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New Methods of Census Record Linking

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Abstract

The Minnesota Population Center (MPC) has released linked datasets through its NAPP and IPUMS projects, making them readily accessible to researchers. Prior to the availability of complete count census microdata from the MPC, researchers applied various forms of recordlinking software. This essay describes the techniques used in the MPC's linking program and briefly compares this technique with those used by other researchers. The key feature of the MPC linking method is the construction of cumulative name similarity scores, based on approximately 2.5 billion record comparisons; we also use support vector mechanics to classify potential links. This article explains modifications made for the final linked datasets and includes a discussion of the role of weighting variables when using linked data.

Keywords

census samples; complete count; record linkage; microdata; historical demography

The Minnesota Population Center has created a set of linked representative samples of individuals and family groups using U.S. Census microdata for the period 1850 through 1930, and we plan similar linked samples using data from Britain, Canada, Iceland, and Norway. The IPUMS nationally representative samples of the United States population from 1850 to the present have motivated much research on changing demographic and social behavior. A basic limitation of the existing samples, however, is that they are cross-sectional snapshots that do not allow observation of the same individuals in different census years. Linked data, in contrast, allow researchers to more directly and reliably examine topics like family formation and dissolution, social and geographic mobility, and the interrelationship of geographic and economic movement (Ruggles 2006).¹

Record linkage has long been a basic tool of quantitative historical analysis. Traditionally, historical investigations focused on a single community, and records were linked by hand. This meant that persons who moved across the boundaries of the localities were lost, making the linked datasets non-representative of the broader population (Thernstrom 1964; Katz 1975; Knights 1991). In an effort to overcome this limitation, several studies used "soundex" name indexes to link individuals who had migrated (Ferrie 1996; Guest 1987; Steckel 1987). But these results were also mixed; the indexes are state-specific, so searching for migrants then required consulting each state index for a potential match. For every potential match located in the name indexes, the investigators had to manually consult microfilm of the census manuscripts to verify links. The resulting linked samples were comparatively small and expensive, and questions concerning representativeness remained.

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¹For more information on the 1880 complete-count database see [http://www.nappdata.org/napp/.](http://www.nappdata.org/napp/) Information on the non-1880 samples and the linked samples can be found at [http://usa.ipums.org/usa/sampdesc.shtml\)](http://usa.ipums.org/usa/sampdesc.shtml).

The Minnesota Population Center Linkage Project

While all record linkage projects share a common goal of tracing individuals across time, decisions made about what information is used for linking and what constitutes an acceptable link vary across such projects. The MPC linkage project sought to satisfy the sometimes competing goals of creating links that were accurate and representative of the general population.

To maximize representativeness, we used a minimal set of linking variables. The source data consist of complete households, with information available for all co-resident household members. A record linkage algorithm that used information on co-resident household members would result in higher linkage rates and more accurate links. However, these benefits come at a cost—persons who remained with the same kin between census years would be overrrepresented in the linked data. Such bias in the linked data would yield erroneous conclusions about family transitions. Similarly, it would be inappropriate to consider place of residence or occupation when linking persons across censuses, since this would introduce bias with respect to migration or occupational mobility.²

To minimize selection bias, we restricted the linking variables to an individual's given name, surname, and birth year. For men and for women who do not marry between the censuses, these characteristics generally do not change over time, and therefore have the potential to yield a representative dataset.

Successful record linkage requires a mechanism for assessing name and age similarity. The ability to assess similarity can be enhanced by cleaning and standardizing the source data. We initially cleaned and edited the data prior to release as part of the IPUMS (Block and Star, 1995; Goeken, et al. 2003).³ Age information, for example, is subject to a variety of consistency checks at the original data collection stage and later in IPUMS processing. The name fields, in contrast, receive little processing prior to IPUMS release.

We processed the surname field minimally. Non-alpha characters were removed, but there was no attempt to standardize or correct perceived misspellings. We did more processing of given names, by standardizing the first name strings that occurred at least 100 times. This name standardization process is described in detail in Vick (2010, in this issue).

We used Freely Extensible Biomedical Record Linkage (FEBRL) software to construct name and age similarity scores (Christien and Churches 2005). We extracted records from our databases based on race and birthplace, with separate files for males, females, and married couples. We then compared files from two censuses for persons of the same race, sex, and birthplace. For example, we compared white males born in Michigan in the 1870 data with white males born in Michigan in the 1880 data.⁴ We further restricted comparisons to persons born within seven years of one another. For each comparison, we calculated

²There is insufficient information to correct for biases in the linkage process. It is relatively straightforward to construct weights that reflect age or occupational distributions. However, since we do not know the migration status for individual records, we have no way to construct weights that would correct for bias caused by using place of residence as a linking variable. ⁵See <http://usa.ipums.org/usa/doc.shtml> for a discussion of IPUMS logical edit procedures.

⁴Eligibility to be linked is dependent on being present in a given sample year and the 1880 complete-count database. For linked couples, the linkable population is also restricted by the requirement of being married and co-resident in both the sample year and 1880. For females, the linkable population consists of women who did not change t heir surname between sample year and 1880. Thus, for females we cannot link those who transitioned from single to married, nor those that remarry. There are no comparable restrictions on the male linkable population.

similarity scores; when a potential match exceeded minimum thresholds, the record pair was written to a results file.

After constructing similarity scores we evaluated the potential links.⁵ To classify potential links as "true" or `false" we used a machine-learning tool known as SVM—Support Vector Machine (Christianni, Nello and Shawe-Taylor 2000; Steinwart and Christmann 2008; Pamarthy 2007). SVM construction depends on the existence of training data, which typically consists of a verified set of true and false links.⁶ The SVM classifier analyzes the training data, plots them in a multidimensional space, and then constructs a boundary between the two classes of records that maximizes the distance from the hyperplane and the nearest data points in both of the classes (i.e., between the true and false links). The end result is a file consisting of potential links and the classifier-produced confidence score. Confidence scores are interpreted dichotomously; a positive score is considered a "true" link and a negative score is a "false" link.

At the classifier stage each potential link is evaluated independently, which often results in numerous potential links from the 1880 complete census to a given record from an IPUMS sample. We considered any case with multiple potential links to be ambiguous and reject them. Table 1 shows the confidence scores for potential links to John Bradley, a 25-year-old white male born in South Carolina from the 1870 data. Of the 43 potential links, only the top four receive positive confidence scores. Although the potential link with the highest confidence score is an exact match, the other three also have a high degree of similarity. If we had to choose, the exact match is probably the correct link. However, our analysis of such cases suggests that the probability that the top link is the correct link is significantly under 95 percent, and using these types of links would introduce an unacceptable error rate.

Preliminary Linked Files and Subsequent Linkage Process Modifications

In fall 2008, we released preliminary versions of the linked samples that were created using the procedures outlined above. We anticipated making improvements for the final release, and part of that process was comparing our links to a set of links for 1870 and 1900 produced by Pleiades Software Development.7 Pleiades produces record linkage software designed for genealogical research and has been involved in numerous record linkage projects over the past 20 years. Their linkage process is based on an additive point system that assesses similarity for individual records. In contrast to our approach, Pleiades' system uses household and residential information (which we excluded as sources of potential bias, as explained above).

Among the native-born white males present in both linked samples, the MPC linked samples agreed with the Pleiades links 98.8 percent of the time—a reassuring result. Only 44 percent of our preliminary links, however, were in the Pleiades linked set. Visual examination of the household data for the records that were only present in our linked data disclosed few that seemed ambiguous or likely errors; the overwhelming majority appeared to be accurate links.

⁵We also construct variables based on individual-level characteristics at this point. Although most of this work involves married couples--e.g., whether both spouses had ages ending in zero, or whether the husband is older than the wife in one year, but younger in the other year—we also construct phonetic codes for all last names.
⁶In practice, however, few linkage projects have verified training data. For our project, we selected a random sample of potential

links, and had a group of MPC data entry operators code each potential link as a "yes" or "no" based on a visual examination of names and ages of potential links (with yes indicating that it was in their opinion a true link). If a majority had the potential link as a "yes", then it was coded as a "yes" in the training data (with the remainder coded as "no").
⁷See: <http://www.pleiades-software.com/>

Why were so many of the MPC-only links missing from the Pleiades linked dataset? We discovered that the MPC-only links were likely to be young individuals who were enumerated as a child in both 1870 and 1880. A review of these links disclosed that parents in these households often had imprecise or conflicting information. Examples would be households that had transitioned from couple-headed in 1870 to a single parent head in 1880, or that had imprecise parental name, age, or birthplace information. The comparison of our links to the Pleiades set thus highlighted another disadvantage of using household information to conduct record linkage: such information increases linkage rates only in cases where household information is consistent over time.⁸

Of more direct relevance to the MPC linkage project was the evidence of a high degree of imprecision in nineteenth century census data. Our data consist of primary links (of individuals), and we then proceed to link other household members after the primary links are established. Under our preliminary linking rules, primary links generally had to be within two years of expected age. But a comparison of links for the 1870–1880 male sample showed that approximately 10 percent of the household links had an 1880 age that was more than 2 years different than their expected age.⁹

The Pleiades comparison and the evidence regarding high levels of age imprecision led us to reexamine a fundamental part of our linking process. The issue was that our linkage process was generally accurate, but was also highly dependent on the precision of the data. More specifically, if the individuals we attempted to link were accurately enumerated in both census years, we would either make the link or, in the case of multiple potential links, reject the link as ambiguous. But if the correct link was unidentifiable—because of mortality, under-enumeration, or mis-enumeration of linking variable information—we would make an incorrect link if there were another person with similar characteristics in the 1880 completecount data.

We dealt with this problem by developing formal measures for summarizing and taking into account the commonness of names. A fairly standard approach in record linkage projects is to construct frequency tables for names, which more or less assess the probability of a correct link. For example, based on frequency tables, record linkers would be more confident in linking someone with the name Roland Marsupial than someone named John Smith. But given our minimalist approach to name cleaning and standardization, we ran into a problem with minor typos and misspellings which would show up as low frequency names, even though many of these names have high similarity to high frequency names (and would show up as potential links to records with high frequency names). Our solution was to construct name similarity scores based on the following: for a given sample record, we determined the proportion of records (by race, birthplace, and sex) in the 1880 completecount data with a Jaro-Winkler similarity score greater than 0.9. The choice of this threshold is somewhat arbitrary, but, based on the preliminary linked data, we rarely linked records that did not exceed this threshold.

Just as it is more difficult to link individuals with common names, it is more difficult to link individuals born into states with large populations. With this in mind, we also constructed a

⁸This problem extends beyond overall linkage rates to issues relating to accuracy. For example, a "true" link can be rejected because of presence of internal household disagreement, while a "false" linking can be accepted due to the absence of such household disagreement.
⁹It is difficult to say whether this an over or underestimate of age precision. The presence of incorrect links could inflate this measure,

because if the primary link is incorrect, then we would also assume any co-resident household links would also be incorrect (and would thus have a high likelihood of age imprecision). However, the establishment of a primary link typically means that at least one person in a given household had enough age precision to be linked, and we assume that this would be correlated with age precision for other household members.

density of birth measure, which is the proportion of 1880 records for specific birthplaces, by race and sex. Our expectation was that we would rarely (if ever) link records with common names from the larger states of birth (like New York and Pennsylvania), but we would be able to link relatively common names taken from the smaller states of birth (such as Delaware).

In addition to name commonness and birthplace density measures, we constructed new training data based on the Pleiades linked data. We also expanded our linkage variable set to take into account middle name (or initial) agreement, as well as parental birthplace consistency, which is only available beginning with the 1880 census. The new linked results were characterized as having high levels of similarity along with significantly higher linkage rates. But we suspected (largely based on migration differentials for different classes of linked records) that we were adding an unacceptable number of incorrect links. The basic problem was that our new classifiers were "tight." Exact and near matches continued to be classified as true links, but we were no longer considering less precise matches as true links. As a result, some cases that should have been rejected as ambiguous were being considered valid links. We solved this problem by developing two classifiers—one of which was tight and the other loose—and we conservatively defined true links as records that had one and only one positive link in both models.

Differential Linking Results by Race, Nativity, and Birthplace

African-Americans and foreign-born whites had considerably lower linkage rates than did native-born whites. This is partly because of differentials in misreporting of age. The African-American population had high age misreporting (Elo and Preston 1994; Coale and Rives 1973), and age-heaping evidence suggests that immigrant groups also had higher levels of age misreporting than did native-born whites.

A second explanation for differential linkage rates is different degrees of name homogeneity across population groups. As noted, common names produce multiple ambiguous links and we excluded all such ambiguous links to avoid incorporating false links into the dataset. If certain racial and ethnic groups tend to be clustered into common name categories, then the final linkage rates for those groups will be correspondingly lower.

We classified 18 percent of the foreign-born in our highest name commonness category, compared with 10 percent of African-Americans and only 7 percent of native-born whites. Name commonness also varies by country of birth. For example, only 2 percent of white males born in France had names falling into the most common category, versus 63 percent of white males born in Wales. Other immigrant groups with high name homogeneity were males born in Ireland, Scotland, Norway, and Sweden, with between 32 and 40 percent of these nationalities having most common names. Linkage rates are powerfully inversely associated with name commonness. For example, among native-born whites the linkage rate between 1870 and 1880 was 19 percent for those with the least common names, and just 0.6 percent for those with the most common names.

A third factor affecting linkage rates is birthplace (and the population of an individual's state of birth). For persons with moderately common names, the population of the birth state is inversely related to the linkage rate. That is, persons from small states are more often linked than those from large states simply because there is less chance that the link will be ambiguous.

We always assumed that we would deal with linkage differentials by constructing weights for the linked records, so that, all else being equal, linked individuals born in Delaware would have a lower weight than those born in New York. We did not anticipate correcting

biases resulting from the different linking rates for more versus less common names, however. That Roland Marsupial is more likely to be linked than John Smith would matter to researchers only if name commonness were systematically associated with other important characteristics, such as socioeconomic status. Fortunately, name commonness does not appear to be significant to other characteristics.

Table 2 gives the mean occupational scores for 1870 males by race/nativity and name commonness. Occupational score is an index of the earning power of each occupational title (Ruggles, et al. 2010). The first column of results (under mean OCCSCORE) excludes nonoccupational responses to the occupation question, and the second column excludes both non-occupational responses and farmers.¹⁰ There are, as would be expected, substantial differences in mean occupational scores between the race/ethnic groups, with African-American males substantially disadvantaged. But within race/ethnic categories, occupational scores are relatively flat across name categories. When non-occupational responses are excluded, the mean occupational score for native-born white males is 18.7 for those with the least common names and 18.5 for those with the most common.

Accuracy of Links in the Final Release

Thus far, this paper has addressed how links were made and how frequently links were made. Another important question is the accuracy of the links in the final samples released by the Minnesota Population Center.

Table 3 provides illustrative examples of three households from our 1870–1880 male linked sample. For both 1870 and 1880, the given name, surname, and relationship to head are provided, with linked individuals shown on the same line. "Linktype" indicates whether the record is a primary (individual) link or household link (made to persons co-residing with the primary linked individual).

In the first household shown, the primary link is the third individual (Alma). We linked the household members because of the high degree of name and age similarity. In the second household, the primary link is "Eddie Cimmerman" in 1870 and "Edward Zimmerman" in 1880. Although three members of the 1870 household are not present in 1880, we see high similarity among the other household members, despite the different surname spelling. The third household is an example of a primary link with a relatively rare given name (Duett). This contrasts with the household head's given name information; we would have difficulty linking two records enumerated as "L" and "Lathrop" in different census years in the absence of a rare given name. Once we have established the primary link (for Duett Manning), however, we will link the household head and other co-resident family members in the household linking process.

All primary links in Table 3 appear accurate despite some imprecision in the household links. In addition, all of these households remained in the same state and county in both census years, which increases our confidence that they were linked correctly. While it is difficult to estimate the number of incorrect links with accuracy, we used indirect measures to assess the general accuracy or consistency of the linking procedures. For example, in a comparison of married individuals in the linked males (or females) files with records in the couples linked files, we would expect to find comparable characteristics. To the extent that characteristics are not comparable, all else being equal it would reflect the higher accuracy of the couples links because of the addition of three extra variables to the couples linking

¹⁰OCCSCORE is an IPUMS constructed variable that assigns occupational income scores to specific occupations. See <http://usa.ipums.org/>

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algorithm (given name, age, and birthplace of the spouse). For native-born white males in the 1870 couples data, we found 22.3 percent residing in a different state or different county in 1880. The corresponding migration rate for native-born white couples in the male and female only linked files were 23.0 and 23.9 percent, respectively.

We also identified male records that are linked in both the male and couples file to determine if they are linked to the same household in the 1880 data. The results are remarkably consistent. Of the 3,609 males in both the male and couples linked files, we link to different households only eight times.

As a final check on the accuracy of the links, we identified sets of brothers in the 1870 male sample that were enumerated as sons living with both parents in both years. Altogether we have 1,723 native-born whites in the 1870 male sample that satisfy this requirement. We would expect the specific sets of brothers to end up in the same household in 1880. This failed to occur in only 2.0 percent of the sets. The results of this analysis serve as an indirect error estimate for this group of links. Although some of the consistently linked sets of brothers could be errors, it would be rare to find inaccurate links among consistently linked records.

The estimate for linked sets of native-born white brothers, along with high levels of consistency for males linked in both the male and couples file, are important indicators of the accuracy of the MPC linking protocols. Taken together, the brothers and the married males linked in the couples file make up over 25 percent of all 1870–1880 male links. Error rates for foreign-born whites and African-American linked populations may be higher, but error rates for the native born linked populations are significantly below 5 percent.

Weighting of Samples

Table 4 shows the number of linked records for MPC linked samples by nativity/race and, for females, by nativity/race and marital status categories.¹¹ The number of records is low in some of the linked samples. Accordingly, we apply weights to compensate for under- and over-representation of population subgroups.

Population subgroups at particular risk for under-estimation include African Americans, immigrants, and boarders/lodgers. The imprecise age reporting and name homogeneity for African-Americans and the foreign born, along with the smaller absolute size of these population subgroups, account for the small number of links shown. However, this underrepresentation could also be influenced by respondent bias. Since enumerators went household to household and, presumably, spoke with household heads or the spouses of heads, it is unlikely that there was any direct communication with unrelated individuals (e.g., boarders, lodgers, and employees). This group—which was approximately 10 percent of the adult population in the nineteenth century—is underrepresented in our linked samples because of imprecise name, age, and possibly birthplace information. This bias is also reflected in the linkage rates for variables associated with the unrelated population (e.g., younger adults and residence in larger cities).

The MPC weighting strategy is to weight by population characteristics in the terminal year. Thus, for linked data from the 1850 to 1870 sample years, we weighted by 1880 characteristics. For the post-1880 sample years, we weighted by the sample year characteristics. Weights were based on an estimate of the "linkable" population. Using the 1870–1880 samples as an example, the linkable population for native-born groups is anyone

¹¹The numbers given in Table 4 are for primary links. Weights are constructed only for these links.

who was 10 years or older in the 1880 census. Since we do not have year of immigration information before 1900, we had to look at the foreign-born in the 1870 census and apply life tables to estimate how many of these individuals would still have been alive in 1880. The difference between this estimate and the actual total in 1880 would be due to immigration between 1870 and 1880.

After identifying the appropriate estimates for linkable subgroups, we constructed an initial weight—which is the inverse of the groups linkage rate—that was used to inflate the linked sample to the actual (or estimated) population totals for all subgroups in the terminal year census. We then calculated the specific weights for a number of weighting variables. Again using 1870–1880 males as an example, we first estimated the relationship to head weight, which was calculated as the proportion of the linkable population by relationship-to-head categories divided by the proportions for the linked sample. After this we used the first weight to weight the linked records, and then calculated proportions for the next weighting variable (in this case individual birthplaces). We repeated this process for 5-year age groups, size of place and occupational categories, with a modification of each specific record's weight occurring with each iteration.

This process worked fairly well where we had enough records. However, the low subgroup case counts shown in Table 4 resulted in a large range of weight values, with some linked records representing a relatively small or large number of records in the original data. We addressed this problem by imposing a minimum and maximum on the weight for all subgroups. The minimum is one-fifth of the average weight for the subgroup, with the maximum capped at four times the average subgroup weigh. This had little effect on some larger groups; for example, less than 1 percent of native-born male links for 1870–1880 are affected by the minimum/maximum rule. However, almost 10 percent of the foreign-born records are either below or above the initial minimum or maximum.

Individual researchers must decide whether the constructed weights are appropriate for their specific study. Researchers should also take note of the small number of records for some subgroups listed in Table 4 and use caution when including these sub-groups in their studies.

Future Record Linkage Plans

We intend to alleviate the research problems imposed by small subgroup sample sizes by linking 5 percent samples for 1900 and 1930 to the 1880 complete-count database. This will increase the size of all subgroups listed in Table 4 by a factor of five. We also plan to expand the nineteenth-century-linked samples by a factor of 100. We are currently working on a complete-count database for the 1850 U. S. census. When this work is complete, we anticipate a subsequent project to use the 1850 complete-count data along with completecount data for 1860, 1870, and 1900. This will greatly expand our current linked samples and also will allow us to create true longitudinal data. Linking individuals and their households across five different censuses—from 1850 to 1900—will transform our ability to understand nineteenth century population dynamics. Researchers do not need to wait, however. The linked samples described in this article are available now from the Minnesota Population Center.

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 NIH-PA Author Manuscript NIH-PA Author Manuscript **Table 1**

Potential links and Confidence Scores for John Bradley Potential links and Confidence Scores for John Bradley

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Selected Linked Households, 1870-1880 Male Linked Sample Selected Linked Households, 1870–1880 Male Linked Sample

Table 4

Number of Linked Records, by Sample Year and Linked Population Subgroup

FEMALE

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