Overnight Americans: Economic Assimilation of Mexican Crossed by the Border

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Abstract

Inter-country conflicts usually lead to annexations and occupations, yet we don't know much about how the populations that get absorbed assimilate both socially and in the labor market. This paper studies the economic and social outcomes of Mexicans that were absorbed by the US annexation of the American Southwest in the mid 19th century. I find achievement gaps in the labor market that get passed along to their children, as well as low intermarriage rates. These gaps are much bigger than the gaps observed for Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. One of the main drivers of these differences seems to be loction.

Borders move as a result of wars or natural phenomenons, which results in populations adjacent to them changing countries. While this are not historically high frequency events, historical and contemporary occurences do affect a lot of people. These episodes have been used to study questions such as the determinants of national identity Dehdari & Gehring (2022) and institutions Cannella et al. (2024). Neverhteless, little attention has been paid so far to the outcomes of the individuals that get absorbed by the annexing country. Moreover, the evidence that we do have for minorities that adapt to a new country come from either voluntary or involuntary migration –such as economic or political refugees– and is not likely applicable to a group of individuals that do not physically move but have to now adapt to a new socio-political context. Theoretically it is not clear whether these individuals would be better or worse off than voluntary or involuntary

migrants, as they may have pre-existing social networks and knowledge of the local context, but they're less likely to be positively selected.

This paper fills this gap in the literature by using an untapped historical episode: the annexation of Mexican territory by the United States in the mid 19th century. The Mexican-American War (1846-1848) ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, whose main provision was for Mexico to cede half of its territory to the US. As a result, the present day US states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado, were ceded by Mexico. Texas declared itself an independent republic in 1836 and was annexed by the US in 1845, which eventually led to the Mexican-American War.

Around 100,000 Mexicans were living in these territories at the time of US annexation. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo allowed them to stay there if they were willing to renounce their Mexican citizenship and become Americans; it also pledged to protect their property rights. I look into the economic and social outcomes of these Mexicans and benchmark their outcomes with native-born white Americans. Also, I compare them to other minority groups –namely native-born free Black Americans and Latin American migrants (including Mexicans)– to get both a clear comparison to the dominant group and to see whether the gaps faced by Mexicans crossed-by-the-border (MCCB) are comparable to other minority groups. Finally, I also look at the social and labor outcomes of their children to see whether these gaps get passed along to the second generation.

Using an occupational ranking based on measures of income and wealth at the occupation-state level (following Collins & Zimran (2023)) and a panel of working age men living west of the Missisippi River in 1850, I find that working-age Mexicans in 1850 had, on average, lower ranked occupations than native-born whites. They held occupations that are 30 percentage points below those held by native-born whites west of the Missisippi River. Moreover, contrary to patterns found in the immigration literature (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2012) and Abramitzky et al. (2014)), rather than converging to native-born whites or even staying constant, the gap widens as decades go by. MCCBs start their time in the US holding lower-ranked occupations than native-born whites and they end up falling in the occupational ranking even further by 1880.

When compared to Black Americans that were free in 1850, MCCBs face a penalty of around 20 percentage points in 1850, which stays almost constant by 1860. However, in 1870 this group of free Black Americans sees a big decrease in their occupational ranking, which places them at

a similar gap with respect to native-born whites than MCBB. Latin American migrants, on the other hand, start off with a smaller gap of around 10 percentage points in 1850 with respect to MCBBs, but they manage to keep their occupational ranking gap with respect to native-born whites relatively constant throughout the period. Thus, by 1880 MCCBs are holding lower-ranked occupations when compared to Latin American migrants, while standing close in the ranking to free Black Americans.

The main driver of these occupational score gaps seems to be geography. When I compare individuals from these groups to native-born whites living in the same state rather that anywhere west of the Mississipi River, MCCBs seem to be doing as well as native-born whites in 1850. Although the pattern of MCBBs moving down the occupational ranking as time goes by remains, the magnitude of the gap is much smaller and reaches around 20 percentage points with respect to native-born whites by 1880. Moreover, when compared to free Black Americans and Latin American migrants within the same state and year, MCCBs seem to hold occupations with the same standng in the ranking. Thus, it seems that MCBBs are living in states in which, on average, the occupational ranking is lower.

I then look at social outcomes of MCBBs, namely whether they marry non-hispanic women more often than Latin American migrants and whether they are more likely to use "Mexican" names on their children than Mexican migrants. The results are mixed: while MCBBs are much less likely to marry non-hispanic women throughout the period –regardless of whether we make the comparison within the same state or not–, they seem to be using non-Mexican names for their children at a similar rate than Mexican migrants from 1860 to 1880.

Finally, I look at the outcomes of the children of MCBBs and compare them to the children of native-born whites, Latin American migrants and free Black Americans in 1880. The results show that the gap oserved in the first generation gets passed on almost entirely to the second generation: sons of MCCBs have occupations that are almost 30pp below in the occupational ranking when compared to sons of native-born whites. Sons of free Black Americans and Latin American migrants still face a penalty, but its magnitude gets cut in approximately half. Once again, geography seems to be the main driver of these gaps: once I compare these sons of MCBBs with sons of other groups that grew up in the same state, the gap between sons of MCBBs and sons of native-born whites gets cut in half, while the gaps with respect to sons of free Black Americans and Latin American migrants decrease by around a third.

These patterns are also present when looking at intergenerational mobility throughout the whole parental income ranking distribution. Sons of native-born whites see higher absolute mobility at the bottom of the parental income distribution than every other group, as well as a higher rate of relative mobility. Thus, when compared to sons of all other groups in my sample, sons of native-born whites seem to be better off. Sons of MCCB see a similar disadvantege when compared to sons of Latin American migrants: they have a lower absolute mobility at the bottom of the parental income distribution and they have a marginally higher relative mobility rate. When comparing kids of MCCBs parents to kids of free Black American parents, however, the patterns are mixed: sons of free Black Americans see higher absolute mobility than sons of MCCBs, but lower rates of relative mobility. Thus, sons of MCCBs at the bottom of the income distribution land in lower-ranked occupations than sons of free Black Americans in a similar household. However, his pattern reverses for sons of parents with better-ranked occupations.

Finally, the social outcome of assimilation for kids of MCCB heritage seems to be different than for kids of Latin American migrants: they are around 5pp less likely to marry non-Hispanic women. This difference, however, does dissapear when making the comparison among kids that grew up in the same state.

This paper contributes to several strands of the literature. First, it contributes to the small but growing literature on the effects of annexations and occupations. Here I improve our understanding on several fronts. To begin with, the existing literature focuses on aggregate outcomes to answer questions on the institutional legacy of these episodes (Cannella et al. (2024)) or on the formation and consolidation of national identity (Dehdari & Gehring (2022)). This paper, on the other hand, looks at the individual-level labor and social outcomes of individuals that were absorbed by the new country. Moreover, these papers focus on European cases, while this paper is the first one to look at a case in North America.

Second, it contributes to the literature on the long run outcomes of minorities in the US. While a lot of attention has been put to the outcomes of free Black Americans since the 19th century (e.g. Derenoncourt (2022), Derenoncourt et al. (2023), Derenoncourt et al. (2024), Althoff & Reichardt (2024)), or to the outcomes of Native Americans (e.g. Feir et al. (2024)), little or no attention has been put on the outcomes of Mexicans absorbed by the US post-annexation. This group is of particular interest given the fact that, unlike Native Americans, MCBBs were not segregated into reservations and, unlike free Black Americans, they were not enslaved. Moreover, they were

racially, culturally and linguistically very different from the native-born white majority of the US.

This paper also contributes to the literature on economic outcomes of Mexicans in the United States, both historically (e.g. Kosack & Ward (2020), Escamilla-Guerrero & López-Alonso (2023), Escamilla-Guerrero et al. (2021)) and in the present day (e.g. Antman et al. (2016), Chiquiar & Hanson (2005)). While these papers focus on the outcomes of Mexican voluntary migrants or US-born individuals of Mexican heritage, this paper looks at the outcomes of Mexicans that "crossed by the border". While racism and discrimination are likely challenges faced by all of these groups, MCBBs faced unique challenges given that they were involuntarilly absorbed.

Finally, this paper also contributes to the literature on intergenerational mobility and its determinants, particularly in the case of minorities. While a lot of attention has been put on the outcomes of free Black Americans (e.g. Chetty et al. (2020), Jácome et al. (2022)) or to the outcomes of children of immigrants (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2021), Abramitzky et al. (2014)), little or no attention has been put on the outcomes of children of Mexicans, much less of those absorbed by the US. This literature has also emphasized the importance of geography as a determinant of intergenerational mobility (e.g. Chetty et al. (2020)), which is a key mechanism in this paper as well.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, section 1 presents the historical context that led these Mexicans to be crossed by the border. Section 2 introduces the data and main variables used throughout the paper. Section 3 presents the results for the first generation, while section 4 presents the results for the second generation. Finally, section 5 concludes.

1 Historical Context

Mexico became an independent nation in 1821, after an 11 year long revolutionary war in which Spain lost the territories that comprised the American Viceroyalty of New Spain, over which it had ruled for 300 years. After a devastating revolutionary war, the new nation was left with the task of building state capacity in the midst of a domestic political turmoil. Moreover, it inherited an issue that the Spanish crown tried to solve for centuries: populating its northern frontier.

Present day US states of California, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas were very scarcely populated by Spaniards and their descendants in 1821. New Mexico was the most populated territory, having around 40,000 inhabitants by the time of Mexico's independence.

California was mostly impenetrable by land and the few remanents of Spanish settlement were limited to *misiones*: catholic orders (originally Jesuits, but later Franciscans) whose mission was to convert local natives to Catholicism and teach them how to live a sedentary life.

Mexico, following the Spanish tradition, gave land grants to its citizens to populate its northern frontier. These grants were awarded either communally or individually and they usually imposed certain requirements: from harvesting and defending the land for a period of time, to settling a given number of families.

Having a relatively small population for its territory and being unable to compete for European migrants with the United States, the Mexican government ended up granting land to Americans, particularly in northern Texas. The young nation-state feared the United States' expansionism and had an urge to populate its northern frontier with its own citizens. To this end, American colonists were required to become Mexican citizens and to convert to Catholicism. Ironically, it was this population of northern Texas which lit the spark that eventually led to Mexico losing half of its territory.

In 1835, protesting against centralist changes imposed by the Mexican government, American residents of northern Texas declared their independence from Mexico. A small war was fought and, somewhat unexpectedly, the Mexican government ended up recognizing Texas as an independent nation. This recognition, however, came with a disagreement over territorial lines (detailed in figure 1) and with a clause of mutual understanding that Texas would not join the United States.

In 1845, however, Texas joined the U.S. as a state, violating said clause and transforming the disagreement over borders between Mexico and Texas into a dispute between Mexico and the United States. This led to a minor incident between the Mexican and American armies in the disputed territories, which started the US-Mexico war in 1846. The American army proved to be superior and achieved a Mexican rendition by 1848 without much destruction, except for its entrance into Mexico City. Mexico was forced to cede present day Arizona[1], Colorado, Kansas, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Wyoming, as well as all of California, New Mexico, and Utah.

Mexico lacked a good account of its inhabitants (it's first full-count census wasn't done until 1895), so we don't know exactly how many people were inhabiting these ceded states. Historians estimate that between 80,000 and 120,000 people were living in today's American Southwest

[1] A small section of southern Arizona and New Mexico was acquired in 1853 in what became known in the US as the "Gadsden purchase". Details can be found in figure 1.

(Weber (1982)). These numbers come from local population counts carried between 1830 and 1845.

Mexicans living in these states were protected by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war and established the terms of the cession. They were allowed to stay in these territories if they were willing to become naturalized US citizens. Most of them chose this path never to return to Mexico (Castillo (1992)). The treaty also stipulated that, as naturalized American citizens, they would have their political and property rights protected by the American government[2] (Weber (2003)).

Under US rule, the area grew in its economic importance as it became more connected to the rest of the country. In some places, like northern California, this change came quickly as the Gold Rush drew people into the area in 1849. Other gold rushes, like Colorado's in 1858, kept attracting internal and international migrants, which increased the demand for agricultural goods and services. In other places, the incorporation into the national markets came with the railroads between 1870 and 1880. Finally, there was a lot of heterogeneity in how these territories evolved politically: California became a state as soon as 1850; Colorado and Utah were territories until 1876 and 1896, respectively; while New Mexico and Arizona gained statehood until 1912.

2 Data and Empirical Approach

2.1 Data

To measure the economic and social outcomes of MCBBs in the United states I make use of multiple variables. The first characteristic that I use are the occupations reported by the individuals in the US census. In order to be able to directly compare across occupations, I follow the literature looking at job market outcomes during this time period (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2012), Abramitzky et al. (2014), Song et al. (2020), Collins & Zimran (2023)) and use an occupational score[3]. Occupational scores, as argued by Abramitzky et al. (2014), are a good meassure of the

[2]These promises were deliberately vague as the US Senate, prior to ratifying the Treaty, removed a clause that provided details as to how the land titles extended by the Spanish and Mexican governments would be protected. As it turned out, by the end of the century a majority of the Mexicans absorbed by the US would end up losing their real estate property, either completely or partiallyCastillo (1992).

[3]It would of course be better to use wage data to capture both the across-occupation variation, as well as the within occupation. However, the US Census didn't have a question on wages or income until 1940.

permanent income of occupations given that they are usually based on a summary statistic of income, such as the median. Thus, my occupational outcomes should be interpreted as moving in or out of occupations with different levels of permanent income and should reflect cross-occupation wage differences.

I follow Collins & Zimran (2023) and construct two different occupational scores. The first one uses the occupational income score produced by Preston & Haines (1991) based on the Cost of Living Survey of 1901. The only missing piece, however, are farmers' income, which I estimate using the 1900 Agricultural Census, as done in Abramitzky et al. (2012) and Jácome et al. (2022). Since there is a lot of state level variation in farmer income, my preferred version of this occupational score allows for farmer income to vary at the state level. Finally, I abstain from inferring the distance between occupations and construct an occupational ranking based on this occupational score.

I then construct a second occupational ranking based on wealth rather than income. To do this, I use the questions about the value of personal and real estate property in the 1870 Census. I restrict the sample to white males in 1870 and assign the median value of the sum of these two sources of wealth per each occupational category in each state. As with the occupational income score described above, I then create a ranking to avoid making any assumptions on the distance between occupations. My preferred occupational score is the mean of these two rankings, which is itself a ranking[4].

Aside from the occupational ranking –my main outcome variable related to the labor market–, I also make use of several social outcomes. First, I look at intermarriage rates by looking at the probablility of marrying a non-hispanic woman. This outcome is directly observable in the census given that we know both the family structure, the relationship among family members, as well as the place of birth of every individual. I will be considering an individual as hispanic if she's either born anywhere in Latin America or if she was born in the Mexican ceded territories prior to the Mexican cession.

The second social outcome that I look into are the naming patterns of their children. To

[4]Previous papers have relied on the median wage for each occupation classification as reported in the 1950 census (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2012) and Abramitzky et al. (2014)) or a literacy ranking as a measure of prestige (Song et al. (2020)). I avoid these occupational scores because 1950 wages are not likely to represent the occupation ranking in 1850 and because the prevalence of literacy within occupations need not be correlated with occupational status in the resource-driven economy of the American West in this time period.

zoom in on "Mexican" names, I follow Abramitzky et al. (2020b) and construct an index that measures how "Mexican" a name is. To do this, I use names of individuals born pre-1846 –when the Mexican-American War started– as reported in the 1850 US Census and observe the frequency of names within individuals born eihter in Mexico or in the ceded territories pre-annexation. The Mexican Name Index is then constructed as follows:

$$MexicanNameIndex_{n,t} = \frac{\frac{\#mexicans_{n,t}}{total\#mexicans_t}}{\frac{\#mexicans_{n,t}}{total\#mexicans} + \frac{\#natives_{n,t}}{total\#natives_t}}$$

2.2 Inferring *Crossed by the Border* Status

The Census does not ask questions about immigration status up until 1900. However, it did ask every individual in it about their birthplace, which is what researchers in the past have used to study immigrants during this time period. For Mexicans, however, there are two groups of people showing up in the US census: those who voluntarily chose to come to the US and those who got absorbed by the US –and stayed– after the Mexican American War ended and Mexico ceded its territory.

Given that this paper is interested in understanding the assimilation of Mexicans that were *crossed by the border*, distinguishing them from Mexican migrants is crucial. I'll do this by using the birthplace and birth date questions in the Census: those born in the ceded Mexican territories prior to 1848 will be labeled as Mexicans crossed by the border, while everyone stating being born in Mexico will be considered a Mexican migrant.

Given the information at hand, this classification rule should work very well when identifying MCBBs for several reasons. First-off, we have to consider that American –and, more generally, non-Mexican– settlers were not absent from these territories, particularly in northern Texas, as explained in section 1. We would not want to consider them as Mexicans, even if they had naturalized to get land grants and to be allowed to live in Mexico. These individuals, however, would not have reported being born in Mexico, which avoids these issues. Moreover, given that US immigration to Mexico grew by 1830, their kids would not appear in the analysis sample (to be described in section 2.1). Thus, we can be sure that individuals classified as Mexicans –either voluntary or involuntary migrants– were, in fact, Mexican.

Another source of concern is whether this rule does a good job at distinguishing MCBBs from Mexican migrants. We can potentially make two different kinds of mistake: labeling a migrant

as a MCBB, or labeling a MCBB as a migrant. The former issue seems unlikely thanks to the fact that Census enumerators were emphasized to find out whether individuals were born in the territory or state in which the interview took place, ask whether they were born in any other US territory or state if not, and finally ask the place of origin if the individual was not born in any part of the US. Both the fact that these individuals were not very likely to move and the fact that enumerators were instructed to be as thorough as possible in recording the place of origin gives us reassurance that those individuals who appear as born in "Mexico" in the Census were not born in the ceded territory.

The last mislabeling challenge to discuss is that individuals could be born outside of the ceded territories but move into them before cession. Strictly speaking, these individuals would be involuntary migrants *into the US*. However, they would be voluntary migrants *into the ceded territories*, and thus selection into migration should be similar among these individuals choosing to migrate pre and post US annexation of these territories. Classifying them as voluntary migrants reflects this.

Finally, we could also be mistaken if individuals born in the ceded states voluntarily migrate to the US before cession. This is also a non-testable case but we have some reassurance that this errors would be minimal. On the one hand, Mexico-US migration became prominent until the beginning of the 20th century, as explained in Escamilla-Guerrero & López-Alonso (2023). Thus, these cases should be very uncommon. Moreover, the population that we can find in the 1850 Census roughly coincides in size with most historical estimates pre-cession. Finally, the bulk of the Mexican population categorized as MCBB in the 1850 Census was living in the ceded territory. Thus, for misclassification to be happening, they would need to have voluntarily migrated elsewhere in the US only to move back into these territories after cession.

Thus, using birthplace and birth date to classify MCBBs should work well. Moreover, table 1 –discussed in more detail below– shows that the baseline characteristics of MCBBs in 1850 are very different from those of Latin American migrants, which provides reassurance that the classification rule is indeed differentiating MCBBs from migrants.

2.3 New Mexico 1945 Census

Given the characteristics of the enumeration process described above and the fact that MCBBs and Latin American migrants present different baseline characteristics in 1850, we can be reasonably

sure that the classification rule works well. However, there might still be some skepticism. To address any remaining concerns, we would want to know who were the individuals living in the ceded territories prior to cession and then look for them in the US censuses post annexation. Unfortunately, Mexico did not conduct a full-count census until 1895, so there is no complete record of who was living in these territories prior to US annexation. However, Mexico did conduct censuses in different states and territories throughoout the 19th century. Of particular interest for this paper, a census was conducted in the New Mexico territory in 1845, one year prior to the beginning of the Mexican-American war.

While it is true that New Mexico was only one in many of the ceded territories, most of the Mexican population absorbed by the US lived there prior to 1848. Thus, being able to construct an alternative sample composed of of individuals living in New Mexico prior to cession should give us a good sense of how big the selection issue could be.

The caveat of the New Mexico 1845 census is that most of it was destroyed during the war or misplaced during annexation, so only around 10% of it survived. Thus, I can't use it for my main analysis because I lose too much statistical power. However, I digitized the available records and use them to conduct a robustness test. First, I use the sample that I hand linked from the 1845 New Mexico Census to the 1850-1880 US Census as a robustness sample and show that, while the standard errors do increase substantially, the point estimates are consistent with the main analysis.

Moreover, given that the US-Mexico border was quite porpous until the 1920s, there is a concern that some Mexicans crossed by the border could have moved back to Mexico after cession. Specifically, if MCBBs were selected –either positively or negatively– on their willingness to stay in the US, this give us a biased estimate of their path to assimilation. While the sample composition issue is not present in the panel data analysis, selection into this sample could still be a source of bias. This New Mexico sample is also reassuring because it achieves matching rates close to 20%, which is similar to the matching rates achieved using the ABE when linking the US censusus from two distinct decades.

2.4 Other Data Sources

Aside from the US full count censuses and the New Mexico 1845 Census, I make use of additional data sources. First, I use the Census Tree Links (Price et al. (2021), Buckles & Haws (2023))

to construct a panel of men of working age in 1850. This data is a crosswalk for individuals across census years that leverages name, sex, and age, as well as family trees constructed by their descendants. It achieves relatively high linking rates (around 50%).

The second additional data source comes from the Census Place Project (Berkes et al. (2023)). This crosswalk takes individuals in a given census year, uses the detailed enumeration information, and places them in 2010 geographic counties. Given that there are a lot of administrative changes during this time period (e.g. Arizona was formally part of the New Mexico Territory until 1863), keeping boundary lines constant is important, particularly when adding state fixed effects into the regressions.

3 Economic and Social Assimilation of MCBBs: First Generation

Before diving into the results of the regressions described above, Table 1 illustrates the main characteristics of working age MCBBs and US-born white men in 1850 a couple of years post-annexation. For reference, I also include Latin American migrants and free Black Americans in 1850. This table is particularly useful because it gives us the baseline characteristics of these groups of individuals right after the annexation took place.

The first thing to notice is that MCBBs are more likely to be married and have more children than Latin American migrants. This is consistent with our understanding of migration in the mid 19th century: it was mainly driven by young men moving alone[5]. Moreover, in 1850 it seems that Latin American migrants are positively selected –at least when compared to MCBBs: they present higher literacy rates and a higher occupational score (based on Preston & Haines (1991)). Finally, MCBBs do seem to have more wealth in 1850: they report marginally higher real estate value and are much more likely to report a positive real estate value, even more so than native whites.

In terms of occupations, MCBBs and Latin American migrants also seem different. While 35% of MCBBs report being farmers, only 3.3% of Latin American migrants do so. Moreover, 46% of MCBBs report an unskilled occupation, while only a fifth of Latin American migrants do so.

[5]Notice that there are no differences in age by construction, as this sample is selected on their age as explained in this section.

Finally, Latin American migrants seem to be predominantly operatives (miners), while only 3% of MCBBs fall under this category.

Thus, MCBBs have, on average, lower-ranked occupations and lower literacy rates. However, they are the group more likely to have real estate, which is consistent with the fact that they had been west of the Missisippi River for a longer period of time that any other group. They also seem to be morel likely to be married and, on average, have more children. MCBBs and Latin American migrants seem to be very different groups of individuals, which provides reassurance that my classification rule is indeed distinguishing Mexicans absorbed by the US post-annexation from Latin American voluntary migrants, including Mexicans.

3.1 Empirical Approach: First Generation

To analyze how the occupational score gaps and the occupational outcomes evolve between US white born individuals and MCBBs, I follow the methodology laid out in Abramitzky et al. (2014). However, instead of using the year of migration to calculate the time that MCBBs have been in the US, I use the fact that they were all absorbed by the US in 1848. Thus, year dummies are equivalent to years in the US for the MCBB population.

I run the following regression:

$$y_{it} = \alpha + \sum_{\tau=1850}^{1880} \beta_t I(\tau = t) \times MCBB_i + \sum_{p=1}^{4} \eta_p age^p + \lambda_t + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

where y_{it} is the mean of the occupational score ranks described in section 2.1 or the social outcomes described below, and $MCBB_i$ is a dummy variable that indicates whether individual i was classified as an MCBB. Notice that, since location is endogenous, I refrain from adding state or county fixed effects in my main specification. However, given that location can be an important driver of occupational outcomes, I also run the same regressions with state fixed effects and state X year fixed effects to illustrate to what extent it matters for MCBBs.

In this regression US-born whites in 1850 are the omitted category. This and the year fixed effects λ_t imply that the coefficients of interest β_t will be giving us the average gap in our outcome variable y_{it} between MCBB and US-born whites for year t. The baseline characteristics displayed on table 1 suggest that the initial coefficient (β_{1850}) should be negative and large, but the rest of the coefficients could take any value and sign.

Notice that the sample composition could change over time for both groups: MCBB could move back to Mexico, while US-born whites could move in and out of the Western region that composes my sample. This is particularly relevant for the MCBBs, who may have faced different economic opportunities compared to other groups. Thus, running this analysis in the repeated-cross section is subject to the challenges explored in Abramitzky et al. (2014). To address these concerns, I also run the same regression on two different samples: (1) a linked panel composed of individuals that I can find consistently in every census from 1850 to 1880, and (2) a linked panel composed of individuals that I can find consistently in every census from 1850 to 1880 and, for those classified as MCBB, that I can also linked them to the 1845 New Mexico census. The former sample addresses the issue of sample composition by following the same individuals through time, while the latter also addresses the concern of MCBBs moving back to Mexico after cession. Thus, any selection into staying

I start by building a linked panel[6] of men that were between the ages of 18 and 55 years in 1850. I then run the regression specified in equation 1.

3.2 Results: Population Regressions

Occupational scores

Table 2 presents the results of running the regression described in equation 1 for my preferred occupational score. Column (1) presents the results for the repeated cross section, while columns (2) and (3) present the results for the linked panel and the linked panel with New Mexico 1845 Census, respectively. The results are very similar across columns, which suggests that sample composition is not a big driver of the estimated coefficients.

Given that results are very similar, I'll focuss on the results from the linked panel presented in column (2). As expected given the baseline characteristics displayed in table 1, MCBBs display a large and negative coefficient in 1850: they have occupations that are ranked 27.2 percentage

[6]I construct a panel and abstain from performing a cross-sectional analysis because it could be prone to compositional changes in the groups of interest that may drive the results. This is not very relevant for MCBBs –who don't move much across the border after 1848– but it can be important for every other group in my sample: if economic conditions change in the American west, it may attract native white (or Mexican) immigrants with different skills. Thus, cross-sectional regressions could be a reflection of the composition of these groups changing, relative to the MCBBs, rather than a reflection of economic assimilation.

points below those held by US-born whites. When Collins & Zimran (2023) use this measure, they find an initial gap of, at most, 14pp when comparing European immigrants to US-born whites. Thus, MCBBs seem to be starting off at a much lower position in the occupational hierarchy than European immigrants.

As decades go by, however, the occupational score gap between MCBBs and native-born whites increases, reaching 37 percentage points by 1880. Thus, MCBBs seem to be falling behind native-born whites as time goes by rather than assimilating or, at least, remaining constant. Thus, MCBBs seem to be falling in the occupational ladder. Notice that while the point estimates do differ a bit, this pattern is consistent across all three columns, which suggests that neither positively selected MCBBs moving back to Mexico nor positively selected US-born whites moving into the west are driving these results.

To answer the question of whether these results are driven by MCBBs being a non-white minority, I run the same regression described in equation 1 but add two additional minority groups of interest: Latin American migrants –which include Mexican migrants– and free Black Americans that were free since 1950[7]. The results of running this regression on the linked panel are displayed in figure 3.

Once again, as could be anticipated from table 1, MCBBs, Latin American migrants, and free Black Americans start with a lower occupational score than US-born white individuals in 1850. However, the magnitude of the gap does differ across groups. MCBBs start with an occupational score that is almost 30 percentage points below that of native-born whites, the biggest gap of the three groups. Latin American migrants are the second lowest group in terms of the occupational ranking and start off the period with a gap of almost 20pp. Finally, free Black Americans start with a gap of around 10pp.

Moreover, the occupational score gaps between all groups and native-born whites increase as decades go by: MCBBs fall behind almost 10pp throughout the 4 decades under study. Free Black Americans also see a huge fall, especially in 1870, that leads them to converge in gaps with MCBBs. Latin American migrants, on the other hand, manage to fall only 5pp with respect to

[7]The regression that I run is described in the following equation:

$$y_{it} = \alpha + \sum_{\tau=1850}^{1880} \beta_t I(\tau = t) \times mcbb_i + \sum_{\tau=1850}^{1880} \gamma_t I(\tau = t) \times LAmig_i + \sum_{\tau=1850}^{1880} \delta_t I(\tau = t) \times black_i + \sum_{p=1}^{4} \eta_p age^p + \lambda_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

native-born whites, which means that MCBBs fall behind Latin American migrants by 1880.

Role of Location

It is notable that, even within the American West, MCBBs were living in very different states than US-born whites and Latin American migrants. As figure 4 shows, MCBBs were mostly concentrated in New Mexico and California, while US-born whites were more evenly spread throughout the west. Their presence was more prominent in states like Iowa or Missouri. Latin American migrants and non-enslaved black Americans were also located in different places. Free Black Americans had a stronger presence in Louisiana and Missouri, while Latin American migrants were mostly concentrated in California and Texas. Thus comparing MCBBs to other individuals *within the same state or county* will allow us to understand to what extent were local economic conditions an important driver of the occupational outcomes.

As discussed above, I refrain from adding any location fixed effects in my main specification given that location is an endogenous outcome. However, location has been shown to be a crucial determinant of economic success, both historically (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2014)), and contemporanously (e.g. Chetty et al. (2020)). Thus, it is important to understand to what extent location is driving the occupational score gaps presented above as it could be an important determinant of the occupational outcomes of MCBBs. In order to do so, I re-run the same regression as in equation 1 but now adding state fixed effects.

Table 3 presents the results of running the same regression as in equation 1 but now adding state fixed effects in Panel A and county fixed effects in Panel B. The structure of the columns is the same as in table 2, with column (1) presenting the results for the repeated cross section, column (2) for the linked panel, and column (3) for the linked panel with New Mexico 1845 Census. For both panels and both columns, we find a similar time pattern for these gaps: MCBBs start off holding, on average, lower ranked occupations than their US-born white counterparts within their same state [county] and, as decades go by, they fall in the occupational ladder. For example, focusing on Panel A and column (2) –the linked panel when adding state fixed effects–, we see that MCBBs start with an occupational score gap of 7.7pp in 1850, which falls to 14.5pp by 1880.

Even when the time pattern is similar between table 2 and table 3, the estimated coefficients for the gaps do differ substantially. Focusing on Column (2) on both tables, we found that when compared to US-born whites in the West MCBBs started with an occupational score gap of

27.2pp in 1850. When comparing MCBBs to US-born whites within the same state, however, the estimated gap substantially shrinks to 7.6pp, which means that the state of residence is explaining about 75% of the difference. By 1880 the estimated gap between MCBBs and US-born whites anywhere in the West was of 37pp, which gets reduced to a 14.5pp gap when making the comparison within the same state. Thus, by 1880 state of residence still explained 60% of the occupational score gap between MCBBs and US-born whites.

Interestingly, moving the comparison to the same county yields an estimate in between these two comparisons within the linked panel: the occupational score gap is of 12.6pp in 1850 and 17.3pp in 1880. Nevertheless, the county of residence still explains about 53.7% of the 1850 gap and 53.2% of the 1880 gap. This is roughly similar when looking at either the repeated cross section or the linked panel with New Mexico 1845 Census, which suggests that local economic conditions played a significant role in shaping the occupational outcomes of MCBBs. As important as these location effects are, however, MCBBs still seem to be falling behind native-born whites even when comparing them within the same state or county.

Figure 5 re-introduces black Americans that were free in 1850 and Latin American migrants as a benchmark for the outcomes of other minorities. It uses the linked panel and adds state fixed effects, so it is analogous to column (2) of Panel A in table 3. As was the case in figure 3, all three minority groups start with lower occupational scores than native-born whites in 1850 and fall behind them as decades go by. While it is true that the estimated gaps decrease for all groups when making the *within state* comparison, the time pattern of these groups falling behind is still present. However, their occupational outcomes are now statistically indistinguishable from those of MCBBs, suggesting that location was a key driver of the differences in occupational outcomes between these groups.

Occupational Categories

So far, I've shown that MCBBs land in occupations that are ranked lower than those of native-born whites in 1850 and that, as decades go by, they seem to be falling behind native-born whites in terms of occupational scores. In this section, I look into the occupational categories that underlie these occupational score results to understand what kinds of occupations MCBBs were taking and how these changed through time.

I construct five different categories using the occupational codes provided by the IPUMS. The first category are white collar workers, which includes professionals, managers, clerks, and

sales workers. The second category are craftsmen, whose main occupations were blacksmiths, carpenters, and other skilled manual laborers. The third category are operatives, which in this context were mainly miners. The fourth category are farmers, which includes farm owners, tenants, and managers. Finally, the fifth category are unskilled laborers, which includes both farm laborers and general laborers.

Table 4 presents the results of running the regression described in equation 1 for each of these occupational categories as an outcome. The table focuses on the linked panel sample given that this is the best sample to draw broader comparisons due to the compositional effect not being an issue. Given that the left hand side is now a dummy variable for each occupational category, these coefficients can be interpreted as changes in probability within a linear probability model. Thus, the coefficients indicate how much more likely it is for an individual to be working on a given occupational category depending on his identity, when compared to the average US-born white individual within the same year.

In 1850, MCBBs were 5.8pp less likely to be white collar workers than US-born whites, a gap that increases to 8.1pp by 1880. These may not seem like huge gaps, but white collar occupations were quite rare in this time period, particularly in the western US. Only around 9.6% of US-born whites living in the west were white collar workers in 1850, increasing to 14.9% by 1880. When looking at Column 2 we find a similar pattern with the likelihood of being a craftsmen: in 1850 MCBBs were 4.2pp less likely to be craftsmen than US-born whites, a gap that increases to 5.9pp by 1880.

Column (3) focuses on the most prominent occupation for US-born whites living in the West at the time: farmers. In 1850 40% of US-born whites were farmers, and this proportion increased consistently through time, reaching 50% by 1880. However, as column (3) shows, MCBBs were much less likely to be farmers than US-born whites throughout the four decades. In 1850, MCBBs were 20.9pp less likely to be farmers than US-born whites. This gap shrinks by 1870 where it reaches its lower point of 19.9pp, only to increase drastically to 29.1pp in 1880.

Column (4) focuses on operatives, which in this time period were mainly miners. In 1850, 8.3% of US-born whites in the West were operatives, a proportion that decreased to 5.8% by 1880. MCBBs are less likely to be operatives than US-born whites throughout the four decades. In 1850, MCBBs were 5.9pp less likely to be operatives than US-born whites, a gap that shrinks to only 1.3pp by 1880.

Finally, Column (5) focuses on unskilled laborers, which were also quite common in this context. In 1850, MCBBs were 37.7pp more likely to be unskilled laborers than US-born whites, which is a huge increase when taking into account that only 14.2% of US-born whites were unskilled laborers in 1850. This gap increases consistently through time, reaching a peak of 43.6pp of increased likelihood of being an unskilled laborer for MCBBs by 1880. In this year, US-born whites reached their lower proportion of unskilled laborers in this time period, with only 10.3% of them working as unskilled laborers.

Looking directly into occupational category paints a consistent picture with the occupational score results discussed above. MCBBs were less likely to be white collar workers, craftsmen, and farmers, which are the occupational categories that were ranked higher in the occupational ranking. To look at whether these patterns are different for other minorities, figure 6 presents the results of running the same regression as in equation 1 but now adding Latin American migrants and free Black Americans to the sample. The regressions are run with the linked panel and refrain from adding any geographic fixed effects, so they are analogous to Panel B in table 4. I present the results for three occupational categories that, for every year, capture more than 80% of the labor of all groups in the sample: farmers, operatives, and unskilled laborers.

As noted above, MCBBs were around 20pp less likely to be farmers than US-born whites in 1850, which is a much smaller gap than those of other minorities: Latin American migrants were only around 52pp less likely to be farmers than US-born whites in 1850, while the gap for free Black Americans was around 40pp. MCBBs maintain smaller gaps throughout the period up until 1880, when the gap for MCBBs increases to around 29pp and is statistically indistinguishable from that of Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. This is not surprising given that MCBBs were already living in these territories pre-annexation, which means that they already had properties, as shown in table 1.

When looking at the operative category, MCBBs are less likely to be operatives than everyone else in the sample. Latin American migrants were 40pp more likely to be operatives than US-born whites in 1850, which is consistent with the fact that most of them arrived to California during the Gold Rush. By 1860, however, the gap shrinks to around 5pp and remains around that level throughout the four decades under study. Free Black Americans are also marginally more likely to be operatives than US-born whites in 1850, but this higher likelihood dissapears by 1870.

Finally, when looking at unskilled laborers, both Latin American migrants and free Black

Americans were around 15pp more likely to fall in this category than US-born whites. As discussed above, MCBBs were 37pp more likely to be unskilled laborers than US-born whites in 1850, which also represents a big gap when compared to Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. Interestingly, by 1870 these differences across the considered minority groups are no longer there: MCBBs and free Black America see a 36pp increased likelihood of being unskilled laborers than US-born whites, while Latin American migrants see a 47pp increased likelihood. If anything, by the end of this period all three minority groups seem to be converging to similar likelihoods of being unskilled laborers.

Social assimilation variables

So far, MCBBs seem to have low assimilation rates in terms of labor market outcomes. This section looks into their social assimilation patterns. To do so I construct two measures of social assimilation: (1) intermarriage rates with non-hispanic white women, and (2) how "Mexican" is the name chosen for the individual's children. While these measures are not perfect, they have been used in the literature as proxies for social assimilation (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2020a)).

For the first measure, I construct a dummy variable that indicates whether the men in my sample are married to a non-hispanic white woman. This essentilly means that their wife was not born either in Latin America or in the Mexican ceded territories prior to 1848. Men that are not married in a given census year are dropped from the analysis.

I run the same regression as in equation 1, but now with this intermarriage dummy as the outcome. Figure 7 presents the results. Panel (a) shows the results when running the regression without geographic fixed effects, while panel (b) includes state fixed effects to partial out the effect of geography. I include Latin American migrants as an additional comparison group.

The first thing to notice is that MCBBs are much less likely to intermarry with non-hispanic white women. In 1850 they are almost 100pp less likely to intermarry than native-born whites, while Latin American migrants are 75pp less likely[8]. As time goes by, both groups become more likely to intermarry, but the gap remains large: in 1880 MCBBs are still 85pp less likely to intermarry than native-born whites, while Latin American migrants are 63pp less likely.

As with the occupational score, geography seems to be a crucial driver of the results. When adding state fixed effects, the gaps become much smaller. When compared to married native-born whites within their same state and year, MCBBs are only 85pp less likely to marry native-born

[8]This is not surprising given that, in 1850, they had been part of the US for only 2 years.

white women than native-born whites in 1850, while Latin American migrants are 65pp less likely. By 1880, these gaps close to 75pp and 50pp, respectively. While the point estimates remain large, the fact that they shrink so much when adding geographic fixed effects shows that location is a crucial mechanism behind these results.

The second measure of social assimilation that I construct is based on the names chosen for the children of the men in my sample. Following Abramitzky et al. (2020b) I create an index variable that measures how "Mexican" the name chosen for the individual's children is. The closer to 1 this index is, the name is more prevalently used within the Mexican population, while the closer to 0 it is, the more it's used by the native population. The index is constructed using a list of names from the 1850 census that were born prior to 1846, when the Mexican-American War started[9].

Figure 8 presents the results of running the same regression as in equation 1, but now with the MNI as the outcome variable. Panel (a) shows the results when running the regression without geographic fixed effects, while panel (b) includes state X year fixed effects to partial out the effect of geography. Since this measure is not meaningful for either free Black Americans or Latin American migrants in general, I only keep Mexican migrants as a comparison group. The index takes a value from 0 to 1 only for individuals living in the same place as their children, so men get in the sample by having children or having their children moving in with them, and leave the sample once their children move out. In cases in which the men have more than one child, I take the mean of the index for all their children.

Figure 8 presents a slightly different pattern for social assimilation than the one in figure 7: while MCBBs start off by naming their children with more "Mexican" names than Mexican migrants in 1850, the coefficients for both groups become statistically undistinguishable from 1860 onwards. When adding state X year fixed effects we observe the same pattern. However, the coefficients for both groups are still quite sizeable when compared to the native-born white population, which shows that Mexicans in the US used distinctively Mexican names for their children throughout this period.

[9]The index is calculated with the following formula:

$$MexicanNamesIndex_{name} = \frac{\frac{\#mexicans_{name}}{total\#mexicans}}{\frac{\#mexicans_{name}}{total\#mexicans} + \frac{\#natives_{name}}{total\#natives}}$$

3.3 Results: Occupational Upgrading

Occupational Upgrading Regressions

So far, we've seen that, on average, MCBBs hold lower ranked occupations than US-born whites in the American West and that, as decades go by, they seem to be falling behind rather than assimilating. While the point estimates do differ a bit depending on the sample and the specification, the pattern of MCBBs showing a disadvantage in 1850 that only gets wider as decades go by is quite consistent. Moreover, MCBBs seem to be at a higher disadvantage than Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. Finally, the underlying occupational categories driving these occupational score gaps are also very clear: MCBBs are less likely to be white collar workers and craftsmen and, when compared to the average US-born white in the west, less likely to be farmers. In turn, MCBBs are more likely to be unskilled laborers, which is the lowest ranked broad category.

Given the ages of the individuals in my sample, it is likely that both their occupations and locations were fixed prior to the US annexation of these territories in 1848. As opposed to migrants, these people had already made occupational and locational choices prior to becoming part of the US. This section intends to explore to what extent these initial conditions are playing a role in explaining the occupational outcome patterns documented above.

In order to do so, I follow a different empirical approach that focuses on individual level variation using the linked panel dataset. Specifically, I use the panel to observe whether, controlling for 1850 county and occupational category, paints a clearer picture of how relevant are initial occupation and location to explain these patterns in the long run.

I run the following regression:

$$y_{ios1870} = \alpha + \beta mcbb_i + \sum_{p=1}^{4} \eta_p age_{i1850}^{p} + \omega_{o1850} + \lambda_{s1850} + \epsilon_{ioc} \tag{2}$$

where $y_{ios1870}$ is the mean of occupational score rank described in section 2.1 for individual i, with occupation o in 1850 and that lived in state s the 1850. $mcbb_i$ is a dummy variable that indicates whether individual i was classified as an MCBB.Finally, ω_{o1850} and λ_{s1850} are 1850 occupation and 1850 state fixed effects, respectively. Thus β will tell me the gap in occupational outcomes between MCBBs and US-born whites that lived in the same state in 1850 and fell within the same occupational category.

Table 6 presents the results for different versions of this regression. Column (1) presents the results without any fixed effects, and it is analogous to the baseline results presented in figure 2 for the year 1870 except for one detail: the sample is marginally bigger in table 2 because I'm just requiring these individuals to be linked from 1850 to 1870 rather than throughout the whole period. Column (2) shows the results when adding 1850 state fixed effects, while column (3) adds both 1850 state and occupational category fixed effects.

Not surprisingly given the results discussed above, column (1) shows a large and statistically significant gap of around 28pp between MCBBs and native-born whites in 1870. Adding 1850 state fixed effects in column (2), however reduces this gap to 15.1pp. That is, when we compare the average MCBB in 1870 to the average US-born white *that lived in the same state in 1850*, the gap shrinks by around a half! Adding 1850 occupational category fixed effects on top of that actually increases the gap by around 4pp.

To go back to a broader comparison, figure 9 presents the results when adding Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. Once again, I am running the regression specified in equation 2 with different sets of fixed effects, as table 6.

To the left and in blue, we can see the baseline results without any fixed effects. Note that the coefficients are quite similar to those shown in figure 3, which makes sense because the only difference between them should arise from the fact that figure 3 stacks years 1850 through 1880, while the results shown in figure 9 only has outcomes for 1870. In any case, the pattern remains similar: MCBBs face a 30pp gap when compared to native-white born individuals, while free Black Americans that were free in 1850 and Latin American migrants see somewhat smaller –but signifficant both economically and statistically– gaps.

The second set of coefficients in the middle of figure 9 correspond to a model that adds 1850 state fixed effects to the baseline regression. When comparing MCBB with native-born whites that lived in the same state in 1850, we see that MCBBs still face a considerable gap of 15pp, which means that 1850 state of residence explains around half of the 30pp gap. Moreover, Latin American migrants see the opposite shift: when compared to native-born whites that lived in the same state in 1850, Latin American migrants see their gap increase from around 25pp to 30pp. Finally, free Black Americans see their gap shrink to a statistical zero when compared to native-born whites that lived in the same state in 1850, so most of their occupational score gaps in the Western US are explained by the state they lived in in 1850.

Finally, the third set of coefficients on the right hand side adds 1850 occupational category fixed effects in addition to the 1850 state fixed effects. This specification now compares individuals that lived in the same state and worked roughly in the same occupation in 1850. Once again, adding 1850 occupational category fixed effects does not change the results much: the gaps of MCBBs and Latin American migrants are roughly of the same magnitude, although they are no longer statistically different from each other. Free Black Americans, on the other hand, remain with a gap of statistical zero when compared to native-born whites within the same 1850 state and occupational category.

The pattern of MCBBs facing a considerable occupational score gap when compared to US-born whites in the Western US is quite stable across different specifications. However, the initial location seems to be playing a crucial role in explaining these gaps, as adding 1850 state fixed effects reduces the gap by around one third. After accounting for initial location, initial occupation, on the other hand, seems to play a minor role in explaining these gaps as it marginally reduces the gap in the occupational ranking.

Occupational Upgrading Regressions: Movers and Stayers

So far, I've documented occupational score gaps between MCBBs, Latin American migrants, free Black Americans, and native-born whites and I've showed how geography –either contemporanous as in figure 5 or in 1850 as in figure 9– is a crucial driver of these gaps. I've also argued that having geographic fixed effects in my main specification could be misleading given that location is an endogenous decision. In this section, I'll briefly discuss how moving choices shape occupational upgrading.

Figure 10 presents the results of running the same regression as in equation 2, but now splitting the sample between individuals that moved to a different state between 1850 and 1870 (movers) and those that stayed in the same state (stayers). The omited category, as can be inferred from the fact that the figure has a coefficient associated to white movers, are white stayers. This specification also has 1850 state and occupational category fixed effects, so the comparisons are always between the average MCBB that either moved or stayed in the same state as in 1850, with the average native-born white person that lived in the same state and worked in the same occupation in 1850 but remained in the same state in 1870. Figure 10 shows two different models: the one on the left and in blue shows the same coefficients as the last model in figure 9, while the second set of coefficients now differentiates the groups between movers and stayers.

The results are quite interesting. First, note that the coefficients associated with MCBB, free Black, and white movers are all positive and statistically significant. This means that, conditional on having the same occupation and living in the same state in 1850, members of these three demographic groups that moved to a different state by 1870 were able to upgrade their occupational status more than native-born whites that stayed in the same state. Moreover, in the case of MCBBs, stayers have a negative coefficient which is numerically equivalent to that of the baseline specification. Thus, moving seems to be associated with better occupational outcomes for MCBBs, but is a very rare occurence. Free Black stayers have a coefficient that is statistically undistinguishable from zero.

Latin American migrants, on the other hand, do not seem to benefit from moving: both movers and stayers have negative coefficients, but the occupational score gap is wider for those Latin American migrants that moved to a different state by 1870 than the gap for stayers.

4 Results: Second Generation

So far I've shown that MCBBs hold lower-ranked occupations than native-born whites, as well as than other minorities: Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. These gaps are driven by MCBBs being more likely to be unskilled laborers –the worst ranked category– and less likely to be white collar workers and craftsmen. When comparing MCBBs with US-born whites within the same state (or within the same state in 1850), between a third and a half of the occupational score gap goes away, suggesting that location is a key driver of said outcomes.

Thus, MCBBs seem to be facing considerable disadvantages in terms of occupational outcomes in the American West during the second half of the 19th century, as even when controlling for geography and initial occupation, they still display big gaps in their occupational ranking outcomes. In this section, I ask whether these disadvantages get passed along to their children.

I use a linked panel of male children in 1850 who I can link into their adulthood 30 years later (1880) to see whether the outcome gaps documented for the first generation get passed along to the second one. As in the rest of the paper, I'll focus on children of native-born whites and MCBBs and will include children of Latin American migrants and free Black Americans to benchmark the results observed in sons of MCBB.

4.1 Regression results

I run a regression similar to the one presented in equation 2, with the difference that the 1850 outcomes now correspond to the father's occupation, while the 1870 outcomes correspond to the child's occupational outcomes in 1880. Thus, the estimation equation is the following:

$$y_{ios1880} = \alpha + \beta mcbb_i + \sum_{p=1}^{4} \eta_p age_{i1850}^{p} + \omega_{o1850} + \lambda_{s1850} + \epsilon_{ios} \tag{3}$$

Table 7 presents the results of running this regression for different specifications in a similar way as table 6 did for the first generation. Column (1) presents the results without any fixed effects, column (2) adds childhood state fixed effects, while column (3) adds both childhood state and parental occupational category fixed effects. By building up the analysis in this way, I can see to what extent geography and parental occupation explain the occupational outcomes of sons of MCBBs in 1880.

Column (1) shows a large and statistically significant gap of 28pp between sons of MCBBs and sons of native-born whites in 1880. This gap is remarkably similar to the 27.2pp gap (table 2, column 2) faced by their fathers in 1850. Thus, the occupational disadvantages don't seem to be closing across generations. If anything, they might be marginally widening.

Adding childhood state fixed effects in column (2), however reduces this gap to 15pp. Thus, state of residence during childhood explains around 30% of the gap faced by sons of MCBBs, which is very similar to what happened in the first generation. It seems that the parental place of residence by the time of annexation is playing a crucial role in determining occupational outcomes for both generations.

Finally, adding parental occupational category fixed effects on top of childhood state fixed effects in column (3) lowers the gap to 13.8pp. Thus, after controlling for geography, parental occupation does not seem to explain much of the remaining occupational score gap faced by sons of MCBBs. This is very similar to what we observe in table 6 for the first generation and is consistent with geography and occupation being closely related in 1850 and 1860.

Thus, rather than converging to the occupational outcomes of US-born whites, sons of MCBBs seem to be inheriting the occupational disadvantages faced by their fathers. This is a striking result that sets appart this group of absorbed mexicans from the immigration literature of this period (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2014)), in which we find that children of immigrants tend to converge to the occupational outcomes of native-born whites rather quickly.

Once again, I bring to the analysis sons of Latin American migrants and free Black Americans to benchmark the results observed in sons of MCBBs. I run the regression specified in equation 3 by adding these groups to the analysis. Figure 11 presents the results for different specifications, in a similar way as figure 9 did for the first generation.

The first set of coefficients on the left hand side correspond to the baseline regression without any fixed effects. Here, we can see that children of both Latin American migrants and free Black Americans also face considerable occupational score gaps when compared to sons of US-born whites: around 15pp for both groups. While this is a much smaller gap than that faced by sons of MCBBs, it is still remarkably close to that faced by their fathers in 1870. Thus, these groups also seem to be inheriting occupational disadvantages across generations.

The second set of coefficients –located in the middle of the graph– correspond to a model that adds childhood state fixed effects to the baseline regression. Now, we are comparing kids of MCBBs, Latin American migrants, and free Black Americans to sons of native-born whites that lived in the same state during their childhood. As we'd already discussed when looking at table 7, sons of MCBBs see their gap shrink to around 15pp when compared to sons of native-born whites that lived in the same state during their childhood. Interestingly, sons of Latin American migrants and free Black Americans also see their gaps shrink, although it does so by a much smaller magnitude of around 7pp. Where these kids grew up seems to be playing a crucial role in explaining their occupational outcomes in adulthood.

Finally, the third set of coefficients on the right hand side adds parental occupational category fixed effects on top of childhood state fixed effects. Once again, adding parental occupational category fixed effects does not change the results much for either group.

When looking at the average outcome of sons of MCBBs, Latin American migrants, and free Black Americans, we see that all three groups seem to be inheriting occupational disadvantages from their parents. Geography seems to be playing a crucial role in explaining these gaps, as controlling for childhood state of residence reduces the gaps by around a third for sons of MCBBs and by around half for sons of Latin American migrants and free Black Americans. Parental occupation, on the other hand, seems to play a minor role in explaining these gaps.

4.2 Intergenerational Mobility Across the Distribution

So far, I've documented that sons of MCBBs face considerable occupational disadvantages when compared to sons of native-born whites in 1880. These disadvantages are similar in magnitude to those faced by their fathers in 1850 and seem to be inherited across generations. Now, I turn to look at the relationship between the parental occupational ranking in 1850 and the child's occupational ranking in 1880 across the whole distribution. That is, I'll be looking at the rank-rank intergenerational mobility patterns for sons of MCBBs, Latin American migrants, free Black Americans, and native-born whites.

Figure 12 presents a binscatter plot for sons of MCBBs, Latin American migrants, free Black Americans, and native-born whites. The x-axis shows the occupational score of the father in 1850, while the y-axis shows the occupational score of the son in 1880. The graph shows the linear relationship between the two variables and has a straightforward interpretation: the y-intercept shows the absolute mobility rate for kids that grew up with fathers at the bottom of the 1850 occupational ranking distribution, while the slope shows the relative mobility rate.

The first thing to notice is that sons of native-born whites have the highest absolute and relative mobility rates of all groups. The y-intercept is around 35, which means that sons of native-born whites whose fathers were at the bottom of the 1850 occupational ranking distribution land, on average, around the 35th percentile of the 1880 occupational ranking distribution. Thus, regardless of where their fathers were in the 1850 distribution, sons of native-born whites are able to, on average, land in a better place of the distribution than the kid of anyone else within the same percentile of parental occupational score ranking.

Next, sons of Latin American migrants have the second highest absolute and relative mobility rates across groups. Their y-intercept is around 25, which means that sons of Latin American migrants whose fathers were at the bottom of the 1850 occupational ranking distribution land, on average, around the 25th percentile of the 1880 occupational ranking distribution. Excluding kids of native-born whites, sons of Latin American migrants land, on average, higher in the occupational score ranking than kids of MCBBs orfree Black American parents in the same place in the ranking.

Finally, the comparison between sons of MCBBs and free Black Americans is more nuanced. Sons of free Black Americans show higher absolute mobility than sons of MCBBs, but present much lower rates of relative mobility. Thus, sons of free Black Americans at the bottom of the parental occupational ranking land, on average, higher in the occupational score ranking than sons

of MCBBs at the same place in the ranking. However, this pattern reverses around the median of the occupational ranking. Notice that for these two groups we see a pattern of downward mobility, especially at the top of the parental occupational score distribution: sons of MCBBs and free Black Americans whose fathers were at the 60th percentile of the distribution land, on average, around the 42th and 39th percentile of the 1880 occupational ranking distribution, respectively.

The disadvantages faced by sons of MCBBs are not limited to the average outcome –as documented by table 7 and figure 11– but are also present across the whole distribution. Sons of MCBBs show lower absolute and relative mobility rates than sons of native-born whites and Latin American migrants. Moreover, they show similar patterns of downward mobility as sons of free Black Americans, especially at the top of the parental occupational ranking distribution.

5 Conclusion

This paper looks into the economic and social outcomes of Mexicans that were absorbed by the US as a result of the Mexican-American war and the subsequent treaties in the mid-19th century. This group of individuals, whom I call Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs), were living in territories that were ceded to the US after 1848, and thus became US residents without migrating. Using individual-level data from the US Census between 1850 and 1880, I follow their occupational and social assimilation outcomes over time.

MCBBs assimilated to the US, both economically and socially, very slowly. In terms of occupational outcomes, MCBBs held lower-ranked occupations than native-born whites in the American West for the four decades after annexation. These gaps were sizeable and, rather than decreasing, they grew as decades went by. Moreover, they were passed along to the second generation. Socially, they were also less likely to intermarry with non-hispanic white women and chose more "Mexican" names for their children than Mexican voluntary migrants. These slow assimilation rates contrast with the patterns observed in Latin American migrants in these paper and in European immigrants elsewhere in the literature (e.g. Abramitzky et al. (2012), Abramitzky et al. (2014), Collins & Zimran (2019)).

In terms of mechanisms, geography seems to be playing a crucial role in explaining these patterns. MCBBs were concentrated in states and counties that, post-annexation, wound up being peripheral locations. The economic and social conditions in these places did not favor

their assimilation into the US economy and society. That is why, when comparing MCBBs with native-born whites within the same state, the occupational score gaps shrink considerably.

These results highlight a broader point in the assimilation literature: populations absorberd through annexation may face different assimilation dynamics than voluntary migrants and refugees. Pre-annexation settlement patterns and initial conditions seem to play a crucial role in shaping long-term outcomes, while group characteristics driven by selection into migration could also be driving these patterns. Thus, policies aimed at facilitating assimilation of these poppulations can't be based on evidence drawn from studies of voluntary migrantsl, but should be informed by the specific dynamics faced by these groups.

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6 Tables

Table 1: Baseline Characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	White	MCBB	LA Migrant	Black
Age	25.812	25.509	25.989	25.892
	(0.010)	(0.050)	(0.059)	(0.089)
married	0.625	0.668	0.258	0.437
	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.009)
children	2.418	2.246	0.709	1.850
	(0.006)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.043)
literate	0.803	0.188	0.513	0.652
	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Occ. Rank	0.446	0.215	0.299	0.377
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)
P&H Score	184.037	155.790	170.024	174.691
	(0.141)	(0.437)	(0.689)	(0.943)
% Real estate	0.228	0.340	0.050	0.097
	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)
White collar	0.103	0.014	0.083	0.043
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Farmer	0.412	0.355	0.033	0.084
	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Craftsman	0.092	0.031	0.045	0.228
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.007)
Operative	0.191	0.030	0.569	0.159
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Unskilled	0.098	0.460	0.221	0.248
	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Linked	0.213	0.114	0.027	0.052
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)
N	232279	10079	6629	3339

Note: This table presents the mean of relevant variables for different groups in 1850: native-born whites (NBW), Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBB), Latin American migrants, and free Black Americans. Standard errors are in parenthesis.

Table 2: Occupational Scores: MCBB

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	RCS	Panel	Panel and NM45
MCBBXyear1850	-0.229***	-0.272***	-0.226***
	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.027)
MCBBXyear1860	-0.233***	-0.337***	-0.338***
	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.039)
MCBBXyear1870	-0.327***	-0.351***	-0.397***
	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.034)
MCBBXyear1880	-0.327***	-0.369***	-0.426***
	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.036)
Constant	0.096***	-0.192***	-0.210***
	(0.025)	(0.046)	(0.047)
Observations	1,237,452	380,729	376,215
R-squared	0.076	0.050	0.031
FE	No	No	No

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Note: This table presents the coefficients of running the regression specified in equation 1 with the occupational score ranking based on income and wealth on the left hand side. The sample consists of US-born whites (USBWs) and Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs) living in the Western US Census regions. The first column presents the results on the repeated cross section, column 2 shows the results for the linked sample from 1850 to 1880, and column 3 presents the results for the linked sample from 1850 to 1880, but limiting the MCBBs in the sample to those that can also be linked back to the New Mexico 1845 Census.

Table 3: Occupational Scores: MCBB. Geographic FEs

Panel A: State Fixed Effects			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	RCS	Panel	Panel and NM45
MCBBXyear1850	-0.039***	-0.077***	-0.111***
	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.037)
MCBBXyear1860	-0.080***	-0.096***	-0.217***
	(0.003)	(0.014)	(0.036)
MCBBXyear1870	-0.130***	-0.116***	-0.272***
	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.038)
MCBBXyear1880	-0.152***	-0.145***	-0.313***
	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.029)
Constant	0.299***	0.104**	0.103**
	(0.025)	(0.044)	(0.045)
Observations	1,068,426	339,176	335,140
R-squared	0.309	0.435	0.423
Panel B: County Fixed Effects			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	RCS	Panel	Panel and NM45
MCBBXyear1850	-0.121***	-0.126***	-0.146***
	(0.004)	(0.015)	(0.039)
MCBBXyear1860	-0.152***	-0.125***	-0.216***
	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.037)
MCBBXyear1870	-0.193***	-0.148***	-0.271***
	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.044)
MCBBXyear1880	-0.211***	-0.173***	-0.291***
	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.037)
Constant	0.212***	0.085**	0.084**
	(0.023)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Observations	1,068,419	339,151	335,119
R-squared	0.366	0.473	0.463

Note: This table presents the coefficients of running the regression specified in equation 1 with the occupational score ranking based on income and wealth on the left hand side. The sample consists of US-born whites (USBWs) and Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs) living in the Western US Census regions. The first column presents the results on the repeated cross section, column 2 shows the results for the linked sample from 1850 to 1880, and column 3 presents the results for the linked sample from 1850 to 1880, but limiting the MCBBs in the sample to those that can also be linked back to the New Mexico 1845 Census.

Table 4: Occupations: MCBB.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	White Collar	Craftsmen	Farmer	Operative	Unskilled Laborer
MCBBXyear1850	-0.058***	-0.042***	-0.209***	-0.059***	0.377***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.015)
MCBBXyear1860	-0.072***	-0.064***	-0.240***	-0.012***	0.412***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.015)
MCBBXyear1870	-0.079***	-0.060***	-0.199***	-0.020***	0.374***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.015)	(0.003)	(0.015)
MCBBXyear1880	-0.081***	-0.059***	-0.291***	-0.013***	0.436***
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.014)
Constant	-0.514***	-0.645***	0.086	-0.318***	0.787***
	(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.089)	(0.036)	(0.051)
Observations	380,736	380,736	380,736	380,736	380,736
R-squared	0.004	0.003	0.019	0.008	0.047
FE	No	No	No	No	No

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Note: This table presents the results of running the regression specified in equation 1 for different occupational categories as dependent variables. The sample consists of a linked panel of US-born whites (USBWs) and Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs) living in the Western US Census regions. Each column presents the results for a different occupational category: white collar workers, craftsmen, farmers, operatives, and laborers.

Table 5: Occupations: MCBB. State FEs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	White Collar	Craftsmen	Farmer	Operative	Unskilled Laborer
MCBBXyear1850	-0.143***	-0.135***	0.178***	-0.216***	0.252***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.010)	(0.022)
MCBBXyear1860	-0.151***	-0.147***	0.159***	-0.147***	0.246***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.020)
MCBBXyear1870	-0.156***	-0.142***	0.189***	-0.157***	0.217***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.009)	(0.019)
MCBBXyear1880	-0.168***	-0.144***	0.105***	-0.149***	0.284***
	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.020)
Constant	-0.454***	-0.601***	-0.444***	-0.103**	0.780***
	(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.101)	(0.044)	(0.061)
Observations	339,180	339,180	339,180	339,180	339,180
R-squared	0.013	0.008	0.069	0.080	0.052
FE	No	No	No	No	No

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Note: This table presents the results of running the regression specified in equation 1, when adding state fixed effects, for different occupational categories as dependent variables. The sample consists of a linked panel of US-born whites (USBWs) and Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs) living in the Western US Census regions. Each column presents the results for a different occupational category: white collar workers, craftsmen, farmers, operatives, and laborers.

Table 6: Occupational Upgrading 1870: MCBB.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	No FEs	1850 State FEs	1850 State and Occ FEs
MCBB	-0.280***	-0.151***	-0.193***
	(0.010)	(0.027)	(0.032)
Constant	-0.114	2.525	3.587**
	(1.370)	(1.572)	(1.620)
Observations	35,229	20,331	18,410
R-squared	0.024	0.341	0.397

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Note: This table presents the results of running the regression specified in equation 2. The sample consists of US-born whites (USBWs) and Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs) living in the Western US Census regions that I can link from 1850 to 1870. Each column presents the results for a different specification: column (1) presents the results without any fixed effects, column (2) adds 1850 state fixed effects, while column (3) adds both 1850 state and 1850 occupational category fixed effects.

Table 7: Occupational Ranking Outcomes of Sons in 1880: MCBB.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	No FEs	1850 State	1850 State and HHH Occ FEs
MCBB Son	-0.283***	-0.150***	-0.138***
	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Constant	-0.051	0.138***	0.132***
	(0.046)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Observations	330,311	330,311	330,296
R-squared	0.020	0.316	0.321

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Note: This table presents the results of running the regression specified in equation 3. The sample consists of sons of US-born whites (USBWs) and Mexicans Crossed by the Border (MCBBs) that grew up in the Western US Census regions that I can link from their childhood in 1850 or 1860 to their adulthood in 1880. Each column presents the results for a different specification: column (1) presents the results without any fixed effects, column (2) adds childhood state fixed effects, while column (3) adds both childhood state and father occupational category fixed effects.

7 Figures

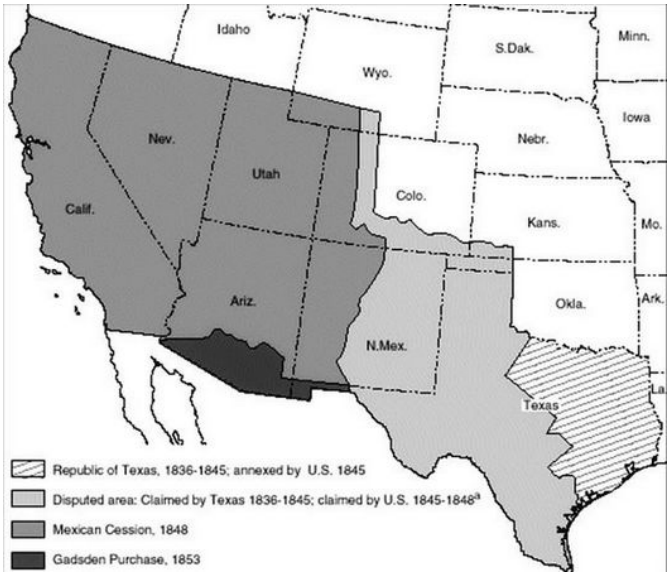


Figure 1: Mexican Cession

Note: This map presents the territories that once belonged to Mexico that by 1853 belonged to the US. It presents the Republic of Texas, as recognized by Mexico, the territories ceded by Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the small portion of land acquired by the US in the Gadsden Purchase of 1853.

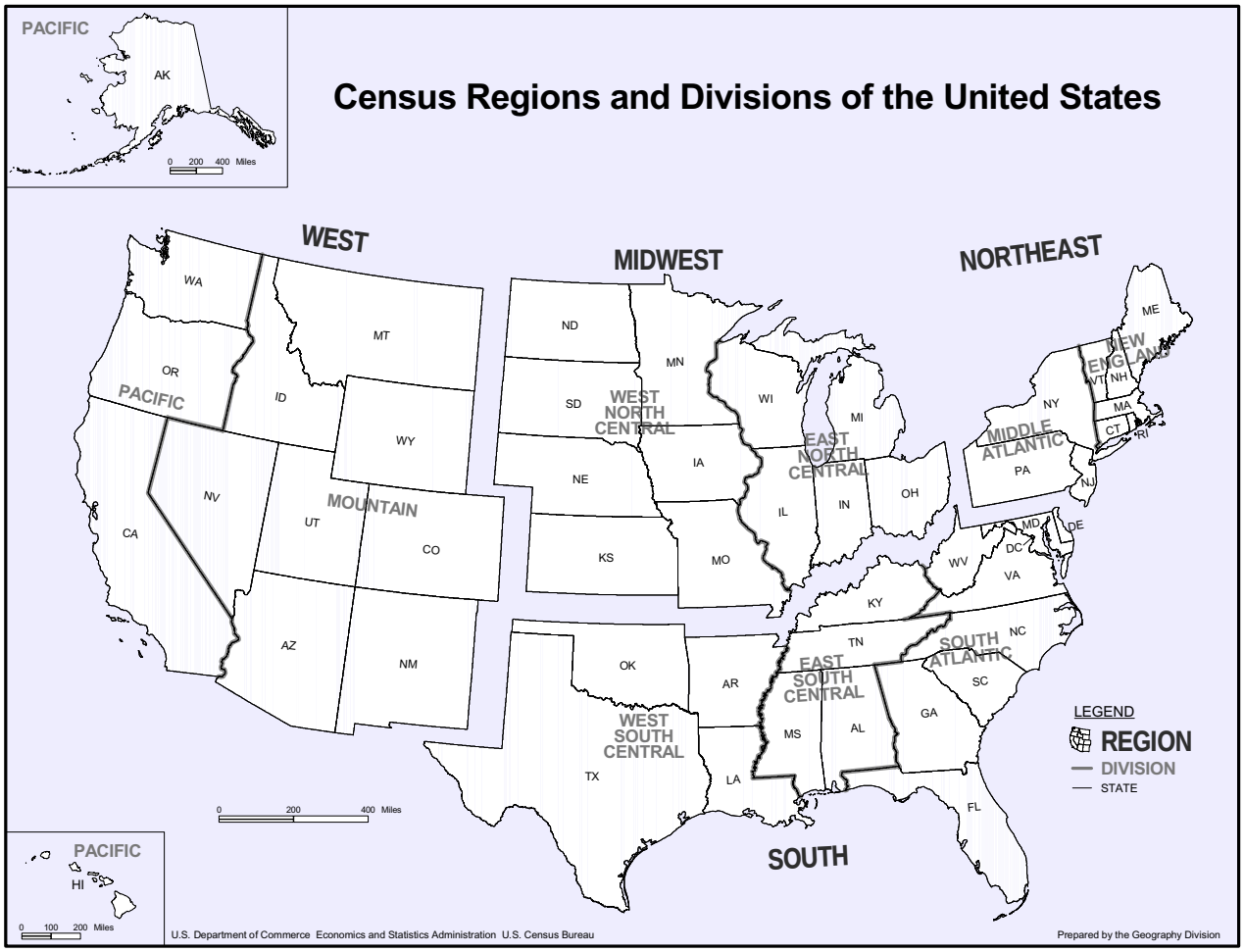


Figure 2: Census Regions

Note: This map presents the US Census Bureau's census regions. The main specification in this paper uses a sample that consists of individuals living in the West North Central, West South Central, Mountain, or Pacific (Hawaii excluded) regions.

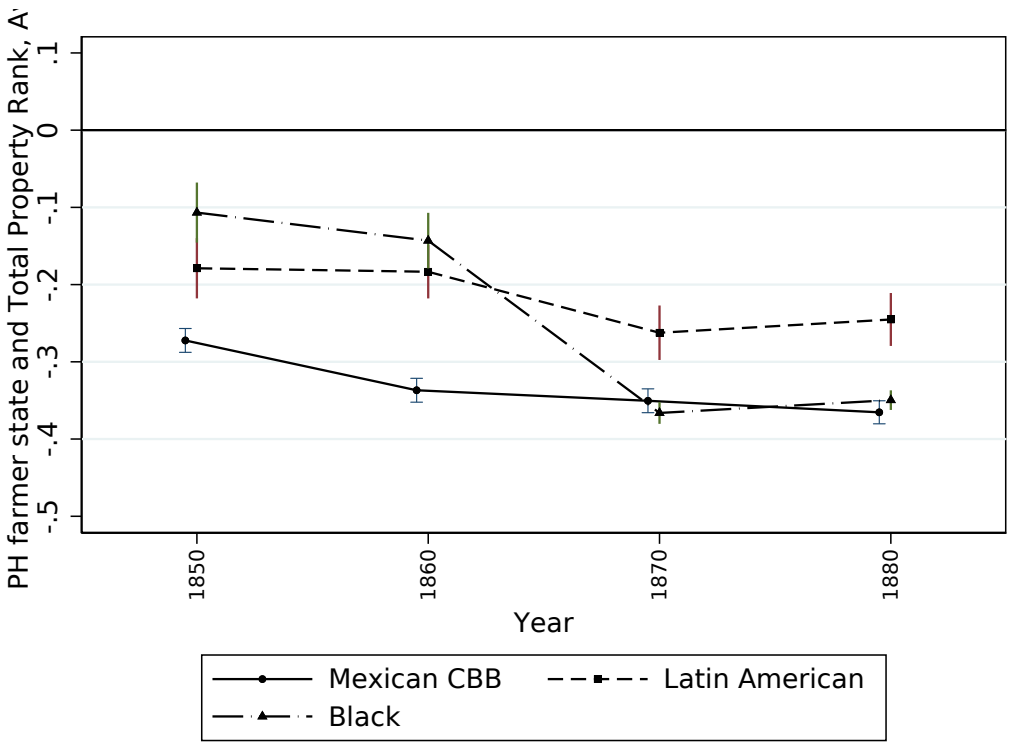
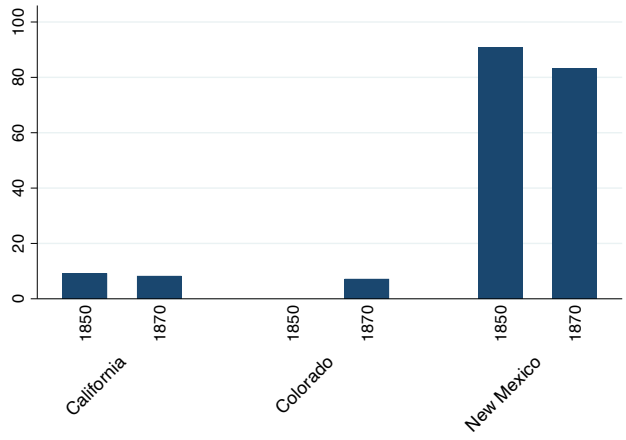


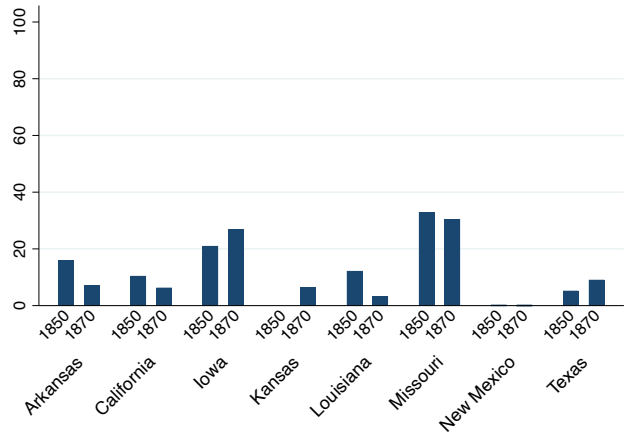
Figure 3: Total Property and Preston and Haines Rankings, Average.

Note: This graph presents the plotted coefficients resulted from running the regression specified in equation 1 without geographic fixed effects. The variable of interest is my preferred occupational score: the mean of the rank of the Preston and Haines occupational score, with farmer income estimated using the 1900 Agricultural Census at the state level, and the total property score rank, using the real estate and personal property asked in the Full Population Census in 1870 at the state level. MCBB coefficients are plotted in solid line.

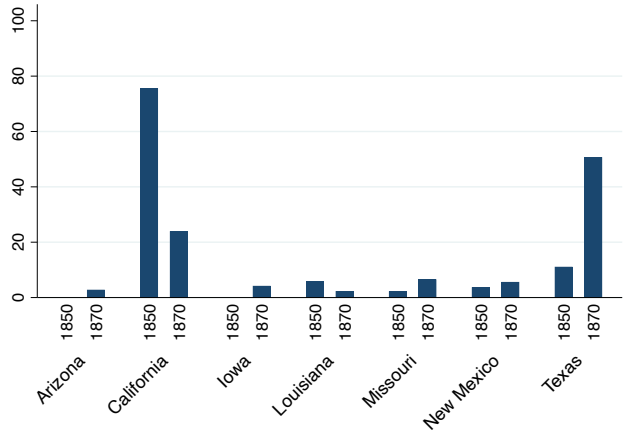
Figure 4: Locations



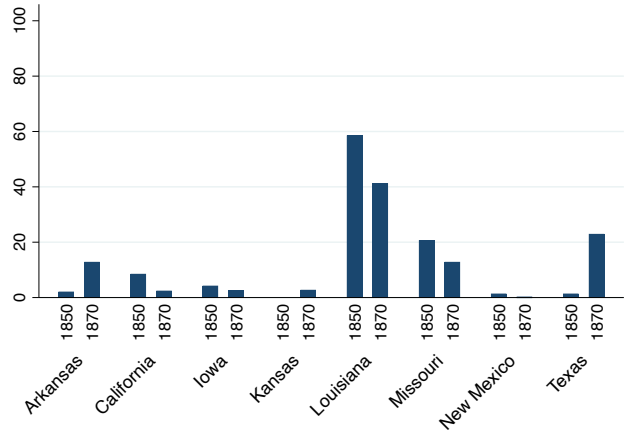
(a) MCBBs



(b) White



(c) LA mig.



(d) Black

Note: This figure presents the main locations in which MCBBs (Panel a), US-born whites (Panel b), Latin American migrants (Panel c), and free Black Americans (Panel d) lived in the US West in 1850 and 1870.

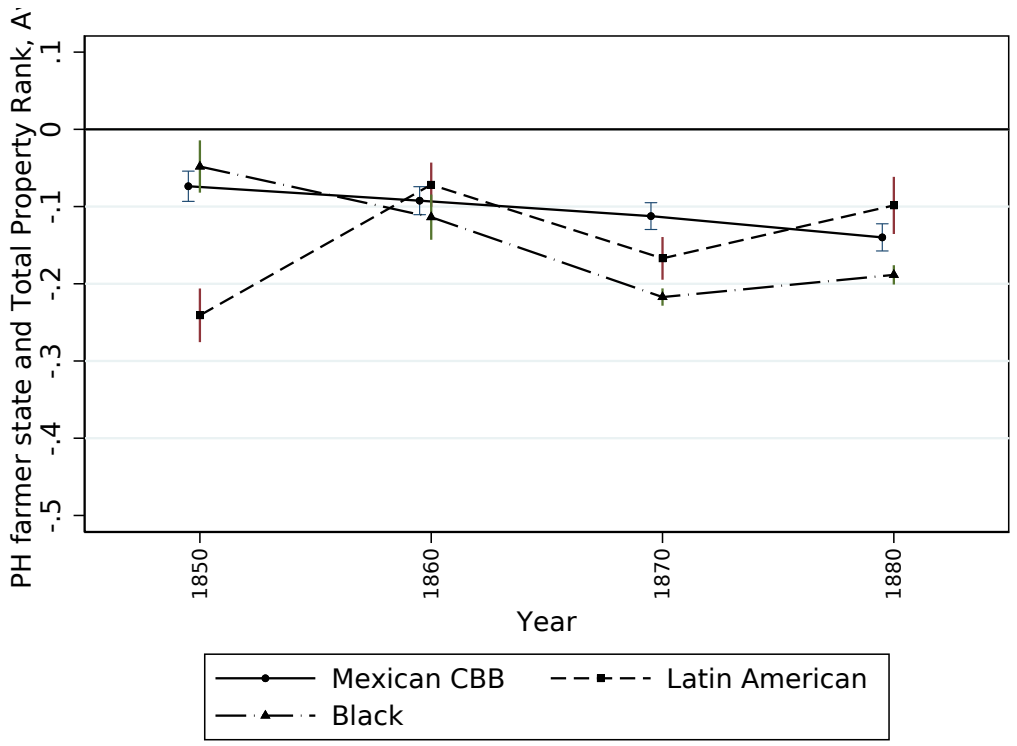
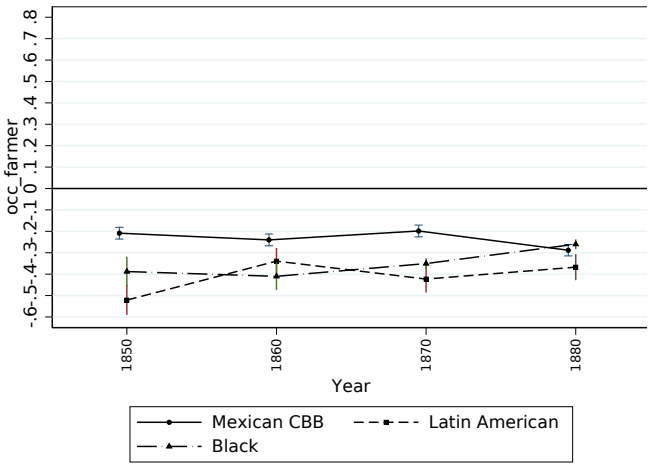


Figure 5: Total Property and Preston and Haines Rankings, Average. State Fixed Effects.

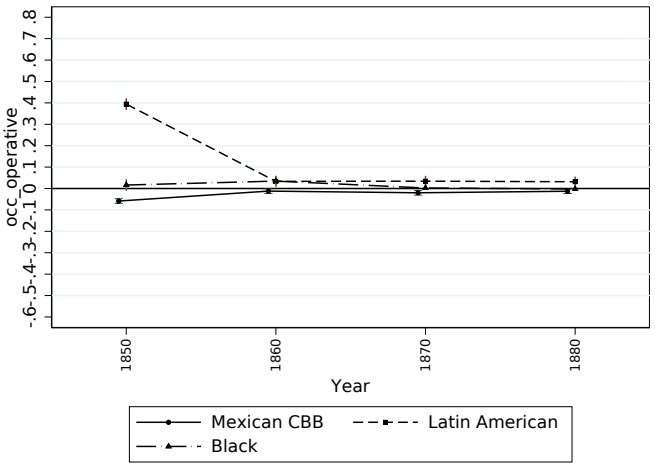
Note: This graph presents the plotted coefficients resulted from running the regression specified in equation 1 with state fixed effects. The variable of interest is my preferred occupational score: the mean of the rank of the Preston and Haines occupational score, with farmer income estimated using the 1900 Agricultural Census at the state level, and the total property score rank, using the real estate and personal property asked in the Full Population Census in 1870 at the state level. MCBB coefficients are plotted in a solid line.

Figure 6: Occupational Category Regressions

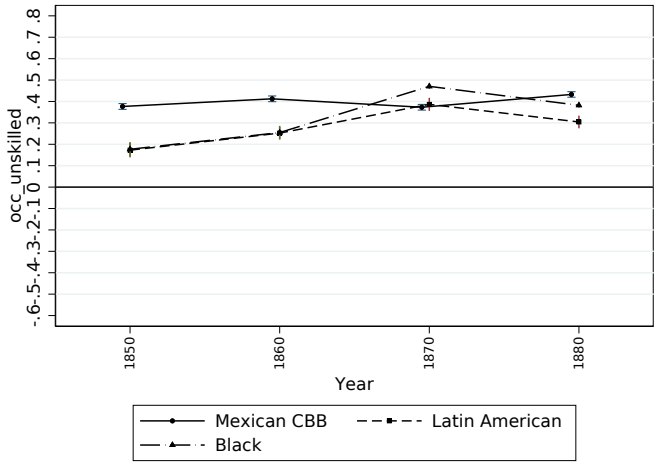
(a) Farmers



(b) Operatives

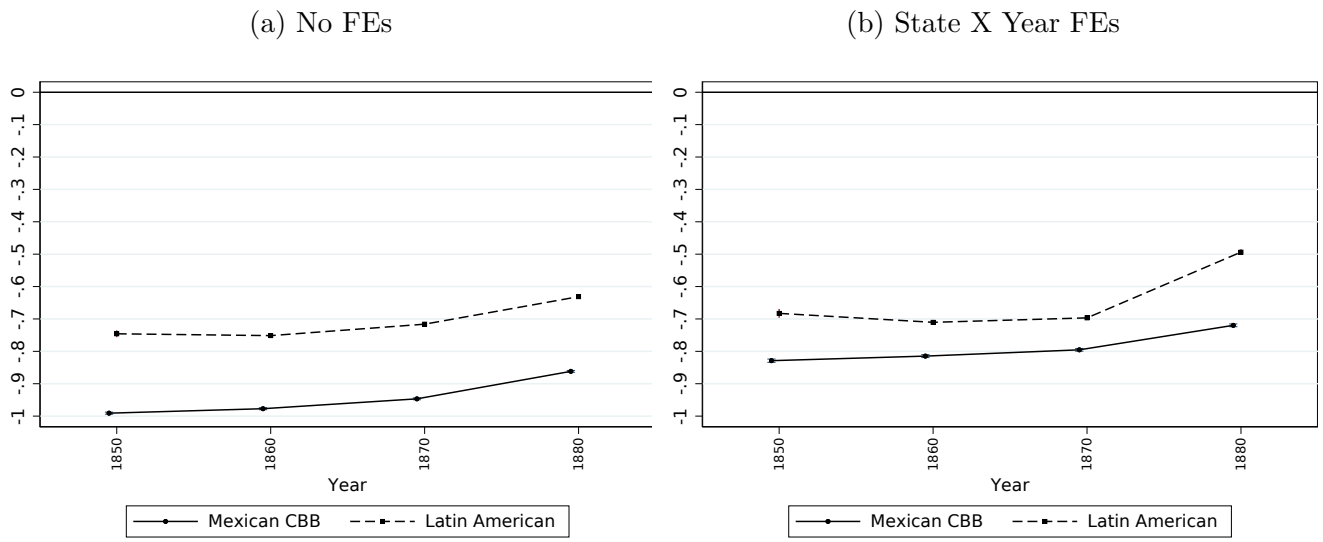


(c) Unskilled Laborers



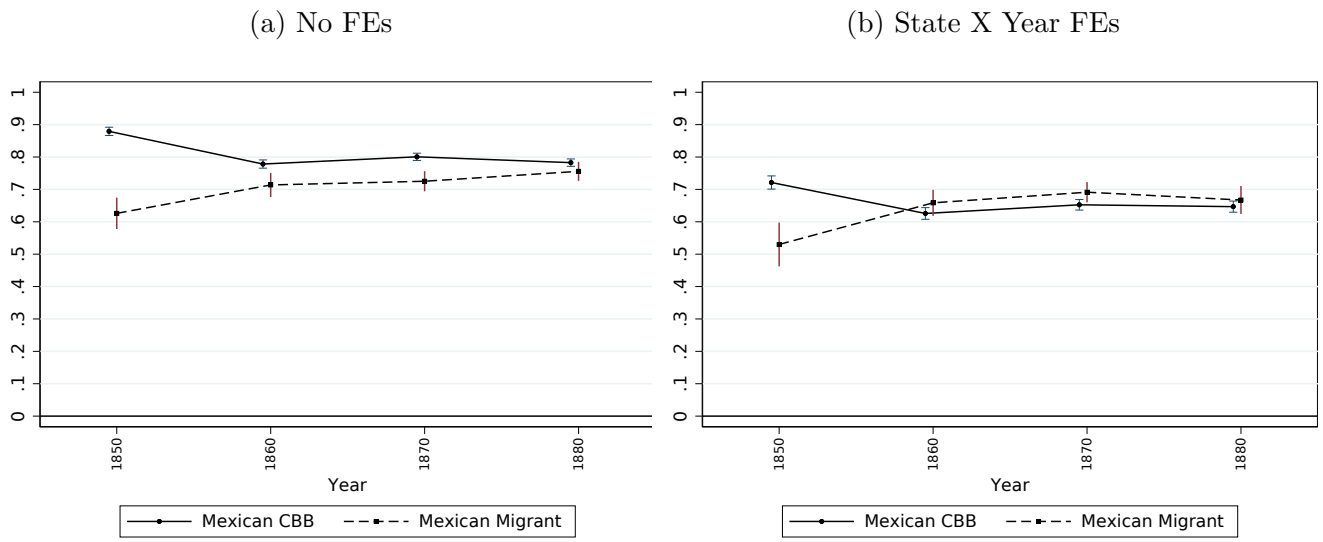
Note: This figure plots the coefficients obtained when running the regression specified in equation 1. The dependent variable for each panel is a dummy indicating if people reported being in a given occupational category. For this time period, "Operatives" are mainly miners and "Unskilled Laborers" group both general and farm laborers.

Figure 7: Married to a non-Hispanic wife



Note: This figure plots the coefficients obtained when running the regression specified in equation 1. The sample consists of married men present in the panel used for the previous regressions. Men within the panel enter this regression's sample by getting married and exit by getting divorced. The two graphs differ because the one in the left has no fixed effects, while the one on the right adds state X year fixed effects.

Figure 8: Mexican Name Index



Note: This figure plots the coefficients obtained when running the regression specified in equation 1. The sample consists of men present in the panel used for the previous regressions with sons living in their household. The two graphs differ because the one in the left has no fixed effects, while the one on the right adds state X year fixed effects. Note that the comparison group now are Mexican migrants rather than Latin American migrants. The variable of interest is a Mexican Name Index, which goes from 0 to 1 and indicates how "Mexican" a name is. It is calculated using the frequency of names in the 1850 census for people born prior to 1846, when the Mexican-Amercian war started. The calcylation follows this formula:

$$MexicanNamesIndex_{name} = \frac{\frac{\#mexicans_{name}}{total\#mexicans}}{\frac{\#mexicans_{name}}{total\#mexicans} + \frac{\#natives_{name}}{total\#natives}}$$

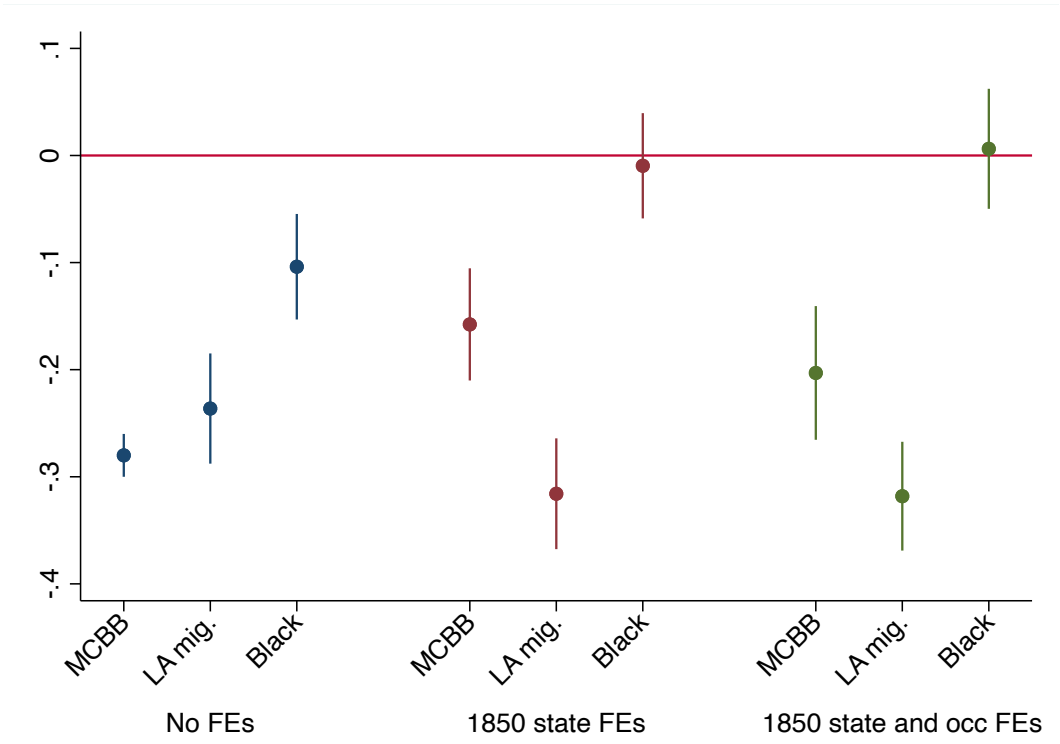


Figure 9: Total Property and Preston and Haines Rankings, Average. Occupational Upgrading.

Note: This figure plots the coefficients obtained when running the regression specified in equation 2. The variable of interest is my preferred occupational score: the mean of the rank of the Preston and Haines occupational score, with farmer income estimated using the 1900 Agricultural Census at the state level, and the total property score rank, using the real estate and personal property asked in the Full Population Census in 1870 at the state level. This outcome corresponds to 1870. The figure presents 3 different sets of coefficients, each corresponding to a specific model. In blue and to the left, you will find the baseline coefficients when running the regression without fixed effects. At center and in red, I add 1850 state of residence fixed effects. Finally, in green and to the right, I add both 1850 state of residence and 1850 occupational category fixed effects.

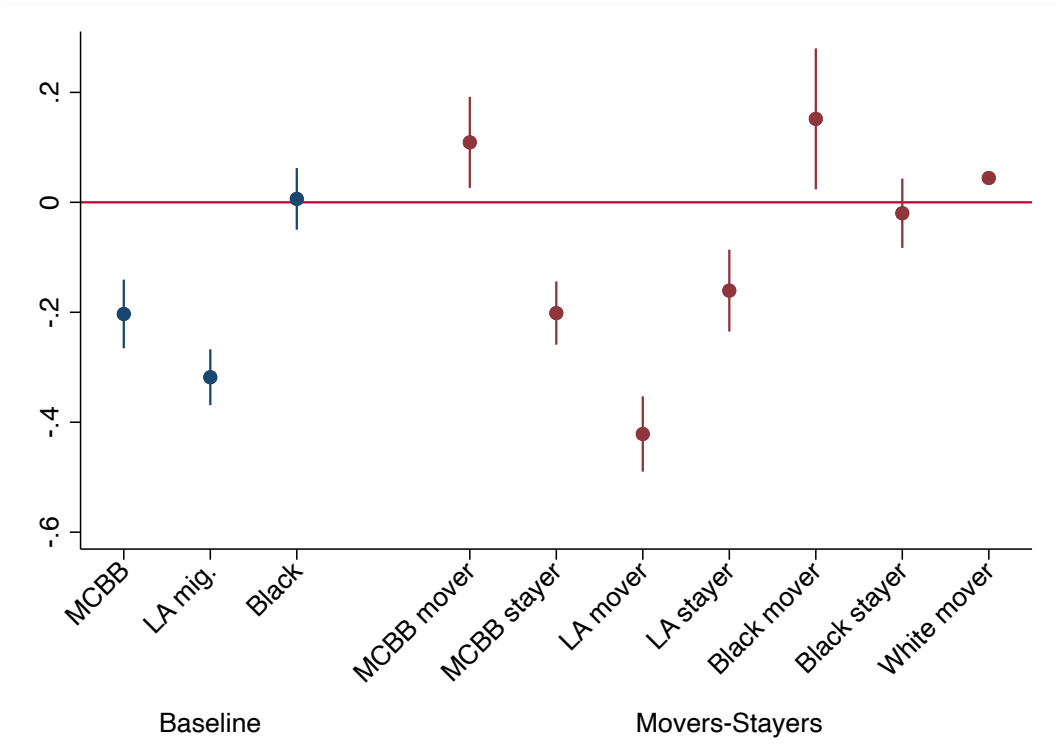


Figure 10: Total Property and Preston and Haines Rankings, Average. Occupational Upgrading: Movers vs Stayers

Note: This figure plots the coefficients obtained when running the regression specified in equation 2. The variable of interest is my preferred occupational score: the mean of the rank of the Preston and Haines occupational score, with farmer income estimated using the 1900 Agricultural Census at the state level, and the total property score rank, using the real estate and personal property asked in the Full Population Census in 1870 at the state level. This outcome corresponds to 1870. The figure presents 2 different sets of coefficients, each corresponding to a specific model. In blue and to the left, you will find the baseline coefficients corresponding to the last model displayed on figure 9. At center and in red, everyone is divided into those changing their state of residence between 1850 and 1870 (movers) and those who did not (stayers). The omited category in the second model are native-born whites that did not change their state of residence between 1850 and 1870.

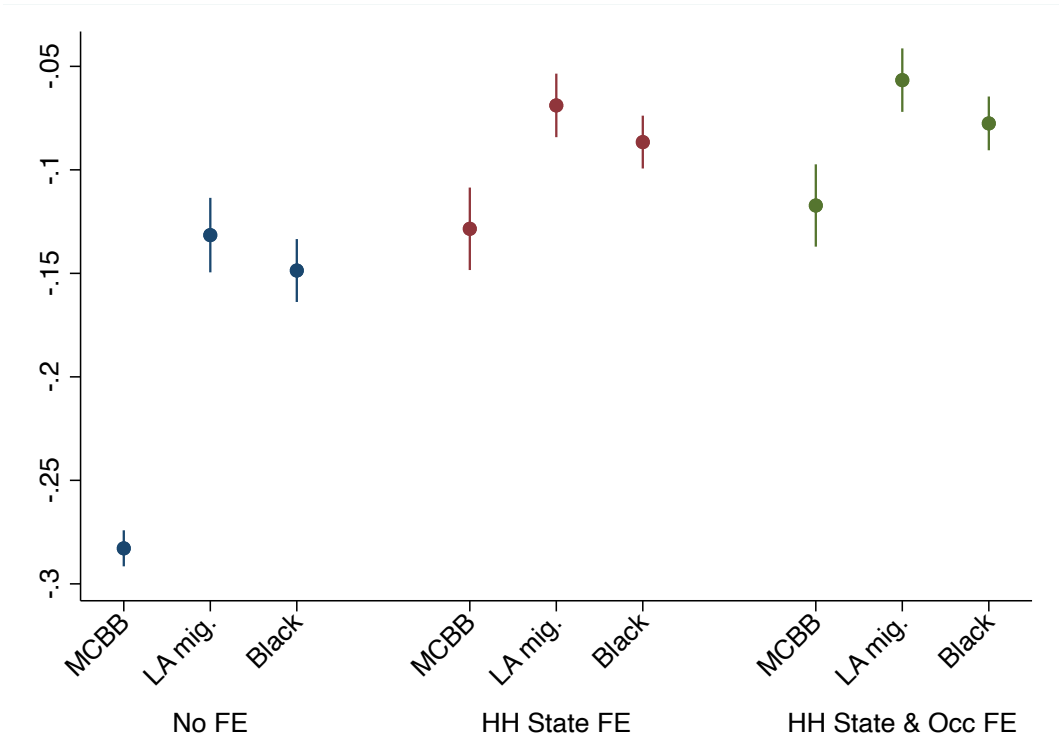


Figure 11: Total Property and Preston and Haines Rankings, Average. Mean Outcomes for the Second generation

Note: This figure plots the coefficients obtained when running the regression specified in equation 2. The variable of interest is my preferred occupational score: the mean of the rank of the Preston and Haines occupational score, with farmer income estimated using the 1900 Agricultural Census at the state level, and the total property score rank, using the real estate and personal property asked in the Full Population Census in 1870 at the state level. This outcome corresponds to 1880. The figure presents 3 different sets of coefficients, each corresponding to a specific model. In blue and to the left, you will find the baseline coefficients when running the regression without fixed effects. At center and in red, I add childhood state of residence. Finally, in green and to the right, I add both childhood state of residence and father's occupation fixed effects.

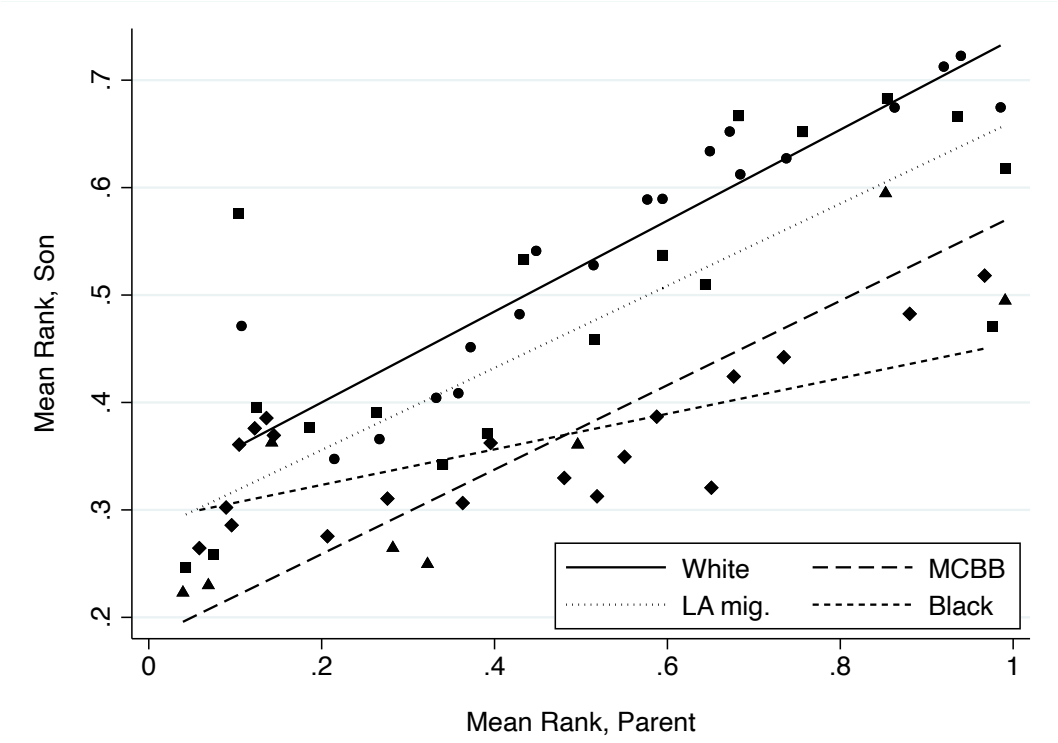


Figure 12: Total Property and Preston and Haines Rankings, Average. Intergenerational Mobility for the Second Generation

Note: This figure plots the occupational score rank for a linked sample of individuals that were kids in 1850 and adults in 1880. The x axis shows the ranking of their father's occupational score in 1850, while the y axis shows the ranking of their occupational score in 1880. It shows the patterns for for native-born whites, MCBBs, Latin American migrants and free Black Americans.