Intergenerational transmission of social status and occupations at the Barcelona Area, 16th – 17th centuries.

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1. Introduction and background.

The intergenerational transmission[1] of social status or occupations in preindustrial societies was mainly determinate by blood (nobility), by land inheritance (peasantry) or by bequest of the means of production (artisans). It was one of the bases for group identities and it involves consequently class formation (Kocka, 1984, Van Leuwen et al., 2005), together with strategic use of marriage (see Arrizabalaga, 2005; Bourdieu, 1976 & 2004; Bull, 2005; Chacón, 1998; Dribe & Lundh, 2005; Ferrer i Alós, 2006 & 2007; van Leeuwen & Mass, 2005; Torrents, 1998; Vilalta, 2006). These kind of class identities conform the family as the core of an specific social system, subject to changes due to demographic behaviour, laws, or expansion and restriction of economy. In order to assess those issues, we propose to analyze how in ordered Catalan society the father social group could conditioned the integration of the son into the same group, with the use by family of parity (at marriage) and sibship size. For this purpose we are going to use the marriage licenses issued by the Diocese of Barcelona from mid sixteenth century to mid seventeenth century, collected into the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database[2]. The occupations of fathers and grooms (sons) where fully registered at that period, so the reason to choose it for our purposes.

Along the Early Modern Period, Catalonia showed a demographic recovery, after a century of different sort of crisis, as plagues and a Civil War (1462 – 1472) which were the causes for a significant reduction of its population. From 1553 to 1623 population increased at a 75%, thanks to an important flow of immigrants from France (Nadal & Giralt, 2000), as well as an expanding economic process (Junqueras, 2006; Simon, 1992). This expansion, among other factors, can be explained by an extension of vineyard and the spread of the textile industry at the countryside (Torres, 1992; Garcia Espuche, 1998). The situation would change during and after the Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648) and the outbreak of the Revolution of 1640 (Elliot, 1963) as a result of commercial and industrial crisis, tax pressure, bad harvests. Inheritance legal system was based on the principle of impartible inheritance, granting to the eldest son the privilege to be the heir (Barrera González, 2005; Comas d'Argemir, 1988; Ferrer i Alós, 2007 & 2010).

2. Data, area and methods.

This study is based on the marriage licenses recorded at the "Llibres d'Esposalles" (Marriage licenses Books) of the Archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona. They cover the Diocese of Barcelona (formed by 250 parishes) from 1451 to 1905. The origin of the source goes back to 1409 when Pope Benedict XIII (1328 – 1423, considered as an antipope during the Western Schism) visited Barcelona and granted the new Cathedral for a tax on marriage to be raised on

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[1] For a review of the historiography related to intergenerational social mobility see: Van Leeuwen, M. H. D & and Maas, I. (2010), specially pages 435 – 437. Some recent articles related to topic are: Dribe, M.; Lundh, C. (2009 & 2010), Karlsson, T.; Sanfors, M. (2011), Van Bavel et al. (1998), Zijdeman, R. L. (2009).

each union celebrated at the Diocese. The parish scope ranges from the city of Barcelona, to rural villages at the periphery of the Diocese.

From 1547 - 1643 more than 80,000 marriage licenses were given in the Barcelona Area. As we study social group transmission within two generations, we just need to take into account marriages with information on occupation and status of the groom and his father. The availability of two complete generations is close to 30,000 due to the fact the information related to the fathers of non native grooms or widowed grooms were not registered. Then the individuals take into account are just Catalan born, in a broad sense. Some of them came from the Barcelona Diocese and others from the rest of *the Principat* (the actual Catalonia and a portion in southern France). For each of these marriages was also collected the paid tax according to the socio-economic status of the couple. The taxes were organized into a seven-tiered scale, ranging from the nobility (the highest one) to the so declared poor (free from tax).

When building the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database, a process of data set harmonization has been implemented; names and family names, occupations and geographical locations are included. Names and family names have been harmonized according to language criteria. Origin and residence have been geolocated, and occupations have been coded using HISCO (Van Leeuwen et. al 2002).

Building social groups

The occupation / status of fathers and groom (sons) have been transformed into social group using HISCLASS (Van Leuwen et al., 2005) and SCOPO (Van de Putte & Miles, 2005). The 12 classes of HISCLASS scheme have been turned into 7. The first one, 'Higher managers' (1) has been divided in two categories: one 'Nobility', in order to fit to the meaning of the category, and two will keep the original name of the group. The groups 'Higher professionals' (2), 'Skilled workers' (7) and 'Farmers' (8) are going to be maintained as such. The groups 'Lower managers' (3), 'Lower professionals, clerical and sales personnel' (4), 'Lower clerical and sales personnel' (6) and 'Foremen' have been joined in one group. The same for 'Lower skilled workers' (9) and 'Unskilled workers' (10); as well as 'Lower skilled farm workers' (11) and 'Unskilled farm workers' (12). In relation to SCOPO the 5 levels have been used, taking out Nobility from Level 5 as it was done in HISCLASS.

Building genealogies – Record linkage

To assess the parity and sibship size from marriage licenses we do need to build genealogies of father - sons which are brothers among them (not daughters, because by convection women occupation were not registered). So we carry out nominal record linkage among grooms marriage records and their respective parents. This record linkage has been done using a software named *BuscarDescendencies*, developed by "Five Centuries of Marriages" project. This program runs an algorithm that measures similarities (or distances) between strings taking into account the length of each string and the position of the letters. The string comparison is based on the method presented by Wagner & Fisher (1974). Additionally, the algorithm is adapted to Catalan grammar.

The program of linkage has been executed to identify the potential parents of the cohorts of children (sons). The sole restrictions in the case of potential parents, is the minimum age at marriage -15 years-, and the absence of premarital intercourse.

Once we did link two generations, we find the amount of children with the same parents. From this, we do created small family trees (of two generations) to be analyzed. Figure 1 below introduces the example of two trees that are very illustrative.

Figure 1: Exemples of local genealogies
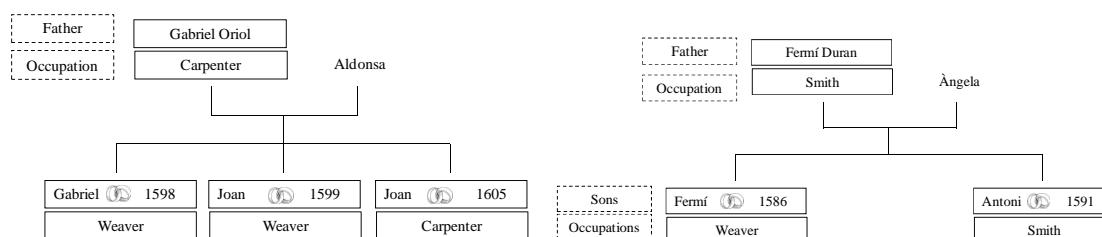
3. Preliminary results

Total and relative transmission

The estimation of total transmission is commonly measured using the proportion of fathers and sons, both coming from the same social group. We are going to analyze endogamy tables – mobility cross-tables (see Table 1 and 2). In our case, the level of transmission was around 66% using HISCLASS and 69% using SCOPCO. Those belonging more to the father's social group were the sons of nobles, of farmers (including the less skilled) and of artisans (together with the lower handicraftsmen); that can confirm the main hypothesis of this paper. Actually the probability of a son of a noble to remain in his father social group is 46%, for a son of a farmer is 39%, and for a son of an artisan, 26%. There are some differences according to the place of residence which can be due to the different productive profiles of villages and cities; e. g. Barcelona was an important industrial textile centre (tables not shown).

Table 1: Socials group at the Barcelona Area, 1547 – 1643 (HISCLASS).

	Classes	Fathers									Total
		Nobility	Higher managers	Higher professionals	Lower managers, Lower prof and clerical,	Lower clerical and sales	Skilled workers	Farmers	Lower skilled and unskilled workers	Lower skilled and unskilled farm workers	
Sons	Nobility	501	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	501
	Higher managers (1)	3	6	0	1	1	3	2	2	0	18
	Higher professionals (2)	48	19	393	178	9	128	181	159	4	1119
	Lower managers, Lower prof and clerical, etc. (3,4,6)	14	4	99	716	5	264	553	326	8	1989
	Lower clerical and sales (5)	2	1	30	23	6	28	57	45	3	195
	Skilled workers (7)	6	1	44	177	9	2631	1890	1003	52	5813
	Farmers (8)	3	3	11	28	3	253	10690	359	20	11370
	Lower skilled and unskilled workers (9)	6	1	53	204	14	875	2404	4160	92	7809
	Lower skilled and unskilled farm workers (10)	0	0	4	7	0	56	164	88	341	660
Total		583	35	634	1334	47	4238	15941	6142	520	29474

Table 2: Socials group at the Barcelona Area, 1547 – 1643 (SCOPCO).

Levels		Fathers						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	Nobility	
Sons	1	380	121	117	321	10	0	949
	2	120	3231	703	1984	124	5	6167
	3	147	711	2774	1923	80	4	5639
	4	63	410	431	11006	135	8	12053
	5	16	213	245	485	1047	60	2066
	Nobility	0	3	1	6	73	483	566
Total		726	4689	4271	15725	1469	560	27440

The previous results show how the transmission levels according to social groups depend on the composition of the occupational/social structure. One of the main features of this structure is the prevalence of peasants (one of the less mobile groups) among other groups could; this fact can minimize the overall intergenerational mobility. That's the case; the proportion of peasant fathers is higher than the one of peasant sons (54 % - 39 %), probably due that parents were in fact the landholders. In relation to the artisans the pattern is even more complex. This

complexity comes from the fact that a father and a son could be both artisans but not having the same specialization, and even not belonging to the same production branch; in fact there were different occupational opportunities for different generations. Other possible reasons were either to find a way to diversify the family economy or an adaptation to new economic opportunities. In addition, the social mobility of father and sons can be determinate by the more or less social fluidity of the concrete society[3]. A social fluidity that would be different depending on the reference group, for instance the nobility tends to withdraw with their peers though they can access to the group from different ways (from cradle, form ennoblement for military achievements, etc.)[4].

The analysis –according to the previous information- is going to be completed with individual data, splitted in two parts. At the first, we are going to model the intergenerational social mobility by logistic models where married sons are the target population, and the dependent variable is the fact to remain or not at the father's social group, controlling for the period (due to the considered long span, close to a century) and place of residence (to introduce the migratory component). To go in depth into social groups behaviour we analyze separately the groups with more identity,who tend to be those with a higher social transmission -nobility, peasants and artisans -, as showed previously. Artisans belonging to the most representative production branches are going to be taken into account (textile, metal and cloth and leather goods makers)[5].

At the second part of the analysis we try to know the extend of the parents use of parity to transmit their occupation or to diversify their own economy, applying logistic regression models to genealogies of brothers already build. This particular dataset is currently being cleaned because as the linkage is carried out according to the similarity of strings, we can find for a single individual several potential parents that have the same names and family names. The selection of the more probable link among multiple candidates has been established using all the available data about each marriage record, such as occupation, geographical location and payed taxes. At the moment we did identified 13,251 possible genealogies. The approach to this research question has to be understood in the context of a non-parity inheritance system, where the eldest son would have more chances to inherit the properties. For this particular section, we are not going to take into account the nobility, due to the strict norms of transmission of their wealth (titles, land…).

To sum up, we expect to find a positive correlation between the first born children, (not necessarily the first to get married), and the maintenance of the father status / occupation. The rest of the children will have more possibilities to change socially or geographically, but their occupations would be in a complementary economic activity of the one carried out by the father.

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[3] For an evaluation of the components of relative mobility see: Erikson & Goldthorpe (1993); Van Bavel et al. (1998).

[4] In a broad sense see: Anders & Wallis (2002); Hurwich (1998); Dewland (1996); Mesa (2007).

[5] For a general view of the artisans see: Farr (2000); Zofio (2011); Ros & Sancho (2001).

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