# Does it matter where you came from? Ancestry composition and economic performance of U.S. counties, 1850 - 2010

Scott L. Fulford, Ivan Petkov, and Fabio Schiantarelli

Boston College scott.fulford@bc.edu, petkovi@bc.edu, schianta@bc.edu Full paper available at: http://ssrn.com/abstract=2608567

Indeed, the more advanced a society becomes in material terms, the stronger is the determinant powers of its folkways, for modern technologies act as amplifiers, and modern institutions as stabilizers, and modern elites as organizers of the complex cultural processes.

—Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (Fischer, 1989, p. 10)

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### Immigration to the United States

- United States absorbed more immigrants than all other nations combined
  - People from many different origins
  - Come at different times.
  - Go to different places within the United States
  - Where they mix, and interact with people from other origins
  - And continue to **move**, so the mix changes and evolves
- If groups bring something with them when they move that persists (Putterman and Weil, 2010)
- ⇒ US provides a great laboratory for understanding what matters for development

## Constructing ancestry

- Construct from 1850-2010, share of each county's population descended from ancestors who come from every country of origin
  - Use micro-samples from census recording place of birth to construct
  - Create a mapping of ancestry in US in each decade
  - Stock measure, not just tracking first generation migrants
- Construct county level measure of GDP per capita
  - First complete sub-state measure of income or GDP before 1950
  - Use occupation from census micro-samples to construct measure of services value added
  - Services crucial if want to consider cities

## Does the changing makeup of a county matter?

- Composition matters.
  - US is not a "melting pot"
  - Differences persistent for a long time
  - Something groups bring with them and pass on to their children continues to matter.
- What matters?
  - Effect of ancestry correlated with cultural, economic, institutional, and human capital endowments
- Culture appears to play the most important and robust role
  - Culture may work through better functioning local institutions, may reflect good local institutions of home country
- Diversity matters as well
  - Diverse origins good for development
  - Diverse cultural attributes bad

### Deep determinants of development?

#### Institutions

Acemoglu and Robinson (2012); Banerjee and Iyer (2005)

#### Culture

- Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales (2006); Nunn and Wantchekon (2011); Tabellini (2010)
- Culture <-> Institutions (Alesina and Giuliano, 2013)

#### Geography

- Diamond (1998); Bloom and Sachs (1998)
- Geography -> Culture/Ethnicity (Michalopoulos, 2012)

#### Human capital

Barro and Lee (1994); Glaeser et al. (2004)

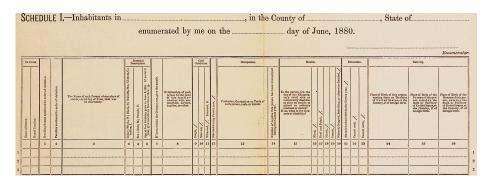
#### Diversity and conflict

Ashraf and Galor (2013); Alesina, Bagir, and Easterly (1999)

### Deep determinants of development

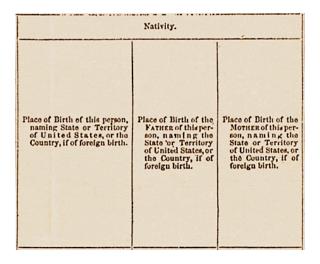
- Big questions that are difficult to study (Spolaore and Wacziarg, 2013)
  - Much work in cross-section, difficult to separate out place from people
  - Not many natural experiments
  - Increasing use of use of history to find variation
- A key contribution: our work has panel
  - Can examine changes in composition and county GDP
  - Sweep out many of the confounding factors
  - Examine dynamic effects
  - Diversity

## Constructing county ancestry



- Micro samples from census start in 1850 from IPUMS
- Only "county groups" available after 1950, aggregate somewhat to maintain consistent geography

#### Constructing county ancestry







▶ More on ethnicity

Year 1870
Age 40
Birthplace Ireland
Living Suffolk, MA
Mother's birthplace –
Father's birthplace –
Race "White"



#### Ancestry

( 1 0 0 Ireland Germany Africa

Year 1880

Age 25

Birthplace Pennsylvania

Living Suffolk, MA

Mother's birthplace Ireland

Father's birthplace Germany

Race "White"

#### Ancestry

$$( \quad 0.5 \quad \quad 0.5 \quad \quad 0 \quad ) \ = 0.5*(1,0,0) + 0.5*(0,1,0)$$

Ireland Germany Africa

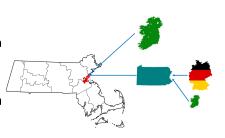
Year 1880 Age 23

Birthplace Pennsylvania Living Suffolk, MA

Mother's birthplace Ireland

Father's birthplace Pennsylvania

Race "White"



#### Ancestry

( 
$$0.55$$
  $0.45$   $0$  )  $= 0.5*(1,0,0)+0.5*(Father's AV)$ 

Father's AV = Ancestry in Pennsylvania in 1860 among "White" 20-30 year olds = 
$$(0.1, 0.9, 0)$$

Year 2010 Age 45

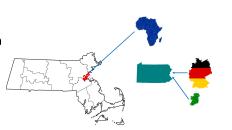
Birthplace Pennsylvania

Living Suffolk, MA

Mother's birthplace -

Father's birthplace -

Race "Black"

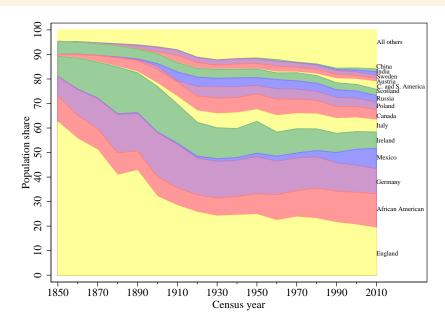


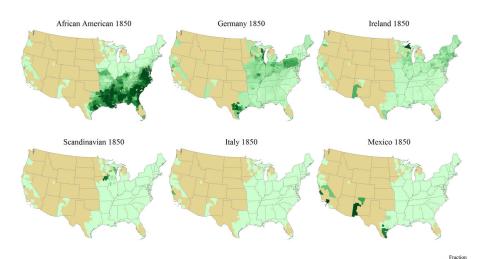
#### Ancestry

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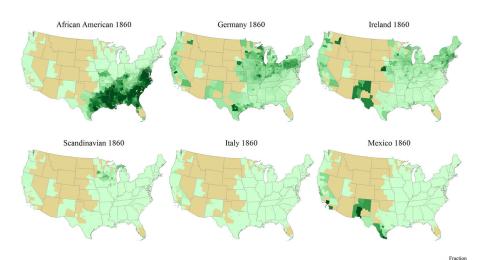
► More on race

## Ancestry over time

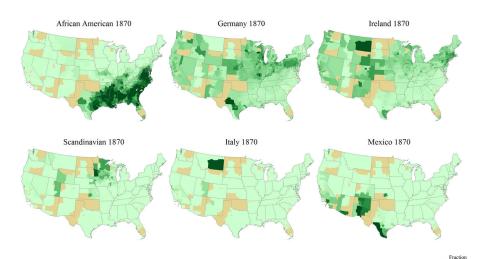




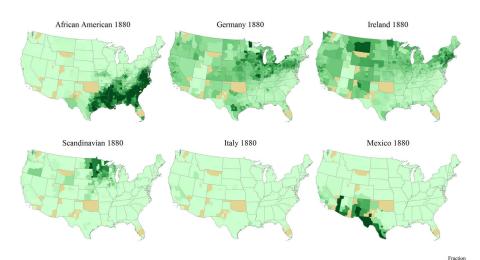




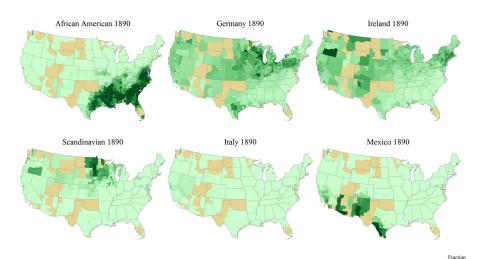




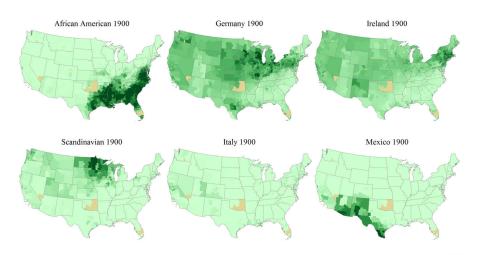




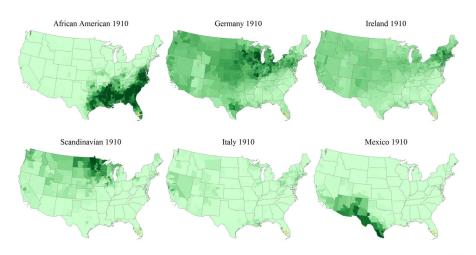




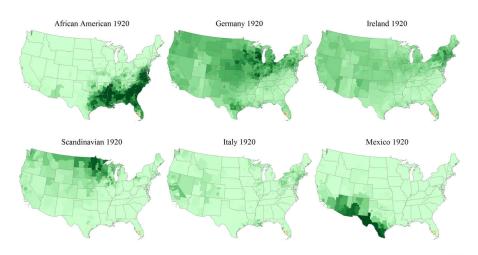




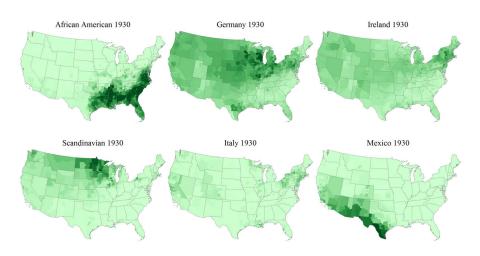




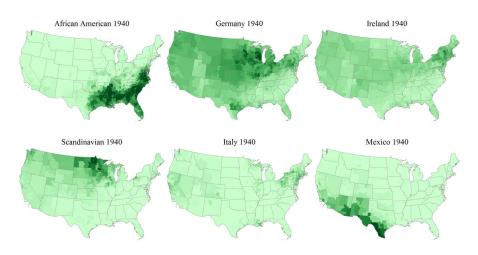




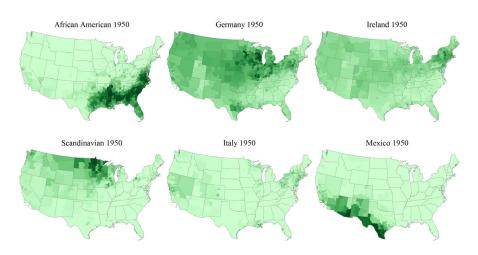




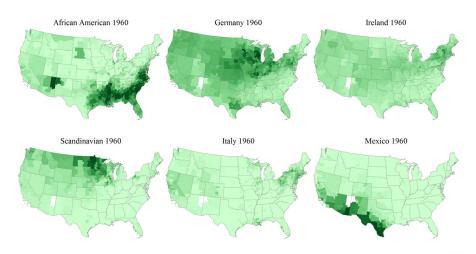




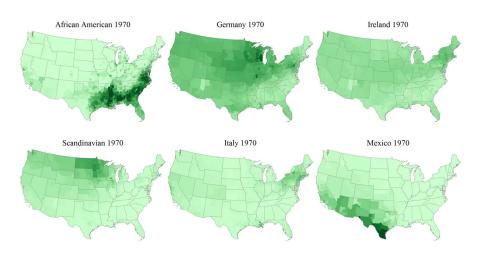




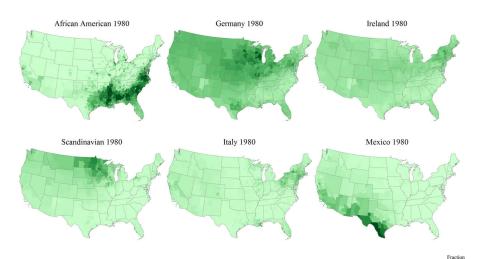




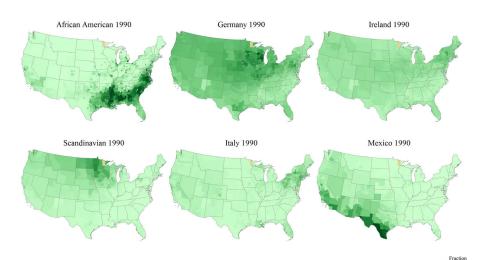




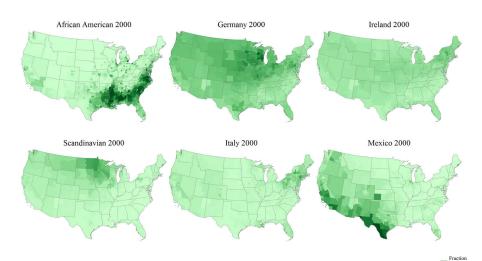




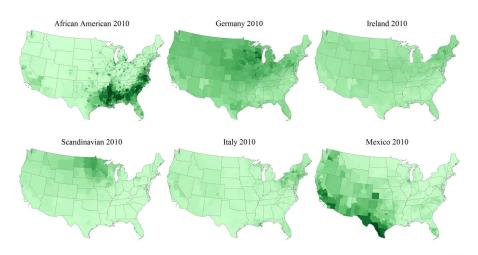










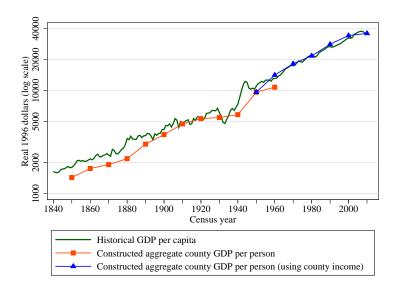




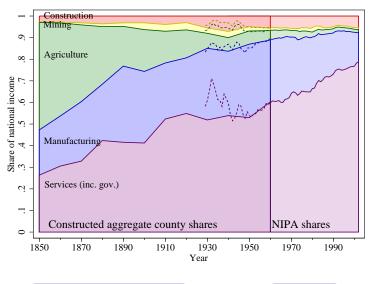
## County GDP over time

- Problem: Measures of county income available only after 1950
  - Before that only manufacturing and agriculture from census
  - But services matter if want to compare areas that include cities
- Construct measure of services value added using census micro-samples on occupations
  - Use national estimates of value added for each occupation
  - Micro-samples -> number of people engaged detailed occupation within county
    - Allows New York City with many high-value-added finance occupations to have much higher income
- Combine with county income measures after 1950, assuming growth in income same as growth in GDP
- To our knowledge: the first measure of GDP below state level before 1950.

## Aggregate county GDP



## Share of economy



► Geographical distribution of services

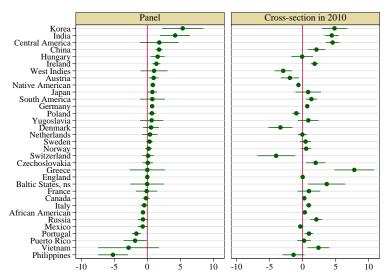
▶ Convergence?

## Does ancestry matter? How?

- Test whether ancestry matters for local development
  - Unrestricted effect for each ancestry
  - What are these effects correlated with?
- What matters?
  - Weight country-of-origin measures by ancestry in each county
  - Which characteristics of country-of-origin matter?
  - Which matter most?
- Dynamics and endogeneity
- Diversity

#### Does ancestry matter?

$$y_{ct} = \theta_c + \lambda_t + \sum_{a=1}^{A} \alpha_a \pi_{ct}^a + \gamma X_{ct} + \epsilon_{ct}$$



### Yes, ancestry matters

$$y_{ct} = \theta_c + \lambda_t + \sum_{a=1}^{A} \alpha_a \pi_{ct}^a + \gamma X_{ct} + \epsilon_{ct}$$

- Joint test of  $\alpha_a$  all zero.
- Reject very strongly in all cases
  - With fixed effects
  - Only testing Non-African-American ancestries
  - With State X Year effects (only within state identification)
  - With lagged county income
  - With Countygroup trends
  - With controls for county education, population density, and fractionalization
  - Clustering at state level

### How does ancestry matter?

- **Economic**: A summary measure of what groups could bring.
  - GDP per capita in 1870 from Maddison (1995)
  - Ratio to US GDP at time of arrival

#### Institutional:

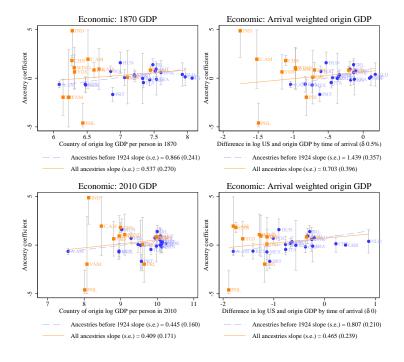
- Political participation compared to US
- State Centralization in 1500 (Putterman and Weil, 2010)

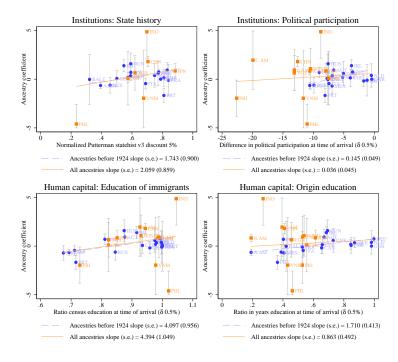
#### Human capital:

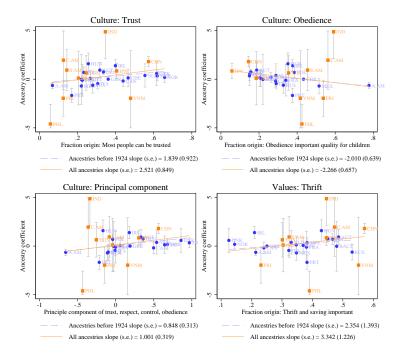
- Education in country of origin at time of migration,
- Education of immigrants at time of migration

#### Cultural:

 Trust, Obedience, Respect for others, as measured in World Values Surveys since 1980 (Tabellini, 2010)







## Measuring the importance of ancestry 1

 Create a weighted average for each county based on some country of origin characteristic

$$\hat{z}_{ct} = \sum_{a=1}^{A} \pi_{ct}^{a} z^{a}$$

- Predicted value for a county, if only know the ancestry composition and something about country of origin at one point in time
  - How does (economic) success of a county's ancestors in 1870 predict success today?
  - What is the expected trust of a county, given its composition?
  - Putterman and Weil (2010) construct similar measures across countries

## Measuring the importance of ancestry 2

- What groups bring may change over time
  - Education of 1850 Irish, not the same as Irish in 1900
- Can form country of origin characteristic weighted by arrival density:

$$ilde{z}_t^{\mathsf{a}} = \sum_{ au=0}^t (z_ au^{\mathsf{a}}/z_ au^{\mathsf{US}})^{(1-\delta)^{t- au}} \mathsf{F}_t^{\mathsf{a}}( au)$$

- $lackbr{\blacksquare} F_t^a( au)$  is the arrival density of group a up to time au
- ullet  $\delta$  is the rate of depreciation of the importance of that characteristic

 $y_{ct} = \theta_c + \lambda_{st} + \beta \hat{z}_{ct} + \gamma X_{ct} + \epsilon_{ct}$ 

	log county GDP per person				
	Each cell from a separate estimation				
1870 GDP weighted	0.722***	0.314***	0.225*	-0.121	
by county AV	(0.0720)	(0.0738)	(0.112)	(0.105)	
Migrant education/US	0.812***	0.0865	0.140	-1 246***	
ratio at arrival $(\delta=0)$	(0.124)	(0.0823)	(0.180)	(0.247)	
Origin country education	0.874***	0.326***	0.148	-0.414**	
US ratio at arrival $(\delta=0)$	(0.125)	(0.0837)	(0.190)	(0.163)	
State history in 1500	1.815***	0.773***	0.601**	-0.335	
	(0.224)	(0.195)	(0.267)	(0.225)	
Arrival political	0.0673***	-0.0271**	-0.0591**	-0 137***	
participation	(0.0160)	(0.0107)	(0.0231)	(0.0217)	
Trust	2.587***	1.343***	2.889***	1.234***	
	(0.386)	(0.302)	(0.615)	(0.372)	
Thrift	1.380***	1.751***	-0.377	2.063***	
	(0.471)	(0.386)	(0.768)	(0.404)	
Observations	16713	16,713	16,713	16,713	
Year X State FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Other controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	
County groups	1151	1151	1151	1151	

Controls: the fraction African-American, Native American, and the log population density

### What matters most?

	Log(County group GDP per capita)				
Trust weighted	3.253***	3.508***	3.003***	2.830***	
by county AV	(0.544)	(0.632)	(0.708)	(0.652)	
State history in 1500	-0.0175	0.0819	0.411	0.357	
	(0.372)	(0.310)	(0.348)	(0.249)	
Migrant education/US	0.187	-1.318***	-0.299	-1.746***	
ratio at arrival $(\delta=0)$	(0.231)	(0.269)	(0.204)	(0.224)	
Observations	16,713	16,713	16,704	16,704	
R-squared	0.960	0.972	0.962	0.974	
State X Year FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Other controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	
County groups	1151	1151	1148	1148	

Controls: the fraction African-American, Native American, and the log population density Principal component of Trust, Control, Respect, Obedience following Tabellini (2010)

■ Trust most robust and important determinant

### Is the relationship causal?

- Two main econometric issues in identifying the effect of ancestry on output:
- Omitted variables. We are able to control for:
  - Unchanging county characteristics through county fixed effects
  - Common temporal changes
  - State level changes through State-Year effects
  - Serial correlation through lagged dependent variable
- Simultaneity/reverse causality
  - If more trusting people move to a booming county ⇒ simultaneity/reverse causality bias
  - Solution: use a one decade lag of trust, include lagged dependent variable ⇒ Nearly the same coefficient
  - More general dynamic model: Reverse impact of GDP to ancestry composition significant but small Granger Causality

## Rich ancestries in poor places

	Log(County group GDP per capita)					
1870 GDP weight by county AV	-0.336*** (0.0137)	0.314*** (0.0738)				
Trust weighted by county AV	,	,	-0.507*** (0.0574)	1 343*** (0 302)	1.065*** (0.0583)	
One decade lag			,	,	,	0 820*** (0 0566)
Decade lag of log county GDP					0.433*** (0.00658)	0.435*** (0.00661)
State X Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County group FE County groups	No	Yes 1151	No	Yes 1151	Yes 1151	Yes 1151

Rich ancestries are in poor places in the US!

Panel **necessary** to understand effects of culture and institutions.

## Does who you come in contact with matter?

- Groups don't exist in a vacuum
- Must share decisions and work with other groups
- We show who groups interact with matters as well
- Fractionalization measures diversity of groups:

$$\mathit{frac}_{c,t} = 1 - \sum_{\mathsf{a}=1}^{\mathsf{A}} (\pi_{ct}^{\mathsf{a}})^2$$

Weighted fractionalization measures diversity of attributes:

$$\mathit{frac}_{c,t}^w = 1 - \sum_{j=1}^{A} \sum_{k=1}^{A} \pi_{ct}^j \pi_{ct}^k s_{ct}^{jk}$$

### Does who you come in contact with matter?

	Log(County group income per capita)				
Trust weighted	0.405**	0.884***	1.424***	1.279***	
by county AV	(0.162)	(0.123)	(0.173)	(0.224)	
Fractionalization	1.101***	1.002***	1.044***	1.277***	
	(0.167)	(0.135)	(0.152)	(0.190)	
Trust weighted	-2.665***	-1.670***	-1.832***	-2.940***	
fractionalization	(0.490)	(0.316)	(0.304)	(0.428)	
State history in 1500	0.529**	0.448	1.197***	1.320***	
weighted by AV	(0.257)	(0.275)	(0.291)	(0.295)	
Migrant education/US	0.0495	-1.269***	-1.374***	-1 054***	
ratio at arrival $(\delta=0)$	(0.185)	(0.233)	(0.209)	(0.192)	
State X Year	No	Yes	Yes	No	
Other controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	
Education controls	No	No	No	Yes	
County group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
County groups	1151	1151	1148	1148	

Controls: the fraction African-American, Native American, and the log population density County education: literacy before 1940, years education after

### Does who you come in contact with matter?

	Log(County group income per capita)					
Trust weighted	2.015***	2.643***	2.773***	2.934***		
by county AV	(0.411)	(0.371)	(0.720)	(0.471)		
Fractionalization	3.281***	2.324***	3.322***	2.724***		
	(0.550)	(0.529)	(0.487)	(0.385)		
Trust weighted	-5.410***	-2.615***	-4811***	-2.085***		
fractionalization	(0.855)	(0.794)	(0.962)	(0.733)		
Fractionalization <sup>2</sup>	-1.751***	-0.976**	-1.807***	-1.511***		
	(0.449)	(0.401)	(0.429)	(0.305)		
(Trust weighted	8.136***	1 148	6 525***	0.817		
fractionalization) <sup>2</sup>	(2.010)	(1.921)	(2.113)	(1.752)		
State hist, Mig. Ed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
State X Year	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Other controls	No	No.	Yes	Yes		
Education controls	No	No	No	Yes		
County group FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
County groups	1151	1151	1148	1148		

Controls: the fraction African-American, Native American, and the log population density County education: literacy before 1940, years education after

### Summary on diversity

- Positive effect of fractionalization
- Negative effect of trust fractionalization
- Marginal effect of fractionalization decreasing in its level
  - Positive effect larger for more homogenous societies
- Marginal effect of trust fractionalization decreasing in absolute value
  - Negative effect larger for more homogenous societies
- No interior maximum or minimum

#### Conclusion

- Ancestry has a persistent and large effect
  - Groups are different and differences persist for a long time
- The effect is closely related to conditions in the country of origin
  - Culture seems to play the most important and robust role
  - Economic and institutional experience matter also
  - Education on arrival either unimportant or negative
    - Perhaps education largely determined by local institutions—initial endowment ceases to matter quickly
- Diversity has a complicated relationship with development
  - In multi-cultural US, diversity by itself is good
  - Sharing with groups with very different cultural/economic endowments bad
- Panel is necessary
  - Rich and trusting groups are in poor places on average

### Many interesting questions

- Long panel—160 years!—that can answer many interesting questions
- Why does culture matter?
  - Willingness to make contracts, trade?
  - Willingness to invest in capital or human capital?
  - Local institutions?
- Why is diversity important?
  - Role of genetic diversity (Ashraf and Galor, 2013)
- More on convergence
- Other outcomes: inequality, political institutions, ethnicity

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## Missing records and aggregation

- 1890 individual records destroyed in a fire
  - Still have county aggregates for immigration, nativity
- 1960 micro-samples only give state of residence
- 1970 onwards only give some grouping of counties
  - "county group" or PUMA
- 1890 and 1960: use the larger aggregates to update for migration and immigration
  - Maintain the demographic structure from previous years
- To construct consistent panel
  - Use counties where available, then aggregate to 1980 PUMAs
  - 1100 PUMAs compared to 3200 counties
  - Have county level AV through 1940, county GDP per person entire period



#### Initialize

- Need to initialize for ancestry of non-migrants before 1850
- 1790 census provides "nationality" for each state
  - English and Welsh, Irish, Scotch, French, German (Hebrew), Dutch, and Other
- Update with immigration records
  - US started recording the country of origin of immigrants and state where end up by decade in 1820
  - Imperfect, but allows to capture immigrants before micro-samples of census
  - Immigrants who are still alive in 1850 captured, so Irish, Germans not a problem.



#### Race

- Rape of slave women common, but children still slaves (Kolchin, 2003; Higginbothham and Kopytoff, 2000, pp. 124-5)
- Anti-miscegenation laws still in effect in 17 states until ruled unconstitutional in 1967, meant little interracial mixing
- Anti-miscegenation laws required definition of race
  - While not universal, "one drop" rule meant considered black if any African ancestry (Kennedy, 2000)
- Inter-racial marriage still low (3.2% all marriages in 1980 among all races) but has grown rapidly since (Wang, 2012)



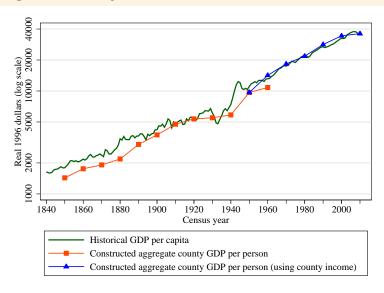
## Ancestry and ethnicity

- Correlation between AV and ethnicity across county groups 2000
  - 0.79 Irish
  - 0.91 Italian
  - 0.89 German
  - 0.98 Mexican (often first generation)
  - 0.95 Norwegian
  - 0.92 Swedish
    - 0.96 combined Swedish/Norwegian
  - 0.99 African-American

## Ancestry and ethnicity

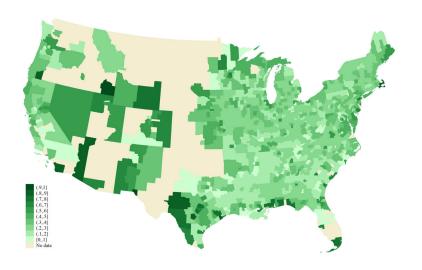
- English puzzling: AV for English (includes Welsh and Scotch Irish) much higher than English ethnicity
  - Correlation only 0.31
  - Census only 5.9% report English Ethnicity
  - But 7.2% report "American", 19.1 do not report, 1.4% report White/Caucasian
- Combining these categories with English, correlation with AV 0.93
- Support of hypothesis that "ethnicity" is optional for dominant group (Waters, 1996)
- Further evidence for constructivist approach, ethnicity self-reinforcing
  - Difference between AV and self-reported is increasing in AV
  - Where more people of German ancestry, disproportionately more say German

## Aggregate county GDP

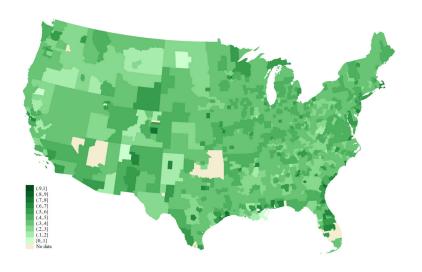




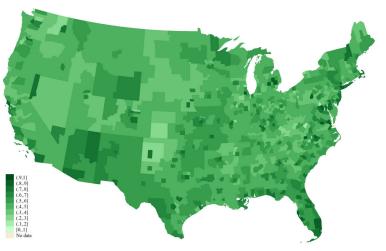
### Services in 1870



### Services in 1900

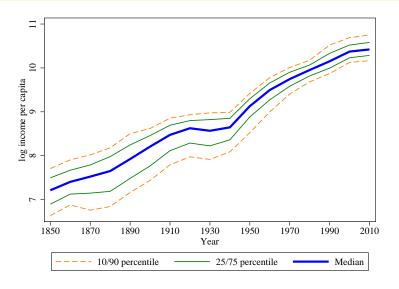


### Services in 1940





# Shared growth





## Endogeneity and Granger Causality

	log County		log County	
	GDP	Trust	GDP	Trust
Decade lag of log	0.510***	0.0133***	0.450***	0.00795***
county GDP	(0.0283)	(0.00292)	(0.0261)	(0.00242)
Two decade lag of log	0.0545***	-0.00124	0.0631***	-0.000469
county GDP	(0.0122)	(0.00162)	(0.00969)	(0.00128)
Decade lag of	1.039***	0.486***	0.566***	0.400***
weighted Trust	(0.174)	(0.0693)	(0.144)	(0.0725)
Two decade lag of	0.643***	0.198***	0.592***	0.184***
weighted Trust	(0.152)	(0.0248)	(0.128)	(0.0202)
Year X State FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
County group FE	No	No	No	No
F-test for joint significance				
Lags county GDP	226.0	11.10	249.0	5.563
p-value	0	0.000106	3.58e-07	0.00665
Lags Trust or 1870 GDP	32.38	82.29	20.40	47.92
p-value	1.09e-09	0	0	0