

Success of Migration

The effect of individual and family characteristics
on the success of migrating in five Dutch provinces

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Abstract

In the 19th century a lot of factors can influence one's occupational status and the inequalities that result from it. Migrating could solve these inequalities and could help someone obtaining a different occupational status. However, even moving to another area can not always withhold the factors that are determined in someone's youth. In this study I investigate the influence of ascribed characteristics on the success of migration. The dataset GENLIAS with approximately 470.000 grooms is used to analyse different characteristics (sibling size, birth order and the influence of the occupational status of the father) on the effect of migration on occupational status. I find that the effect of sibling size weakens the main effect when growing up in a larger family. The other characteristics do also have an effect on the success of migration.

Introduction

Migration is a social phenomenon that has been present throughout history. Models have been used to describe the expansion of the Neolithic farming societies in the area of the Mesolithic Europe around 10.500 B.C (Ammerman & Cavalli-Sforza, 1979). The migration of different populations like the Celts, Romans and Saxons played an important role in the creation of the culture entities in Western European countries such as Great Britain and the Netherlands (Clark, 1966; Trigger; 1980; Hight, 1949: p. 1-3) and the hunters and gatherers had to be mobile in relation to their food sources (Binford, 1980). Just like present-day societies, these societies also had a social hierarchical structure. Gilman et al. (1981) mention that this hierarchy exists because of classes that possess the sources and services (e.g. water, land) that are vital for the rest of the societies. The status of these classes were mainly determined by the status of their families (and thus ascribed), so their position in society was already predetermined (Gilman et al, 1981). The social structure in these societies would continue to exist after migration, assuming that the whole society would move together to the same place.

Nowadays, people will move individually or with their family to another place, not as a whole society. A common reason to migrate is to improve one's social position, for example to find work with a better income or a higher status or to find better education even if this is in the same country (e.g. Greenwood, 1975; Treyz et al, 1993; Lucas, 1997; De Jong et al, 1983; Lijfering, 1968; Hoxby, 2009). Some research shows that moving results in more human capital (Massey, 1999) and that this results differs depending on whether you move away together with your family or alone. Jacob Mincer (1978) found that, when moving along with your family (in this study most commonly the wife and children with the husband), it was more difficult for the wife to find a job. He also found that when the marriage was less stable but did come to an end, everyone chose their own optimal location, because they were not dependent on each other (Mincer, 1978).

In the 19th century new opportunities arose as a result of the upcoming industrialization. Increasing numbers of people would migrate in this period to these areas with more opportunities (e.g. financial opportunities, finding a better occupation) (Abrahamse & Rutte, 2014). When people moved to another place in the 19th century, they moved often without their family and thereby also moved out of their social structure. This could mean that one's background is unknown in the place of migration, resulting in relatively less influence on your social position by the status you acquired through your father. It is also possible that the family you are born in (with variations in family size and birth order), has consequences for your position in society even when you move to another place.

Not a lot of research focuses on the influence of ascribed characteristics on the success of internal migration. In Canada and Spain some evidence does show that the ascribed characteristics have an effect on internal migration. In the Canadian study they focused mainly on the influence of the characteristics sex and age on status, whereas in Spain the characteristics were a more important predictor on health inequality (Newbold, 1996; Malmusi, Borrell & Benach, 2010). Thereby do some researchers claim with the modernization theory that there was a shift from ascription to achievement to obtain a certain occupational status during the nineteenth and twentieth century, because of the industrialization (Ganzeboom, Treiman & Ultee, 1991; Knigge et al, 2014; Treiman, 1970; Kerr et al, 1996). However, other studies show that ascribed characteristics were influential in the 19th century to determine one's status attainment and thereby their success (Grusky, 1983; Collins, 1971). Because of this contradiction in opinions it is relevant to look into the following research question together with the dataset GENLIAS (containing information from marriage certificates of people living in the 19th century):

“To what extent does migration within the Netherlands between 1833 and 1922 have an effect on the status of Dutch men who migrated and does this effect depend on individual and family characteristics?”

In the 21st century we tend to think that the role of achievement is more influential (De Graaf & Luijkx) in obtaining a certain occupational status than our ascribed characteristics, though it could be that the influence of ascribed characteristics will remain. Obtaining a higher status is most of the times connected to a higher income. A higher income subsequently provides access to more services and it can even mean that the quality of life improves in terms of someone's health (e.g. Coburn, 2014). These inequalities as a result could have originated at the place where someone grew up. Thus, it is possible that people who start with a relative disadvantage can eliminate this disadvantage by moving to another place.

Theory

People migrate for several reasons. They might get married to a person in another place or the possibilities to improve their economic position are better somewhere else (Greenwood, 1975; Treyz et al, 1993). Even if someone is not migrating because of economic reasons, it is possible that they will benefit economically after migrating to another area (Cebula & Vedder, 1973). However, according to the DBO-theory, numerous other choices underlie the choice to migrate. DBO stands for the desires, beliefs and opportunities of a person that will result in an action based on these factors (Hedström, 2005, p. 38). When people make a choice to do something

they will consider the probability that it will succeed against the probability that something will not succeed. Migrating is an action one can succeed in or not. But even if the probability to succeed is low, it is possible that the desires, beliefs and opportunities to migrate are pointing in the direction of thinking that migration is an option to improve their situation. For example, when the desire to migrate becomes larger (because it can provide a more stable situation), then the chances of migration increases. The chances of successful migration can be increased as well when people consider the opportunities that a new area can provide for them (e.g. a higher chance to obtain a higher occupational status). When it succeeds (even if the chance of success is low), the improvement will be seen as an even greater success. Eventually, people will migrate when the chance of improving their life is bigger than the chance of worsening the situation. Thus I expect that:

H1: *When someone migrates, they will obtain a higher occupational status.*

However, these beliefs, desires (and opportunities) are based on our own observations, but also on the observations of other people (Hedström, 2005, p. 43). Beliefs for example are partially based on the beliefs of the social network (e.g. friends, family, colleagues). This information that is passed on, will influence the process of the choices that are made. So different influential factors where resources and information are passed on, can determine if the migration will succeed or not. The size of the family (sibling size), the birth order and the influence of the occupational status of the father can influence these processes to make migration successful.

Sibling Size

When choosing to migrate, because their opportunities are better in the place of destination, it is possible that existing ties help to fulfil these expectations. According to the *social resources theory* (Lin, 1999) the resources belonging to one's ties can be useful to obtain a higher economic position. If someone migrates to another place and they have friends or siblings who already moved to another place, the individual can use these already existing ties to increase the chance of their migration being successful. Social ties such as these might have knowledge about obtaining a certain occupation in another place and they have other resources such as other (weak) ties to help you find a job. Weak ties can provide new information other than the information you will get from your strong ties (Granovetter, 1973). This can, for example, be information about vacancies for jobs with a higher occupational status.

However, Lin & Dumin (1986) stated that ties with a higher occupational status are more useful in the process of finding a job with a high occupational status, than

the connections who have a lower occupational status. If someone wants to increase the chance of using their ties to their advantage, they need an increasing number of ties. There is the probability that there will be one tie among dozens of ties that can help you with obtaining a higher status, because this person is working at a job with a higher occupational status. The more people one knows who moved to another place or even to the same location, the more resources you have, for it means you are able to connect with more people.

It can be that someone is born in a large family with a lot of siblings. The chance that these siblings will move to another place is high, because eventually they will begin to start their own family. This will result in more social capital that migrated and thereby a higher chance to succeed in finding a job with a higher occupational status. If you are born in a small family with less siblings, the chance of having a lot of ties that moved is smaller. According to this, I expect that:

H2A: *The effect of migration on occupational status is stronger when someone grows up in a larger family.*

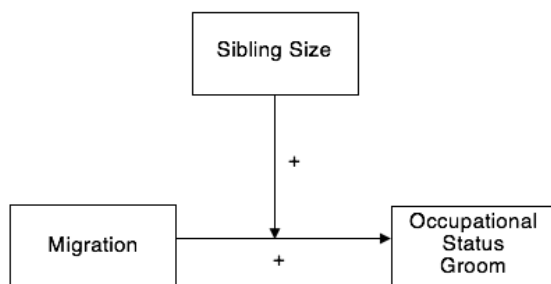


Figure 1. Sibling size as moderator on success of migration (H2A)

However, this is not the only possible effect of sibling size upon the success of migration. According to the dilution model the parents' resources are equally distributed among the children (Steelman & Powell, 1989). This means that if there are more children, the quantity and quality of the resources decreases, because the quantity of the resources does not necessarily increase in line with the number of children. Among the resources of the parents are the time and money spent to provide opportunities to let the children do what is good for them, for instance in the form of mental support or educational support (Black, Devereux & Salvanes, 2005). These resources can be an advantage for children who decide to migrate. Steelman & Powell (1989) found that the financial support the parents can give, decreases when there are more children and this results in some cases in the choice to not go to college. Other research also shows that children from small families (with less siblings) have better educational performances than children from bigger families and

that this is explained by the resources given by the parents (Blake, 1981; Downey, 1995).

These parental resources can also be beneficial when someone migrates. Financial support of the parents is for example a resource that gives someone an advantage (e.g. a place to stay, food) in a place where this person has no resources yet. The more children there are in a family, the less (financial) support the children can get, because the parents have to spend their income on the basic needs of the children (Steelman & Powell, 1989). Other types of resources beneficial when a person migrates are mental skills (how do one reacts in a certain situation) or the social capital of the parents. These resources are also more developed for children with less siblings according to the same argument about the dilution of the resources of the parents. Without the resources it is harder to find a job in another place where the person initially has no resources. For this reason I expect that:

H2B: *The effect of migration on occupational status is weaker when someone grows up in a bigger family.*

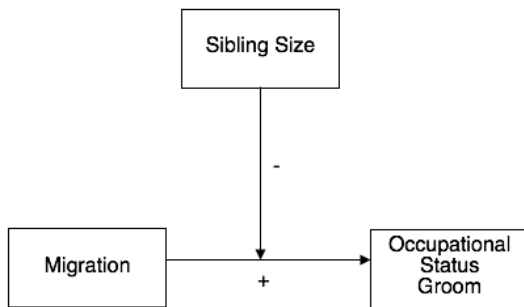


Figure 2. Sibling size as moderator on success of migration (H2B)

Birth Order

To move further into the resource dilution model, it is possible that the distribution of time and money differs per child in relation to the order of birth. Research looking at birth order effects are mostly thought of as not significant (e.g. Kessler, 1991). However, Price (2008) found that there is an effect from birth order on outcomes of for instance education performance. He found that a first born child received more time from the parents than the second born child. This means that the first born child receives more resources (also resources needed to have an advantage when migrating) that can be beneficial for finding a job, when this child migrates to another place. Thus I will expect that:

H3: *The effect of migration on occupational status is stronger when someone is born as the first child.*

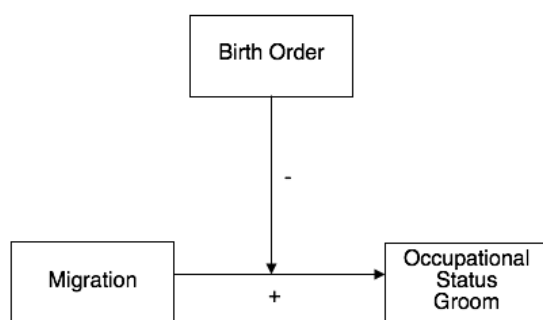


Figure 3. Birth order as moderator on success of migration (H3)

Occupational Status Father

A lot of research is carried out about the influence of parents on the status attainment of their children (e.g. Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Ganzeboom et al, 1991; Blau & Duncan, 1967). People in the 19th century were more likely to receive the same occupational status as their father, because of the resources the parents passed over to their children (especially passed from father to son). Since there was less social mobility within families, it was more difficult to influence your own occupational status.

A lot of people in the 19th century grew up in rural areas and lived there till someone was independent enough to make the decision whether to move (for example to marry someone in another region) or not. Most people in these small areas knew each other, because of the small number of its inhabitants. So it was difficult to acquire a job with a higher occupational status, because the employers knew what your background was. So opposed to the dilution model, the resources of the parents can also hinder the mobility of the children.

This selection on status in the labour market can be seen as a type of discrimination. A method to prevent discrimination on the labour market is to work with anonymous job applications. This means that only the achieved skills and work experience are mentioned on the application, so it is not possible to select on name, gender, race, ethnicity or other characteristics that can be discriminated on and in this case status (Krause et al, 2012a). Research shows that applying anonymously helps preventing discrimination on these characteristics (Krause et al, 2012a; Krause et al, 2012b; Aslund & Skans, 2012).

When people migrate the selection on the basis of their status weakens, for nobody at the destination is aware of their background. However, in the 19th century a certain status was accompanied by a certain appearance (e.g. clothes) and by certain behaviour. Nevertheless, people could change their appearance and behaviour by copying their surroundings in a way that they would blend in, so they

had more chances to improve their occupational status. Because of these factors, the future employer would not know what the status was of their future employee. Someone's status would therefore not depend anymore on the status of your father. As a result everyone has the more similar chance to acquire a job with a high occupational status. Because of this, I expect that:

H4A: The effect of migration on occupational status is stronger when someone's ascribed occupational status is less known to the employers

The best way to be anonymous is moving away from one's hometown. However, it is possible that in the places close to one's hometown there are people with whom you are familiar with. To ascertain that someone is anonymous, the person has to move away as far as possible to have a chance of obtaining a higher occupational status. So I expect that:

H4B: The further someone moves away, the weaker the effect of the ascribed occupational status on the effect of migration on occupational status

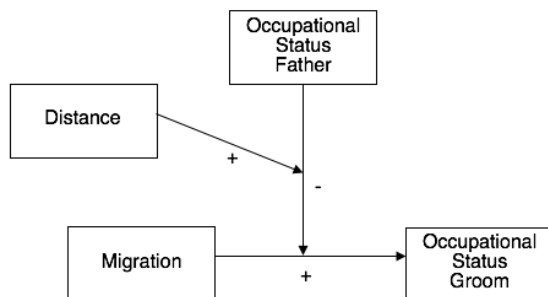


Figure 4. Three-way interaction occupational status father and distance on success of migration (H4)

Methods

In this study I will use the secondary datasets GENLIAS (version 2007_03) and HISCI_NL. GENLIAS contains information found in marriage certificates of people in the period from 1812 till 1922 in the Netherlands who married at ages varying from 16 to 79 years. For five provinces (Groningen, Overijssel, Gelderland, Zeeland and Limburg) the names of the bride and groom and their parents, the place and year of marriage, the place and year of birth, the own occupation and the occupation of the father of the grooms and brides are present in the dataset. By using algorithms controlling for minor differences in the spelling, Maarten Oosten (2008) could link different family members when given the names of the parents. HISCI_NL contains

characteristics of municipalities in the Netherlands, such as information about their location. In this study I only use the location file of this dataset (e.g. x- and y-coordinates and numbers of municipalities).

Selections & Missings

In the analyses I will not make a distinction between regional migration, interregional migration or migration to the city as mentioned by Kok, Mandemakers & Mönndediek (2014). This also means I will not distinguish between moving to a rural or urban area. Before this dataset was constructed a selection was made (in the original dataset) to make sure that only complete families are in the dataset. To ensure that every groom has parents in the dataset, only families are included where the first son married after 1842. Moreover, the parents that are married after 1882 are excluded to make sure that their children are included in the dataset (Bras, Kok & Mandemakers, 2010). The dataset now includes people who are married between 1833 and 1922.

This dataset contains only people that are married. Thus the dataset consists of brides and grooms, of which I will only use the grooms. The reason for selecting only the grooms is because I utilize the father-son relation to support my theories. Another reason is that the occupational status is an important variable in this study and the mean of this variable shows that brides score on average much lower ($M = 23.04$) than the grooms ($M = 46.29$). Using the brides in the analyses would result in different outcomes. After selecting on grooms, 491682 cases remain in the dataset.

There are ten cases missing in the variables place of marriage of the groom and place of marriage of father. For one case the place of marriage of the son is missing. It is not possible to extract the information of this missing value from somewhere else. The other nine missing values are places in Belgium and since I look at migration in the Netherlands, they are irrelevant. The variable occupational status of the groom has 358639 missing values. Occupational status of father stated in their own marriage certificate also contains missing values (38373), but these are less missing values than those missing from the occupational status of the father stated in the marriage certificate of the groom (402212). The missingness on this variable is first reduced (before selecting on grooms) with the information of the father's occupation in the certificate of the groom to 17525 missing cases. After that, known scores of siblings on occupational status of the father are given to the other siblings resulting in 5249 missing values.

These missing values (from occupational status groom, occupational status father and on marriage place) are deleted using complete case analysis. According to Schafer & Graham (2002) using complete case analysis is no problem in making conclusions when a small proportion of the data missing. The complete case analysis results in a global subsample of 475911 cases.

Measures

Occupational status of the groom is the status linked to the occupation stated in the marriage certificate of the groom. To each occupation a HISCAM score is linked and in theory ranges from 1 to 99. In this dataset the scores are ranging from 10.6 to 99. HISCAM is made in the same way as CAMSIS, where occupations from different relationships (e.g. friends, family) are compared with each other (Lambert et al, 2013). If certain occupations did occur often in a social network, the assumption was made that these occupations were almost equal in status. This variable is normally distributed, but scores are not observed between 10.6 and 30 on the HISCAM scale and the influence of this is not clear. Because there is a normal distribution, I assume this influence will not be great.

Migration is defined as marrying in a different place (place of destination) than in the place where the person grew up. Growing up somewhere is in this study seen as living in a place most of the groom's life before marrying. For the place of destination, the marriage place of the groom is available in the dataset. By means of this I assume that if someone marries in a certain place, that they will remain to live there. For the place where someone grew up I selected the marriage place of the parents of the groom. This choice is made, because the data shows (Table 1) that most of the grooms born after the marriage of the parents are born in the parents' marriage place. With this the same assumption is made that people will not move after marrying in a certain place, so in most cases the parents did not move. It is then more likely that the grooms grew up in this place. Another reason to select the marriage place of the parents instead of the birth place of the groom is because the latter variable contains more missing values.

Table 1. Grooms born in place marriage parents (check for migration, 8146 missing values)

	Number of grooms
Born in the same place	357357
Not born in the same place	110408

The dataset contains municipality numbers of the two marriage places. By comparing the numbers of the two places I will make a dichotomous variable where '0' is not migrated and '1' is migrated. Of the 475911 cases 220740 grooms migrated.

In this study I define siblings as children from the same two parents. The total number of siblings a groom has is the *sibling size*. Each sibling is connected through the marriage certificate number of the father. By counting the cases by this certificate number, the size of the group of siblings is determined. Because I only aim to detect

the number of siblings someone has, I subtract each determined value with one to exclude the person itself. The minimum value of *sibling size* is zero (no siblings) and the maximum is 14 siblings. Table 2 shows the mean of *sibling size*, which is 2.79. Important to note is that only one family has a size of 14 siblings.

The variable birth order is the order in which the siblings are born. It is measured by looking at the birth years present within a group of siblings. When someone's birth year is the lowest they are the first born and when someone's birth year is the highest they are the last born. The minimum of this variable is 1 and the maximum is 15.

For *occupational status father* I will use the HISCAM status scale that is based on the occupation of the father in the marriage certificate of the father. It is the same HISCAM scale used for *the occupational status of the groom*. *Occupational status father* is a continuous variable on an interval scale.

The variable *distance* in this study is the distance between the marriage place of the parents and that of the groom to test the theory of anonymity. With the (Euclidean) x and y coordinates of the marriage place of the parents and the marriage place of the child the straight line distance can be calculated with the Pythagoras theorem. The values of this variable are in kilometres. *Distance* is a continuous variable on a ratio scale. Because this variable is positively skewed, I use the log-plus-one transformation to fulfil the condition that a variable in a regression should be normally distributed.

The control variable I will use is *age*. I choose age at the time of marriage as a control variable, because the results can differ between the different ages. This difference can occur for if someone is marrying at an older age, they worked more up until that point. It is possible that it is easier for people marrying (and migrating) at an older age to obtain a higher status, because they have more work experience. Age is constructed by the birth year of the groom and the marriage year of the groom. The minimum age when someone married is 16 and the maximum of this variable is 79. The average age that someone married is 28.

Table 2. Descriptives

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<i>Dependent variable</i>					
Occupational status groom	475911	46.29	12.809	10.6	99.0
<i>Independent variables</i>					
Migration	475911	.46	-	0	1
Sibling Size	475911	2.79	2.05	0	14
Birth Order	475911	2.49	1.62	1	15
Occupational status father	475911	44.18	11.96	10.6	99
Distance (Log)	475911	1.19	1.43	0	6.48
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Age	475911	28.13	5.64	16	79

Analyses

The statistical software that is used is SPSS. First of all, all independent variables correlate significantly with the dependent variable. It is very likely that there is multicollinearity between the variables migration and the moderators (sibling size, birth order and occupational status) and between distance and the moderators (just above VIF = 5). To test the first hypothesis, I will use a simple linear regression with occupational status of the groom as dependent variable and the dummy variable migration as a predictor. For the second hypothesis I add sibling size as a moderator for the effect of migration on occupational status. I will use a multiple regression analysis where *occupational status of the groom* is the dependent variable and *sibling size* and *migration* are the independent variables.

The third hypothesis is measured with the moderator *birth order* on the success of migration with an interaction variable added to another multiple regression. The last hypothesis with occupational status of the father as a moderator will also be analysed with a multiple regression. To test the theory of anonymity I will use distance as a moderator on the interaction of occupational status of the father on the effect of migration. The multicollinearity is high between these variables, because migration and distance are equivalent (when someone does not migrate, the distance will be zero). Because of this, only the interaction effect of occupational status father and distance is added to the model. With this it should be possible to interpret the

effects of distance and occupational status of the father. The significance level I will use is $\alpha=.05$.

Results

There is a significant positive relation between migration and the occupational status of the groom. The first hypothesis is not rejected. The occupational status of the groom increases with 1.417 when someone migrates in comparison with someone who does not migrate ($B = 1.417, p < .001$). Even if this model is significant, the effect is not large given the range of 10.6 to 99 and it only explains .3% of the variance. Based on this it is possible to say that the effect of migration on occupational status is on average not strong.

There is an interaction of sibling size on the effect between migration and occupational status ($B = -.150, p < .001$). This means that hypothesis 2A is rejected, but hypothesis 2B is confirmed. If sibling size increases with 1, the effect between migration and occupational status groom decreases. In a small family one will still see an increase in occupational status, but eventually in a bigger family the effect between migration and occupational status of the groom will decrease. This interaction can also be seen in Figure 5. The R^2 of this model changes to .7% when sibling size is added to the model. However, the effect of the interaction of sibling size on the R^2 is less than .1% ($F = 69.495, df = 1; 475907, p < .001$).

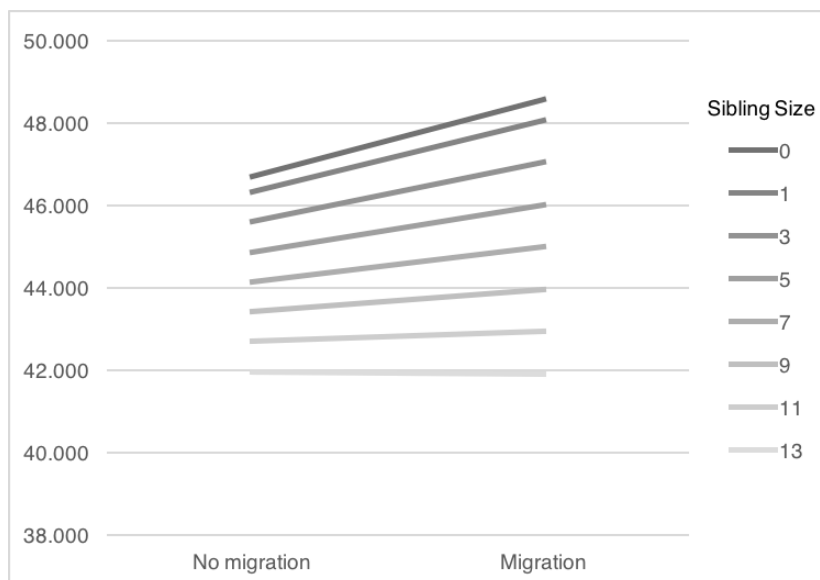


Figure 5. Interaction of sibling size and migration on occupational status groom

The moderator birth order is not a significant moderator for the effect of migration on occupational status ($B = -.025, p = .281$). However, birth order as a normal predictor for occupational status is significant ($B = -.119, p < .001$). The third hypothesis with birth order as a moderator is rejected in this model. However, when every variable is added to the model everything that was significant stays significant. The only change is that birth order is now a significant interaction on the effect of migration and occupational status of the groom when looking at all the effects ($B = .175, p < .001$). So when someone is born later in the set of siblings, the effect of migration and occupational status of the groom will .175 be stronger.

The difference in explained variance is significantly higher (18.1%) when occupational status of the father is added to the model ($F = 103646.810, df = 1; 475908, p < .001$). The interaction of occupational status of the father is significant ($B = .051, p < .001$). According to this, hypothesis 4A is confirmed. The explained variance is 18.2% when occupational status of the father is added to the model as a moderator with a small difference in explained variance (.1%) in comparison with the model where the interaction effect is not added ($F = 329.316, df = 1; 475007, p < .001$). The occupational status of the father has a small positive effect on the main effect of migration on occupational status of the groom. So when the occupational status of the father is higher, the effect of migration and occupational status of the groom is stronger. However, it will only increase with .051. In Figure 6 the interaction is visible where I took a low (25), medium (50) and high (75) value on occupational status of the father to show the effect of this moderator.

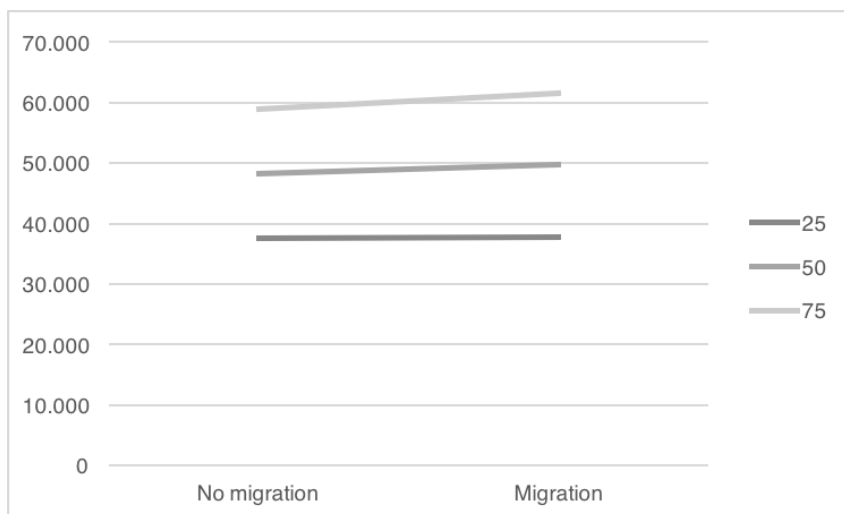


Figure 6. Interaction between occupational status father and migration on occupational status groom

The last hypothesis where distance influences the effect of occupational status of the father is significant, but rejected ($B = .027, p < .001$). When a person migrates further away the effect of occupational status of the father increases on the occupational status of the groom. Age is the control variable in this study. The model shows that adding age does not change anything to the effects found.

Table 3. The effects of sibling size, birth order and occupational status of the father on the effect of migration and occupational status of the groom (N = 475911)

	Model I Migration		Model II Sibling Size		Model III Birth Order		Model IV Occupational Status Father		Model V Distance & Occupational Status Father		Model VI Complete Model + Control Variable	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept	45.631***	.025	46.703***	.045	45.921***	.047	26.985***	.094	27.434***	.088	22.986***	.131
Migration	1.417***	.037	1.889***	.065	1.492***	.068	-1.118***	.129			-1.024***	.143
Sibling Size			-.364***	.012							-.354***	.014
Birth Order					-.119***	.016					.319***	.016
Occupational Status Father Distance							.425***	.002	-.393***	.043	.417***	.002
<i>Interaction</i>												
Migration*Sibling Size			-.150***	.018							-.172***	.021
Migration*Birth Order					-.025	.023					.175***	.027
Migration*Occupational Status Father							.051***	.003			.049***	.003
Distance*Occupational Status Father									.027***	.001		
<i>Control Variable</i>												
Age											.165***	.003
Adjusted R ²	.003		.007		.003		.182		.190		.190	
F for change in R ²	42.408***		329.316***		329.316***		3059.634***		3059.634***		3059.634***	

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

Conclusion/Discussion

In this study I wanted to answer the following research question: “*To what extent does migration within the Netherlands in the 19th century have an effect on the status of the person who migrated and does this effect depend on individual and family characteristics?*” The characteristics that I used are *sibling size, birth order and occupational status of the father*. I found that there is a relation between migration and the occupational status of the groom. However, it is not clear if migration really causes the change in occupational status of the groom. This can be explained by the fact that the occupational status of the groom in the marriage certificate is likely not measured after someone migrated. So it is possible that grooms with a higher status migrated more than grooms with a lower status. There is a chance that a lot of grooms already migrated before they married, but this is not documented in the marriage certificates so this information is not taken into account.

There are indications of interaction effects of sibling size, birth order and occupational status of the father on the relation between migration and occupational status of the groom. Distance is also predicting the effect of occupational status on the main effect. These interactions are however not strong and the chance for a significant result is higher, because of the sample size (N = 475911). It is also more difficult to interpret the results of the interactions, because the direction of the main effect is not clear. In the case of sibling size, I found a negative effect of sibling size on the relation between migration and occupational status of the groom. This effect can mean that the more siblings a groom has, the smaller the effect of migration on occupational status of the groom. But it can also mean that the more siblings you have, the higher the chance that someone with a lower status will migrate. In the last case it is interesting to look if there is a (negative) relation between sibling size and occupational status. However, there is an influence found of these ascribed characteristics on the success of migration.

Because the dataset contains people married between approximately 1830 and 1920 it is maybe interesting to look if there is a difference in results when looking at different time periods. Within this time period there were different developments like the industrialization. It can be that the influence of the individual and family characteristics decreases, because experience or education became more important as a predictor on occupational status. In this study I did not look at the different time periods, because it was not relevant for answering my research question, but it would be interesting for future research.

In the operationalization some variables are created and argued in the best way possible. For example, the variable *migration* is based on the assumption that the groom grew up in the marriage place of the parents and on the assumption that the groom migrated for the first time to the place of their own marriage. It is possible

that the groom already moved before marrying or even moved straight after marrying in a certain place. Having a dataset where it is clear that someone still lives in the place where this person moved to is more valid than making this assumption for migration.

Because of the limited set of variables in the dataset only one theory is tested in this study. It would be interesting to look in future research if these theories really explain the differences between for example smaller and bigger families or people who are born as a first child and who are born as a fifth child. Also it is difficult to generalize the results to the whole population of the Netherlands in the 19th century, because the data is only from five (more rural) provinces. It can be expected that the results can be different in more urbanized areas where achievement could be more important than ascribed characteristics in predicting someone's occupational status.

Implications of the findings can be that it results in inequality of chances even when someone is migrating to another area. According to this study ascribed characteristics do not disappear when someone moves to a different place where nobody knows him. In this study it is not sure if this effect decreases over time, but the inequality that develops from this can have its own consequences.

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