

# EDUCATION AND MOBILITY: GATSBY IN THE AMERICAS

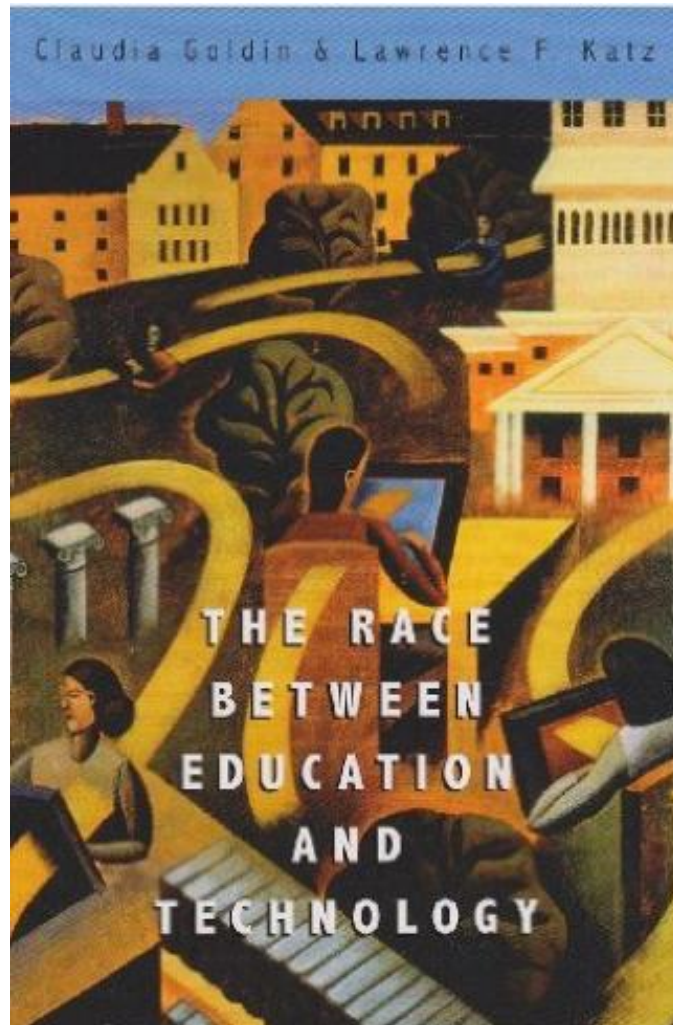
**Darryl McLeod**

Fordham University Economics  
Center for International Policy Studies

**Presentation at CCNY-LALS**

Latin American and Latino Studies  
Monday November 19<sup>th</sup>

# The U.S. and Latin America in a great race between technology and education



**From 2000 to 2015 Inequality fell in Latin America and mobility increased, for the first time ever children surpassed their parents in education...especially women**

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**Why & how? Transfer programs conditional on school attendance (CCTs) target excluded groups...**

# Starting in 1997 Mexico Progresa-Oportunidades-Prospera spreads to Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Argentina targets women with children



# Mothers and children in Hidalgo Mexico

The Prospera (previously Oportunidades) is a conditional cash transfer program benefits nearly six million families about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Mexico's population.

Launched 1997 after a financial crisis, it has been replicated in 52 countries including most large Latin American countries (as in Bolsa Familia)

See 2014 interview of [Francesca Lamanna](#), social protection specialist at the World Bank,

# **Why is inequality rising in the U.S.? answer “the new geography of Jobs” e.g. Amazon 2 in Queens**

- *UCB’s Enrico Moretti points out rising inequality between cities with college educated*
- *Relevant to the NYC and the Bronx right now: Amazon HQ coming to Queens...*
- *Here are his slides ([right click to open in a new tab](#))*



# Why is inequality high & rising in the U.S. and in NYC?

Answer: “the new geography of Jobs” e.g. Amazon 2 in Queens

- *UCB’s Enrico Moretti points out rising inequality between cities with college educated*
- *Who benefits when college educated pop increases?*
- *NYC and the Bronx right now: Amazon HQ 2 coming...*
- *Enrico’s slides ([right click to open in a new tab](#))*
- *[Furman Center on Gentrification](#)? Who has to move?*
- *See also [DSI report on Washington Heights](#)*
- *Where has crime fallen dramatically in New York City?*
- *A tale of two blackouts, 1977 and 2003?*

# Who can stop rising high & rising in the U.S. and in NYC? Answer: our Mayor and Governor or...





# **Inequality is falling in Latin America, but rising in the U.S...can this be fixed by free education?**

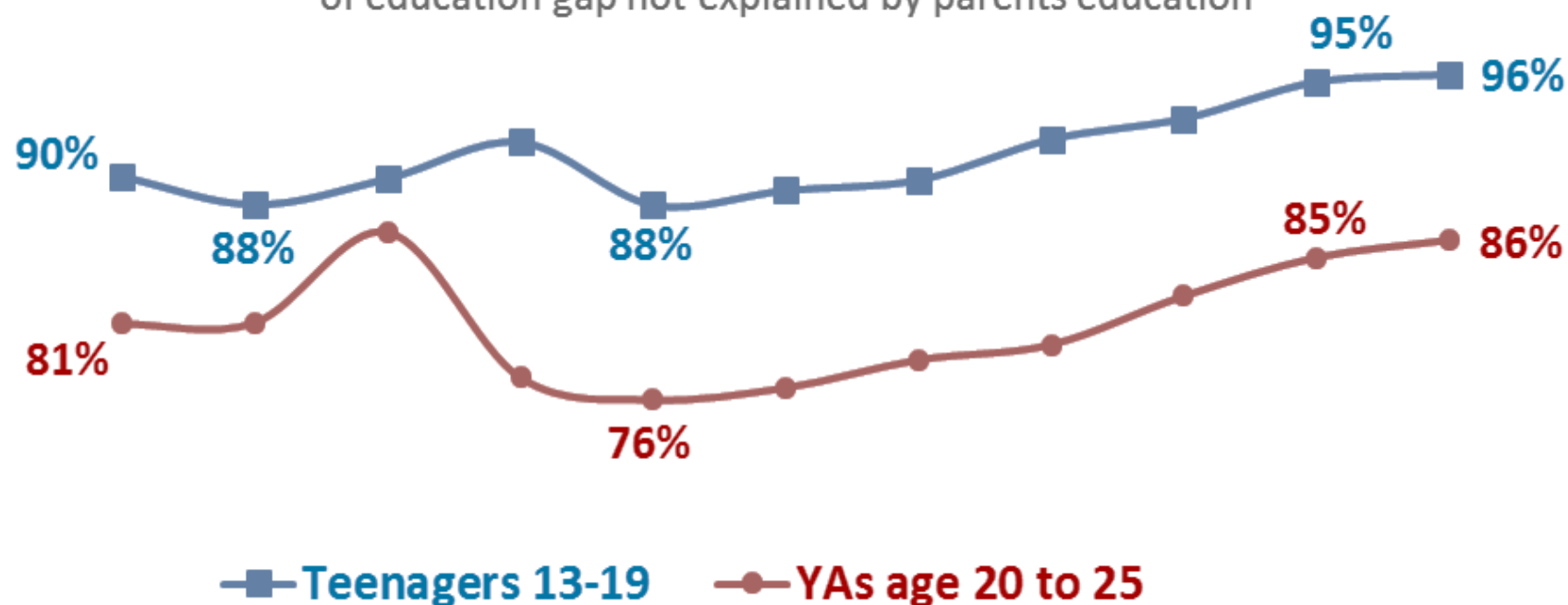
- *In the USA, growth slowed and access to education reproduced inequality... top 1% courted by best schools (not the most meritorious)*
- *Inequality and expensive selective schools reduced mobility and reinforced inequality...*
- *In Latin America, expansion of education through social transfer programs and faster growth 2000 to 2015 led to falling inequality and rising mobility*

# **Inequality is falling in Latin America, but rising in the Bronx and the U.S...free education? Alexandria Ocasio Cortez or Mayor Bloomberg (New America)**

- *In the USA, growth slowed and access to education reproduced inequality... top 1% courted by best schools (not the most meritorious)*
- *Inequality and expensive selective schools reduced mobility and reinforced inequality...*
- *In Latin America, expansion of education through social transfer programs and faster growth 2000 to 2015 led to falling inequality and rising mobility*

# Chile mobility increases: share of education not explained by parent's SES

Figure C-1: Intergenerational Education Mobility Chile: share of education gap not explained by parents education



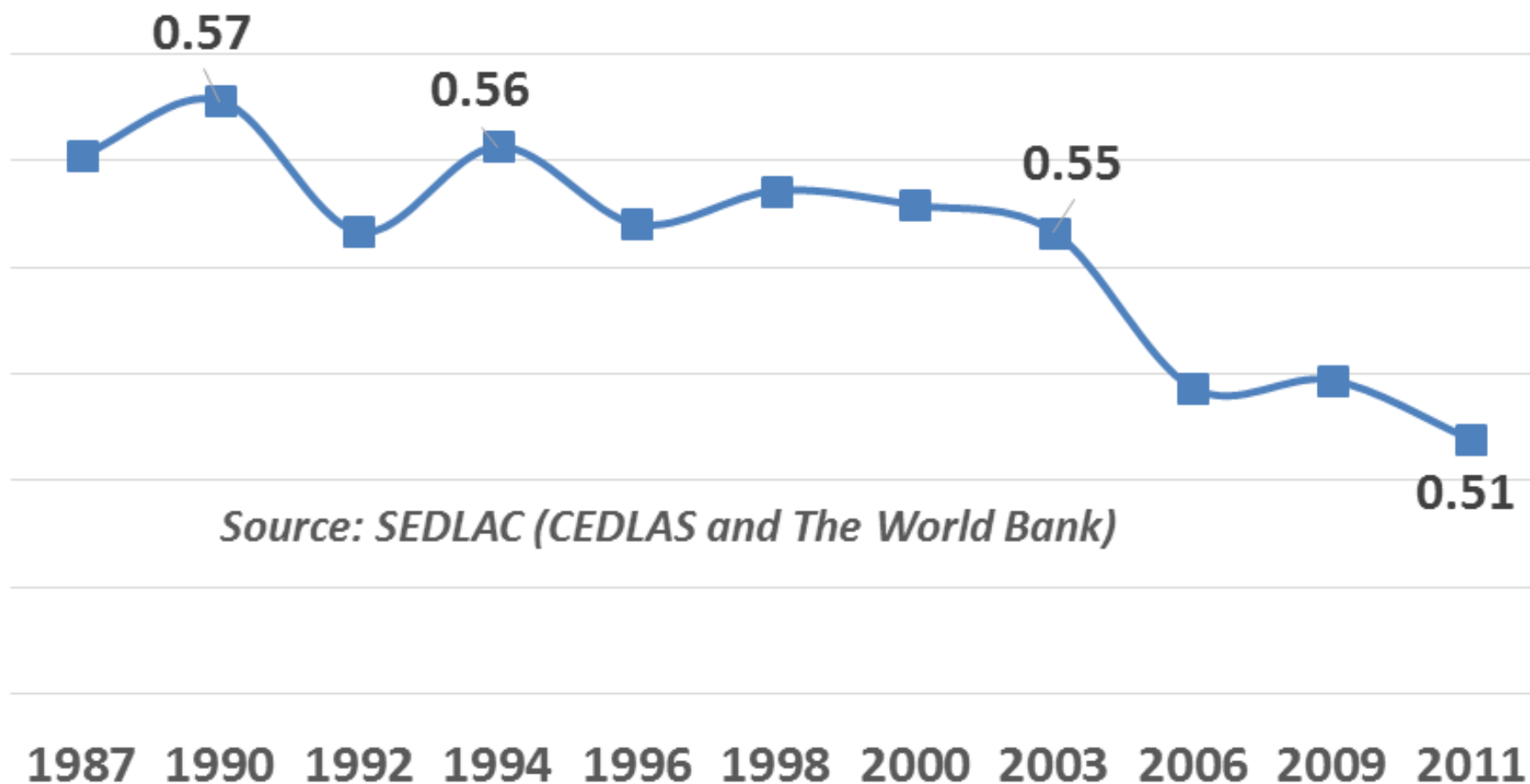
1987 1990 1992 1994 1996 1998 2000 2003 2006 2009 2011

Source: SEDLAC/CEDLAS Education Stats Mobility\*

<http://sedlac.econo.unlp.edu.ar/eng/statistics-detalle.php?idE=37>

# Chile inequality is falling...

## Figure G-1 Chile Inequality Gini Falls



# Three women Presidents 2013(but alas...)



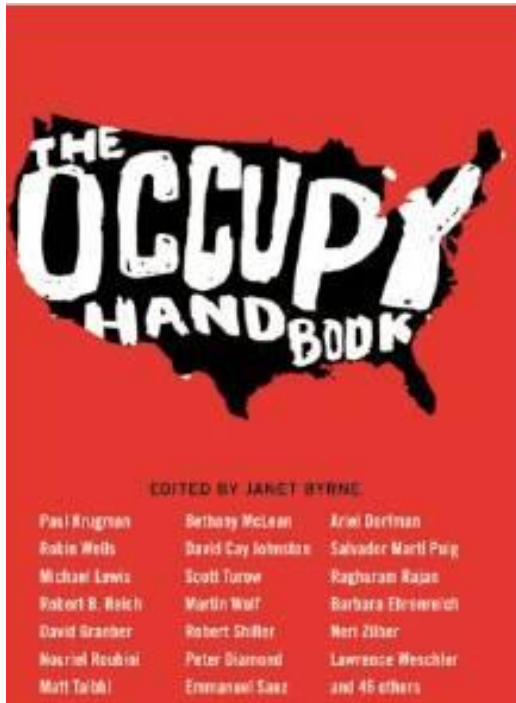


Chilean students  
creatively  
“protest” high  
cost of college  
and student  
debt... why?





## Student Protests in Chile



**Answer: student loans lower income students into college and middle class or higher: example Camila Vallejo Dowling Chilean student leader now congress-woman under President Michelle Bachelet:**

**Education: gender convergence opens new gender gap... starting with 1968 cohort, Latin women become more educate than men (Nopo, 2012)**

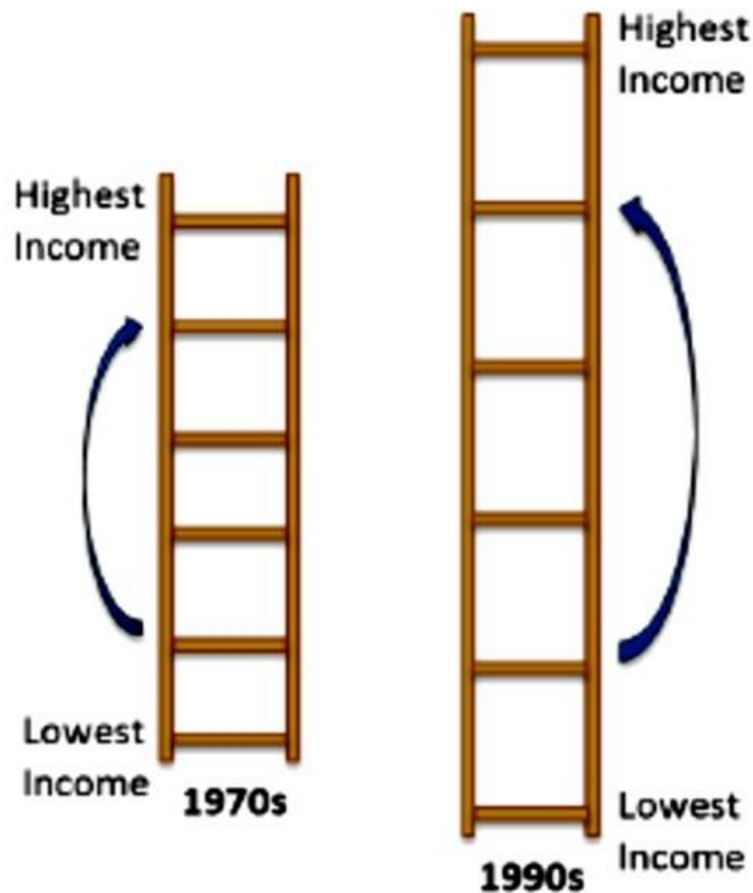
**Changes from 1990 to 2010**

	Year	<u>Females 21-30</u>		<u>Males 21-30</u>		<u>Ratio F/M</u>	
		Yrs Educ	change	Yrs Educ	Change	Level	Change
Argentina	2011	12.4	2.5	11.6	1.6	107	159
Brazil	2009	9.8	4.1	9.2	3.5	107	118
Chile	2009	12.6	2.5	12.4	2.4	102	105
Mexico	2010	10.4	2.5	10.3	1.5	101	171

*Source: CEDLAS/SEDLAC Education and Gender Statistics*

# Globalization and new technologies means more education needed to climb to top...

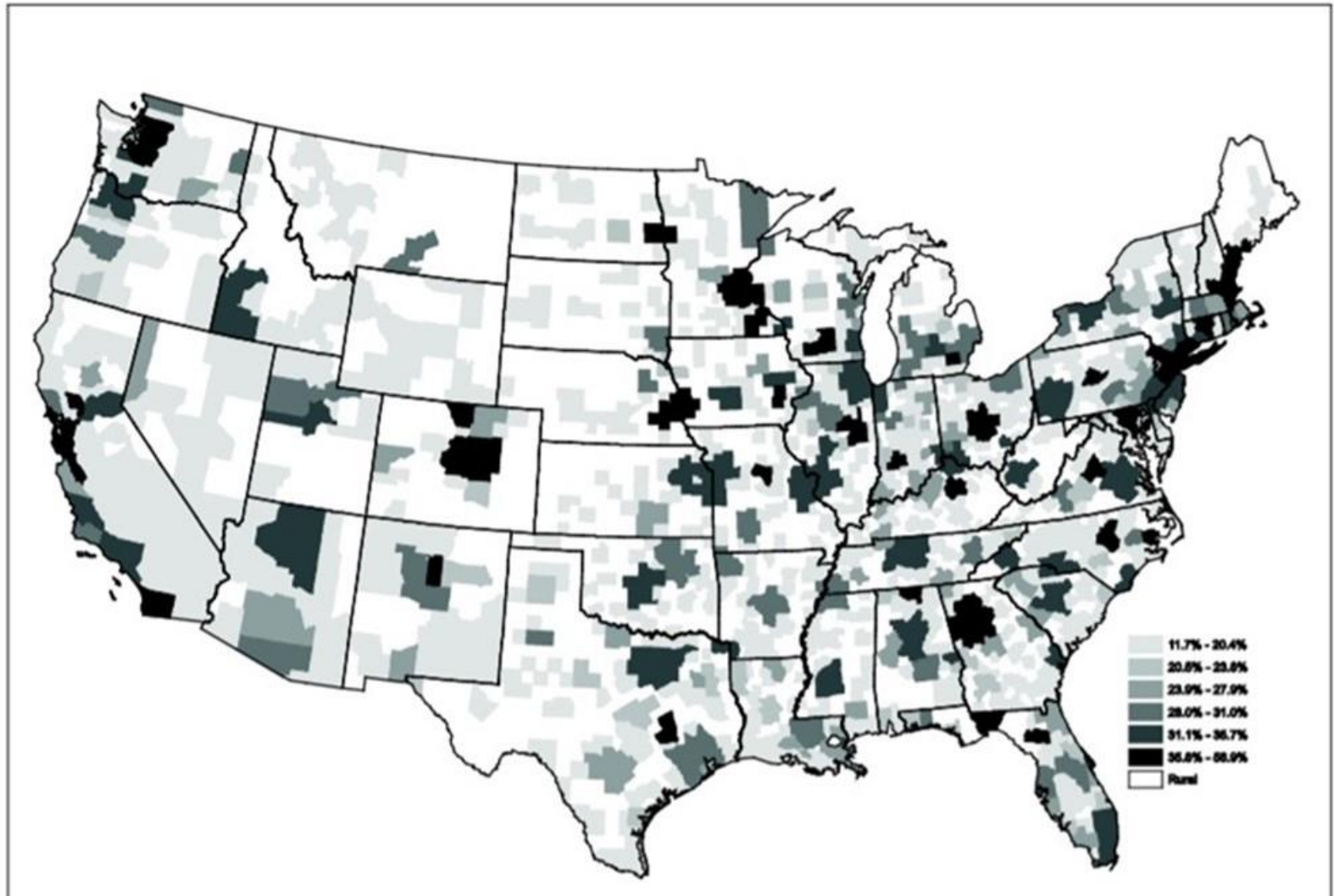
## Changes in the Income Ladder in the United States



*The rungs of the income ladder have grown further apart (income inequality has increased)*

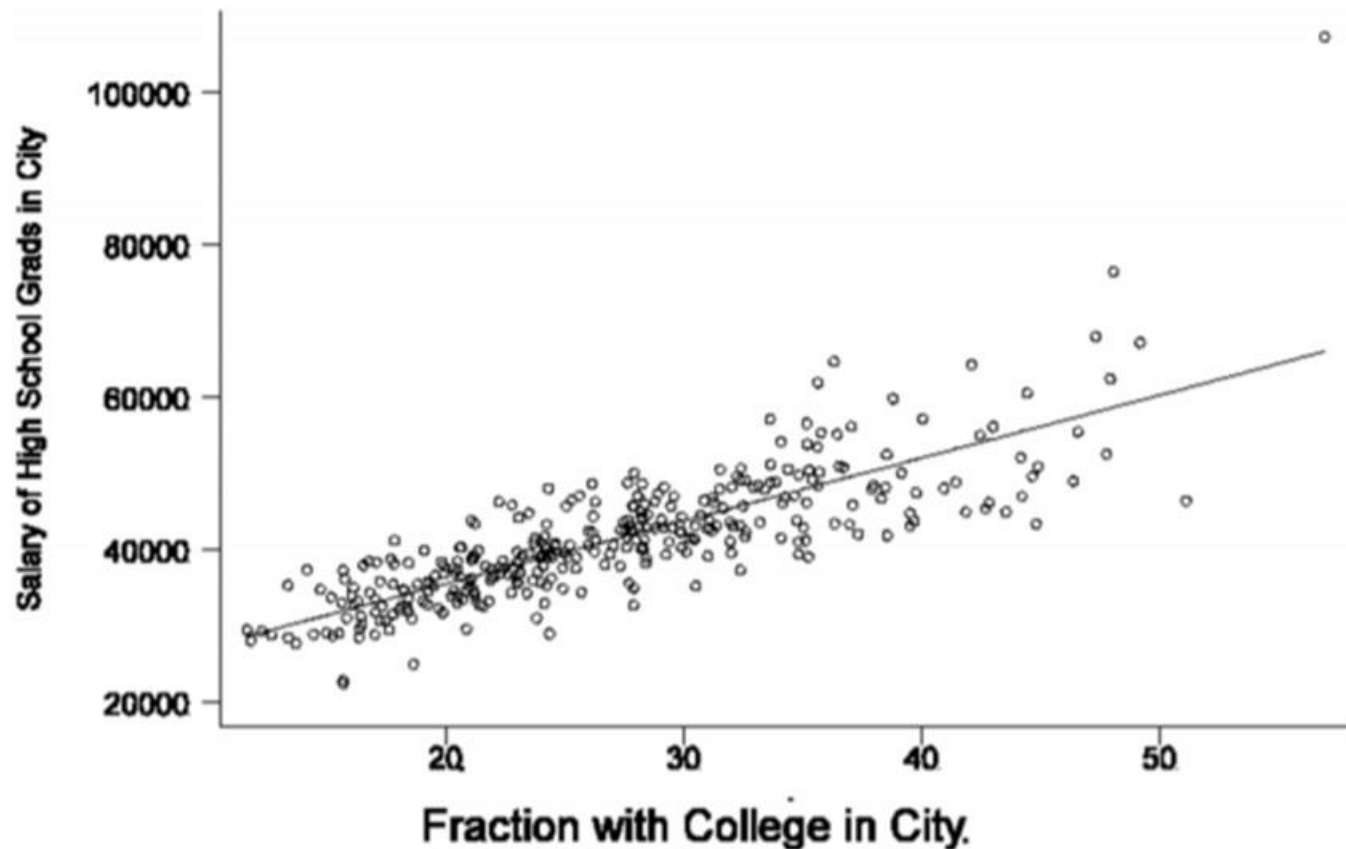
*...but children's chances of climbing from lower to higher rungs have not changed.*

# Share of Workers with College Degree

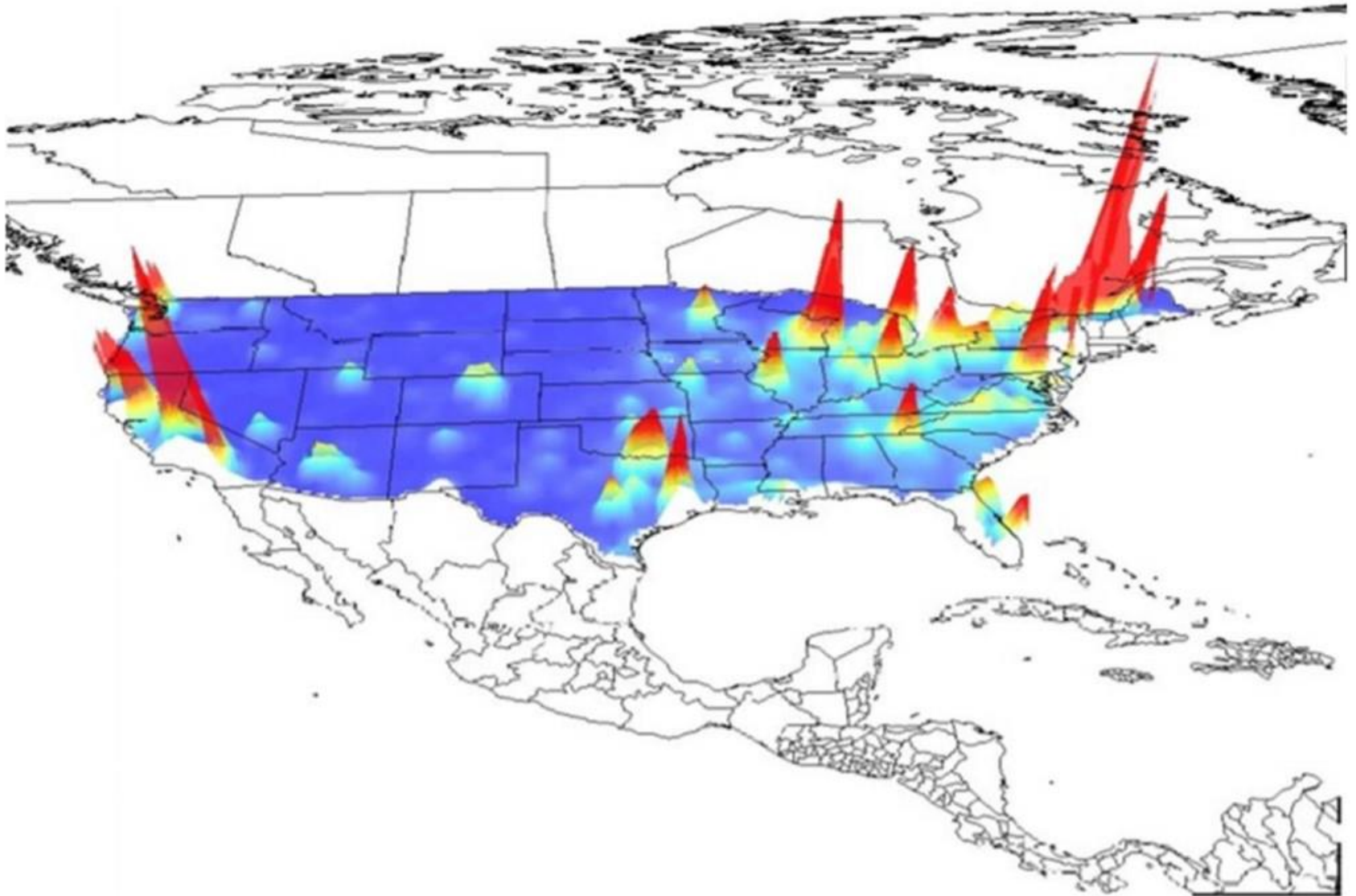




# The Relation Between the Share of College Graduates in a City and the Wage of High School Graduates in that City

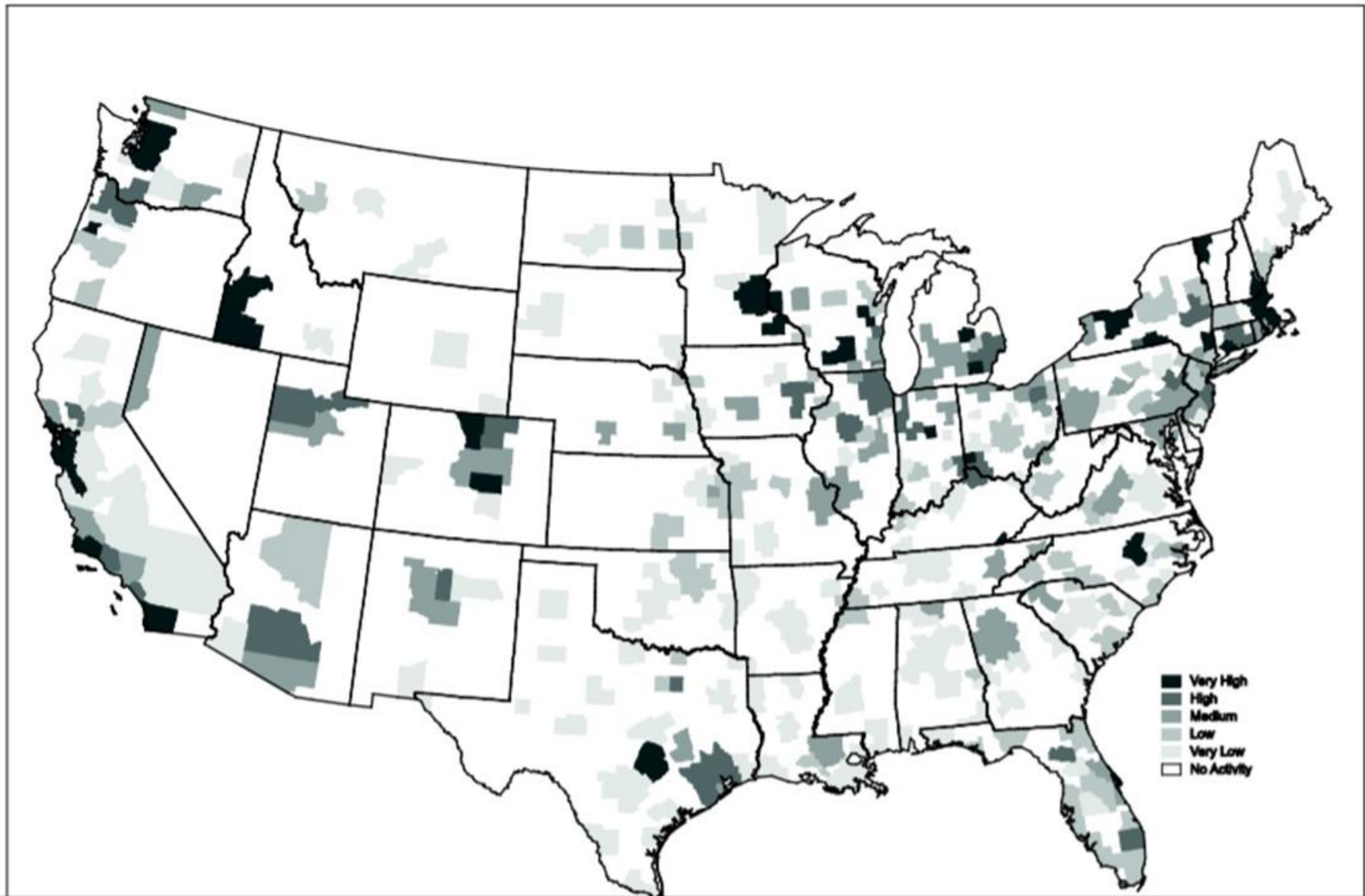


# Economic Output Per Square Kilometer





# Patents per Worker



# Education raises social mobility if children more educated than their parents: 3 related Mobility measures

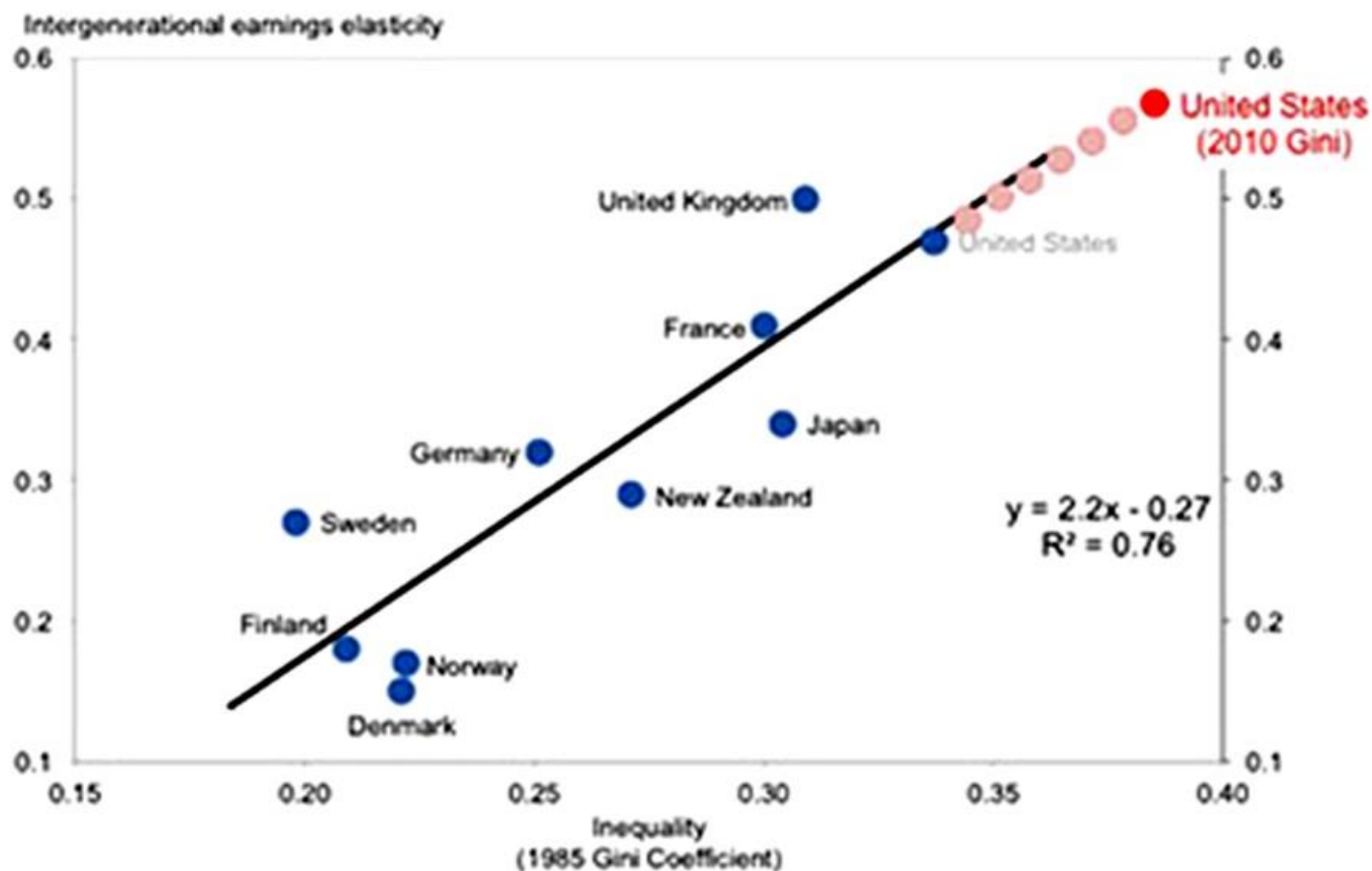
1. *Intergenerational Education Mobility: Gatsby curve for Chile & Latin America*
2. *Absolute Mobility: how far NYC residents climb compared to parents?*
3. *College mobility: access vs. success for 30 million students: Chetty et al 2017*  
*“solving social problems with big data...”*

# ***Intergenerational Education Mobility***

- *Educational IGM: do you have more education than your parents? .... across generations.*
- *If your education matches that of your parent's: Low IGM family status and SES determine your future.*
- ***Mobility is a break with the past, your** generation is better educated than you parents...*
- *The more correlated with your schooling is with your parents the less social mobility there is... you need connections to get into a good school*
- *IGM Mobility can be negative ....see Venezuela for example*

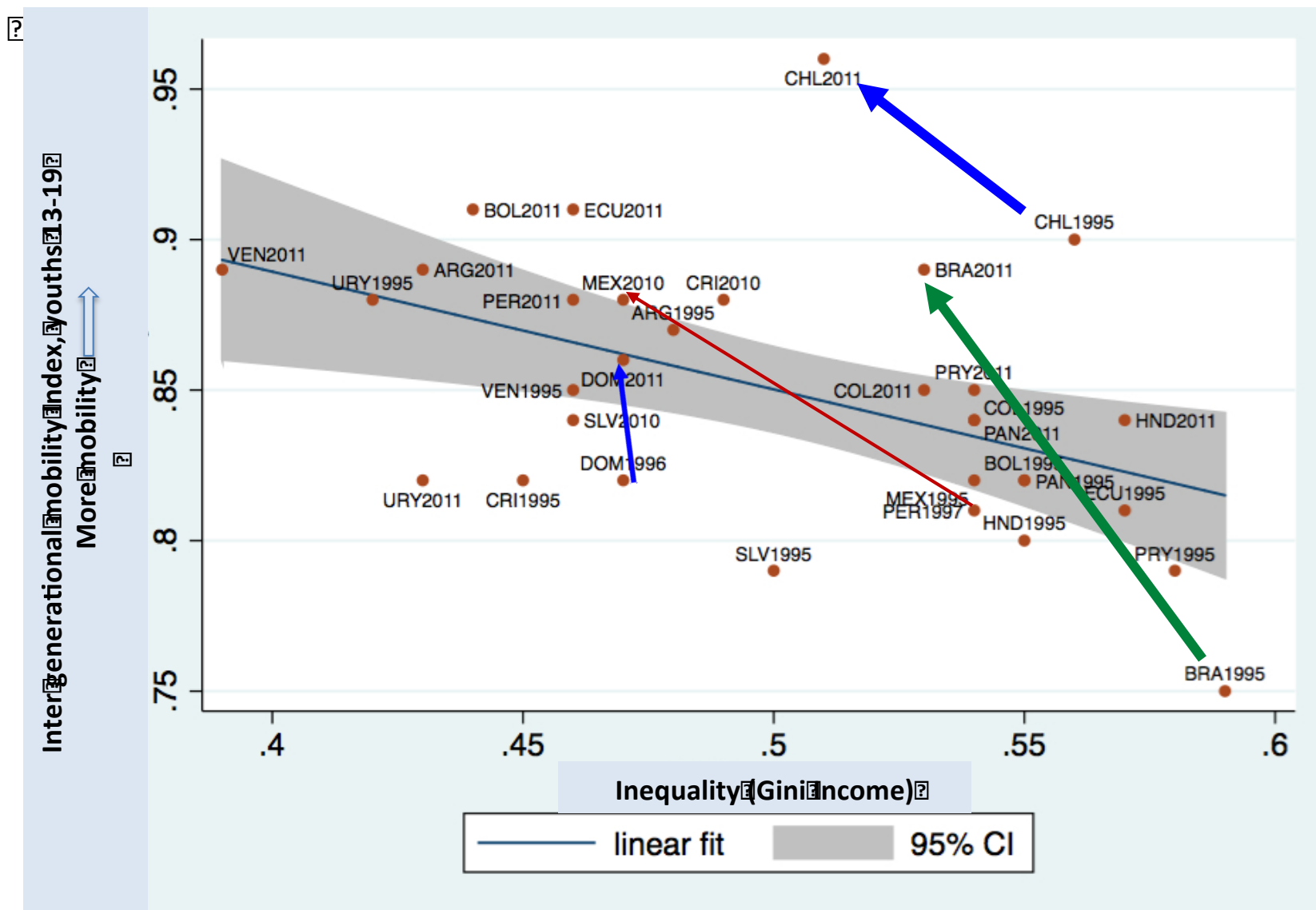
# THE GREAT GATSBY CURVE

High Inequality is Associated With Less Economic Mobility



Source: Corak (2011), OECD, CEA estimates

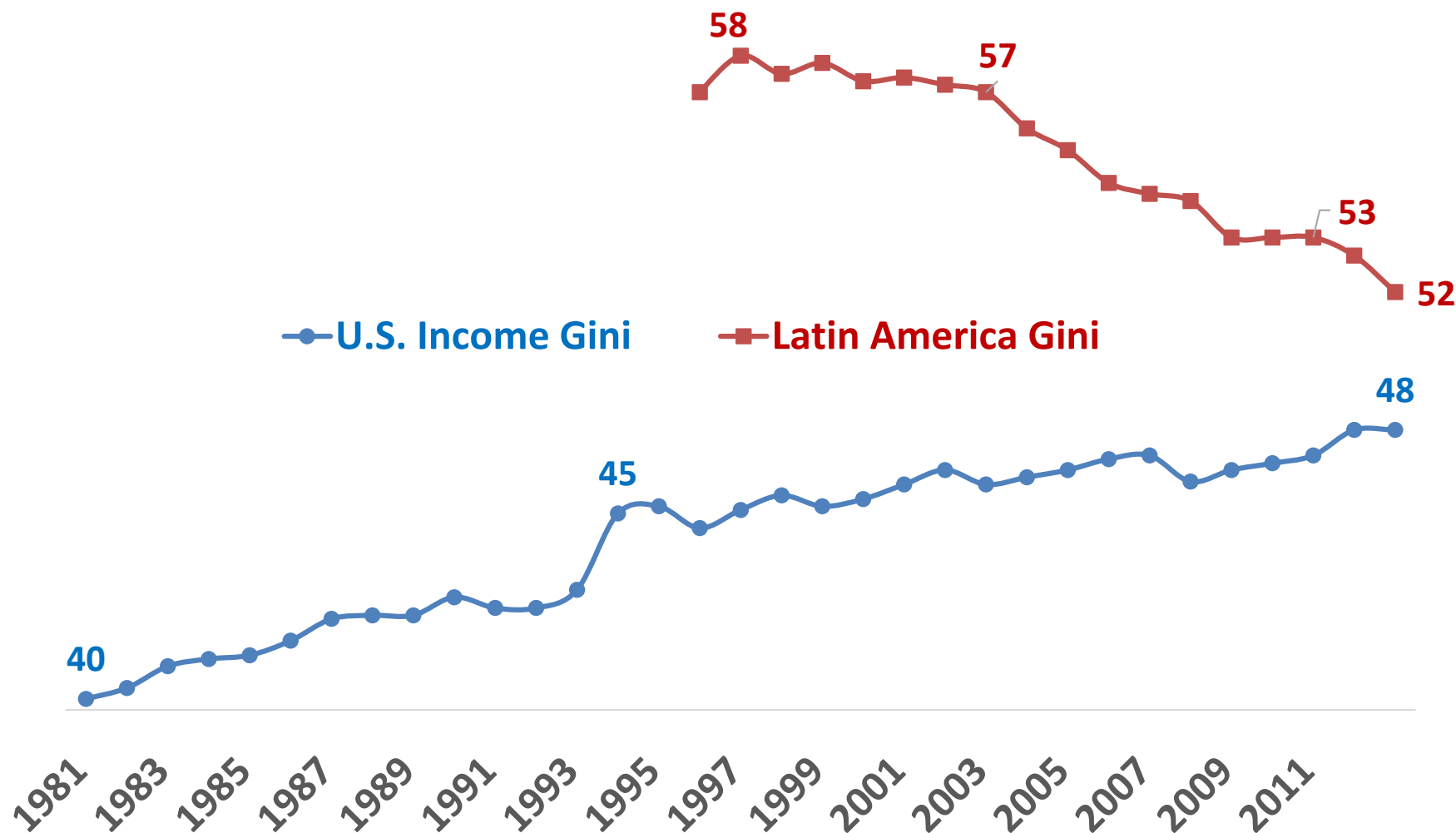
Figure 1. Great Gatsby Curve: Gini Income vs. Mobility (youths 13-19), 16 Latin American, 1995 and 2011



Notes: Educational Mobility: Educational Mobility Index for Teenagers (13 to 19). Source: SEDLAC (CEDLAS and World Bank) Database downloaded May 2013. For Peru and Dom Rep the first observed years is 1997 and 1996 respectively, the last observed year for Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico is 2010. Source: SEDLAC (CEDLAS and The World Bank) data downloaded October 2014.

# Convergence: “todos somos Americanos”...

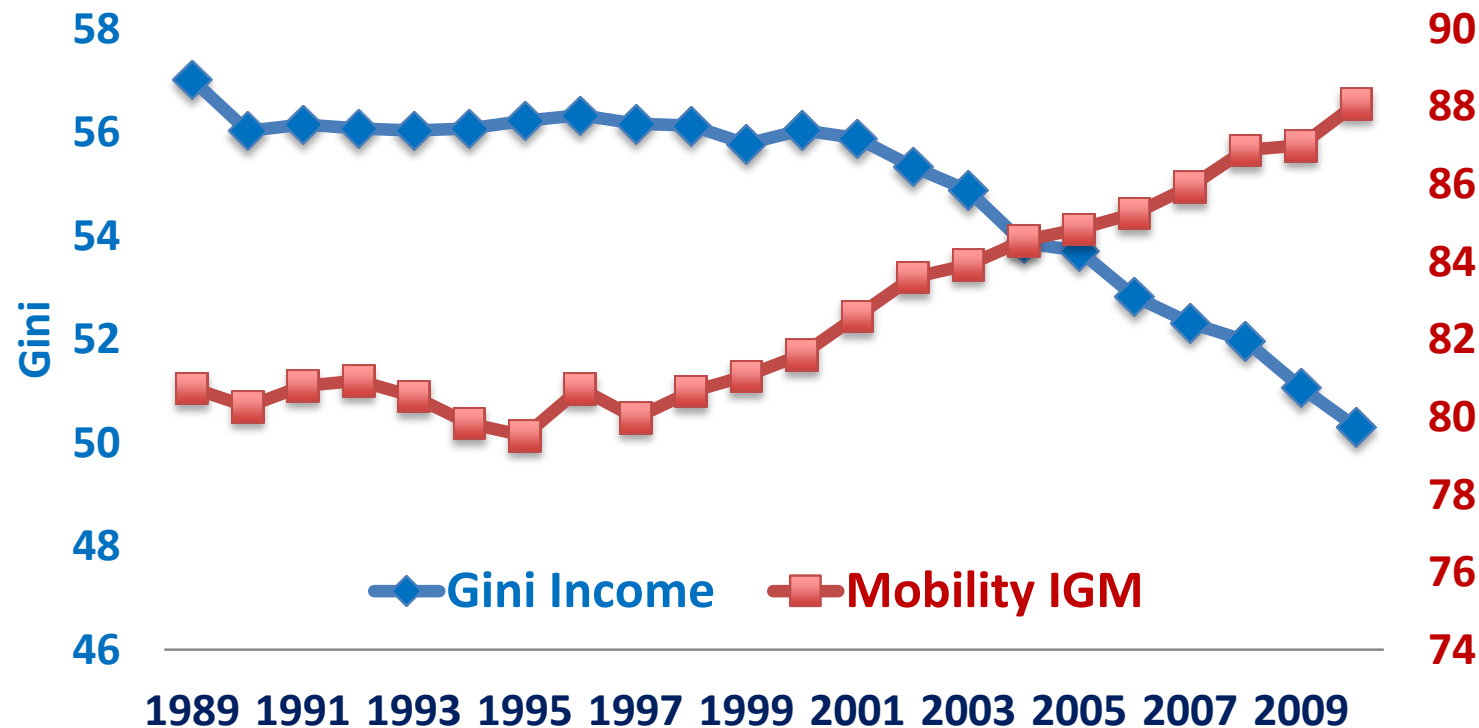
Figure 1A Latin America and U.S. Income Gini's Converge





# Did education reduce inequality in LatAm?

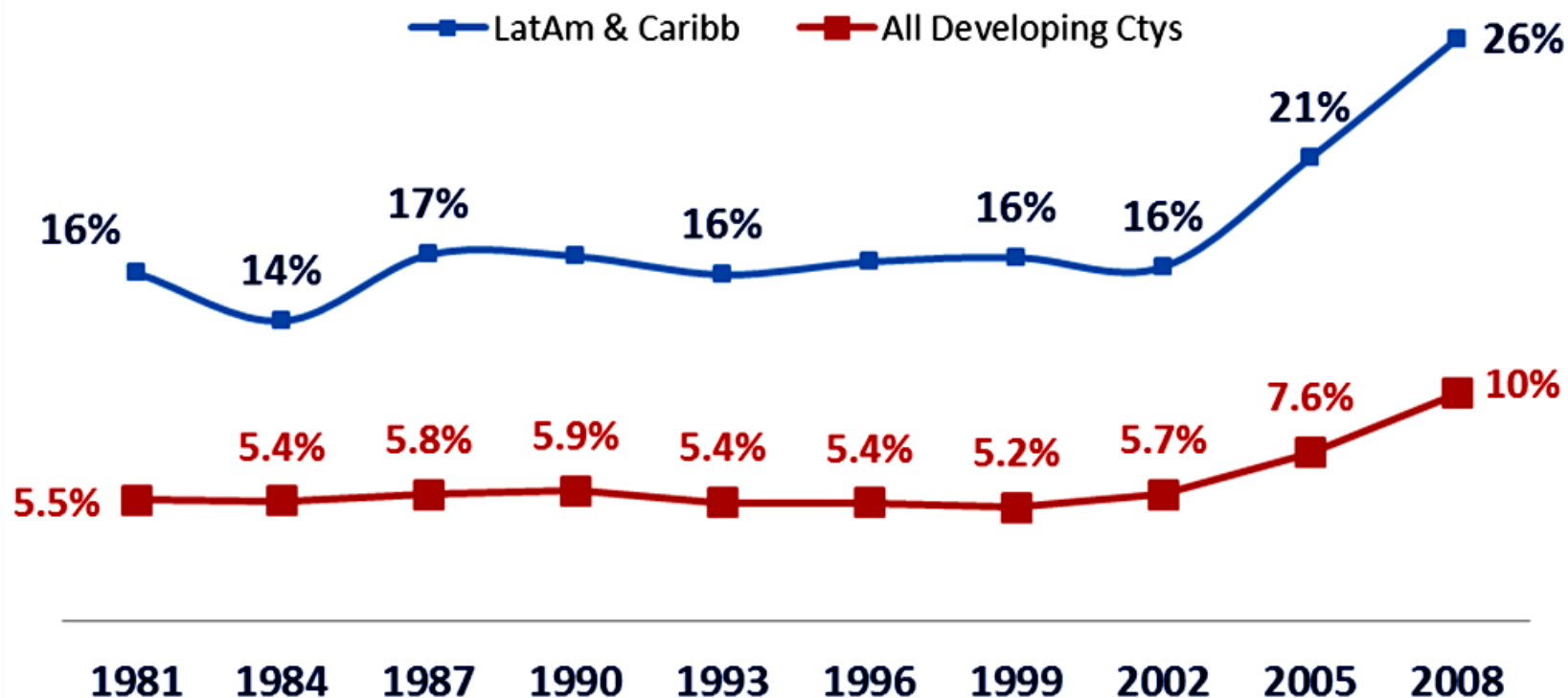
**Figure 12: For LA-4 Inter Generational Mobility increased before Gini began to fall**



Source: (Argentina, Brazil Chile and Mexico, Population Weighted) CEDLAS  
SEDLAC and the World Bank

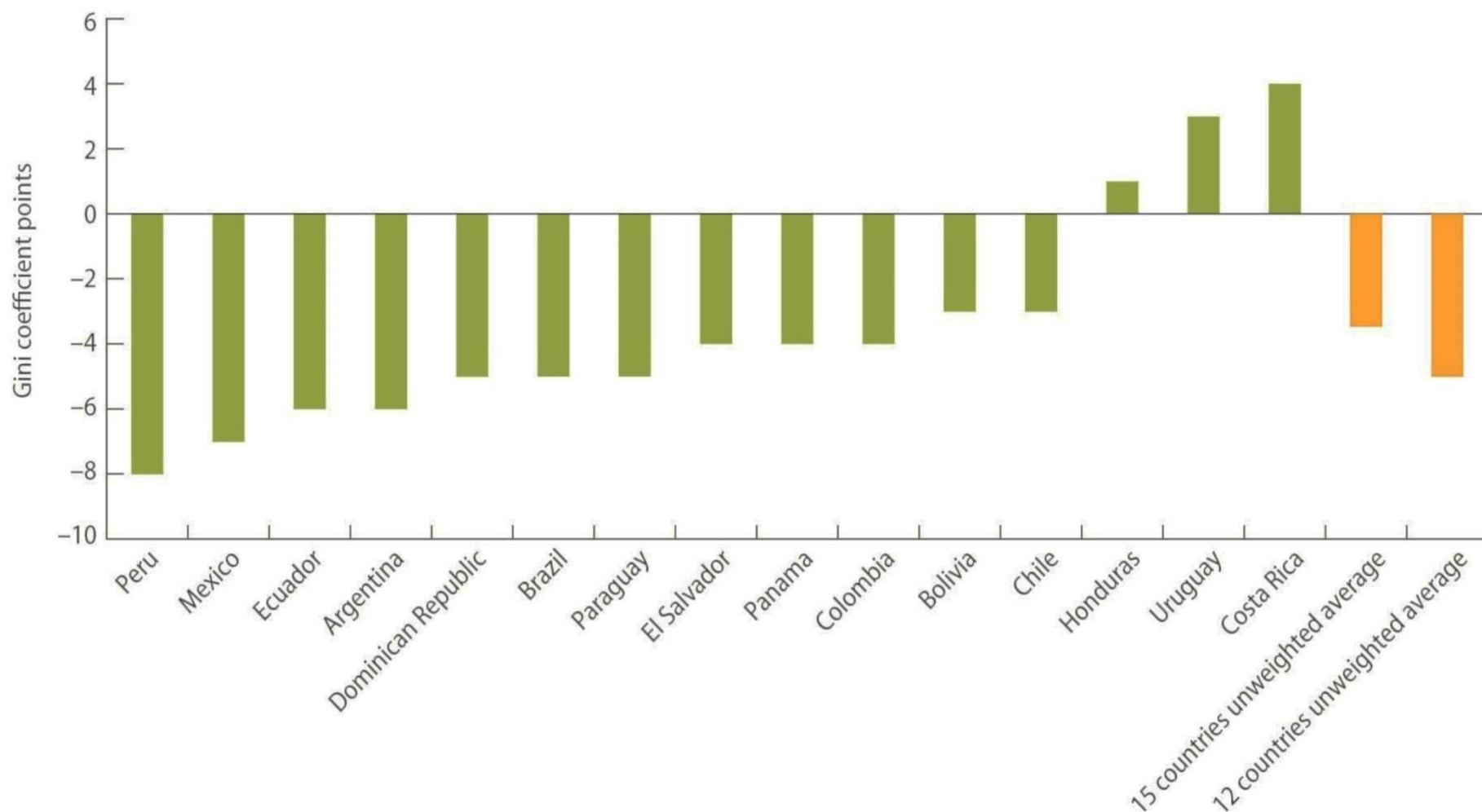
# LatAm Middle Class emerging....

**Figure 2B LatAm & Caribbean middle class  
(% >\$10/day \$PPP 2005)**



Source: World Bank, Povcalnet March 2012  
(<http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/index.htm?1>)

**Figure 12. Change in the Gini index, selected Latin American countries, 2000-2010.**

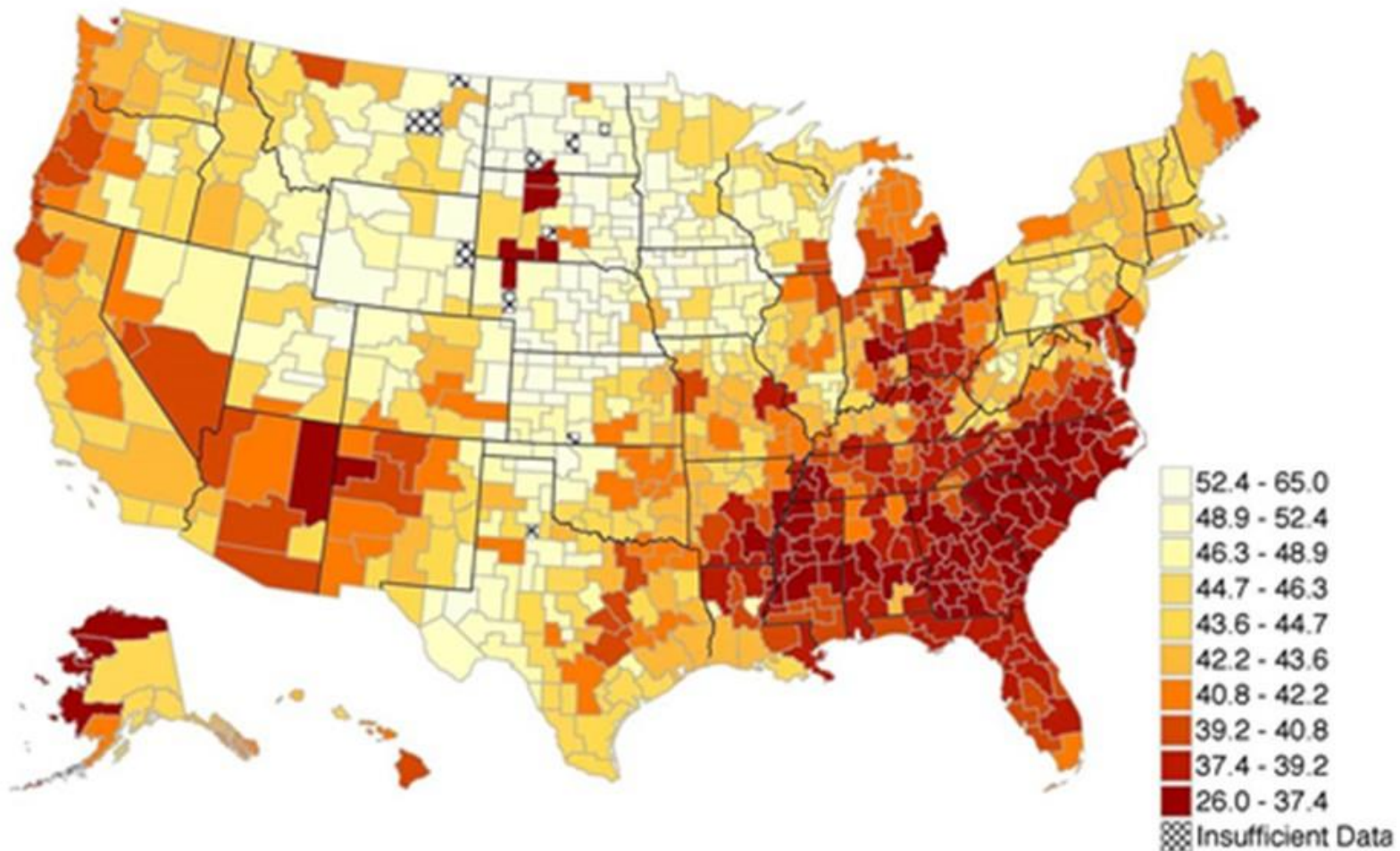


**Source: Figure 1.3 from Ferreira et al (2010), modified by Ferreira (2012). Data source: World bank 2011**

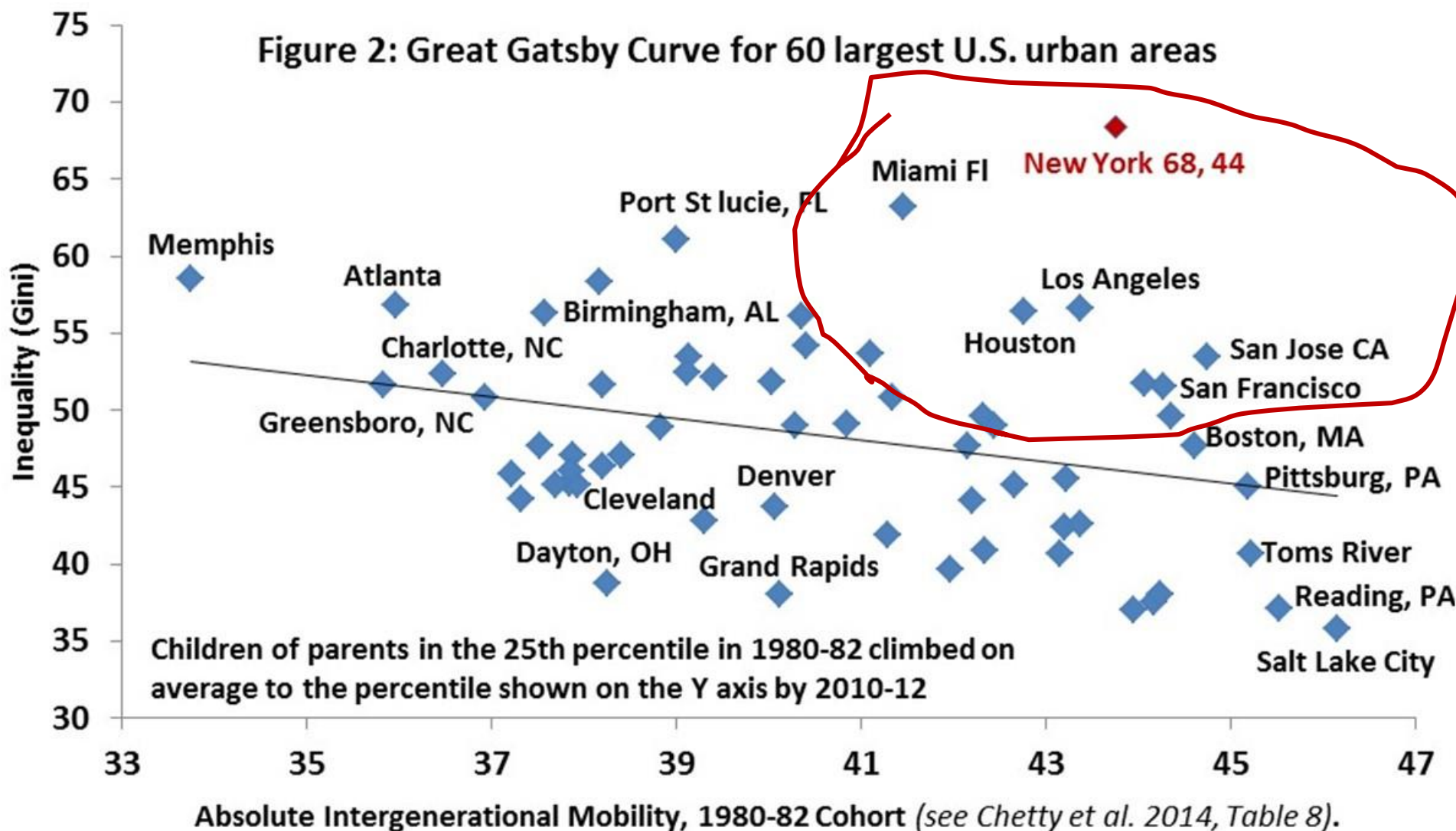
# Mobility across U.S. cities and regions Chetty et al. find lots of variation with lower mobility in the South

## Geography

*Mobility Varies Substantially Across Places...*



## Gatsby curve NYC has highest inequality, but mobility in top 1/4 of U.S. cities: 1980-82 kids in 25th get to 44th in 2010-12



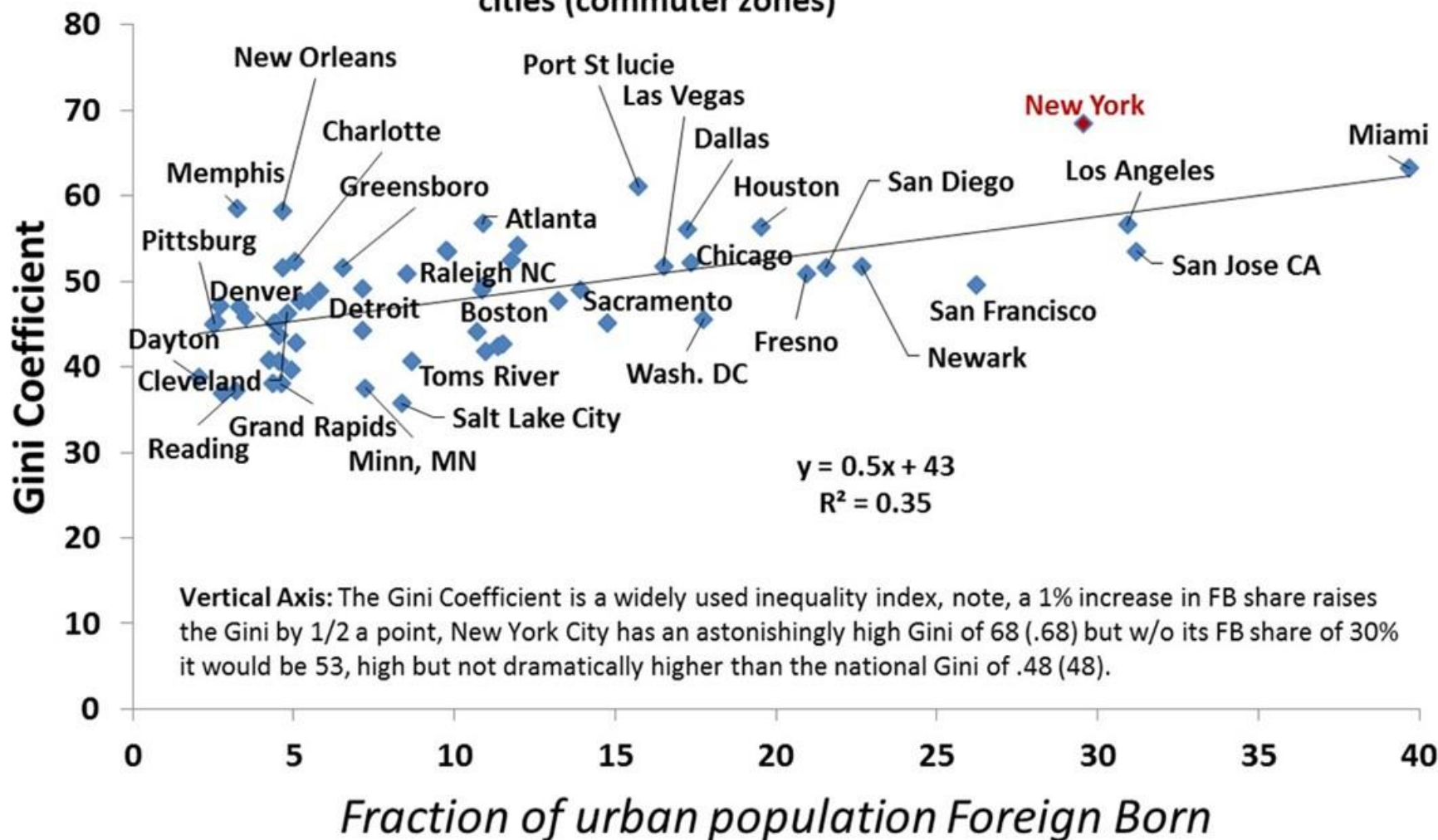
## ***Measure 2: Absolute Mobility across major Cities-urban labor markets***

- ***Absolute Mobility:*** *Where you end up in the income distribution compared to your parents:*
- ***Example Chetty et al. 2014:*** *New Yorkers whose families start at the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile end up at the 44 percentile on average*
- ***New York has top 20 mobility*** *but the highest inequality of any city... a number rich cities have this characteristic.*
- *Chetty et. al 2014 matches 18 million tax returns, 1980 more or less to about 2010... big data from the IRS...*



# Immigration associated w/ higher inequality

Figure 6B: Fraction of Foreign Born & Inequality in the 60 largest U.S. cities (commuter zones)

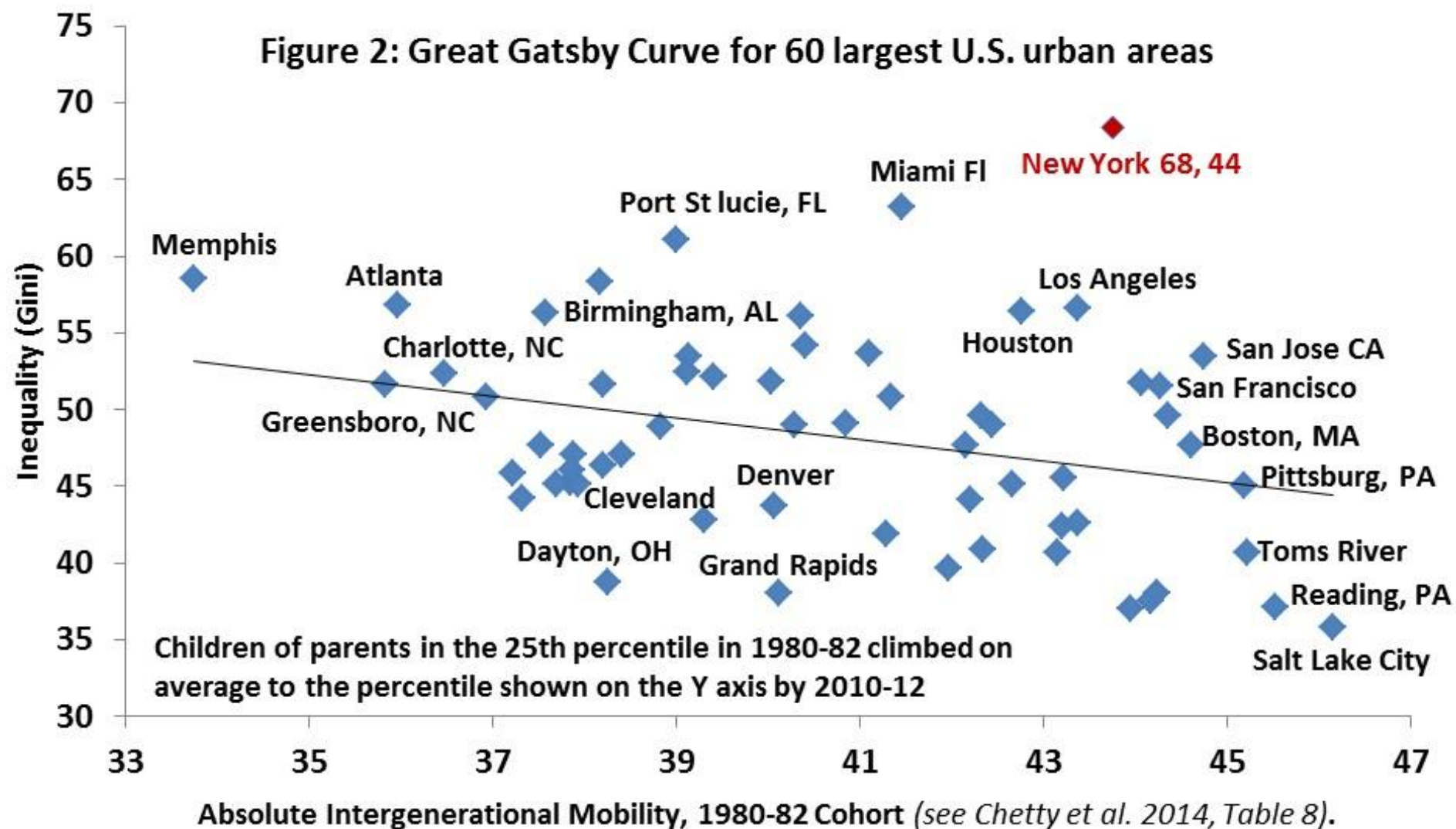


Vertical Axis: The Gini Coefficient is a widely used inequality index, note, a 1% increase in FB share raises the Gini by 1/2 a point, New York City has an astonishingly high Gini of 68 (.68) but w/o its FB share of 30% it would be 53, high but not dramatically higher than the national Gini of .48 (48).

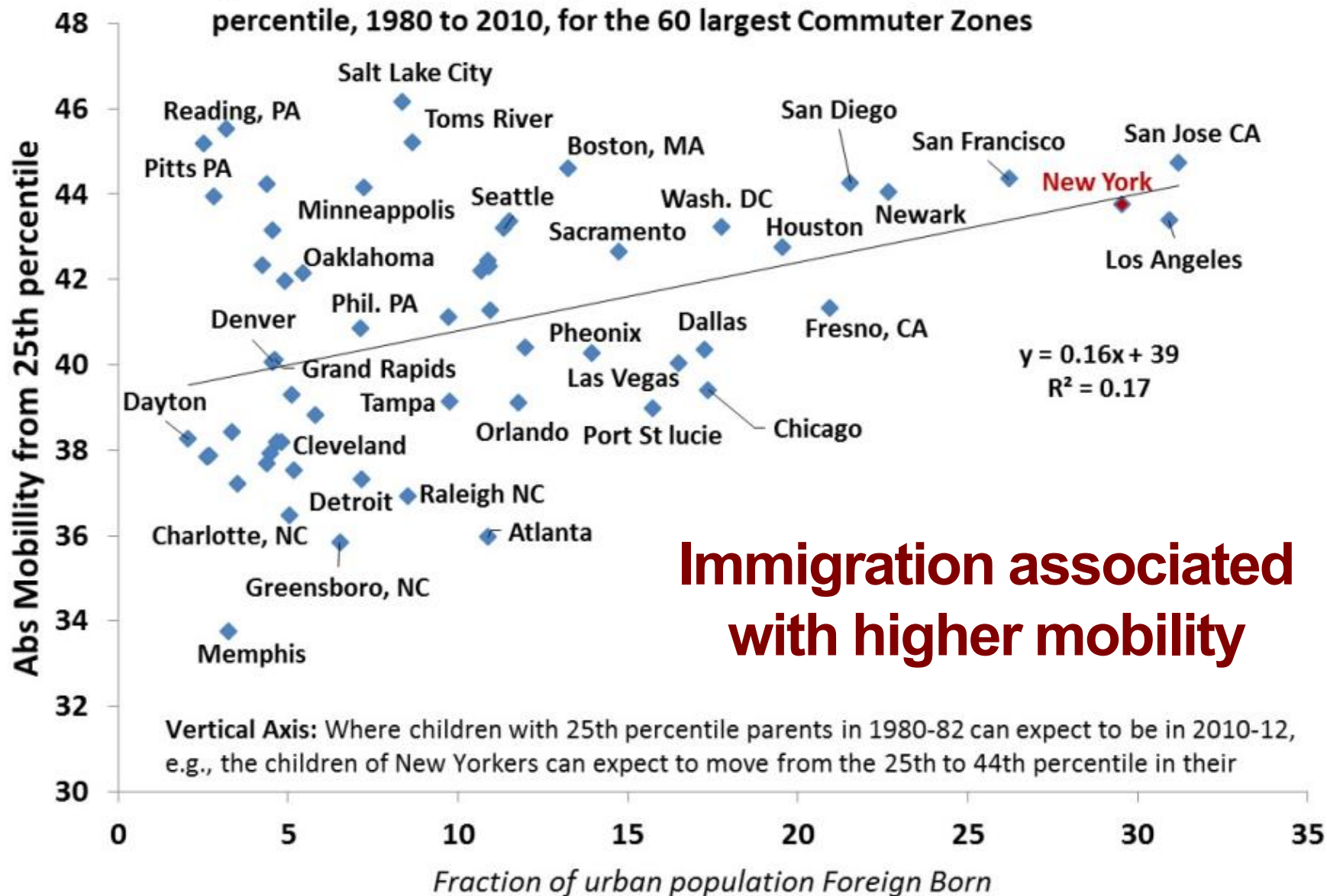
(see Chetty et al. 2014, Table 8, online at <http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org>).

# Gatsby curve for major cities in U.S.

**NYC an exception:** Highest inequality, but mobility in top 1/4 of U.S. cities: 1980-82 kids in 25th get to 44th in 2010-12

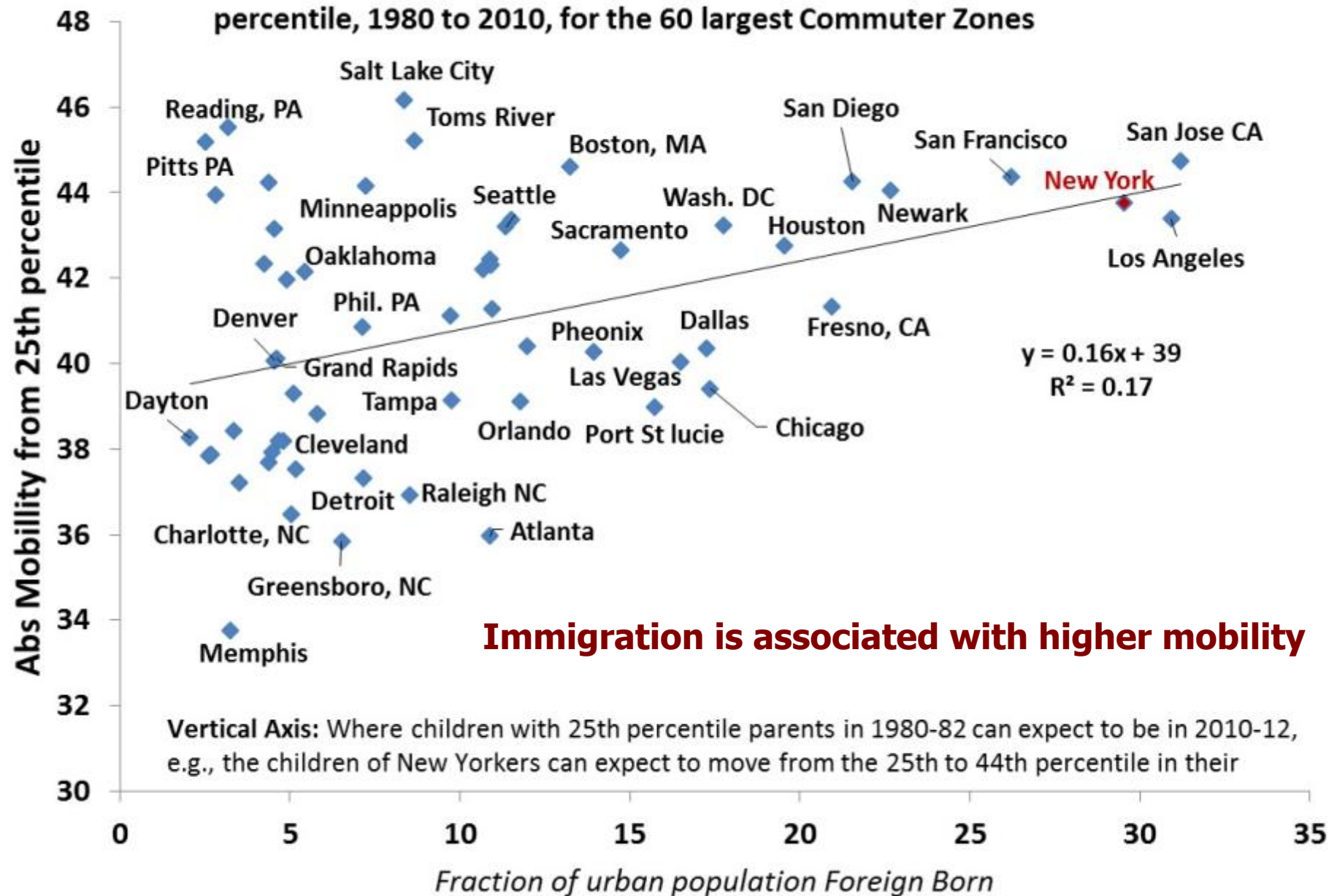


**Figure 6B: Fraction of Foreign Born & Absolute Mobility from the 25th percentile, 1980 to 2010, for the 60 largest Commuter Zones**



Source: Chetty et al. 2014, Table 8, online data, <http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org>

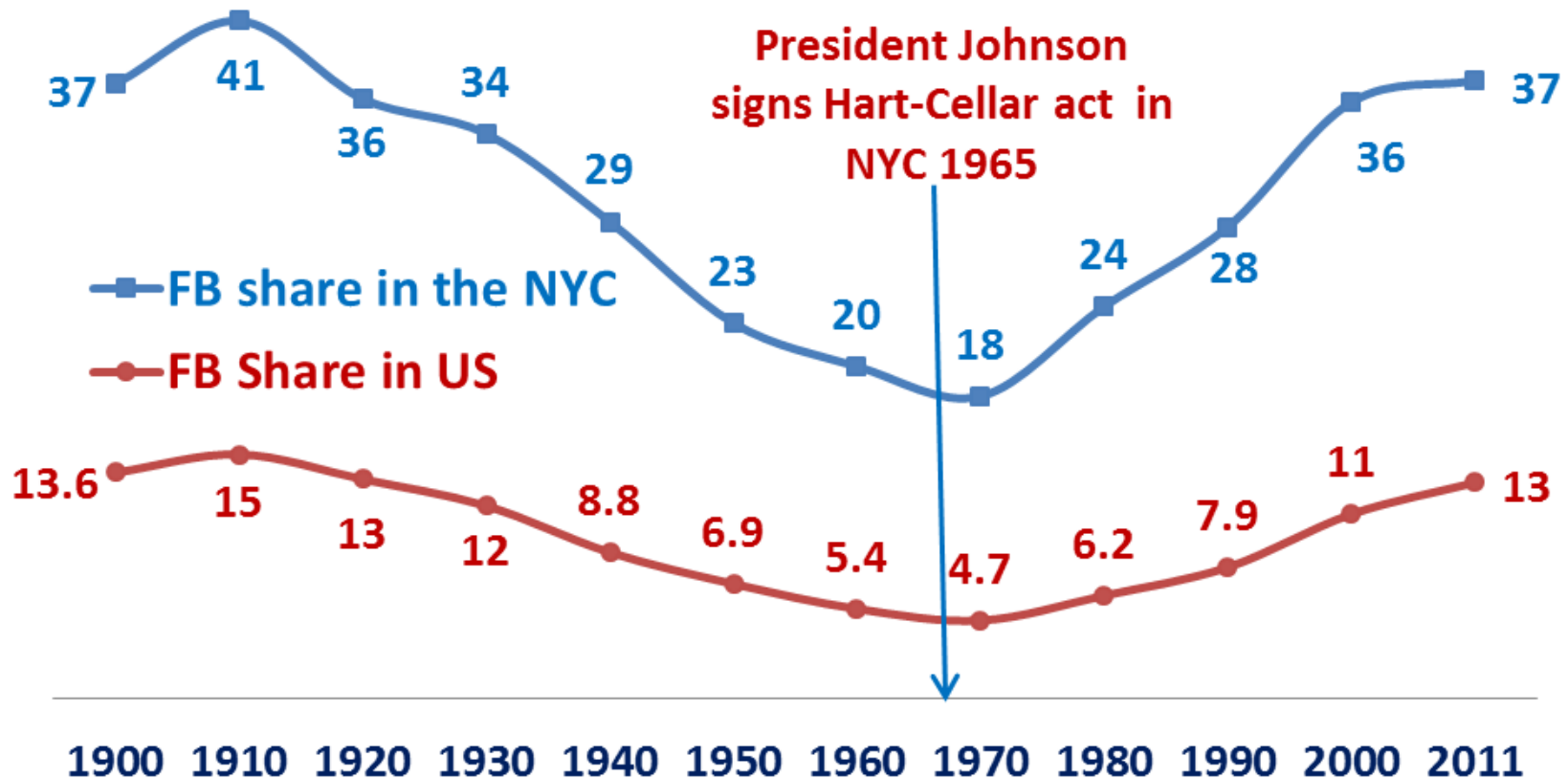
**Figure 6B: Fraction of Foreign Born & Absolute Mobility from the 25th percentile, 1980 to 2010, for the 60 largest Commuter Zones**





# U.S. FB share rose from 4.7 in 1970 to 13 in 2012, a rise of over about 8 percentage points

Figure FB-1 US and NYC Foreign born back to 1900 share



Source: page 10 Table 2.2 New York Dept of City Planning (2013) *The Newest New Yorkers, 2013 Edition*, NYC DCP-13-10, December NY. [http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/pdf/census/nny2013/nny\\_2013.pdf](http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/pdf/census/nny2013/nny_2013.pdf)



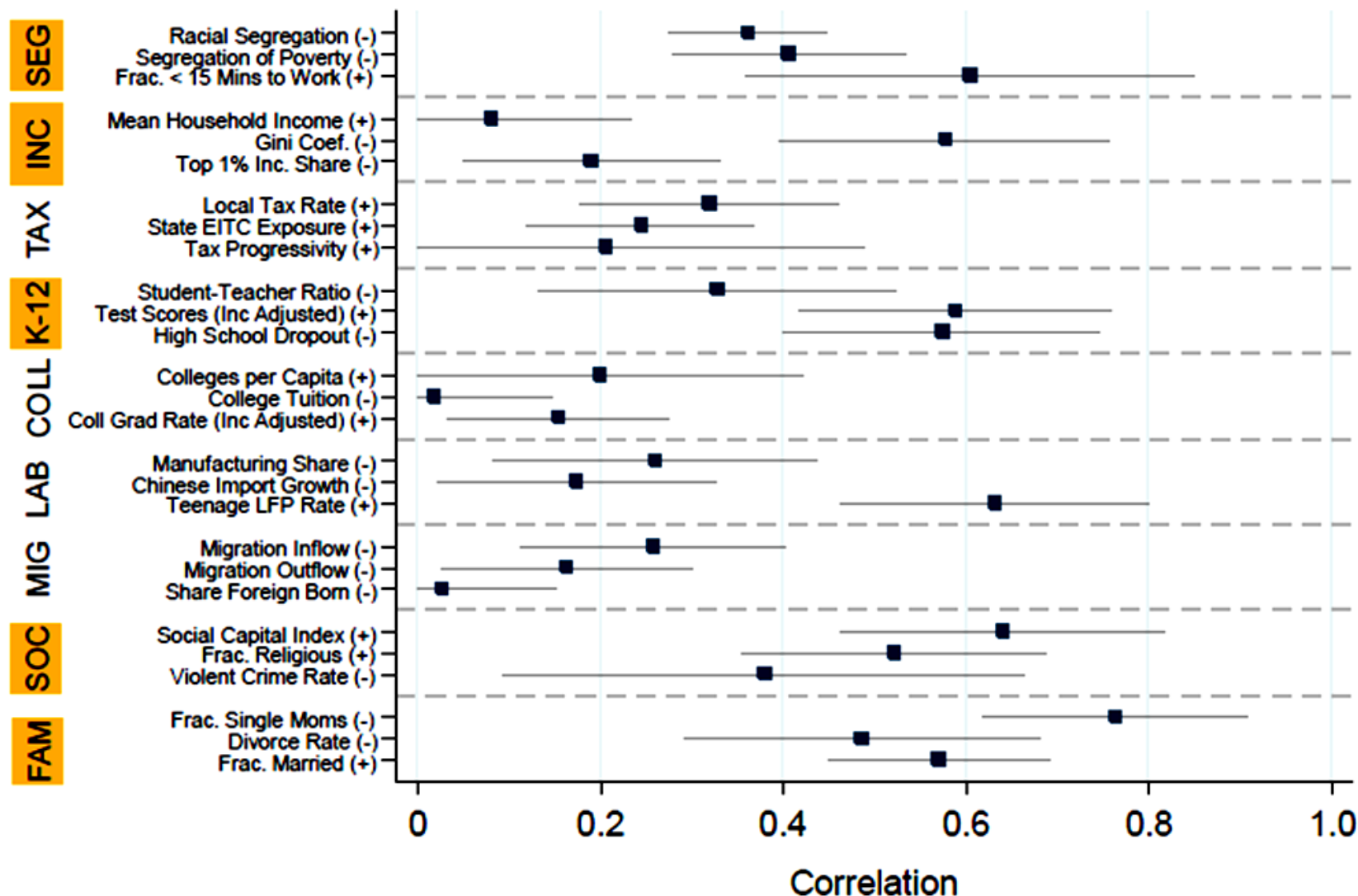
## Immigration and inequality short not long term depends on education and innovation...

- **Immigration increases inequality in ST** Chetty cities data shows as FB share 4.7% to 13%+ from 1970 to 2010 can explain rise in Gini from 40 to 44 (have the distance to 48)
- **Inequality increases ST** as immigrants compete: Hispanic but not native wages fall with immigration & integration.
- **Immigration increases mobility** in the Americas as children stimulate growth and invest in schooling wages rise for immigrants and natives over the over longer term (CBO, 2013).
- **Financial inclusion & immigration** reform raises growth and asset accumulation by Hispanics, reducing share of inherited wealth, see Piketty, 2014, p. 83-84.

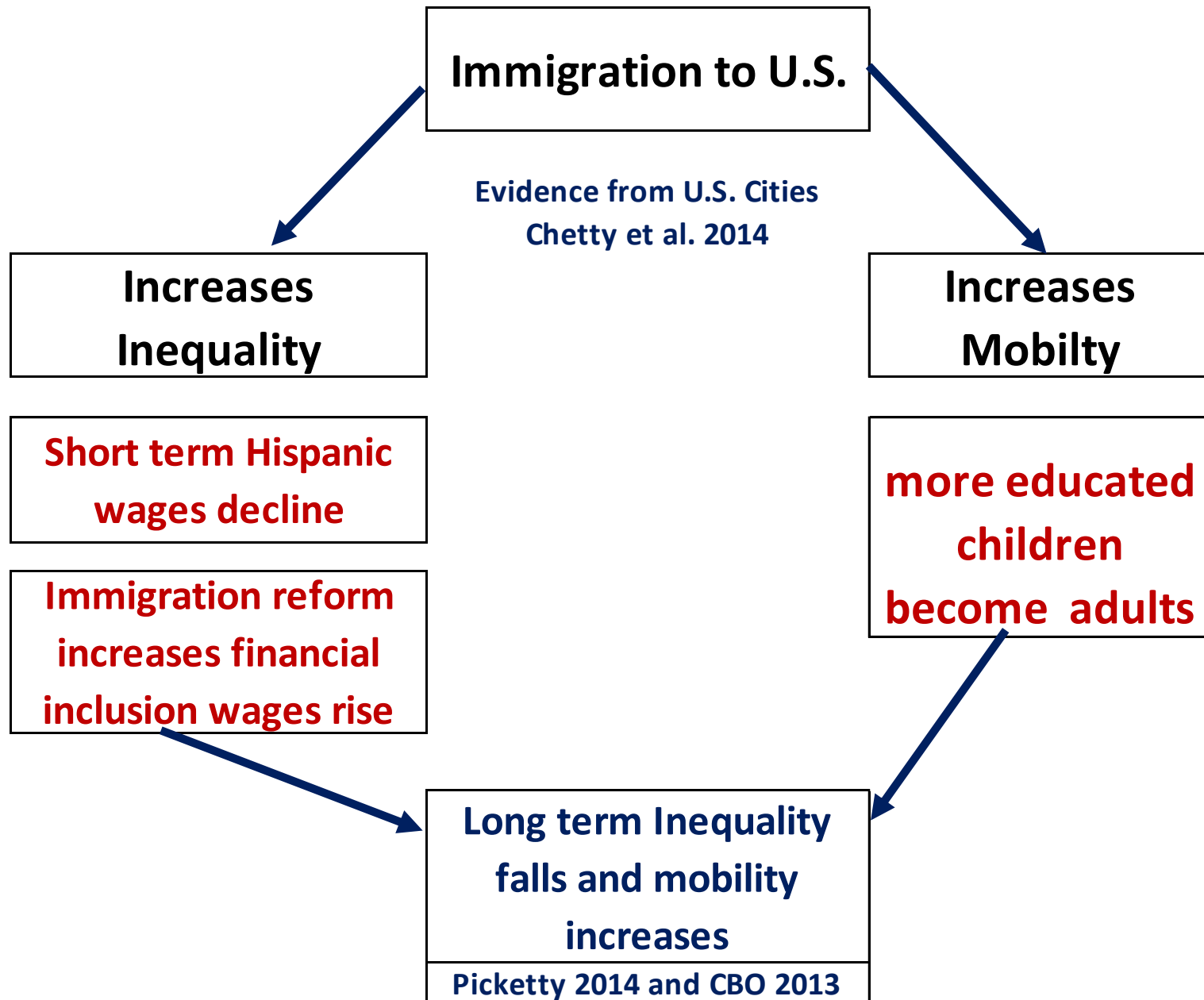
\*\*U.S. Congressional budget Office (2013) The Economic Impact of S. 744, the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act

# Mobility varies across the US

FIGURE X: Correlates of Spatial Variation in Upward Mobility



Source: Chetty et al. 2014 <http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/>

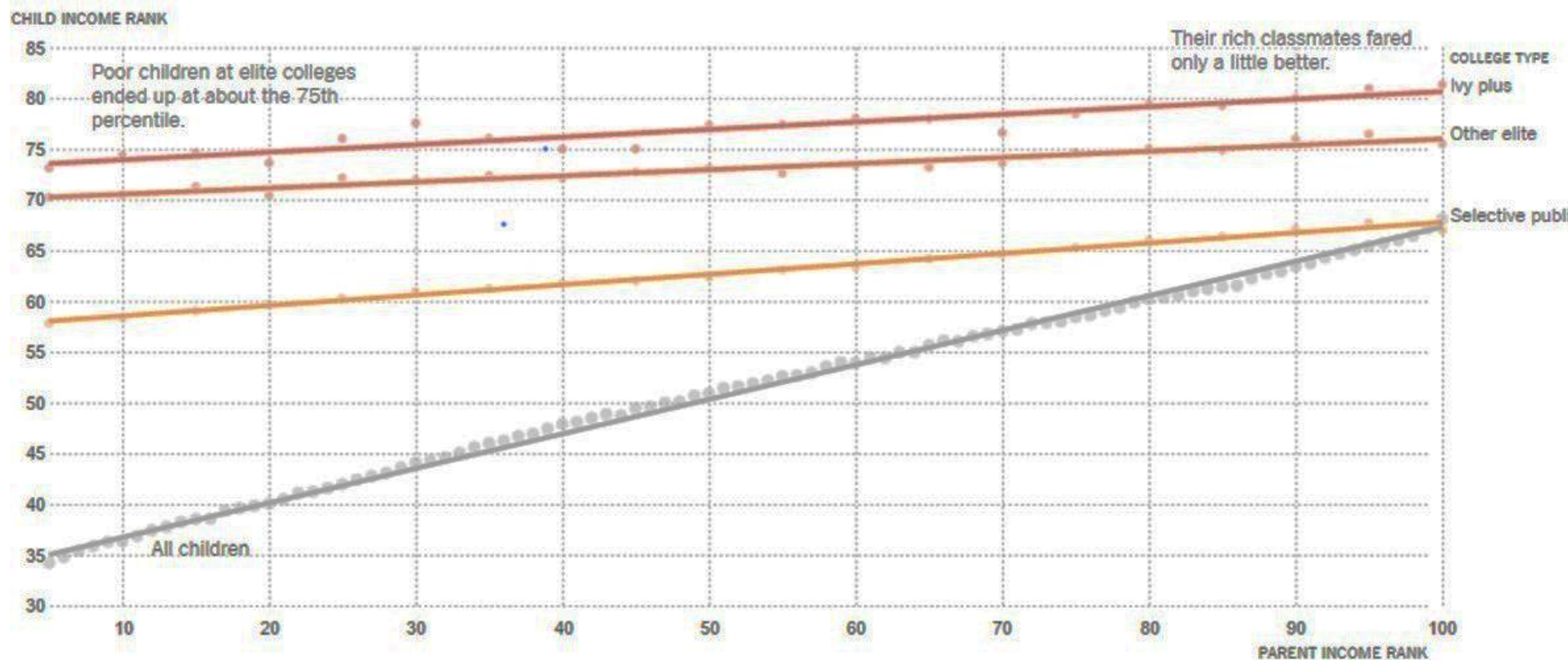


## Measure 3 college mobility as defined by Chetty et al. 2017 matters...

- They match 30 million IRS returns to children's education
- A college education *raises social mobility* if parents have less education (immigrants?)
- A college education also reduces inequality if the share of well educated increases into to a larger middle class...
- They find colleges level the playing field for any starting point.
- Current admissions and fees exacerbate rather than attenuate inequality, except in a few schools

# *Measure 3: college mobility leads higher and more equal incomes for low income entrants*

Poor students who attend top colleges do about as well as their rich classmates



Data here comes from the 1980-82 cohort, roughly the college classes of 2002-4. By this stage in life, income ranks are relatively stable.



## ***Measure 3: college mobility leads higher and more equal incomes for low income entrants***

- Define a college's *mobility rate* (MR) as the fraction of its students who come from bottom quintile and end up in top quintile

$$\begin{array}{ccccc}
 \text{Mobility Rate} & & = & \text{Success Rate} & \times & \text{Access} \\
 \uparrow & & & \uparrow & & \uparrow \\
 P(\text{Child in Q5 \& Parent in Q1}) & & & P(\text{Child in Q5} | \text{Parent in Q1}) & & P(\text{Parent in Q1})
 \end{array}$$

- E.g., SUNY-Stony Brook: 8.4% = 51.2% x 16.4%

- The mobility rate should be interpreted as an accounting measure rather than a causal effect

Mobility is share from low group (access) times the share that make it  $(61\% \times 63\% = 38\%)$

Colleges with the highest mobility rate, from the bottom 40 percent to the top 40 percent

COLLEGE	PCT. FROM BOTTOM 40%	SUCCESS RATE	'MOBILITY'
1. Vaughn College of Aeronautics and Technology	66.0%	66.4%	43.9%
2. City College of New York	60.5	62.9	38.1
3. Texas A&M International University	60.7	62.4	37.9
4. Lehman College	64.6	57.0	36.8
5. Bernard M. Baruch College	52.3	69.2	36.2
6. California State University, Los Angeles	59.6	60.0	35.7
7. Crimson Technical College	55.4	64.1	35.5
8. University of Texas-Pan American	64.0	53.5	34.2
9. New York City College of Technology	66.2	50.9	33.7
10. John Jay College of Criminal Justice	54.4	61.1	33.2
844. Fordham University	17.0	67.9	11.6

Success rate measures the percent of lower-income students who ended up in the top 40 percent. Data here comes from the 1980-82 cohort, roughly the college classes of 2002-4. By this stage in life, income ranks are relatively stable.

# Chetty et al. 2017 publish several mobility measures... see the NY Times for more

## Top 10 Colleges by Mobility Rate (Bottom to Top 20%)

Rank	Name	Mobility Rate	= Access	x Success Rate
1	Cal State University – LA	9.9%	33.1%	29.9%
2	Pace University – New York	8.4%	15.2%	55.6%
3	SUNY – Stony Brook	8.4%	16.4%	51.2%
4	Technical Career Institutes	8.0%	40.3%	19.8%
5	University of Texas – Pan American	7.6%	38.7%	19.8%
6	CUNY System	7.2%	28.7%	25.2%
7	Glendale Community College	7.1%	32.4%	21.9%
8	South Texas College	6.9%	52.4%	13.2%
9	Cal State Polytechnic – Pomona	6.8%	14.9%	45.8%
10	University of Texas – El Paso	6.8%	28.0%	24.4%

# Chetty et al. 2017 publishes some college measures... see the NY Times for more

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/college-mobility/city-college-of-new-york>

## Overall mobility index

This measure reflects both access and outcomes, representing the likelihood that a student at City College of New York moved up two or more income quintiles.

**1st** out of 369 Selective public colleges



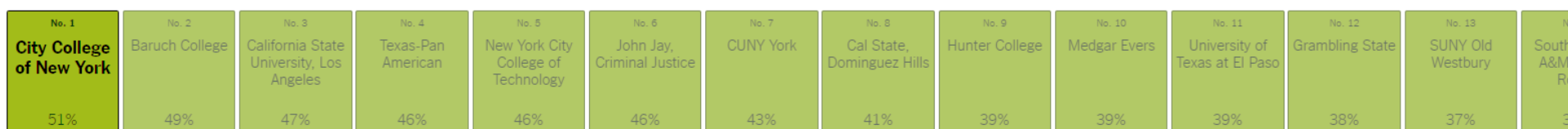
HIGHEST City College of New York 51%

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COMPARE TO: New York colleges | **Selective public colleges**

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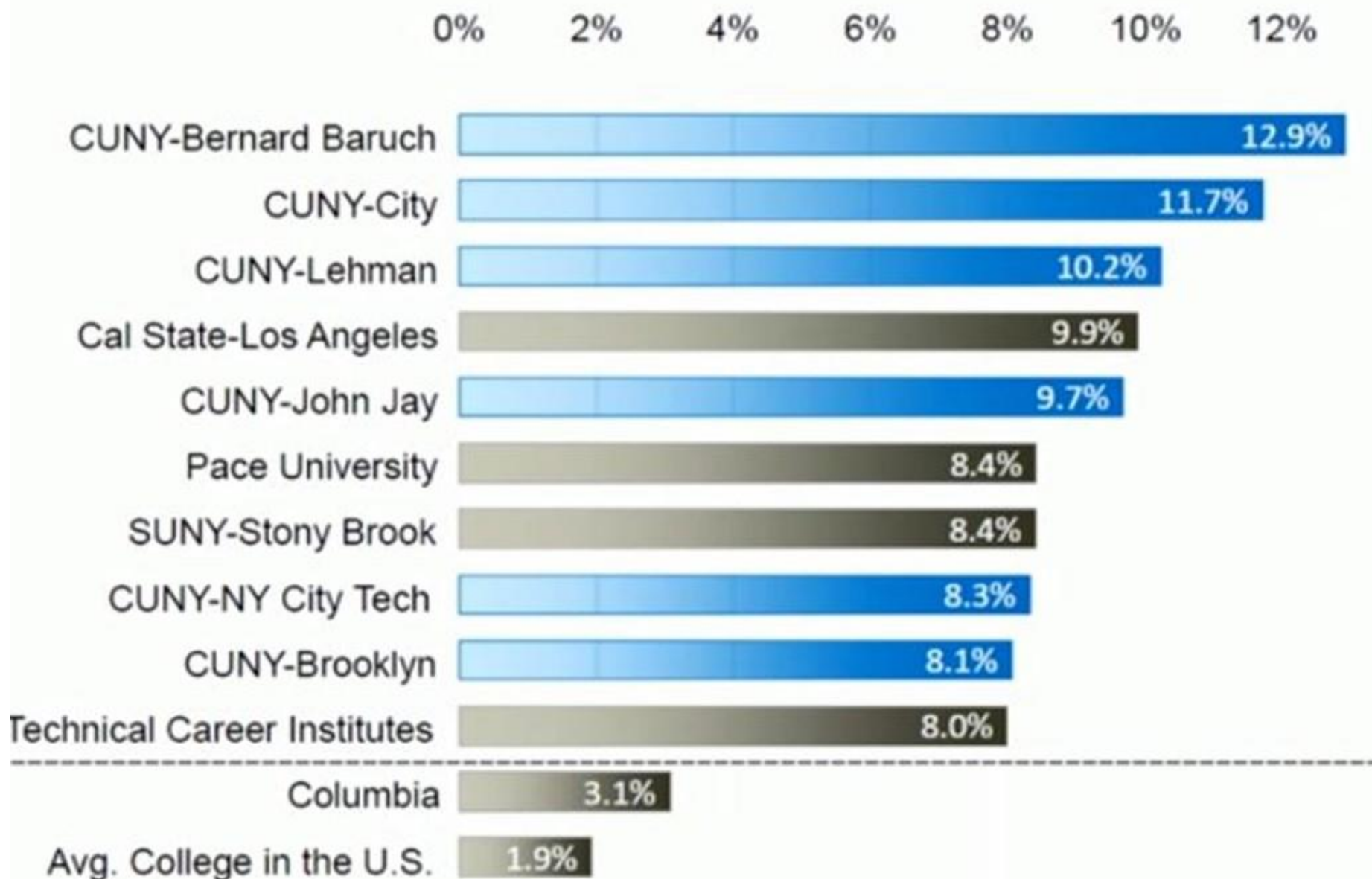


HIGHEST City College of New York 51%

LOWEST (NO. 369) University of Mary



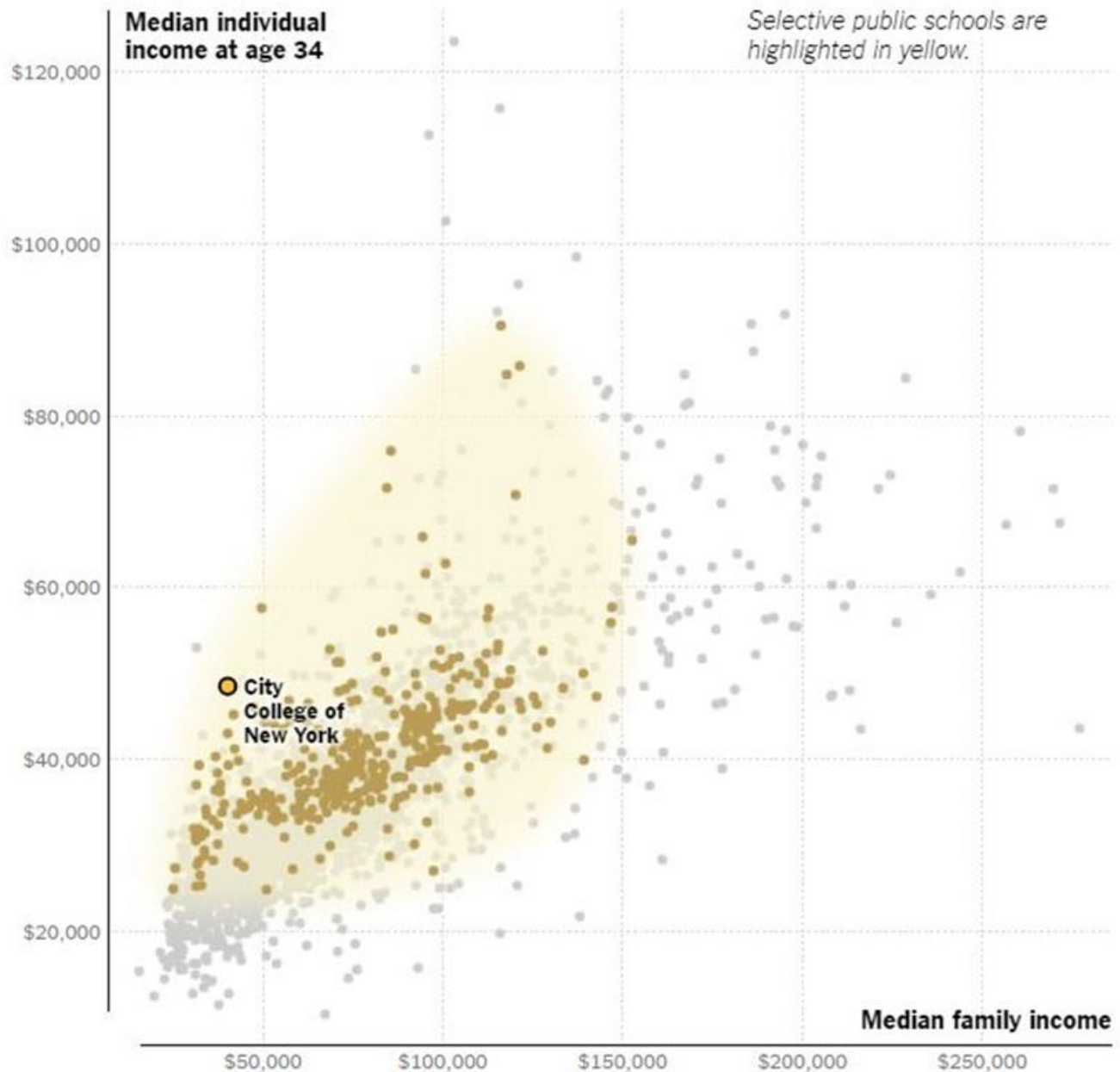
## Top 10 Colleges in America By Mobility Rate





This is a  
[NY Times](#)  
interactive  
graphic

“selective public  
schools” light  
up...



# What about Fordham?

## Variation in Access Conditional on Success Rate

- Much of the variation in mobility rates is driven by differences in access at a given success rate
  - Not just driven by “vertical selection” across colleges that have very different students and outcomes
  - Ex: SUNY-Stony Brook and CUNY have similar success rates to Fordham, NYU, and Wagner, but very different levels of access

## Lessons on Mobility Rates

- **Fact #3:** Certain mid-tier public institutions (e.g., CUNY, Cal-State) have the highest bottom-to-top quintile mobility rates
- But highly selective institutions (e.g., Berkeley, Harvard) channel more low-income students to the top 1%

# Mobility report cards online at NY Times

<http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/documents/>

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/college-mobility/city-college-of-new-york>

## Mobility Report Cards: The Role of Colleges in Intergenerational Mobility

Raj Chetty, Stanford  
John N. Friedman, Brown  
Emmanuel Saez, UC-Berkeley  
Nicholas Turner, U.S. Treasury  
Danny Yagan, UC-Berkeley

February 2017

*The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Department of Treasury.*

The New York Times



The New York Times

Descubre el mundo con nosotros

**TheUpshot**

Economic diversity and student outcomes at

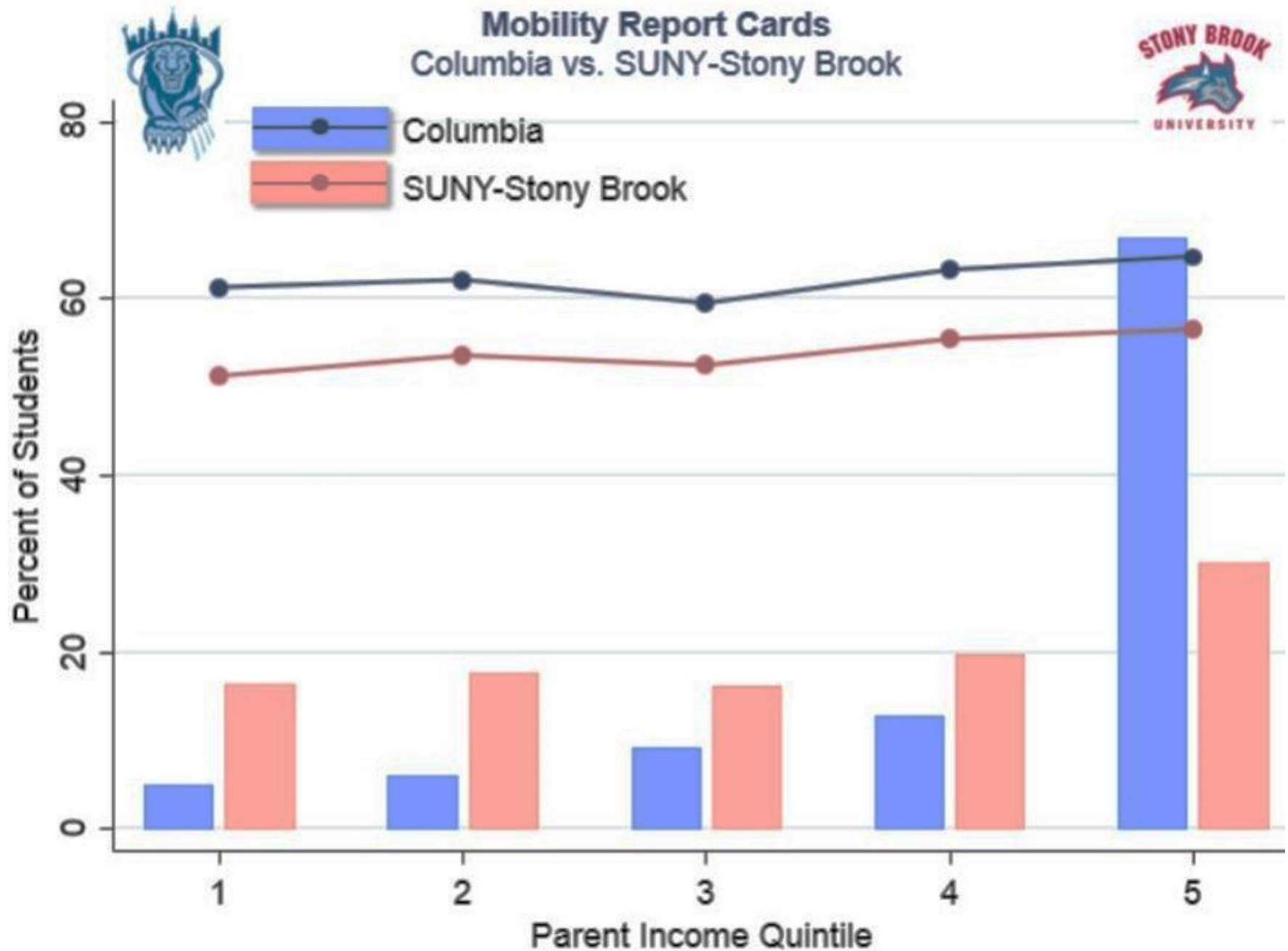
## City College of New York

New York, New York

The median family income of a student from City College of New York is **\$40,200**, and **15%** come from the top 20 percent. About **12%** of students at City College of New York came from a poor family but became a rich adult.

A new study, based on millions of anonymous tax records, shows that some colleges are even more economically segregated than previously understood, while others are associated with income mobility.

Below, estimates of how City College of New York compares with its peer schools in economic diversity and student outcomes.



# Introduction

- What role do colleges play in intergenerational income mobility?
  - Large returns to college attendance suggest that higher education can be an important pathway to upward mobility
  - But inequality in access between high- and low-income families may limit (or even reverse) this effect
- Evaluating colleges' role in mobility requires analysis of two factors:
  - [Outcomes] Which colleges are most effective in helping children climb the income ladder?
  - [Access] How can we increase access to such colleges for students from low-income families?



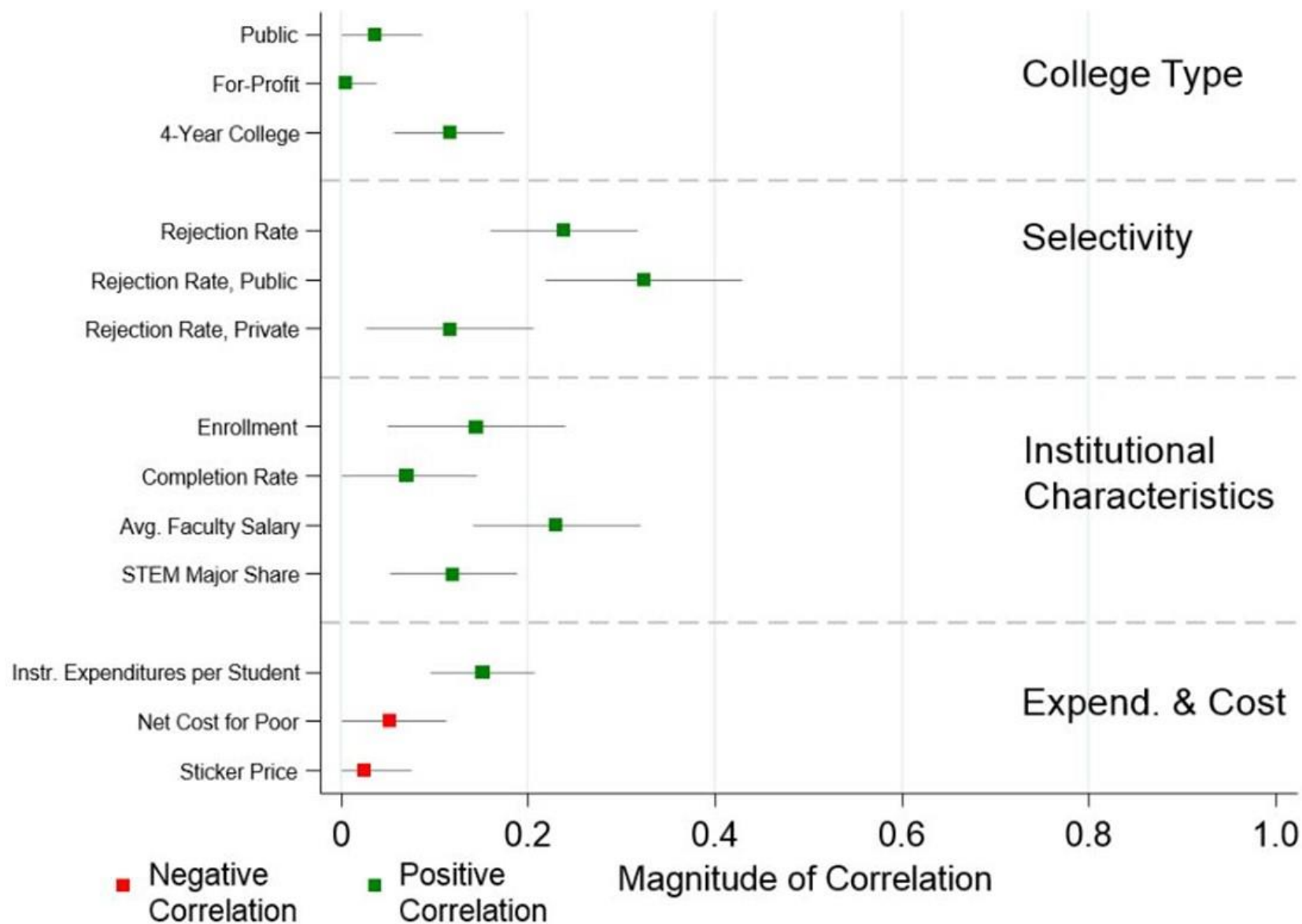
## Lessons on Outcomes

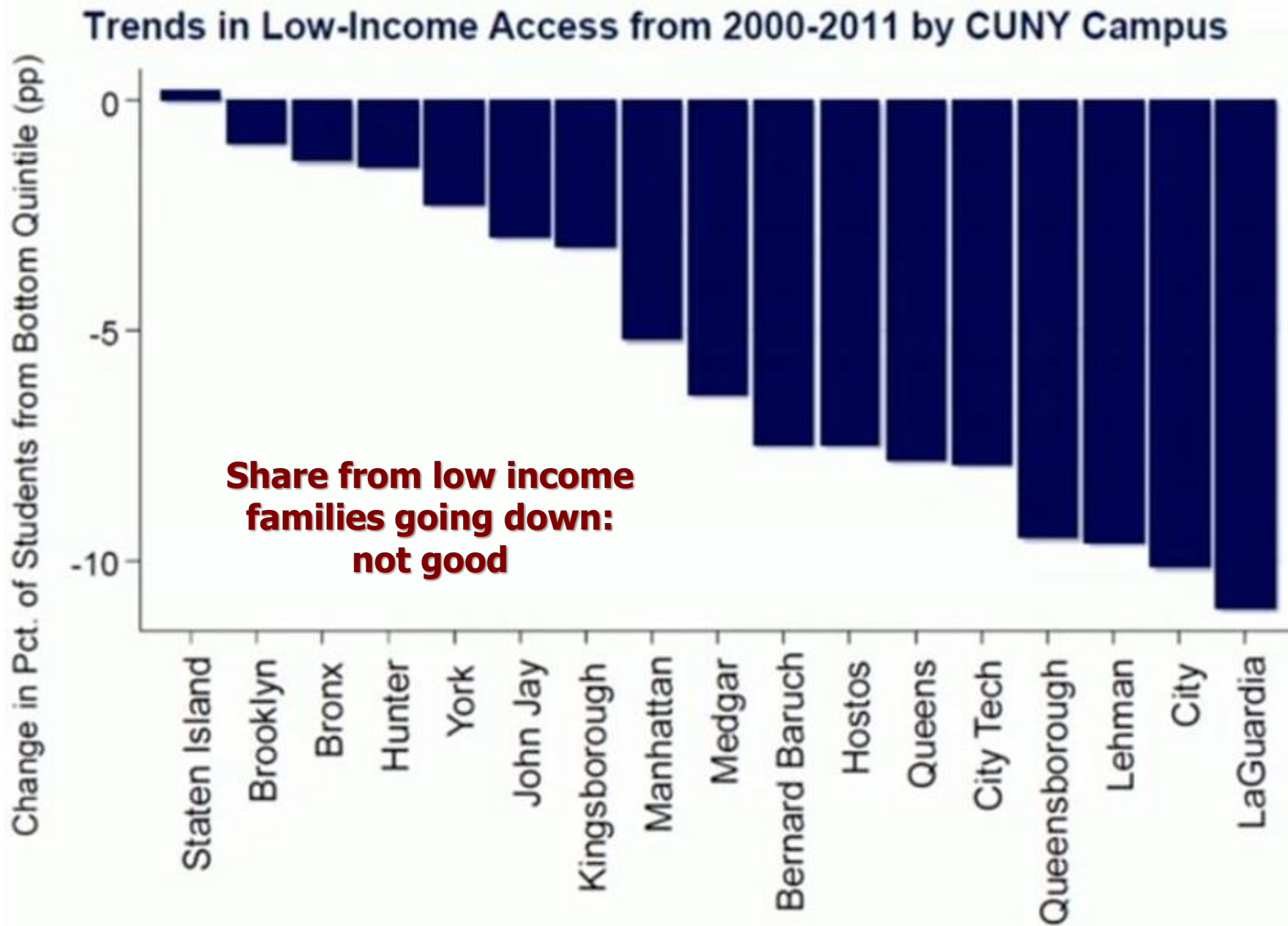
- **Fact #2:** At any given college, students from low- and high- income families have very similar earnings outcomes
  - Colleges effectively “level the playing field” across students with different socioeconomic backgrounds whom they admit
- No indication of “mismatch” of low-SES students who are admitted to selective colleges under current policies
  - Low-SES students at less-selective colleges are unlikely to do better than high-SES students at more-selective colleges
  - Within-college earnings gradient therefore places a tight upper bound on the degree of mismatch
- Any current affirmative action policies for low-income students have little cost to universities in terms of students' outcomes

## Discussion: Broad Lessons for Policy

1. Low-income students admitted to selective colleges do not appear over-placed, based on their earnings outcomes
  - Provides support for policies that seek to bring more such students to selective colleges
2. Efforts to expand low-income access often focus on elite colleges
  - But the high-mobility-rate colleges identified here may provide a more scalable model for upward mobility
  - Instructional costs at high-mobility-rate colleges are far lower...

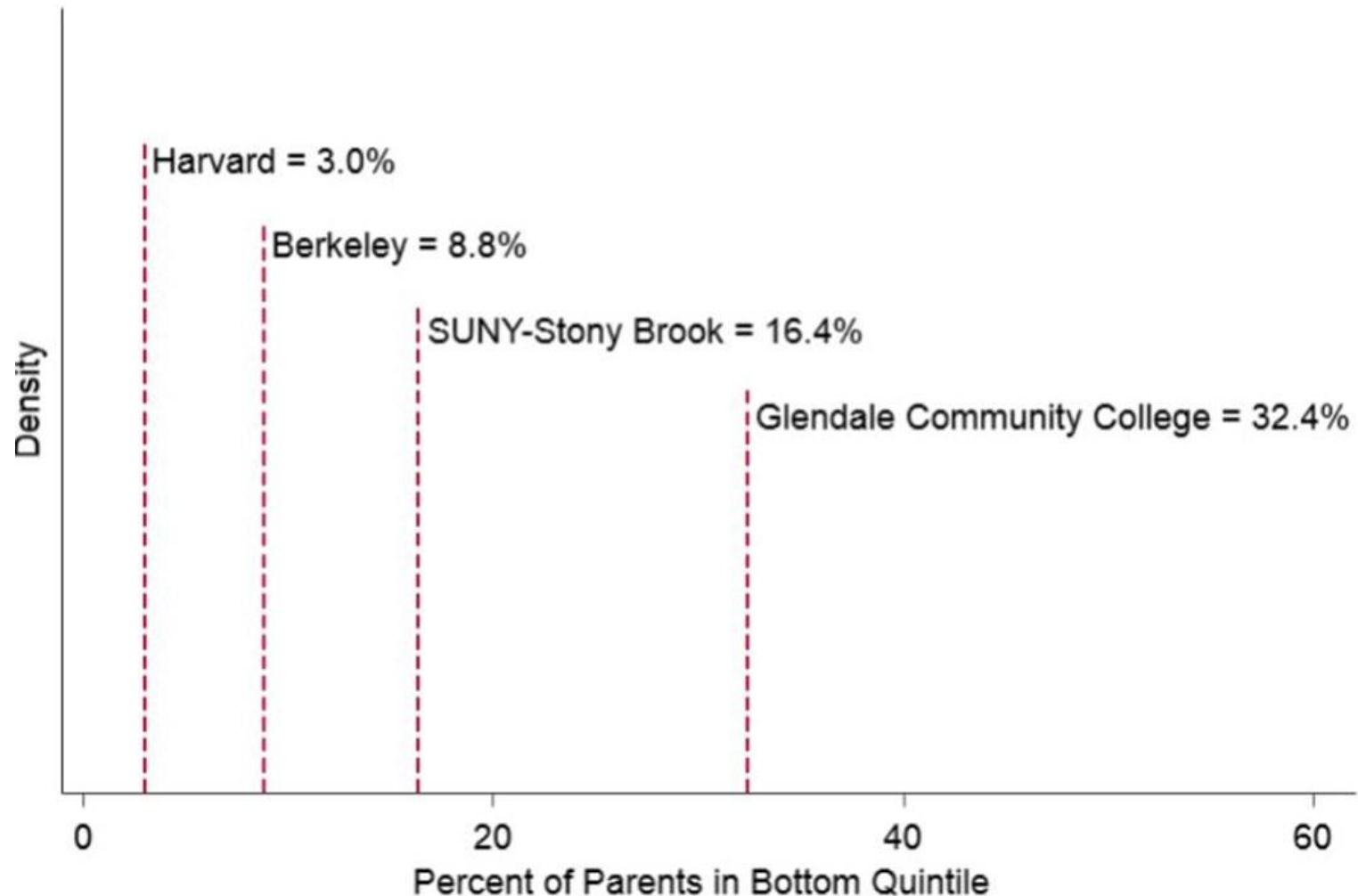
## Correlates of Top 20% Mobility Rate





# Education increases inequality if ...

Distribution of Access Across Colleges (Enrollment-Weighted)





# Immigration, growth and inequality short term long term

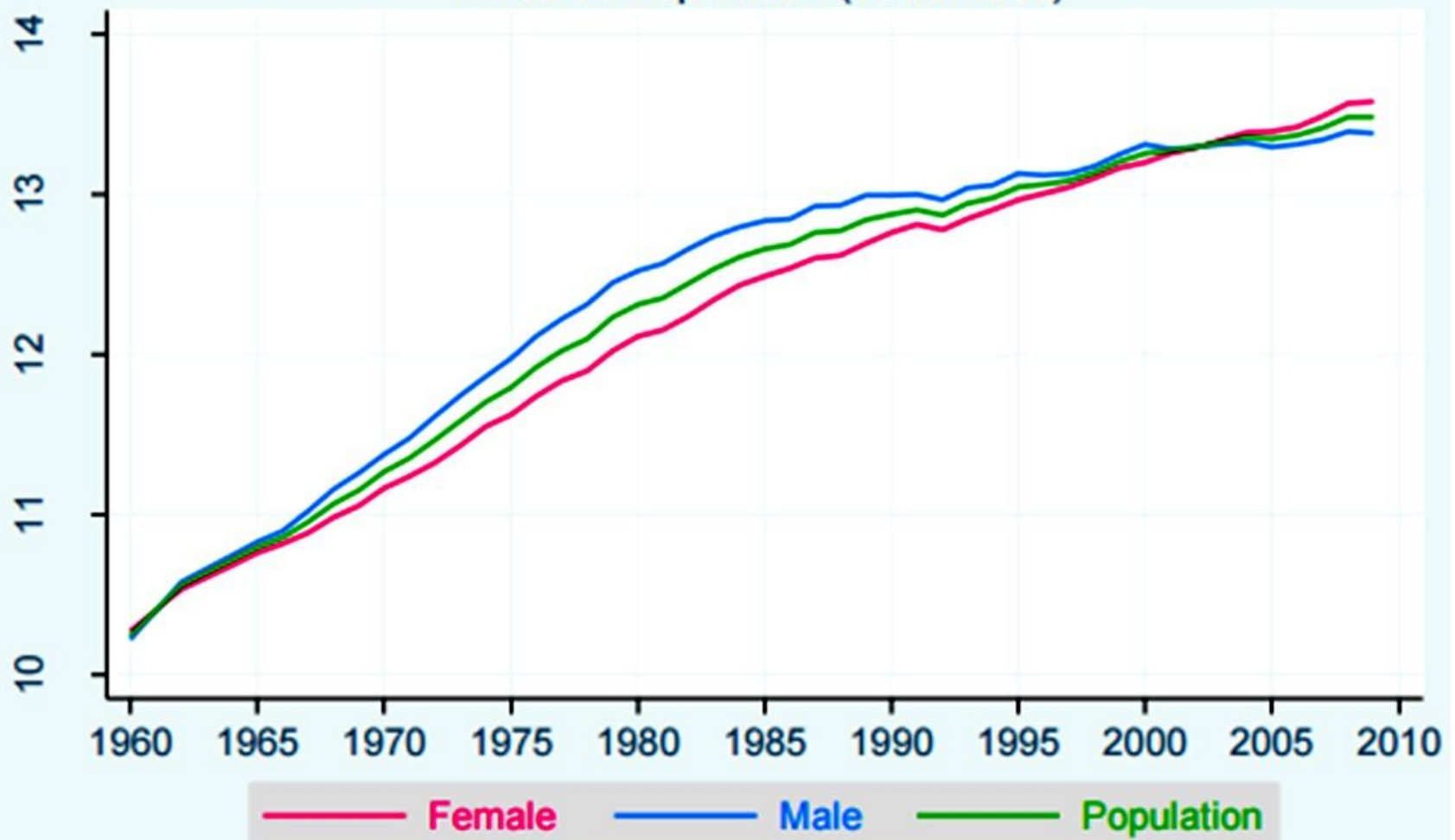
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- **Inequality increases ST** as immigrants compete: Hispanic but not native wages fall with immigration & integration.
- **Immigration increases mobility** vs. LatAm and within the U.S. children of immigrants consistently outperform natives in school this increases Hispanic wages over longer term (CBO, 2013).
- **Financial inclusion & immigration** reform raises growth and asset accumulation by Hispanics, reducing share of inherited wealth, see Piketty, 2014, p. 83-84.

\*\*U.S. Congressional budget Office (2013) The Economic Impact of S. 744, the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act

# Gender and Mobility...in Latin America

- 1. Since 1970 female education increased faster than male but return to education (Mincer coefficient) fell less for women...*
- 2. Female labor force participation increasing in Latin America where FHH increasing, but no reduction in social mobility: migration, employment opportunities. .*
- 3. In the United States, assortative mating has increased inequality, in Latin American education correlation for couples falling in most countries, reducing inequality...*
- 4. Redistributive social programs target women and children conditional on education...*

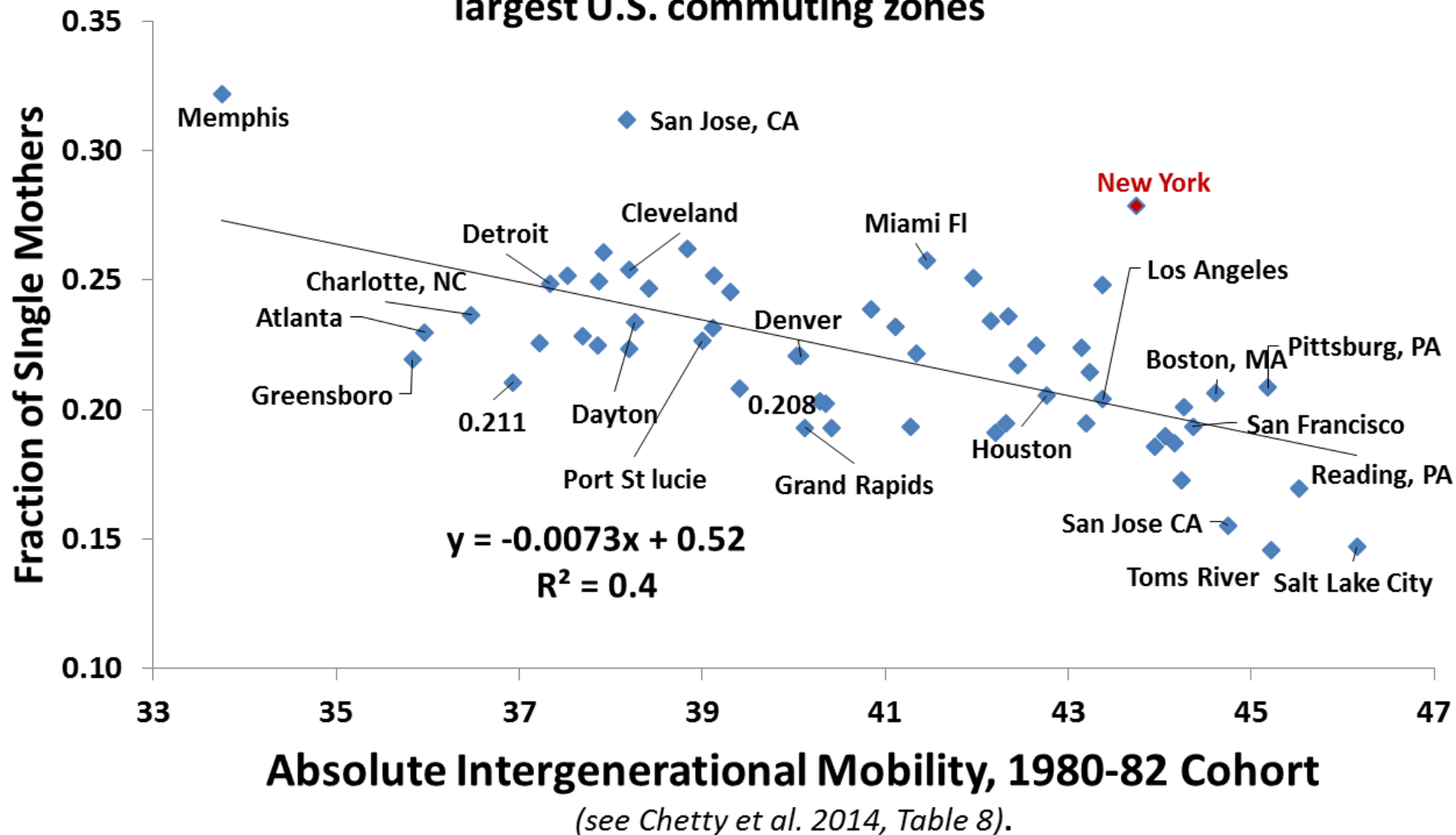
**Figure 1: Mean Years of Schooling**  
25 to 64 Population (1960-2009)



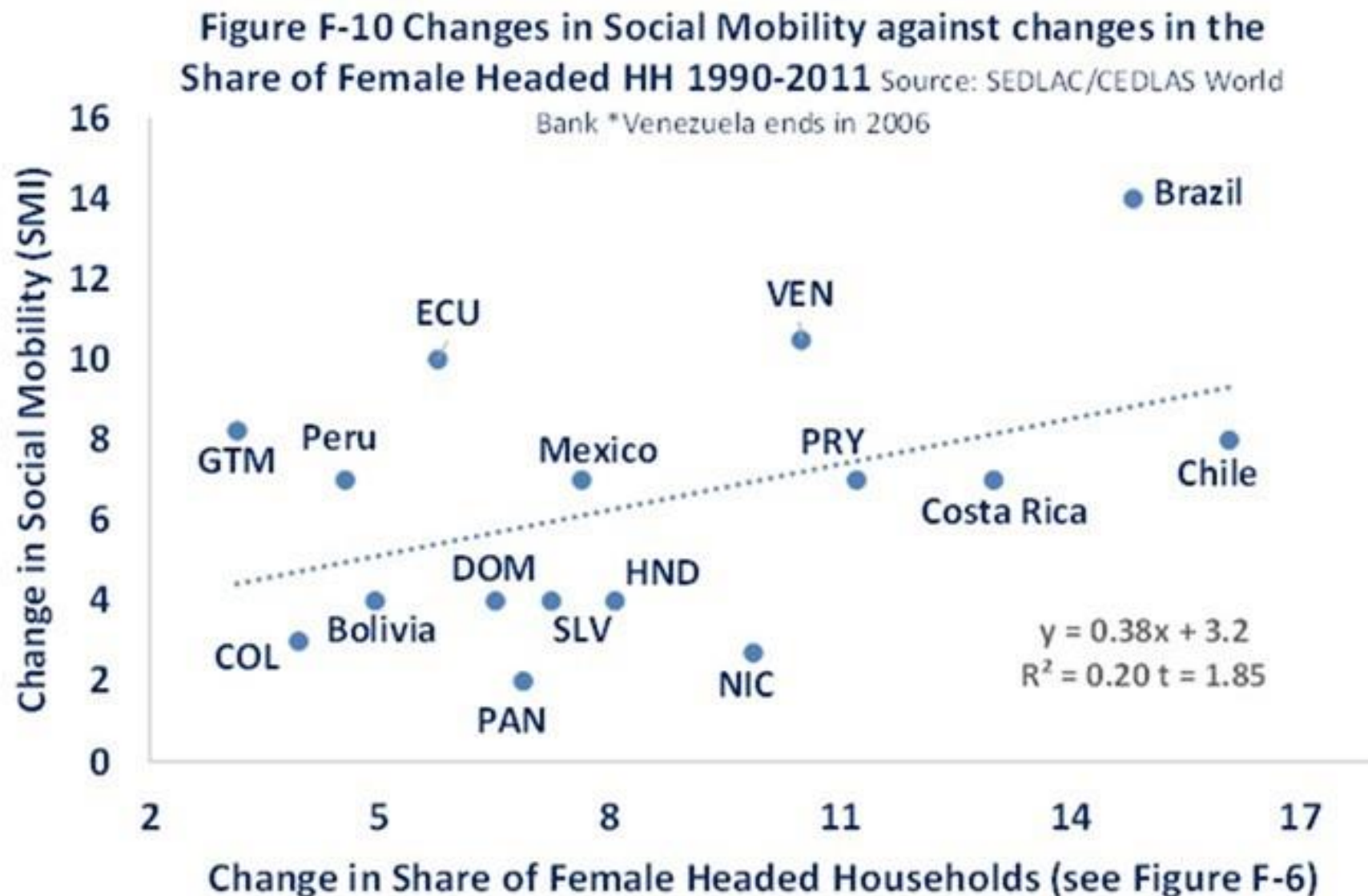
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, NCES, Author Calculations

# Family structure and mobility in the U.S.

Figure 6D: Fraction of Single Mothers and Abs Mobility 60 largest U.S. commuting zones



# Family structure and mobility in Latin America





## **Why the Gatsby curve is working in Latin America and in the United States:**

- Rising inequality in the U.S. is at the very top 1% and 10% ala Piketty, but this does not effect mobility
- LatAm has a rising middle class, improved education (starting from a low base)
- Class, race & family structure create obstacles to mobility in the U.S. despite some progress in access to education...
- CCTs and education policy working in LatAm but less in the United States (preschool etc.)

# The Gatsby Curve works across Latin America Countries and over time

- **Convergence:** inequality high in LatAm mobility low relative to U.S. now converging
- **Social policy:** LatAm greater commitment to equity than the USA (since 2000 at least)
- **Gender:** large gains in education made by women, rise in Female headed households increased mobility
- **New data available**

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