if the pairs were formed in a random way among those individuals. This result suggests, again, that after four generations the link between the socioeconomic status of the first and the last generation still exists but is becoming quite weak. Interestingly, if we select the set of individuals with rare surnames in the 2001 population census we find a 7.66% of $H-H$ pairs. In the case of random formation of the pairs the percentage should be 5.2%. Thus, there is a 47% "excess" of $H-H$ types ($7.66/5.2$) in the current generation. The corresponding excess of $H-H$ type in the 19th century is 46.3% ($12/8.2$). This striking similarity between these two percentages suggests that perhaps the parameters of the one-generation mobility model have not changed much over the last three or four generations¹⁸.

7 Conclusions

We have developed a novel methodology that makes it possible to study long-run intergenerational mobility using census data from different years. We link individuals in the different census data sets by using their surnames. A necessary condition for our methodology to work is that surnames must convey socioeconomic information, i.e., there must be some bias in the distribution of surnames among the different socioeconomic groups. The existence of

¹⁸Levine and Mazumder (2007) find lower income correlations between brothers in the 1970s than in the 1980s and early 1990s. However, they find no change in the correlations in educational level between those cohorts.

such bias has been established for the Spanish case by Collado et al. (2008) and Güell et al. (2007).

We have applied our methodology to study intergenerational mobility in two Spanish regions during the 20th century. Our econometric analysis suggests that for a male born in the middle of the 19th century, the probability that any of his adult descendants (in the patrilineal line) at the end of the 20th century would have a high status, compared with the probability of having a low status, is 32% higher if he has a high status himself than if he has a low status. Thus, we still detect a significant imprint of the past. We argue, however, that if we assume stability of the mobility coefficients, the link between socioeconomic classes basically disappears after five generations.

Our results are consistent with those found by other authors examining short-run socioeconomic mobility in the second half of the 20th century. We also found that the socioeconomic link with ancestors is somewhat weaker for women than for men. It is important to stress that our methodology only analyzes the paternal line. These results could be different in the more general case considering both paternal and maternal influence, and in this case is reasonable to expect a higher influence of the past. At the same time incorporating the paternal and the maternal lines in the analysis of long run social mobility makes it difficult to talk about the social class of the ancestors. After a few generations, backwards in time, the set of ancestors of any given person becomes large and probably many of them belong to different social classes. In our case, with three generations, the number of ancestors of any individual can be 16, a number already large enough to expect that all of them belong to the same social class. In the case of even more generations (as in Clark 2010) the problem becomes much more complicated by the large number of ancestors that are shared.¹⁹ Thus, the analysis of long-run social mobility and social classes might not be well defined.

Finally, our methodology also permits estimation of the reproduction rate of different social classes. We have shown that there is a reproductive advantage for individuals in

¹⁹See Derrida et. al (2002) for an analysis of the statistical properties of genealogical trees.

higher socioeconomic groups, although it is not always statistically significant. This result is in concordance with the thesis defended by Clark (2009) for the case of England.

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Table A. Socioeconomic classification of professions in the 2001 census

Socioeconomic group	
High	Low
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural employers with employees • Professional occupations of the Public Administration • Professional, technical and similar who perform work for others • Directors and heads of farms • Directors and managers of non-agricultural establishments, senior government, regional and local officials • Professionals, technicians and the like which operate on their own, with or without employees • Non-agricultural employers with employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-agricultural entrepreneurs without employees • Non-agricultural cooperative members • Other agricultural workers • Members of agricultural cooperatives • Agricultural entrepreneurs without employees • Rest of administrative and commercial employees • Rest of employees in the service sector • Foremen and supervisors in non-agricultural firms • Skilled and specialized workers in non-agricultural firms • Unskilled workers in non-agricultural firms. • Military personal.