



The origin of success

Place of origin related to socioeconomic success of migration in the 19th century

Bachelorproject Sociology

Arno Holsträter (4296656)

Utrecht University

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Mentor: dr. Antonie Knigge

Second examiner: dr. Katia Begall

Abstract

When an individual decides whether or not to migrate, one of the factors that potentially influence this decision is a set of push-factors. These characteristics of the place one migrates away from, often serve as rather simplistic considerations in determining the viability (and thus results) of migrating. This study attempts to shed light on possibly hidden effects of characteristics of the place one migrates away from (places of origin). In doing so, the following research question is formulated: *In the 19th century in the Netherlands, how do characteristics of migrants' place of origin affect his or her change in socioeconomic status?* Specific expectations regarding a set of area characteristics are made, of which the theorizing behind them can be categorized as differences in initial socioeconomic status, (un)successful migration through sociocultural integration and (un)successful migration through socially learned secular norms and values. These expected relationships are tested using HISCI-NL and GENLIAS datasets, which contain extensive information on individuals and municipalities throughout the Netherlands in the 19th century. Findings indicate a negative relationship between unequal inheritance practices and changes in socioeconomic status after migration. Positive effects are found for the degree of mass communication and transport and the degree of secularization. Changes in socioeconomic status after migration are also found to be positively explained by migration distance, although the effect is very small.

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1. Introduction

The nineteenth century introduced the Netherlands, much like many other countries, to a great amount of societal change. This change, often referred to as industrialization, consists of the transformation of an agrarian ('traditional') society to an industrial ('modern') society. This transformation covers many aspects, the most prominent being the technology that is used. Such a change, where production by hand has suddenly become far less relevant, can have consequences for a society beyond the most apparent factors such as average income, population size, infrastructure, etc. (Murphy et al., 1989; Deng et al., 2008; Sharma et al., 2008). In fact, migration patterns to the U.S. during this period, referred to by some as the Age of Mass Migration (Abramitzky et al., 2014), is only one of the few examples that can be named. The relationship between industrialization and migration has been well documented, in terms of both external and, more relevant to this study, internal migration (Goldstein et al., 1991; Vilallonga, 1998; Hochstadt, 1981; Zhang & Song, 2003; Solinger, 1999; Dang et al., 1997; Cerrutti & Bertonecello, 2003; Hugo, 2005; Muhidin, 2002). This is undeniably reason to believe that migration is an intricate part of industrialization.

Now that migration patterns have been well established in scientific literature, this does not mean that it can no longer be an interesting topic of analysis, as whatever happens *after* migration as a result of it may seem just as important as how migration constitutes itself. One way to determine whether migration is successful or not can be through monitoring changes in socioeconomic status, and will be demonstrated throughout this study. Migration, though, is usually not something that happens randomly and without a cause. Reasons for an individual to migrate can be diverse, but these reasons can be expected to often relate to geographical areas and their properties: places of origin and places of destination. It seems reasonable to argue that place of destination and its role in (un)successful migration has already been envisioned by migrating individuals themselves as people tend to look forward rather than back (Van Boven & Ashworth, 2007).

Although place of origin has been so extensively linked to factors 'pushing' the individual away to elsewhere, these push-factors seem to function in rather straight-forward and conscious individual deliberation as to whether one should migrate or not (Afifi, 2011; Hare, 1999; Kline, 2003; Jenkins, 1977; Datta, 2004; Reuveny, 2007). Characteristics of the area one migrates away from can vary greatly beyond the scope of an individual's awareness, and unintended effects of migration in relation to these very same factors might thus appear puzzling. This obscurity concerning both properties of places of origin as well as the unintended effects of push-factors already considered seemingly deserves scientific attention. For this reason, this study analyzes the relationship between place of origin (and its characteristics) and

socioeconomic success of migration. Such an approach could attempt to research the individual results of migration and the degree to which these effects match whatever the personal intentions or goals behind migration were. As tempting as this may sound, this study advocates instead that including both intentional and unintentional effects widens the scope of research, and will result in richer findings. The research question, then, is formulated as follows: *In the 19th century in the Netherlands, how do characteristics of migrants' place of origin affect his or her change in socioeconomic status?*

Answering such a question can not only be rewarding from a scientific aspect for reasons mentioned earlier as well as the fact that it is an uncommon topic of research, but it can also provide policymakers with insights as to how to prevent large groups of people moving away from certain areas. HISCI-NL and GENLIAS datasets will be used, in which information is provided about a variety of characteristics of municipalities in the Netherlands which is then linked to information found in individual marriage certificates.

2. Theory

2.1 Differences in initial socioeconomic status

To be able to analyze the relationship between properties of the place of origin and success of migration, it seems helpful to first get an idea of which characteristics of place of origin qualify the most to research, what their exact influence on the success of migration might be and what the theoretical argument for these things can be. The six hypotheses formulated in this section are divided into three categories consistent with their core arguments. These categories are the following: differences in initial socioeconomic status resulting in the amount of status that can be ‘gained’ (applied to hypotheses one and two), (un)successful migration through sociocultural integration (applied to hypotheses three to five), and (un)successful migration through socially learned secular norms and values (applied to hypothesis six).

First, someone who grew up in an area characterized by a low degree of urbanization (in other words, countryside) will have experienced a significant drop in employment in that area as a result of the agricultural crisis in the 19th century in the Netherlands. As a result of this drop in employment, individuals from these areas will have been more likely to be unemployed at the moment of migration more than individuals from more urbanized areas, as urbanized areas did not experience similar drops in employment rate due to the agricultural crisis. As unemployment equals low or even nonexistent socioeconomic status, those whose place of origin was rather urbanized can be expected to only migrate to areas where they don’t expect to experience similar significant drops in socioeconomic status. These people are thus not very likely to migrate to the countryside.

Because in this study success of migration will be defined in terms of new (the most current) socioeconomic status after migration has taken place minus the old socioeconomic status before migration has taken place, the net outcome of this subtraction is guaranteed to be higher when the old socioeconomic status is lower.

After all, lower initial socioeconomic status means that there is more left to be ‘gained’: someone who starts out at the very bottom of the socioeconomic ladder still has practically everything to gain, whereas someone who starts halfway can only gain half (and lose a lot more as well). Thus, it is expected that:

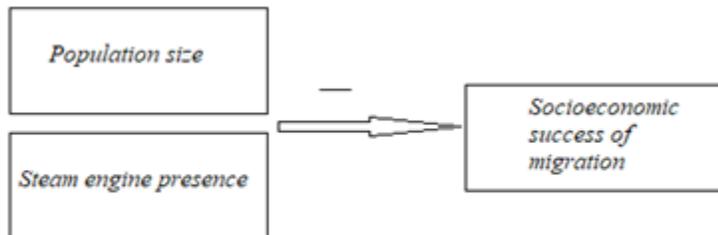


Figure 1. The negative effect of population size and steam engine presence on socioeconomic success of migration

H1: *Because migrants from the countryside likely had a lower socioeconomic status at the moment of migration and because migrants from urbanized areas were not likely to migrate to the countryside, migrants from the countryside will be more socioeconomically successful in migrating than migrants from urbanized areas.*

Similarly, there are some areas in the Netherlands during the 19th century that experienced unequal inheritance practices. This refers to farmer families in which one child inherits the entire farm, leaving nothing or very little to his or her siblings (De Haan, 1994). People from these areas will have been unemployed or in possession of fewer economic resources at the moment of migration than people who are from areas with more equal inheritance practices. As unemployment equals low or even nonexistent socioeconomic status, and because this study will define success of migration in terms of new (the most current) socioeconomic status minus old socioeconomic status, the net outcome of this subtraction is guaranteed to be higher when the old socioeconomic status is lower. A line of thought that runs parallel to the first hypothesis can then be made. People who migrated from areas with unequal inheritance practices had a lower socioeconomic status at the moment of migration than those who migrated from areas with more equal inheritance practices. As a result, the following is expected:

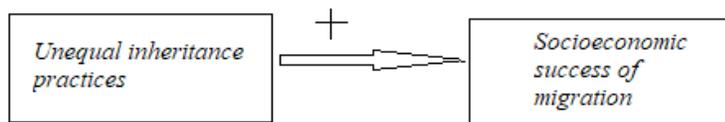


Figure 2. The positive effect of unequal inheritance practices on socioeconomic success of migration

H2: *Migrants from areas with unequal inheritance practices will be more socioeconomically successful in migrating than those who migrated from areas with more equal inheritance practices.*

2.2 (Un)successful migration through sociocultural integration

Migrants from a place of origin to which ‘reverse migration’ is more difficult tend to naturalize at higher rates than those who have more opportunities to return migrate (Bueker, 2005). The ease with which it is possible to return to the place of origin is known as the level of ‘reversibility’ (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Although naturalization isn’t likely to be relevant in internal migration, I would argue that it has quite a few characteristics in common with sociocultural integration, all of which can be roughly summarized as the ‘embeddedness’ into the place of destination.

As sociocultural integration is positively correlated with socioeconomic status (Dagevos, 2001), migrants from an area from where reverse migration is more difficult tend to integrate better at a sociocultural (and thus, also expected at a socioeconomic) level than those who have more opportunities to return migrate. Finally, the further the distance between the place of origin and the place of destination is, the more difficult reverse migration can become.

A counter argument could be made similar to one made leading up to the fifth hypothesis, which links poor socioeconomic success to migration to an area with many inhabitants that are ‘different’ from the person migrating. One could then argue that the greater the distance covered by migrating is, the less successful migration can be expected to be. However, the relatively small surface of the Netherlands is reason to believe that, in this specific case, there won’t be significant differences between inhabitants merely explained by distance. Even if this is so, it is not expected to outweigh the theoretical argument made earlier for the phenomenon of reverse migration. The following is then expected:

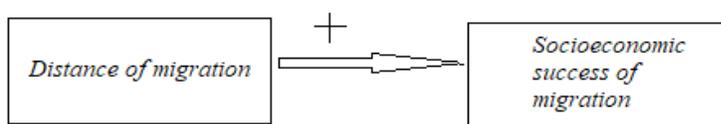


Figure 3. The positive effect of distance of migration on socioeconomic success of migration

H3: *Migrants who migrate a larger distance will be more socioeconomically successful in migrating than those who migrate a smaller distance.*

Somewhat similarly to the aspect of geographical distance, something can also be said about mass communication and transport. A large presence of these two can be argued to provide an individual with a larger, more broad world view as messages, images and experiences from all kinds of places are within reach. Access to a larger, more broad world view can be expected to have a positive influence on the ‘openness’ to other people who are different in many aspects.

Consequently, those who are from areas that have significant access to mass communication and transport can be expected to hold more open attitudes towards others than those who are not from these areas. Those with more open attitudes towards others may have less trouble integrating on a sociocultural level. As sociocultural integration is positively correlated with socioeconomic status (Dagevos, 2001), the following hypothesis is formulated:

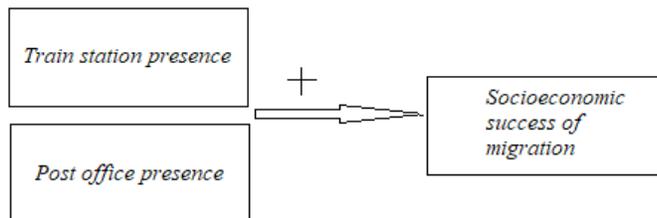


Figure 4. The positive effect of a train station and a post office on socioeconomic success of migration

H4: Migrants from areas with larger access to mass communication and transport will be more socioeconomically successful in migrating than those who are from areas with less access to mass communication and transport.

Homophily theory in relation to socioeconomic status argues that birds of a feather flock together. It states that people pursue contact with others who are similar to them, in this case regarding socioeconomic status (McPherson et al., 2001; Monge & Contractor, 2003). Those who migrated from areas that were either susceptible to the agricultural crisis or characterized by unequal inheritance practices, can be expected to have migrated out of economic motives. Those who are expected to migrate out of economic motives, migrate to areas with proportions of people who are ‘different’ than them regarding socioeconomic status, as they will now be surrounded by people who are higher up on the socioeconomic ladder. This presence of a large amount of ‘different’ people can have negative effects on sociocultural integration (Martinovic et al., 2009). As sociocultural integration is positively correlated with socioeconomic status (Dagevos, 2001), those who are expected to migrate primarily out of economic motives may be less successful in migrating than those who are not expected to migrate out of economic motives.

It is important to note that these expectations are in direct contrast to the expectations made in and leading up to the first two hypotheses, as the theoretical arguments that can be made point in opposite directions. Thus, the following is expected:

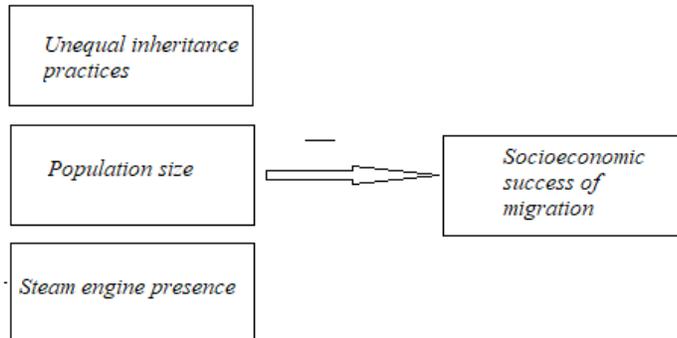


Figure 5. The negative effect of unequal inheritance practices, population size and steam engine presence on socioeconomic success of migration

H5: *Migrants from areas that were either susceptible to the agricultural crisis or characterized by unequal inheritance practices, will be less socioeconomically successful in migrating than those who are from areas that were less or not at all susceptible to these two things.*

2.3 (Un)successful migration through socially learned secular norms and values

Finally, religious beliefs appear to be relevant to this study's research question as well. Religious people may behave in a way that is less orientated around economic wealth and materialism than non-religious people will (Mathras et al., 2016). According to social learning theory, people base their behavior as well as attitudes partly on those of their surroundings (Bandura, 1977; Mezirow, 1995). This mimicry can then also apply to attitudes and behavior regarding economic wealth and materialism. Consequently, those who migrate from areas characterized by high degrees of secularization may be more positive towards economic wealth and materialism. According to Ajzen & Fishbein (1977), attitude and behavior are significantly correlated (under the condition that the corresponding actions and goals match each other).

Those who migrate from areas characterized by a high degree of secularization, then, will strive for economic wealth and materialism more than those from less secular areas will. The final hypothesis is, then, formulated as follows:

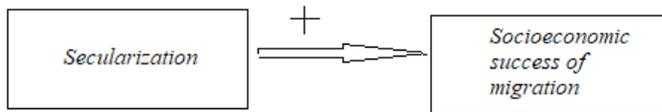


Figure 6. The positive effect of secularization on socioeconomic success of migration

H6: Migrants from areas characterized by a high degree of secularization will be more socioeconomically successful in migrating than those who are from less secular areas.

3. Methods

3.1 Data

In order to provide an answer to the central research question, the six hypotheses formulated in the former section were tested. These hypotheses contain variables that are present in GENLIAS and HISCI-NL, which are the two datasets that have been used for this study. GENLIAS contains information on marriage certificates from the 19th century in the Netherlands. The variables that are relevant for this study are: the municipality where the wedding has taken place, the place of birth and profession of the groom and the father's profession.

HISCI-NL contains information on municipalities across the Netherlands. The variables that are relevant for this study are: population size and number of steam engines ever purchased per thousand inhabitants, proportion of religious groups including atheism, inheritance practices, post office presence and train station presence. These variables were merged with the municipalities found in GENLIAS. All variables that will be used that contain properties of locations apply to the place of origin.

3.2 Selections

After merging the two datasets, two conditions were filtered out: brides (as this study heavily relies on the assumed continuity or parallel between the father's and the son's socioeconomic status, as was prevalent in the 19th century) and a match between the groom's birthplace municipality and marriage municipality (indicating that no migration has taken place). Thus, only men that showed clear signs of migration were selected and analyzed.

3.3 Measures

Regarding socioeconomic status measurements, a subtraction of the father's socioeconomic status from the groom's current socioeconomic status was made to indicate the change in socioeconomic status, in other words the success of migration. Given the strong basis of achievement rather than ascription around that period of time, this choice is not expected to give any methodological issues. Two variables indicating the father's socioeconomic status are available: status at the time of the father's own marriage and status at the time of the father's son's (the groom's) marriage. Since this study attempts to indicate old socioeconomic status, it seems more logical to choose the father's status at the time of his own marriage, as this should be closest to the pre-migration period of the groom. The father's status at the time of his son's marriage is tied to a point in time where the son has already migrated (as the marriage is tied to indicates a different municipality than the groom's birthplace municipality). Consequently, this

should not be an appropriate indicator of pre-migration socioeconomic status and the alternative is chosen instead. This is accompanied by the benefit of having a much bigger sample size (N=9559 as opposed to N=5646), which can likely be explained by significant proportions of the grooms' fathers being deceased at the time of the groom's wedding. This aids in conducting an accurate and powerful data analysis.

The municipality where the wedding has taken place functioned as the place of destination (post-migration), under the condition that this is different from the place of birth. The place of birth, then, functioned as place of origin (pre-migration). The profession of the groom served as current (new) socioeconomic status, and the profession of the father at the moment of his own wedding served as old socioeconomic status. All profession measurements were also provided with a numerical scale (HISCAM), accurately determining socioeconomic differences.

The variables in HISCAM-NL that are relevant for this study are will be categorized as follows: population size and number of steam engines ever purchased per thousand inhabitants indicate urbanization, proportion of religious groups including atheism indicates secularization, inheritance practices stays the same and finally post office presence and train station presence indicate access to mass communication and transportation. These variables were merged with the municipalities found in GENLIAS. In the merged dataset, coordinate variables were used to create a variable containing distance of migration.

3.4 Control variables

While testing the six hypotheses, a few variables that could distort the image given by the effects of the variables of interest will be controlled for. In the first hypothesis, control variables will include post office presence, train station presence, percentage of atheists in the population and inheritance practices. The line of thought behind this is that high values on all of these variables (and a low value on inheritance practices, as this indicates equal practices) could, to an extent, be found in urbanized areas and should therefore be held constant.

In the second hypothesis, no control variables were expected to be needed.

In the third hypothesis, control variables will include post office presence and train station presence. The reasoning behind this selection is that access to mass communication and transport might facilitate migrating larger distances.

In the fourth hypothesis, control variables will include percentage of atheists in the population, distance of migration, population size and the amount of steam engines present per thousand inhabitants. As mentioned earlier, access to mass communication and transport on one hand and migration distance on the

other might be explaining the same thing to a certain extent. Other than that, it is expected that high values on the other control variables could be found in urbanized areas and should therefore be held constant.

In the fifth hypothesis, tests were conducted in the same manner (including control variable selection) of the first two hypotheses.

In the sixth hypothesis, control variables will include population size, the amount of steam engines present per thousand inhabitants, post office presence and train station presence. The argument for this selection is that all of these variables (including the percentage of atheists in the population), again, could be some kind of indicator of urbanization. Holding them constant seems useful in getting an accurate image of the effect of secularization.

Table 1. *Descriptives*

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
<i>Dependent variable</i>				
Changes in migrants' socioeconomic status	2.70	14.46	-79.20	88.40
<i>Independent variables</i>				
Percentage of atheists in population	.20	.55	.00	9.53
Steam engine presence per 1000 inhabitants	1.15	2.26	.00	28.33
Post office presence	.23	.42	.00	1.00
Population size	6079.56	15749.02	105.00	417539.00
Inheritance practices	.45	.78	.00	2.00
Partible inheritance (dummy)	.73	.44	.00	1.00
Impartible but equal inheritance (dummy)	.09	.28	.00	1.00
Impartible and unequal inheritance (dummy)	.18	.39	.00	1.00
Distance of migration	2308.80	4765.54	.00	65343.75
Train station presence	.23	.42	.00	1.00
<i>Control variables</i>				
Post office presence	.23	.42	.00	1.00
Train station presence	.23	.42	.00	1.00
Percentage of atheists in population	.20	.55	.00	9.53
Inheritance practices	.45	.78	.00	2.00
Population size	6079.56	15749.02	105.00	417539.00
Steam engine presence per 1000 inhabitants	1.15	2.26	.00	28.33
Distance of migration	2308.80	4765.54	.00	65343.75

4. Results

4.1 Differences in initial socioeconomic status

In order to test the first hypothesis, multiple linear regression was used. A significant positive relationship was found, in which migrants' changes in socioeconomic status increases with .234 for every steam engine present per thousand inhabitants in the place of origin ($b = .234$, $t = 9.741$, $p < .001$). As this effect is significantly positive, whereas the hypothesis expects a negative effect, this fails to provide evidence in support of the first hypothesis.

Table 2. Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	-.069	.066
Steam engines per 1000 inhabitants	.234***	.024
<i>Control variables</i>		
Train station	1.156***	.126
Percentage atheists	.574***	.098
Inheritance practices	-.371***	.062
Post office	.771***	.129
N	86817	

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

The second property of place of origin included in the first hypothesis is population size. Population size of place of origin fails to significantly predict changes in migrants' socioeconomic status ($b = 8.418e-6$, $t = .939$, $p = .348$). Choosing to additionally control for relative steam engine presence when analyzing the effect of population size or vice versa has no changes on whether or not the examined effects are significant or not. As a result of these findings, the null hypothesis fails to be rejected.

Table 3. *Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status*

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	.003	.069
Population size	8.418e-6	.000
<i>Control variables</i>		
Train station	1.270***	.129
Percentage atheists	.876***	.094
Inheritance practices	-.339***	.062
Post office	1.012***	.142
N	86631	

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

In order to test the second hypothesis, multiple linear regression was used. Migrants' changes in socioeconomic status significantly decrease with 1.056 when the place of origin is characterized by impartible but equal as opposed to partible inheritance practices ($b = -1.056$, $t = -8.887$, $p = < .001$). Migrants' changes in socioeconomic status also significantly decrease with .932 when the place of origin is characterized by impartible and unequal as opposed to partible inheritance practices ($b = -.932$, $t = -10.837$, $p = < .001$).

Table 4. *Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status*

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	2.970***	.039
Impartible but equal inheritance	-1.056***	.119
Impartible and unequal inheritance	-.932***	.086
N	187263	

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

Furthermore, migrants' changes in socioeconomic status do not significantly increase (or decrease) when the place of origin is characterized by impartible and unequal as opposed to impartible but equal inheritance practices ($b = .124$, $t = .913$, $p = .361/2$). As the hypothesis expected a positive effect and the significant proportion of these effects appear negative, the null hypothesis fails to be rejected.

Table 5. *Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status*

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	1.915***	.112
Partible inheritance	1.056***	.119
Impartible and unequal inheritance	.124	.136
N	187263	

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

4.2 (Un)successful migration through sociocultural integration

While testing the third hypothesis, multiple linear regression was used. A significant positive relationship was found in which migrants' changes in socioeconomic status increase with $>.001$ for every meter of distance between place of origin and place of destination ($b = .000$, $t = 16.693$, $p = < .001/2$). Concluding, some evidence was found in support of the third hypothesis.

Table 6. *Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status*

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	-.479***	.062
Distance of migration	.000***	.000
<i>Control variables</i>		
Train station	1.353***	.121
Post office	.940***	.124
N	89000	

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

While testing the fourth hypothesis, multiple linear regression was used. A significant positive relationship was found, in which migrants' changes in socioeconomic status increase with .635 for the presence of a post office in the place of origin ($b = .635$, $t = 4.380$, $p < .001/2$).

Table 7. *Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status*

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	-.608***	.067
Post office	.635***	.145
<i>Control variables</i>		
Population size	3.651e-6	.000
Percentage atheists	.652	.098
Distance of migration	.000***	.000
Steam engines per 1000 inhabitants	.260***	.024
N	87171	

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

A similar result was found regarding train station presence: a significant positive relationship was found, in which migrants' changes in socioeconomic status increase with 1.086 for the presence of a train station in the place of origin ($b = 1.086$, $t = 8.534$, $p < .001/2$). Choosing to additionally control for train station presence when analyzing the effect of post office presence or vice versa has no changes on whether or not the examined effects are significant or not. As a result of these findings, evidence is found supporting the hypothesis.

Table 8. *Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status*

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	-.707***	.068
Train station	1.086***	.127
<i>Control variables</i>		
Population size	6.826e-7	.000
Percentage atheists	.609***	.098
Distance of migration	.000***	.000
Steam engines per 1000 inhabitants	.255***	.023
N	86631	

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

In testing the fifth hypothesis, multiple linear regression was used. There is a large overlap between the tests (and results) conducted in the first two hypotheses and the tests conducted for the fifth hypothesis. As was noted in the theory section, the theorizing behind the expected directions of these three hypotheses (primarily regarding inheritance practices) is polarizing to the extent where keeping them separate seemed fruitful. For the sake of completeness, results will be reported in their entirety, even though this requires repeating results reported earlier (as found in Tables 2 to 5).

A significant positive relationship was found, in which migrants' changes in socioeconomic status increases with .234 for every steam engine present per thousand inhabitants in the place of origin ($b = .234$, $t = 9.741$, $p < .001$). As this effect is significantly positive, whereas the hypothesis expects a negative effect, this fails to provide evidence in support of the first hypothesis regarding the relative presence of steam engines.

Population size of place of origin fails to significantly predict changes in migrants' socioeconomic status ($b = 8.418e-6$, $t = .939$, $p = .348$). Choosing to additionally control for relative steam engine presence when analyzing the effect of population size or vice versa has no changes on whether or not the examined effects are significant or not. This also does not provide any evidence in support of the hypothesis.

The migrants' changes in socioeconomic status significantly decrease with 1.056 when the place of origin is characterized by impartible but equal as opposed to partible inheritance practices ($b = -1.056$, $t = -8.887$, $p < .001/2$). Migrants' changes in socioeconomic status also significantly decrease with .932 when the place of origin is characterized by impartible and unequal as opposed to partible inheritance

practices ($b = -.932$, $t = -10.837$, $p < .001/2$). Furthermore, migrants' changes in socioeconomic status do not significantly increase when the place of origin is characterized by impartible and unequal as opposed to impartible but equal inheritance practices ($b = .124$, $t = .913$, $p = .361$). These findings provide some support for the hypothesis.

4.3 (Un)successful migration through socially learned secular norms and values

In order to test the sixth and final hypothesis, multiple linear regression was used. A significant positive relationship was found, in which migrants' changes in socioeconomic status increase with .640 for every single percent of atheists in the place of origin's population ($b = .640$, $t = 6.527$, $p < .001/2$). As a result of these findings, some evidence is found in support of the hypothesis.

Table 9. Multiple linear regression of changes in migrants' socioeconomic status

	Model 1	
	B	S.E.
Constant	-.275***	.064
Percentage atheists	.640***	.098
<i>Control variables</i>		
Population size	1.252e-5	.000
Train station	1.007***	.129
Post office	.723***	.146
Steam engines per 1000 inhabitants	.229***	.024
N	86631	

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

5. Conclusion

As push-factors regarding migration are typically ones that are taken into conscious consideration by the individual when deciding whether or not to migrate, this study has made an attempt to analyze the not-so-obvious patterns and relationships that come into play with migration. The goal, then, is to determine the underlying determinants of whether or not migration can be called successful in socioeconomic terms. Six hypotheses were formulated regarding properties of migrants' place of origin and their effects on migrants' change in socioeconomic status between pre- and post-migration (with the exception of distance of migration: this is the only variable that is only partially related to the place of origin). Using GENLIAS and HISCI-NL datasets, partial evidence has been found in support of these hypotheses.

First, the relationship between the place of origin's degree of urbanization (defined by population size and steam engine presence per 1000 inhabitants) and migrants' change in socioeconomic status was analyzed. No supporting evidence was found. The relationship between unequal inheritance practices and migrants' change in socioeconomic status, which rests on the same principle of lower socioeconomic starting positions resulting in more possibilities to gain additional socioeconomic status, was also not supported due to the hypothesized and the tested effects being in opposite directions.

The relationship between the distance of migration and migrants' change in socioeconomic status, as hypothesized, was found to be supported. Findings suggest that migration distance might in fact predict change in socioeconomic status by migrating, strengthening the position of reversibility theory. The relationship between the place of origin's access to mass communication and transport and migrants' change in socioeconomic status was also found to be supported. Furthermore, places of origin with impartible but equal and impartible and unequal inheritance both seemed to decrease migrants' socioeconomic status by migrating compared to areas with partible (and thus fairer) inheritance. These findings correspond with theories on both sociocultural-socioeconomic relationships and homophily. Finally, the positive relationship between the degree of secularization and migrants' change in socioeconomic status was also supported by the findings. This strengthens the position of this study regarding social learning and secular norms and values, although other explanations that were impossible to control for are of course not ruled out. An answer to the research question is formulated as follows: In the 19th century in the Netherlands, migration distance, place of origin's degree of secularization, post office presence, train station presence and finally unequal inheritance practices affect migrants' change in socioeconomic status.

6. Discussion

This goal of this study is to determine the underlying determinants of whether or not migrants gain or lose socioeconomic status after migrating. In doing so, several results were found in support of some of the formulated hypotheses. For example, the lack of evidence supporting the first two hypotheses (concerning inheritance practices and urbanization indicators) could be seen as counter-evidence to the principle of ‘starting lower equals more opportunities’. As these were the only hypotheses that were based solely on what seemed like simplistic common sense rather than building onward from past scientific findings, this lack of support for the hypotheses is somewhat understandable.

Support was found for the hypotheses regarding distance of migration, secularization, inheritance practices and mass communication and transport. Although the findings for distance effects are significant, the actual effect was so low that it required a different interpretation covered in the results section. This leads to the suggestion that these results should be interpreted carefully by the reader. The fifth hypothesis, in which unequal inheritance practices are expected to have a negative effect, was supported for the most part. Impartible but equal and impartible and unequal inheritance practices compared to partible inheritance practices do in fact affect migrants’ change in socioeconomic status negatively. Surprisingly, there were no differences between the effects of impartible but equal and impartible and unequal inheritance practices. A hypothetical explanation for this could lie in that perhaps in reality, the difference in ‘fairness’ between partible and the other two is much larger than the mutual difference between the other two.

In conclusion, this study has shed light on rather obscure aspects of cause and effect regarding migration. The strength of this, though, is more theoretical than it is empirical. Further research conducting different operationalization (by inspecting interaction effects or by accessing data containing different variables), testing and selection (by comparing migrants with non-migrants rather than comparing all migrants, for example) might prove to be beneficial.

6. References

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