# Intergenerational occupational mobility in Norway, 1865-2011 

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## Motivation: Social mobility in the long run

- Large changes in the structure of the economy over the last 150 years
- The cross-section distribution of activity has changed substantially - example Norway: Farmers 1865: > 40 per cent; 2011: $\approx 1$ per cent
- Large growth in aggregate productivity
- Within-country convergence between regions
- Income inequality fell from the nineteenth century to the late twentieth century in most countries
- How did this transition affect social mobility?
- While income inequality has fallen, we do not know whether social mobility has increased


## Motivation: Why Norway

- Comparable evidence on long-run mobility mainly from Great Britain and US
- Both have special development paths
- Britain: Early industrialization, low share of farmers in nineteenth century
- United States: "New" society, extensive immigration, low population to land ratio
- Not clear how this translates to other countries
- Norway is an interesting case also for other reasons
- Transition from rural, remote society to one of the most well-off in Europe
- From (relatively) inegalitarian to egalitarian
- Consensus among historians: Low mobility in nineteenth century
- Late industrializing, early state-building: good data for most of the industrializing period


## This presentation

- Newly-compiled data on occupation distribution and intergenerational occupational mobility in Norway between 1865 and 2011
- Preview of findings:
- Nineteenth-century Norwegian mobility low: at similar level to United Kingdom
- Large increase in social mobility in Norway over time, except for farm sector


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- Preview of findings:
- Nineteenth-century Norwegian mobility low: at similar level to United Kingdom
- Large increase in social mobility in Norway over time, except for farm sector
- Increase not driven by geographic differences / convergence
- Modest contributions from mobility to between-occupation "dynastic" income inequality


## Literature: Intergenerational mobility over long time periods

- Long and Ferrie (2013):
- United States and Great Britain, 19th and 20th century
- Mobility used to be higher in the US; not so any more
- Clark and Cummins (2014) on wealth mobility: no large changes over time in UK
- Local areas in Sweden: no big changes over time (Lindahl et al, 2012; Dribe et al, 2012)


## Literature

- High social mobility in Scandinavia today, at least compared to UK and US
- Intergenerational income elasticities low in Scandinavian countries (Jäntti et al 2006, Raaum et al 2007)
- Small changes in income mobility for cohorts born 1950-1965 in Norway (Bratberg et al 2005)
- Increase in intergenerational mobility if one starts with the 1930s cohorts (Salvanes, this workshop)
- Sweden: Fall in sibling correlations for cohorts born 1932-1950; increase thereafter (Björklund et al 2009)
- Occupational mobility: Standardized studies on post-1970 data (Breen 2004) show moderately increasing mobility in several European countries (incl Scandinavia), but not in Great Britain
- Geographical heterogeneity in mobility (Chetty et al 2014)


## Data sources

- Full-count data from Norwegian censuses of 1865, 1900, 1910, 1960, 1970, 1980, 2011
- 1865-1910: digitized by Norwegian National Archives and partners from 1990s until today
- Occupation and geographical covariates coded
- Used in some economic research (eg Abramitzky et al 2012)
- No information on income or education
- 1960-2011: based on original working files from Statistics Norway
- Norwegian population register with individual IDs originate from 1964; 1960 census later added
- Occupation mean incomes: varying quality. Will use for some interpretation of results
- Covariates: some economic variables at the municipality level


## Observation structure

- Intergenerational occupation pair always comes from two different censuses

| Year | Individual A |  | Individual B |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1865 | Adult | $\leftarrow($ father-son link $) \rightarrow$ | Child |
|  |  |  | $\uparrow$ |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (person match) |
|  |  |  | $\downarrow$ |
| 1900 |  |  | Adult |
|  |  |  |  |

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|  |  |  | $\downarrow$ |
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|  |  |  | (Son's occ.) |

- Before 1960: No individual ID numbers
- Individuals matched on names, time of birth and place of birth
- Allow for differences in spelling, minor misreporting of times/places
- No matching on address / household composition
- Father-son identification based on co-residence at time of census


## Matching: Results

Matchable: "Son" is age $30-60$ at $t_{1}$, alive at $t_{0}$, born in Norway.

| $t_{0}-t_{1}$ | Matchable in $t_{1}$ | Share found in $t_{0}$ | Known father in $t_{0}$ | Matched pop. | Father age 30-60 | Both <br> have <br> occ. | Final sample |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1865-1900 | 246,373 | 37.7\% | 71.9\% | 66,790 | 91.4\% | 98.1\% | 59,896 |
| 1910-1960 | 246,911 | 45.4\% | 77.8\% | 87,188 | 88.8\% | 89.6\% | 69,356 |
| 1960-1980 | 717,678 | 100.0\% | 40.3\% | 289,040 | 82.3\% | 84.6\% | 201,297 |
| 1980-2011 | 883,951 | 100.0\% | 93.6\% | 827,210 | 80.8\% | 75.6\% | 505,441 |

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| Other studies |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1850-1880 | 62,811 | 21.9\% | 74.2\% | 9,497 |  | US 1\% |  |
| 1851-1881 |  | 20.3\% |  | 14,191 |  | UK 2\% |  |
| 1865-1900 |  | $\approx 5 \%$ |  | 20,446 |  | NO/US |  |

(1): Long and Ferrie 2013; (2): Abramitzky et al 2012

## Occupations

- Occupations present the longest-running consistent information on individual economic conditions
- Changes in occupation reporting standards over time
- Here: standardize to four occupation categories similar to Long and Ferrie (2013)
- Population universe for this talk: Men 30-60 years old at time of observation


## Occupations

| Category | Examples of subgroups |
| :--- | :--- |
| White-collar | Teachers, Merchants, Captains <br> Lawyers, Managers, Office clerks <br> Shop clerks, Salesmen |
| Farmer | Farmers, Farmer-fishermen, <br> Farm managers |
| Manual, skilled | Carpenters, Electricians, Welders, <br> Car mechanics, Butchers |
| Manual, unskilled | Husbandmen/Cottars, Fishermen <br> Farm workers, Day laborers, Loggers |

(Compatibility: Long and Ferrie (2013))

## Occupations over time



## Unit of observation: $4 \times 4$ matrices

Example: 1865-1900

|  |  | Son's occupation |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | W | F | S | U |
|  | White-collar (W) | 2,277 | 189 | 541 | 187 |
|  | Farmer (F) | 3,233 | 21,118 | 5,247 | 5,287 |
|  | Manual, skilled (S) | 1,622 | 519 | 3,304 | 935 |
|  | Manual, unskilled (U) | 1,060 | 4,006 | 4,892 | 5,793 |

## Transition probabilities

Probability of son having same occupation as father


## Transition probabilities and odds ratios



$$
\Theta_{W W S S}=\log \left(\frac{0.71 / 0.17}{0.25 / 0.52}\right)=\log \left(\frac{4.16}{0.48}\right)=\log (8.60)=2.15
$$

## Transition probabilities and odds ratios



Aggregate mobility: use Altham statistic (Altham 1970; Long and Ferrie 2013):

$$
d(P, J)=\left(\sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{s} \sum_{l=1}^{r} \sum_{m=1}^{s}\left[\log \left(\frac{p_{i j} / p_{i m}}{p_{l j} / p_{l m}}\right)\right]^{2}\right)^{1 / 2}
$$

## Probabilities and odds ratios over time

$\theta_{i j l m}=\log \left(\frac{p_{i j} / p_{i m}}{p_{l i} / p_{l m}}\right)$




## Odds ratios: Norway, UK and US

$\theta_{i j l m}=\log \left(\frac{p_{i j} / p_{i m}}{p_{l i} / p_{l m}}\right)$



England and Wales


## Components of the Altham statistic

$d(P, J)=\left(\sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{s} \sum_{l=1}^{r} \sum_{m=1}^{s}\left[\log \left(\frac{p_{i j} / p_{i m}}{p_{l j} / p_{l m}}\right)\right]^{2}\right)^{1 / 2}$


## Odds ratio aggregates

Six subgroups that sum to the Altham statistic


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Nonfarm and farm-nonfarm

## Odds ratio aggregates

Six subgroups that sum to the Altham statistic


Nonfarm and farm-nonfarm

W=White collar, S=Skilled, U=Unskilled, F=Farmer, NF=Not Farmer (=W, S or U)

## Different trends in farm mobility and nonfarm mobility

Norway, UK, US: Twoway decomposition of social mobility


## Different trends in farm mobility and nonfarm mobility

|  |  | $d(P, J)=$ <br> Distance from <br> full mobility | Nonfarm and <br> farm-nonfarm <br> component | Farm <br> component |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Norway | $1865-1900$ | 24.2 | 19.0 | 15.0 |
|  | $1910-1960$ | 20.3 | 15.5 | 13.2 |
|  | $1960-1980$ | 22.3 | 12.7 | 18.4 |
|  | $1980-2011$ | 19.2 | 7.8 | 17.5 |
| UK | $1851-1881$ | 22.7 | 12.4 | 19.0 |
|  | 1952 | 24.0 | 10.7 | 21.5 |
| US | 1850 | 11.9 | 8.5 | 8.4 |
|  | 1880 | 14.6 | 9.6 | 11.0 |
|  | 1952 | 20.8 | 8.5 | 18.9 |

## Mobility differences across subregions

- Calculate the farm and nonfarm components for $d(P, J)$ for subpopulations
- Regional comparisons: Rural vs. urban, High vs. low economic growth
- High-growth areas more "dynamic"?
- Individual-group comparisons: Movers vs. nonmovers
- Hypothesis: Correlation between moving location and moving occupation: movers have higher social mobility
- The emigration question: Areas with high and low emigration
- Hypothesis: depends on selection of immigrants
- Poor but industrious more likely to emigrate: high emigration $\rightarrow$ low social mobility
- Well-off more likely to emigrate: high emigration $\rightarrow$ high social mobility


## Mobility differences across subregions

Nonfarm and farm-nonfarm components

|  |  | $1865-$ | $1910-$ | $1960-$ | $1980-$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 1900 | 1960 | 1980 | 2011 |
| Reference |  | 19.0 | 15.5 | 12.7 | 7.8 |
| Rural / Urban | Rural | 17.4 | 15.8 | 13.3 | 7.9 |
|  | Urban | 18.3 | 14.8 | 12.3 | 7.7 |
| Local inc. growth | Below mean | 19.5 | 15.1 | 12.5 | 7.8 |
|  | Above mean | 18.3 | 15.0 | 12.5 | 7.8 |
| Mover / Nonmover | Rural nonmover | 18.8 | 16.7 | 14.6 | 8.7 |
|  | Mrban nonmover | 18.9 | 15.9 | 13.3 | 8.5 |
|  | Mover $(R \rightarrow R)$ | 18.3 | 16.0 | 10.9 | 6.0 |
|  | Mover $(U \rightarrow R)$ | 14.8 | 12.0 | 10.1 | 5.7 |
|  | Mover $(U \rightarrow U)$ | 15.9 | 11.9 | 9.7 | 5.7 |
|  | 16.8 | 11.4 | 8.4 | 5.4 |  |
| Local e emigration <br> rate | Low | 18.6 | 15.7 |  |  |

## Childhood environment over and above father's occupation

- Social mobility: the extent to which son's occupation depends on father's occupation
- However, also neighborhood effects
- Son of farmer father more likely to live in farming area $\rightarrow$ more likely to be a farmer himself
- Hypothesis: Measures of intergenerational occupational mobility goes down when we control for region of origin


## Correcting for region of origin

To add control variables, we can consider a multinomial logit system of three equations ( $W$ as reference category):
$\log \left(\frac{\operatorname{Pr}\left(O c c_{q}=k\right)}{\operatorname{Pr}\left(O c c_{q}=W\right)}\right)=\alpha_{k}+\boldsymbol{\beta}_{k}^{\prime} \boldsymbol{D}_{q}+\gamma_{k}^{\prime} \boldsymbol{X}_{q}+\epsilon_{k, q} \quad k=F, S, U$

- $\mathbf{D}_{\mathbf{q}}=\left\{D_{F}, D_{S}, D_{U}\right\}$ characterizes father's occupation
- $\beta_{k}=\left\{\beta_{k}^{F}, \beta_{k}^{S}, \beta_{k}^{U}\right\}$ is the associated parameter vector
- $\mathbf{X}_{\mathbf{q}}$ is a vector of other individual covariates with associated parameters $\gamma_{k}$

The Altham statistic depends only on the $\beta$ 's:

$$
\begin{equation*}
d(P, J)=\left(\sum_{i=1}^{N} \sum_{j=1}^{N} \sum_{l=1}^{N} \sum_{m=1}^{N}\left[\left(\beta_{j}^{i}-\beta_{m}^{i}\right)-\left(\beta_{j}^{\prime}-\beta_{m}^{\prime}\right)\right]^{2}\right)^{1 / 2} \tag{1}
\end{equation*}
$$

Can bootstrap confidence intervals using parameter standard errors

## Correcting for region of origin: Results

| Time period | No controls | No controls, <br> clustered SE | Local mean <br> income | Employment <br> shares | Regional <br> dummies |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1865-1900$ | 24.2 | 24.2 | 22.1 | 20.8 | 21.0 |
| $(23.7-24.7)$ | $(23.0-25.4)$ | $(21.1-23.1)$ | $(19.4-22.3)$ | $(19.7-22.3)$ |  |
| $1910-1960$ | 20.3 | 20.3 | 18.1 | 17.7 | 17.7 |
|  | $(20.0-20.7)$ | $(19.2-21.6)$ | $(17.5-18.8)$ | $(17.0-18.4)$ | $(17.0-18.4)$ |
| $1960-1980$ | 22.3 | 22.3 | 21.2 | 20.0 | 19.9 |
|  | $(22.1-22.6)$ | $(21.2-23.6)$ | $(20.5-22.0)$ | $(19.3-20.8)$ | $(19.1-20.7)$ |
| $1980-2011$ | 19.2 | 19.2 | 18.1 | 17.1 | 16.9 |
|  | $(18.9-19.4)$ | $(18.3-20.1)$ | $(17.4-18.9)$ | $(16.4-17.8)$ | $(16.3-17.6)$ |

## Interpreting occupational mobility as welfare changes

## Using mean income data

- Before 1967, no individual data on income
- However, can piece together mean incomes by occupation
- 1980 and 2011: from tax micro data
- 1960: using tax micro data from 1967 on individuals in 1960
- 1910 and 1900: using tabulations of income by occupation, age and gender from 1911
- 1865: using tabulations of mean taxes paid by occupation group from 1868 (different population definition: all men age $25+$ )


Figure: Mean income of occupation group relative to population mean, by year

## The contribution of occupational mobility to dynastic income equalization

- Consider the two-generation "dynastic income" of fathers and sons:

$$
Y_{\text {dynasty }, 1865-1900}=Y_{\text {father }, 1865}+\frac{1}{g} Y_{\text {son }, 1900}
$$

using the mean incomes of occupation groups.

- Question: How much has increased social mobility contributed to equalization of dynastic incomes?
- Decomposition analysis a la DiNardo et al (1996) / Eika et al (2014):
- Contribution of marginal income distributions vs contributions of intergenerational occupational mobility
- Here: Fix the marginal income distributions, consider counterfactual intergenerational mobility matrices


## Constructing a counterfactual $4 \times 4$ income matrix

- Adjustment procedure of Mosteller (1968) used to construct matrix $M_{t}^{k}$ matching marginal distributions of time interval $t$ and odds ratios (and hence $d(P, J)$ ) of time $k$
- The matrix has 16 degrees of freedom
- 7 degrees needed to match father and son population distributions
- 9 remaining degrees correspond to the 9 independent odds ratios (for example WF,WU,WF for father and son)
- For $t$, use the actual father-son distributions of individuals, and the actual income distributions
- For $k$, consider actual matrices and (a) full mobility, ie all odds ratios are 1, and (b) lowest constructable mobility respecting marginal distributions


## Results from the counterfactual analysis

Gini coefficient of occupation mean incomes

|  | Gini coefficients (no counterfactual) |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $t$ | Fathers+Sons | Fathers | Sons |
| $1865-1900$ | 15.7 | 12.8 | 24.5 |
| $1910-1960$ | 19.0 | 24.5 | 17.2 |
| $1960-1980$ | 11.0 | 16.6 | 7.9 |
| $1980-2011$ | 8.3 | 8.0 | 10.9 |

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|  | F+S Gini coefficients with mobility counterfactuals |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $t$ | Lowest mob. | $1865-1900$ | $1910-1960$ | $1960-1980$ | $1900-2011$ | Highest mob. $(J)$ |
| $1865-1900$ | 18.2 | 15.7 | 15.4 | 15.2 | 15.0 | 15.4 |
| $1910-1960$ | 20.8 | 19.2 | 19.0 | 18.9 | 18.3 | 16.2 |
| $1960-1980$ | 12.2 | 11.2 | 11.0 | 11.0 | 10.6 | 9.7 |
| $1980-2011$ | 9.5 | 8.9 | 8.7 | 8.6 | 8.3 | 7.5 |

## Results from the counterfactual analysis

- High dynastic income inequality before 1960:
- 1865-1900: no contribution from mobility (high change in income distribution gives lower father-son correlations anyway)
- 1910-1960: Some contribution from mobility (actual: Gini=19, full-mobility Gini 16)
- After 1960: less variation between occupation mean incomes; lower span of potential Gini coefficient
- Despite dissimilarity of mobility matrices, replacing one with another does not greatly affect the dynastic income Gini in any of the time periods
- Results must be cautiously interpreted; only between-occupation inequality measured


## Change in mobility over time

- Intergenerational mobility has increased over time in Norway, unlike in Great Britain
- However, composition of decrease different from that in the United States
- Increase in mobility mid-20th century also found for earnings in Norway (Salvanes) and Sweden (Björklund et al)
- However, no trace of increased inequality (and possible decrease in mobility, cf. Swedish results) for Norway
- Split of white-collar into two occupation groups only amplifies increase in mobility over time
- However, still plenty of scope for within-occupation inequality; more individual-based rather than class-based rewards etc.


## Geographic determinants

- Increased intergenerational mobility not primarily driven by regional convergence
- ...or by transatlantic migration
- High-income areas experience slightly higher intergenerational mobility in the early period
- Geographic mobility correlated with occupational mobility


## Future work

- Mobility over several generations
- More case-specific analyses (technology etc)
- Mobility by industry?
- Interaction between geographical and occupational mobility
- More family background: mother's coded occupation, siblings

