

Changing migration patterns and social mobility in Southern Sweden, c. 1815-1895

Martin Dribe and Patrick Svensson
Department of Economic History
Lund University, Sweden
Martin.Dribe@ekh.lu.se
Patrick.Svensson@ekh.lu.se

Abstract

Migration is one potentially important determinant of social mobility by enlarging networks and facilitating marriage as well as by increasing human capital through formal education and learning-by-doing. In addition, migration is a highly selective process in that migrants are frequently positively selected in terms of quality, and they may hence be more likely to climb socially. The aim of this paper is to study in considerable detail the interconnection between geographical and social mobility in times of industrialization and changing migration patterns. The study focuses on five rural parishes in western Scania in southern Sweden between c. 1815 and 1895. Using individual level longitudinal data we employ event-history analysis in analyzing both the determinants of migration, and how they change over time, and the impact of migration experience on the likelihood of social mobility. The results show that migration experience increased the likelihood of social mobility. Both upward and downward mobility was affected, but the effect on upward mobility was stronger and more consistent over time.

Paper for session 34 at the XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, Finland, 21-25 August 2006.

Martin Dribe acknowledges financial support from the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research (FAS).

Patrick Svensson acknowledges financial support from The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

Introduction

The social position of an individual is determined by a wide range of factors. Some concern inherited capital – economic, social and cultural – and others concern individual achievement. In preindustrial rural societies social status is to a large extent related to access to land, which makes inheritance of prime importance. However, an individual may also contribute to the social position by investing, or failing to invest, in education, networks, marriage partners, etc. Thus, social position, and thereby social mobility, is a function of both inheritance and individual action and decision making. Migration is one form of investment that may have an impact on social position, by enlarging networks, acquiring education or training, and facilitating finding a suitable marriage partner by widening the marriage market.

In this paper we study the impact of migration experience on acquired social position and social mobility in a rural, agriculturally dominated, community of southern Sweden in the nineteenth century. Much of the nineteenth century was a period of profound economic and social change in this area following the agricultural and industrial revolutions, which brought not only increased standards of living but also dramatic changes in social structure and organization of labor as well as in the pattern of migration. We want to assess the importance of migration experience for social mobility, and whether its impact changed over time. In the analysis we employ event-history analysis using individual level longitudinal data for five parishes in the period c.1815-1895.

While previous studies have looked at the impact of more long range migration on social mobility (e.g. Hersovici 1988; Ferrie 1999; Long 2005), this study will assess the importance of migration experience on social status attainment and mobility in a community characterized by frequent, but mainly local rural-to-rural, migration. Thus, our main concern is whether migration could enhance social attainment even when remaining in the same economic sector, for example through enlargement of social networks, a wider marriage market, investments in training and skills or as a result of positive selection of migrants in terms of some quality characteristics that may promote social advancement.

Background

Within economic migration theory the decision to move is seen as the result of a strictly individual utility maximizing process in which the costs and benefits of migration is compared. At the micro level the individual decision to move has been seen as equivalent to an investment in human capital implying costs as well as benefits (Sjaastad 1962). The benefits are mainly the higher expected wages earned in the destination area (adjusted for the probability of obtaining employment), while costs of migration include direct costs of moving as well as indirect costs (e.g. foregone earnings while traveling and searching for employment) and psychic costs of breaking with family and friends (Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969). Thus, by moving the migrant is investing in human capital with an expected higher future income as a result. If this kind of motive is important for migration, we would expect migrants to be positively selected in terms of ‘quality’, and hence have a higher income potential than the stayer population, all other things equal. This higher quality of migrants should also make them more likely to achieve a higher social position compared to other people of similar background (e.g. Long 2005).

In addition, one motive for the kind of circular, frequent, migration of adolescents in many rural societies with a servant system was to enlarge the social networks, which might have been of considerable importance not only for future employment opportunities but also for finding the right marriage partner (see, e.g., Dribe and Lundh 2005a). For many people in rural societies, in particular landowners, marriage was crucial for intergenerational transfers of property, and thus for social reproduction in a more general sense (Watkins 1986; Guinane 1997:154-156). For these groups it was vital to find a partner

from the right social background. To the extent that migration increased social networks and facilitated the search for an appropriate marriage partner, it may thus have been important for the social position as well.

Both these aspects – the higher quality and the larger social networks, including a wider marriage market, for migrants – point to the positive effects of migration on social mobility. However, it is also conceivable that migration is not so much the result of pull factors, selecting high quality people to migrate, but instead a result of push factors, where people lacking opportunities are the ones who move, while those with better ability to cope stay. If this is a valid description of the migration process, migrants can be expected to fare less well also in terms of social achievement. The stayers would then be the ones with everything taken care of, with landholdings waiting to get transmitted. Although push factors might be of considerable importance for people's decision to move, previous research on migration have often stressed the role of pull factors, as well as migrants being positively, rather than negatively, selected in the population (e.g. Chiswick 1978; Hatton and Williamson 1994; Norström 1988; Thomas 1941; Williamson 1988). Moreover, even when migration is triggered by push factors, it is often the more able among the less fortunate who take the chance and move (see, e.g., Ó Gráda and O'Rourke 1997), which means that given their social status they are positively selected. Taken together, we should then expect migration to mostly have beneficial effects on achieved social position and the likelihood of upward social mobility, partly because of pure selection effects – migrants being of higher quality than stayers – and partly because of a larger marriage market and more extensive networks, which increases the likelihood of finding a suitable marriage partner or a job that could enhance the possibilities of social advancement. It is also to be expected that the selection effects are much stronger for long-distance migration than for local migration.

Since there are differences in the character of social mobility depending on the economic organization of society, it is possible that migration affects social mobility differently in diverse contexts. In a rural setting the holding of land is a main determinant of socioeconomic status. Acquiring land takes place through inheritance, through marriage, by becoming a tenant, or by purchasing land. In most cases land is acquired immediately in connection with first family formation. Nonetheless, several studies of nineteenth-century Sweden have shown that a non-negligible number of individuals became landholders at a relatively high age (e.g. Eriksson and Rogers 1978; Söderberg 1978; Persson 1992).

In a rural society the social status of the father is important for the chances of becoming a farmer. Sons and daughters of farmers had an advantage in becoming farmers (Svensson and Adler 2004). This was due to the right to inheritance but also to social connections and the prevailing marriage pattern (Dribe and Lundh 2005c). During adolescence young people from all social groups moved frequently, working as servants on different farms. One of the reasons for this was a search for a marriage partner of equal, or higher, social status (Dribe and Lundh 2005b). It is well known that, at least, some marriages were arranged economic unions within or between lineages who held land (Gaunt 1996; Hanssen 1977). However, for those who were non-heirs, in the sense that they would not take over the farm, marriage became very important for the chances of retaining the social position. Accordingly, the most important way that migration could affect social mobility was through enlarging the social network, and thereby the marriage market. The social network would also affect the chances of becoming a tenant, though in an indirect way. Social connections to the landlord, e.g. through the parents, other relatives or friends being tenants, might have increased the possibilities of tenancy. Moreover, if migration increased work experience and, thus, human capital, the possibilities of a tenancy increased if the landlord chose his tenants among the best workers.

In an industrial, or semi-industrial, society acquiring land is not the main way of moving socially. The number of occupations increases due to the introduction of a new sector, and thus total social mobility often increases following industrialization (Simkus 1984). Furthermore, achievement is higher valued than provenance, and skill is thus of major importance. In preindustrial societies artisans and farmers often transferred their occupations to their sons (Van de Putte and Svensson 2006). This transfer, of course, involved transmitting family skills in some sense. This way of passing on skills and occupations became less important during industrialization; perhaps with the exception of farm transfers (see van Leuween and Maas 1996). Instead individual education and training became more decisive, which should have implied that the impact of skill enhancement through migration became more valuable than in preindustrial society. But, since old structures were to some degree preserved, the social network and the marriage market retained its importance.

This is even more so when considering that the effect of industrialization is not undisputed. Some studies of the United States indicate a strong relationship between parental socioeconomic status and the future prospects of their children until the second half of the twentieth century, when this effect tended to be less strong (Biblarz et. al. 1996). The relationship between the occupation of the parents and the children is based upon the transmission of economic and cultural resources. These resources are to different extents invested in children either in the form of direct transmission of economic means or in the form of attitudes, norms and values (Becker 1964). This implies that social networks and homogamy are important aspects in industrial society as well (e.g. Henz and Jonsson 2003; Kalmijn 1998; Mare 1991).

Migration in rural preindustrial Sweden was quite frequent but of short-distance nature. About 70 percent of the population in the area under study in this paper was born in another parish, but 50 percent came from within a 15 kilometer radius (Dribe 2003). In the nineteenth century United States around one third to half the population migrated during a ten-year period (Galenson and Pope 1989; Hersovici 1998). If these people are excluded when studying social mobility the results might be severely biased, and this is a common problem with many studies focusing on social mobility (see Ferrie 1999). Even so, in some of these studies statements about the implication of this absence is formulated. Thernstrom (1964), studying unskilled laborers, suggests that movers, whom he did not observe, had less chances of upward mobility than stayers. This was because they lacked financial resources, occupational skills, and education. The push-effect in the area studied made him believe that they were forced to move and that their lack of resources prevented them from moving upward somewhere else.

However, later studies from Britain and the United States, including one on the same area Thernstrom studied, indicate that migrants were more successful than stayers in terms of occupational career. Generally, precisely within those groups that lacked resources, e.g. unskilled laborers, migration seems to have been beneficial for upward social mobility. One reason for this is that migrants were positively selected in terms of quality (Long 2005). The selection could manifest itself in form of superior information of the migration area or in form of special characteristics making it easier to adapt to new conditions. Another explanation could be that migration involves risks. Hence, moving results in a larger dispersion of opportunities. When focusing on the lowest end of the social structure it is only possible to measure success but not failure. There is, thus, a possible negative effect of migration as well. However, wealth estimates show that even in this respect the dominating positive effect of migration withholds (Ferrie 1999).

When it comes to the impact of migration on social mobility for people from higher social groups diverging forces are present. On the one hand, this group might also have benefited from migration through expanding networks and creating opportunities for marriage

and employment. On the other hand, those who persisted might have been potential heirs of property or other resources, which enabled them to retain or increase their social position. In some cases these diverging forces cancelled each other out, while in other cases people with landed background experienced higher risks of social downward mobility if they moved than if they stayed (Ferrie 1999: ch. 7; Hersovici 1998).

In conclusion, it is possible that the effect of migration on social mobility differ according to economic context. We expect migration to first and foremost have a positive effect on the chances of social advancement, although in some cases it might be associated with increased probability of downward mobility. In a predominantly rural society holding land is the most important determinant of socio-economic status. This means that the possibility of inheritance (parental social status) and other ways of acquiring land is central for social position. In this respect, migration might increase the chances of retaining, or increasing, the social status through its potential impact on social networks, marriage possibilities, and investments in human capital.

Area and data

The data used are based on local population registers for five rural parishes in western Scania in southern Sweden: Hög, Kävlinge, Halmstad, Sireköpinge, and Kågeröd.¹ They are all about 10 kilometers from the coast in the Western part of Scania, which is the southernmost province of Sweden. The social structure of these parishes varied somewhat. Hög and Kävlinge were dominated by farmers on freehold and crown land with rather similar social characteristics, while the other three parishes were totally dominated by tenant farmers on manorial land (see Dribe 2000). Besides the peasant group, the parishes also contained various landless and semi-landless groups, who made their living working for other people. In 1830, the five parishes had 3,978 inhabitants. By 1895 that figure had increased to 5,539: an average annual increase of 0.5% during this 65-year period, a somewhat slower rate of growth than for rural Sweden as a whole during the same period, which was 0.6% per year (Statistics Sweden 1999).

Family reconstitutions were accomplished using data for births, marriages and deaths for the period from the late seventeenth century until 1894. The reconstitutions were carried out automatically using a computer program (see Bengtsson & Lundh 1991). They have been checked manually too and linked to other sources, chiefly poll-tax registers (*mantalslängder*), which provide yearly information on landholding, and the catechetical examination registers (*husförhörslängder*), with information on migration and household context. The database contains all individuals born in the different parishes, or migrating into them. Instead of sampling any particular group (a birth cohort for example) each individual is followed from birth, or time of arrival in the parish, to death, or migration out again.

In the part of the paper dealing with the determinants of migration we limit the analysis to never married men and women, because we want to focus on aspects related to migration and inter-generational social mobility. The high rates of servant migration in this community (see Dribe 2003; Dribe & Lundh 2005a) implies that many individuals in the risk population are in-migrants of whom we know next to nothing in terms of conditions in their parental home. Hence, in order to be able to study the impact of parental social position and its interaction with migration experience the risk population is limited to the never married whom we observe in their parental home sometime before age 10. This does not imply that only people born in the parishes are included, since also individuals migrating to the parishes

¹ The data is maintained by the Scanian Demographic Database, which is a collaborative project between the Regional Archives in Lund and the Research Group in Population Economics at the Department of Economic History, Lund University. The source material is described in Reuterswärd & Olsson (1993), and the quality of data is analysed in Bengtsson & Lundh (1991).

together with their parents are included. In the analysis they are followed from age 15 until they leave the parish or are censored because of death, marriage or turning 45.

One potential problem with family reconstitution studies is that migration can lead to a family's demographic events being spread over several different parishes. Depending on how we deal with this problem, results derived from family reconstitution data may be biased in various ways (see e.g. Kasakoff & Adams 1995; Ruggles 1992, 1999; Thestrup 1972; Wrigley 1994; Åkerman 1977). Since this study deals with social mobility, we need information on the social background of both spouses in a given couple. Using traditional family reconstitution data would have forced us to limit the sample to couples where both husband and wife were born in the same parish they resided in after marriage. Due to very high rates of migration in this area such an approach would be likely to suffer from selection bias because the sample couples would have been taken from among non-migrants, who, most probably, would therefore have been selected by reference to landholding, physical ability, and so forth (see Dribe 2000: ch. 2 for a discussion).

To avoid that problem, we have traced all married individuals back to their birth parish, regardless of whether their marriages took place in the parish of residence or not, and added information about their fathers' social status at birth. Information about the occupations of fathers was taken from the birth records or, if available, the catechetical examination registers, and data on access to land or croft were taken from poll-tax registers. In that way we obtained information about the social origin of both husband and wife in married couples without introducing too much selection bias stemming from migration.

Inter-generational social mobility is measured by a comparison of the social position at birth (i.e. parental social position) and at age 45. We employ a four-category social structure. The first group consists of freeholders and tenants on crown land who had sufficient land at their disposal for them to be able to provide for their family and pay land rents or taxes.² Freeholders owned their land and paid land taxes, while crown tenants farmed land that belonged to the Crown and paid land rent. Although important differences between these groups existed, for example when it came to inheritance and subdivision of land (see, e.g., Dribe and Lundh 2005b; Gadd 2000:76, 198–202), their situations were in many respect highly similar, especially when comparing to other social groups. Both groups had non-family members employed and both groups typically produced a surplus for the market.

The second group is manorial tenants with land above subsistence level. They were part of a manorial system and their conditions differed in important respects, both socially and politically, from that of freeholders and crown tenants (e.g. Gadd 2000:76–78, 86). While they too employed non-family labor, they leased their farms only for a certain number of years at the time. At least until the 1860s, they paid most of their rent in labor, working on the demesne (Olsson 2002).

The third group—the semi-landless—consists of smallholders with land below subsistence level, crofters (*torpare*) and cottars (*gatehusmän*), who sometimes had landholdings equal to that of smallholders, but other times lacked land altogether. Unfortunately it is impossible from the sources to distinguish between crofters with and without land. This makes the semi-landless group somewhat heterogeneous, containing smallholders and crofters with land below subsistence level as well as some crofters lacking land altogether. Finally, the fourth social group—the landless—contains various occupational groups without access to land, i.e. artisans, soldiers, married servants and agricultural workers.

Table 1 shows the social structure in the two samples. The migration sample, referring to parental social status at age 10, is more skewed to the higher statuses, especially

² We have used 1/16 *mantal* (a rough measure of the productive potential of the farm) as the limit of subsistence, which is also the way the contemporary society defined it (see Dribe 2000: chap. 2 for a discussion).

towards tenants, compared to the social position at age 45. This is partly because the migration sample concerns an earlier time period – the mean date of observation at age 10 in the migration sample is 1852 compared to 1865 for the social mobility sample – when the process of proletarianization had not proceeded as far as in the sample of married persons at age 45, and partly due to sales of manorial land after 1850, reducing the number of tenants on manorial land and especially increased the number of semi-landless and landless people (see Dribe and Olsson 2006).

Table 1 here

When analyzing what determines one's social position at 45 and the likelihood of moving socially regardless of direction, we use this four category social structure, while when analyzing the direction of social mobility we only distinguish between peasants (freeholders and tenants) and non-peasants (semi-landless and landless).

Migration

Figure 1 display the external migration rates (migration within parish borders thus excluded) in the five parishes and shows a weak inverted U-shaped pattern, with different peaks for males and females. For males migration increased up to the 1850s and then declined for the rest of the century. For females the trend was increasing until the 1880s and then started to decline. For most of the period the migration rates were between 15 and 20 percent, which clearly indicate the rather high levels of mobility in preindustrial society. This is also something that has become firmly established in the migration literature (see, e.g. Moch 1992; Hochstadt 1999; for evidence from Scania see Dribe 2003). It is also well known that most of this preindustrial geographical mobility was rather local. Table 2 also shows the dominance of short-range migration. In the period 1815-35 about 85 percent of all moves were to places within a 17 kilometer radius from the parish of residence. Over time, however, it is clear that medium-range and long-range migration increased in importance. In the post-1865 period 15 percent of the migrants moved over 34 kilometers and 12 percent went to a town in the region.

This declining importance of short-range migration and increasing importance of long-range and rural-urban migration is also clearly evident from the distance-specific migration rates displayed in figures 2-4. Thus, although overall mobility did not change a great deal over the nineteenth century, the migration fields were extended. This, in turn, is intimately connected to the industrialization and urbanization processes. Through industrialization migration became increasingly connected to the regional, national, and even international economy. Local labor markets became tighter linked to regional, and regional labor market became attached to the national and international labor markets, which created new incentives to move over longer distances. Migration also came to play an important role in the development of the Atlantic economy in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, by contributing to increasing mobility of labor and integration of labor markets (see Williamson 1996; O'Rourke and Williamson 1999). The declining mobility rates over short distances was probably to a large extent connected to the declining importance of the institution of life-cycle service during the second half of the nineteenth century, and the replacement of living-in servants with a more permanent rural labor force (see Lundh 1999, 2005; Utterström 1957). As a part of this process the servant profession was also increasingly feminized (Lundh 2005), which may account for the later decline in short-distance migration for females than for males.

Figures 1-4 here

Table 2 here

In the multivariate analysis we use a competing risk Cox proportional hazards model. The risk population is unmarried males and females 15-45 years who are observed in the parental home before leaving home. We follow all these individuals until they leave the parish, and distinguish between three different destinations: 0-17 kilometers, more than 17 kilometers, and towns in the region. We study the impact of parental socioeconomic status, previous migration experience, time period, and household context. We also control for unobserved differences at the family level by estimating a model with shared frailty (unobserved heterogeneity, see Therneau and Grambsch 2000: ch. 9).

$$\ln h_{ij}(a) = \ln h_0(a) + \beta X_{ij} + \omega_j$$

where: $h_{ij}(a)$ is the hazard of migration for an individual (i) in family (j) at age a , $h_0(a)$ is the baseline hazard, i.e. the hazard function for an individual having the value zero on all covariates, β is the vector of parameters for the individual covariates (X_{ij}) in the model, and ω_j is a vector of the random effects (frailties) at family level, assumed to be normally distributed (Gaussian).

Table 3 shows the Cox proportional hazards estimates (relative risks) of migration to different distances. The main focus of analysis is to study the impact of previous migration experience, socioeconomic background and household context on the likelihood of migration. Migration experience is measured by a dummy variable indicating whether or not the individual has lived outside the parish of residence. Socioeconomic background is indicated by parental socioeconomic status at age 10, and is thus time-invariant. Household situation is measured by three different time-varying covariates: presence of siblings in the household, presence of parents, and whether or not the individual lived in the parental home. The latter covariate is a necessary control because about 50 percent of the risk population did not live at home, and thus did not co-reside with parents or siblings. Changes over time are measured by a period dummy distinguishing between the period before and after 1860. This year has been chosen as an approximate point in time separating a period dominated by the agricultural transformation and commercialization from a period characterized by early industrialization. Parish of residence is also included to control for differences between the parishes not captured by the other covariates in the model.

Table 3 here

The frailty term is significant which indicates the presence of unobserved differences in the likelihood of migration at the family level. Previous migration experience increased the likelihood of moving to all distances. For males the effects are somewhat stronger for long-distance migration. Socioeconomic status is also important for migration. Men and women of landless and semi-landless origin were most inclined to move over short distances, and landless, especially women, were also more likely to move to towns. For long distance rural-rural migration, however, the non-landed groups were not more mobile than the landed. That landless and semi-landless were more inclined to move over short distances is to a large extent due to the earlier leaving home of children to landless and semi-landless (see Dribe 2000: ch. 6), and thus an early entry into life-cycle service with frequent, but local, migration between different employers (Dribe and Lundh 2005b).

The household situation affected the likelihood of migration. Individuals with only younger siblings, or no siblings at all, in the same household were more likely to move, while there is a tendency that those who only had older siblings were less likely to move

compared to individuals with both older and younger. This pattern indicates that children left home in age order, and thus that having older siblings in the household meant that one was not the first in turn to leave. Missing one of the parents generally seems to have increased the risk of migration, indicating the disruptive effect of parental death on household composition (cf. Dribe 2000).

The results in table 3 also show the increased likelihood of long-distance migration and rural-urban migration over time. The pattern is quite similar between males and females, with the exception that short-distance migration also increased over time for females, which was also evident in figure 2 above.

Social mobility

We now turn to the question what determines the social position at age 45, and then proceed with an analysis of the determinants of social mobility. We model intergenerational social mobility and social position at age 45 as a logit model in which the log odds of attaining a certain position, or moving socially, is determined by a set of explanatory variables:

$$\ln(p_i / 1 - p_i) = \alpha + \beta X_i + \mu_i$$

where p_i is the probability of attaining a position or experiencing intergenerational social mobility, α is a constant, β is the vector of parameters for the individual covariates (X_i) in the model, and μ_i is the residual.

Table 6 shows the odds ratios of attaining the different social positions. Generally, and quite as expected, social background is a major determinant of social position in adult ages. It is clearly evident that people were most likely to end up in the same position as their parents, regardless of which social group we are looking at. It is also interesting to note that people with tenant background were not more likely to end up as freeholders than were people of landless and semi-landless background, which indicates a rather low level of mobility within the group of landed peasants, and thus that the social boundary between these groups was quite pronounced, which is also indicated by the homogamy pattern (Dribe & Lundh 2005c) as well as by contemporary accounts (Wigström 1891). The effects of social background on attained status are also very similar between the sexes.

Spousal social background affected attained status much in the same way as own social background. Thus, having a spouse from a certain background increased the chance of ending up in the same social group compared to all other social backgrounds. This is of course also connected to the homogamy pattern and, furthermore, it seems to have been quite frequent that peasant children who did not take over the parental farm married someone who did. By this crosswise marriage pattern, sometimes executed through two marriages between the same two families, parents tried to guarantee as many of their children as possible a preserved peasants status (Gaunt 1996; Hanssen 1977). However, marriage across social groups existed as well, and this was one way of reaching a higher social position (Lundh 1999).

The effect of spousal place of birth differed between men and women. For men there was an increased chance of becoming landless if the spouse was born outside the parish. This effect was less strong for women. On the other hand, women were more likely to become freeholders if their spouse was born outside the parish, while no such effect is discernible for men. For both men and women, the chance of becoming a tenant increased if their spouse was born in the parish.

Table 6 here

It became easier to attain freeholder status in the second half of the nineteenth century. The risk of ending up as landless also increased, while the likelihood of becoming tenant and semi-landless decreased. These changes over time are in accordance with general trends in the agrarian economy over the nineteenth century, with increased sales of land through the market (Dribe & Lundh 2005b), both manorial and freehold, which increased the opportunity to acquire land, while the number of tenants declined due to the changes in the organization of some of the manors in the area (see Dribe and Olsson 2006). Moreover, work organization in agriculture changed where semi-landless crofters gradually were replaced by landless laborers (Hoppe & Langton 1994; Svensson and Adler 2004).

Migration experience increased the likelihood of becoming a freeholder, and lowered the likelihood of ending up as landless (not statistically significant), while there are no significant effects for tenants and semi-landless. Thus, controlling for social group, there is a positive effect of migration, which indicates that investments in skills or social networks had an effect on the possibility of becoming a freeholder. The interaction effect between period and migration experience also shows that this effect of previous migration on becoming a freeholder was stronger in the second period. Homogamy was also strongest for freeholders, and remained strong during the entire nineteenth century (Dribe and Lundh 2005c). Migration was one important way to enlarge the marriage market and find a spouse from the same social background.

We now turn an analysis of the social mobility pattern in the area. Table 7 displays the frequency of total mobility and the direction of mobility. Based on the four-category social grouping about 60 percent of the population, similar for males and females, had experienced social mobility by age 45. Thus, social mobility was by no means a marginal phenomenon. Looking at the direction of mobility we see that it was considerably more likely for peasants to move socially downwards (c. 60 percent) than for non-peasants to move upwards (16 percent). Thus a large fraction of the mobility was downward in the period of concern, although there were also some possibilities to move upwards.

This is in accordance with previous findings for Sweden, where total intergenerational social mobility increased over time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was downward mobility that made up the overwhelming part of this change (e.g. Eriksson and Rogers 1978; Lundh 1998; Persson 1992). The proportion of men from peasant homes who attained peasant status themselves decreased substantially because more children survived and institutional structures prevented adequate division of farms (Lundh 1999; Winberg 1975). Concerning upward mobility, previous results for Sweden are inconclusive. Eriksson and Rogers (1978), studying east-central Sweden, found that it became easier for non-peasants to become peasants during the course of the nineteenth century, while Lundh's (1999) study of southern Sweden indicated that the upward social mobility for the same group decreased over time. There seems to be more general agreement, however, that downward mobility was more frequent than upward mobility in nineteenth century Sweden.

Table 7 here

Table 8 shows the odds ratios of moving socially, i.e. of ending up in a different social position than one was born in. First it is clear that women were more socially mobile than were men. Men and women of landless background were also less likely to move socially, while tenant men seem to have been more mobile than freeholder men. For tenants and freeholders property rights were probably decisive. The greater insecurity of possession on noble land resulted in a higher social mobility through evictions by the landlords (Olsson 2002). The fact that freeholders were more likely to move socially than landless reflect the general pattern of downward intergenerational mobility for peasant children. Spousal social

background also mattered for the likelihood of social mobility. Having a landless or semi-landless spouse increased the likelihood of social mobility, especially for men. Over time the chance of social mobility also seems to have increased.

Migration experience increased the chance of social mobility. This could be an effect of migration containing an element of risk (Ferrie 1999: ch. 7). It would lead to new opportunities but may also be a push out to unknown surroundings where old networks were ineffective. The ability to adapt became crucial in this respect. However, the effect is present only during the first period, as shown by the interaction term. This indicates that it was mainly during the agricultural transformation that migration affected social mobility. It is possible that this is connected to the overall pattern of peasant children moving socially downwards (cf. Lundh 1998; Winberg 1975), but it could also be that the investments migrants did in their quality or social network paid off in a society in transformation. The pattern is much the same for men and women. Spousal place of birth also increased the likelihood of social mobility for both men and women. Thus having migration experience and a spouse from another parish both increased the likelihood of social mobility.

Table 8 here

So far we have only looked at total mobility, but not its direction. Table 9 shows the odds ratios of upward mobility for people of non-peasant background. Our main interest lies in the effect of migration and we find that migration experience improved the chances of upward mobility. Thus, in this area, dominated by short-range rural-to-rural migration, landless and semi-landless migrants did better than landless and semi-landless stayers; migration thus brought about acquisition of land to a higher degree than staying did. The explanation could be that investments in human capital or in social networks affected chances on the marriage market or chances of being selected as tenant by the landlord. There are no statistically significant differences between periods in this effect, but if anything the results indicate that the effect of migration became stronger in the second period. Hence, it is possible that migration was associated with larger investments in human capital in a period characterized by a fully commercialized agriculture, early industrialization and a work organization moving from the servant system to a permanent labor force (Lundh 2005). In combination with the fact that the overall period effect shows a declining likelihood of upward mobility over time, it is even clearer that migration, through investments in skills and social networks for individuals, became increasingly important during the second period.

There is no indication of any gender difference in upward mobility. The social background of the spouse seems to have mattered a great deal. The likelihood of experiencing upward mobility declined by 50-75 percent if the spouse came from a landless or semi-landless background, and the effects were stronger for females than for males. Evidently, marriage was one important way of moving socially upwards in this society, especially for women (cf. Lundh 1999).

Table 9 here

In table 10 we turn to downward mobility of the peasant population, a much more common phenomenon than upward mobility of non-peasants, as we saw in table 7. Here it is quite clear that women were about 20 percent more likely to experience downward social mobility. Also in this case the social background of the spouse was important. Being married to person of landless or semi-landless origin doubled, or even tripled, the risk of downward social mobility, and for men, even being married to a tenant increased the risk of downward mobility. The latter effect is in accordance with earlier findings on the insecure situation of

the noble tenants during the nineteenth century (Olsson 2002). The risk of downward social mobility also increased in the second part of the period.

Table 10 here

Migration experience increased the risk of downward mobility of peasants in the first period, but not in the second, and the effect is also much weaker than for upward mobility for the non-landed groups. It is difficult to explain this finding with any certainty given the data at hand. It might be related to inheritance and a lower likelihood of moving for persons who were the chosen heirs. Similar effects have been found in other countries when looking at migrants that were potential heirs of property (Ferrie 1999; Hersovici 1998). However, in our context, with a clear dominance of local rural-rural, migration it is not immediately clear that being a servant for a couple of years, when the demand for labor at the home farm was low, or in order to get all round training in running a farm, need to have lowered the chances to take over the family farm. Moreover, even though children to landless left home earlier to become servants, the great majority of farmer children did so as well before getting married and taking over the farm (see Dribe 2000).

Conclusion

The main aim of this study has been to assess the importance of migration on social position and social mobility. By focusing on a society characterized by frequent but local mobility we studied whether short-range migration might have had similar effects on social position and mobility as has previously been shown to be the case with long-range migration.

The migration pattern changed a great deal over time following the profound structural changes in the Swedish economy during the nineteenth century connected with agricultural transformation, and beginning of industrialization and urbanization. Long-distance and rural-urban migration increased, while short-range local migration declined. Nevertheless, short-range migration clearly dominated during the entire period.

Intergenerational social mobility was rather frequent in this rural community; about 60 percent ended up in a different social status than their parents, if we use the four-category social structure. The likelihood of social mobility also increased over time, which is fully explained by a higher risk of downward mobility in the second half of the nineteenth century, while it became more difficult to advance socially in the rural sector over time.

Our results clearly showed the importance of inherited capital for social position and social mobility. Not only was parental social status of prime importance, but so was the social background of the spouse, which also points to the crucial role played by marriage for social status attainment. At least in theory lack of inherited capital could be compensated for through the marriage market by finding a spouse from a landed background. In most cases, however, the strong tendency towards homogamy in the landed groups made such attempts difficult. Instead, people from landed background married each other which safeguarded the social position also of children that were not to take over the family farm.

Our main conclusion is that migration experience had a clear impact on attained social position and the likelihood of social mobility. Migrants were more likely to move socially, both upwards and downwards. The effects, however, was considerably stronger for upward mobility than for downward mobility. Moreover, migration experience increased downward mobility only up to the mid-nineteenth century, while it increased upward mobility during the entire period, and the effect might even have got stronger in the second half of the century.

While it is difficult to fully explain the higher risk of downward social mobility for peasants with migration experience there are several possible factors that may have

contributed to the positive effect of migration experience on the chances of social advancement for people of landless and semi-landless background. Migration increased social networks which may have facilitated getting employment or acquiring tenancy to a croft or farm. It also enlarged the marriage market, and thus facilitated finding a spouse who could contribute to social advancement. By moving around and working for different employers a rural migrant was also investing in human capital by getting all-round training and skills in running a farm, which for example could have enhanced the possibilities to secure a tenancy. Finally, it is possible that migrants were positively selected in terms of quality, which contributed to their higher chances of social advancement, even though it seems reasonable to expect that this kind of selection was of considerably less importance for short-range local migration, than in the case of long-range migration that has been the focus of most other studies in this area of research.

References

- Becker, G. S. 1964. *Human Capital*. New York: NBER.
- Bengtsson, T. & Lundh, C. 1991. "Evaluation of a Swedish Computer Program for Automatic Family Reconstitution." *Lund Papers in Economic History* 8.
- Biblarz, T. J., Bengtson, V. L. & Bucur, A. 1996. "Social Mobility Across Three Generations." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 58:188-200.
- Chiswick, B. R. 1978. "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-Born Men." *Journal of Political Economy* 86: 897-921.
- Dribe, M. 2000. *Leaving Home in a Peasant Society. Economic Fluctuations, Household Dynamics and Youth Migration in Southern Sweden, 1829-1866*. Södertälje: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Dribe, M. 2003. *Liv och rörelse. Familj och flyttningar i 1800-talets svenska bondesamhälle*. Hedemora: Gidlunds.
- Dribe, M. & Lundh, C. 2005b. "People on the Move. Determinants of Servant Migration in Nineteenth Century Sweden." *Continuity and Change* 20: 53-91.
- Dribe, M. & Lundh, C. 2005b. "Retirement as a Strategy for Land Transmission: A Micro-Study of Preindustrial Rural Sweden." *Continuity and Change* 20:165-191.
- Dribe, M. & Lundh, C. 2005c. "Finding the Right Partner. Rural Homogamy in Nineteenth-Century Sweden." *International Review of Social History* 50:S149-178.
- Dribe, M. & Olsson, M. 2006. "Spelade äganderätten någon roll? Om friköp av frälsejord i Skåne under 1800-talet." In *Gods och bönder från högmedeltid till nutid. Kontinuitet genom omvandling på Vittskövle och andra skånska gods*, eds. Mats Olsson, Sten Skansjö and Kerstin Sundberg. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Eriksson, I. & Roger, J. 1978. *Rural Labor and Population Change. Social and Demographic Developments in East-central Sweden during the Nineteenth Century*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Ferrie, J. P. 1999. *Yankeys Now. Immigrants in the Antebellum U.S. 1840-1860*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gadd, C-J. 2000. *Den agrara revolutionen 1700-1870*. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.
- Galenson, D. W. & Pope, C. L. 1989. "Economic and Geographic Mobility on the Farming Frontier: Evidence from Appanoose County, Iowa, 1850-1870." *Journal of Economic History* 49:635-655.
- Gaunt, D. 1996. *Familjeliv i Norden*. Södertälje: Gidlunds förlag.
- Guinane, T. W. 1997. *The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration, and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850-1914*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hanssen, B. 1977. *Österlen. Allmoge, köpstafolk & kultursammanhang vid slutet av 1700-talet i sydöstra Skåne*. Gidlunds förlag.
- Hatton, T. J. & Williamson, J. G. 1994. "What Drove Mass Migrations from Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century?" *Population and Development Review* 20: 533-559.
- Henz, U. & Jonsson, J. O. 2003. "Who Marries Whom in Sweden?" In *Who Marries Whom? Educational Systems as Marriage Markets in Modern Societies*, eds. Hans-Peter Blossfeld and Andreas Timm. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Hersovici, S. 1998. "Migration and Economic Mobility: Wealth Accumulation and Occupational Change among Antebellum Migrants and Persisters." *Journal of Economic History* 58:927-956.
- Hochstadt, S. 1999. *Mobility and Modernity. Migration in Germany 1820-1989*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Hoppe, G., and J. Langton. 1994. *Peasantry to capitalism. Western Östergötland in the nineteenth century*. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography. Cambridge University Press.

- Kalmijn, M. 1998. "Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:395-421.
- Kasakoff, A. B. & Adams, J. W. 1995. "The Effect of Migration on Ages at Vital Events: A Critique of Family Reconstitution in Historical Demography." *European Journal of Population* 11:199-242.
- Long, J. 2005. "Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain." *Journal of Economic History* 65:1-35.
- Lundh, C. 1998. *The Increase in Landless Households. Social Mobility in Rural Sweden, 1700-1894*. Paper presented at the European Social Science History Conference, Amsterdam 1998.
- Lundh, C. 1999. "The Social Mobility of Servants in Rural Sweden, 1740-1894." *Continuity and Change* 14:57-89.
- Lundh, C. 2005. "Criados agrícolas en la Suecia del XIX. El caso de Escania. (Rural Servants in Nineteenth Century Scania)." *Historia Agraria* 35:93-114.
- Mare, R. D. 1991. "Five Decades of Educational Assortative Mating." *American Sociological Review* 56:15-32.
- Moch, L. P. 1992. *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Norström, T. 1988. "Swedish Emigration to the United States Reconsidered." *European Sociological Review* 4:223-231.
- Ó Gráda, C. & O'Rourke, K. H. 1997. "Migration as a Disaster Relief: Lessons from the Great Irish Famine." *European Review of Economic History* 1:3-25.
- O'Rourke, K. H. & Williamson, J. G. 1999. *Globalization in History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Olsson, M. 2002. *Storgodsdrift. Godsekonomi och arbetsorganisation i Skåne från dansk tid till mitten av 1800-talet*. Lund Studies in Economic History 20: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Persson, C. 1992. *Jorden, bonden och hans familj. En studie av bondejordbruket in en socken i norra Småland under 1800-talet, med särskild hänsyn till jordäggande, sysselsättning och familje- och hushållsbildning*. Stockholm: Kulturgeografiska institutionen.
- Reuterswärd, E. & Olsson, F. 1993. "Skånes demografiska databas 1646-1894. En källbeskrivning." *Lund Papers in Economic History* 33.
- Ruggles, S. 1992. "Migration, Marriage and Mortality: Correcting Sources if Bias in English Family Reconstitutions." *Population Studies* 46:507-522.
- Ruggles, S. 1999. "The Limitations of English Family Reconstitution: English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837." *Continuity and Change* 14:105-130.
- Simkus, A. 1984. "Structural Transformation and Social Mobility: Hungary 1938-1973." *American Sociological Review* 49:291-307.
- Sjaastad, L. A. 1962. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *Journal of Political Economy* 70: 80-93.
- Statistics Sweden 1999. *Befolkningsutvecklingen under 250 år*. Stockholm: SCB.
- Svensson, P. & Adler, J. 2004. *Career mobility in rural Southern Sweden 1751-1894*. Paper presented at the Social Science History Association meeting in Baltimore 2003.
- Söderberg, J. 1978. *Agrar fattigdom i Sydsverige under 1800-talet*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Therneau, T. M. & Grambsch, P. M. 2000. *Modeling Survival Data. Extending the Cox Model*. New York: Springer.

- Thernstrom, S. 1964. *Poverty and Progress. Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thestrup, P. 1972. "Methodological Problems of a Family Reconstitution Study in a Danish Rural Parish before 1800." *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 20:1-26.
- Thomas, D. S. 1941. *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933*. London: Macmillan.
- Todaro, M. P. 1969. "A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Development in Less Developed Countries." *American Economic Review* 59: 138-148.
- Utterström, G. 1957. *Jordbrukets arbetare*. Stockholm: Tiden
- Van de Putte, B. & Svensson, P. 2006. *Measuring social structure in a rural context. Applying the SOCPO-scheme to Scania, Sweden (17th-20th century)*. Paper to be presented at the Social Science History Association meeting in Minneapolis 2006.
- van Leeuwen, M.H.D. & Maas, I. 1996. "Long-term social mobility: research agenda and a case study (Berlin 1825-1957)." *Continuity and Change* 11:399-433.
- Watkins S.C. 1986. "Regional Patterns of Nuptiality in Western Europe, 1870-1960." In Coale A.J. & Watkins S.C. (eds), *The Decline of Fertility in Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wigström, E. 1891/1985. *Allmogeseder i Rönnebergs härad på 1840-talet*. Malmö: Gidlunds.
- Williamson, J. G. 1988. "Migrant Selectivity, Urbanization, and Industrial Revolutions." *Population and Development Review* 14:287-314.
- Williamson, J. G. 1996. "Globalization, Convergence, and History." *Journal of Economic History* 56:277-306.
- Winberg, C. 1975. *Folkökning och proletarisering. Kring den sociala strukturomvandlingen på Sveriges landsbygd under den agrara revolutionen*. Göteborg.
- Wrigley, E. A. 1994. "The Effect of Migration on the Estimation of Marriage Age in Family Reconstitution Studies." *Population Studies* 48: 81-97.
- Åkerman, S. (1977). "An Evaluation of the Family Reconstitution Technique." *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 25:160-170.

Table 1. Distributions of socioeconomic status in the two samples (percent).

	Migration sample		Social mobility sample	
	Parental SES at age 10		Social position at 45	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Freeholders	12	10	10	10
Tenants	21	21	14	14
Semi-landless	32	33	27	27
Landless	33	34	49	49
NA	2	2	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	3946	3859	2750	2748

Note: N refers to the number of individuals in the samples.

Table 2. Migration by distance in the five parishes 1815-1895. All never-married migrants 15-45 years (percent).

Migration distance	1815-1835		1835-1865		1865-1895	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-17 kilometers	86	84	77	80	67	68
17-34 kilometers	3	3	5	4	4	5
>34 kilometers	6	7	10	9	18	15
Towns in the region*	5	6	8	7	11	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1035	914	3198	2941	3474	3639

*Helsingborg, Landskrona, Malmö, Lund

Table 3. Cox proportional hazards estimates of external migration

Covariate	Males					Females								
	Mean	0-17km RR	p	>17 km RR	p	Towns* RR	p	Mean	0-17 km RR	p	>17 km RR	p	Towns* RR	p
Migration experience														
Non-migrant	0.667	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.666	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Migrant	0.333	1.27	0.00	1.85	0.00	1.41	0.00	0.334	1.40	0.00	1.42	0.00	1.60	0.00
Parental SES														
Freeholder	0.134	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.123	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Tenant	0.251	1.39	0.00	0.69	0.05	0.93	0.79	0.245	1.58	0.00	0.73	0.16	1.34	0.38
Semi-landless	0.321	1.70	0.00	0.83	0.27	1.12	0.60	0.348	1.99	0.00	0.97	0.88	1.90	0.02
Landless	0.284	1.74	0.00	0.96	0.78	1.84	0.00	0.273	2.21	0.00	1.26	0.25	3.04	0.00
N.A.	0.010	1.90	0.00	0.53	0.20	2.32	0.06	0.011	2.48	0.00	1.59	0.24	4.22	0.00
Siblings in the household														
Both older & younger	0.164	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.170	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Only older	0.067	0.84	0.18	0.95	0.80	0.84	0.54	0.081	0.89	0.36	0.64	0.08	1.20	0.58
Only younger	0.280	1.32	0.00	1.30	0.07	0.88	0.49	0.259	1.76	0.00	1.34	0.06	1.81	0.01
No siblings	0.488	1.51	0.00	1.18	0.34	1.18	0.45	0.490	1.62	0.00	1.11	0.57	1.78	0.03
Presence of parents in the hh.														
Both	0.413	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.415	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Only father	0.022	1.23	0.26	1.82	0.05	0.72	0.55	0.029	1.12	0.47	1.08	0.81	2.04	0.06
Only mother	0.065	0.86	0.24	1.37	0.09	1.19	0.48	0.057	0.88	0.28	1.54	0.05	1.15	0.65
Neither	0.500	1.38	0.16	1.38	0.40	1.04	0.95	0.499	1.51	0.05	2.71	0.00	2.28	0.09
Household of residence														
Parental	0.512	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.515	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Other	0.488	1.26	0.32	0.79	0.55	1.01	0.99	0.485	1.09	0.67	0.41	0.01	0.46	0.11
Period														
1814-1860	0.419	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.469	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
1860-1895	0.581	1.01	0.91	2.06	0.00	1.45	0.01	0.531	1.15	0.00	1.51	0.00	2.28	0.00
Parish														
Hög	0.089	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	0.086	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Kävlinge	0.111	0.80	0.05	1.51	0.08	1.07	0.80	0.104	1.10	0.39	1.56	0.11	1.92	0.03
Halmstad	0.170	0.70	0.00	1.99	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.169	0.80	0.03	2.20	0.00	0.90	0.74
Sireköpinge	0.188	0.69	0.00	1.94	0.00	0.91	0.71	0.192	0.85	0.11	1.92	0.01	1.75	0.05
Kågeröd	0.442	0.67	0.00	1.34	0.18	0.62	0.05	0.449	0.85	0.08	1.52	0.09	0.76	0.35
Frailty variance (family)		0.35	0.00	1.02	0.00	1.67	0.00		0.27	0.00	1.51	0.00	1.59	0.02
Events		2416		595		344			2534		491		271	
Total time at risk		28833		28833		28833			27628		27628		27628	
χ^2 test statistic		1761		943		730			1766		962		676	
Degrees of freedom		560		416		404			492		501		336	
Overall p-value		0.000		0.000		0.000			0.000		0.000		0.000	

* Towns in the region only: Lund, Helsingborg, Landskrona and Malmö

Table 7. Percentage of population experiencing inter-generational mobility.

	Males		Females	
	%	N	%	N
Total mobility*	60	2249	63	2225
Upward mobility**	16	1220	16	1139
Downward mobility***	60	1029	65	1086

* Based on the four category social structure

** Non-peasants

*** Peasants

Table 8. Odds ratios of moving socially.

	Males & females		Males & females		Males		Males		Females		Females	
	OR	p	OR	p	OR	p	OR	p	OR	p	OR	p
Constant	1.15	0.38	1.02	0.88	1.14	0.55	1.00	1.00	1.31	0.19	1.20	0.40
Sex												
Males	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Females	1.13	0.07	1.13	0.06	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
SES at birth												
Freeholder	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Tenant	1.18	0.13	1.19	0.10	1.28	0.11	1.28	0.11	1.11	0.51	1.12	0.44
Semi-landless	0.86	0.14	0.85	0.12	0.94	0.66	0.93	0.59	0.80	0.12	0.80	0.11
Landless	0.27	0.00	0.27	0.00	0.29	0.00	0.29	0.00	0.26	0.00	0.26	0.00
Migration experience												
Non-migrant	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Migrant	1.18	0.02	1.61	0.00	1.12	0.24	1.58	0.00	1.25	0.02	1.65	0.00
Spouse's SES at birth												
Freeholder	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Tenant	1.13	0.30	1.13	0.30	1.13	0.46	1.16	0.40	1.11	0.55	1.10	0.60
Semi-landless	1.40	0.00	1.40	0.00	1.36	0.06	1.37	0.05	1.40	0.04	1.40	0.05
Landless	1.25	0.06	1.27	0.05	1.36	0.07	1.38	0.06	1.14	0.47	1.14	0.46
NA	1.15	0.21	1.16	0.21	1.22	0.21	1.23	0.19	1.08	0.66	1.07	0.68
Spouse's place of birth												
Parish of residence	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Other parish	1.34	0.00	1.33	0.00	1.26	0.05	1.25	0.06	1.40	0.00	1.39	0.00
Period												
1814-1860	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
1860-1895	1.25	0.00	1.58	0.00	1.37	0.00	1.80	0.00	1.13	0.21	1.38	0.01
Parish												
Hög	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref	1.00	ref
Kävlinge	0.78	0.06	0.79	0.07	0.78	0.19	0.79	0.20	0.78	0.18	0.78	0.19
Halmstad	1.11	0.43	1.09	0.50	0.98	0.93	0.97	0.87	1.25	0.23	1.23	0.26
Sireköpinge	1.06	0.64	1.05	0.70	1.01	0.96	0.99	0.97	1.11	0.56	1.10	0.57
Kågeröd	1.06	0.65	1.04	0.73	0.96	0.79	0.94	0.70	1.17	0.36	1.16	0.38
Interaction, migration exp. * period												
Migrant*1860-1895	---	---	0.60	0.00	---	---	0.56	0.00	---	---	0.64	0.02
Events	2760		2760		1358		1358		1402		1402	
N	4474		4474		2249		2249		2225		2225	
χ^2 test statistic (G ²)	353		367		170		179		186		191	
Degrees of freedom	15		16		14		15		14		15	
Overall p-value	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	

Note: Social mobility based on a comparison of the social position (four category social structure) of the family head at age 45

Figure 1. Migration rates from the five parishes, all distances. All unmarried 15-45 years.

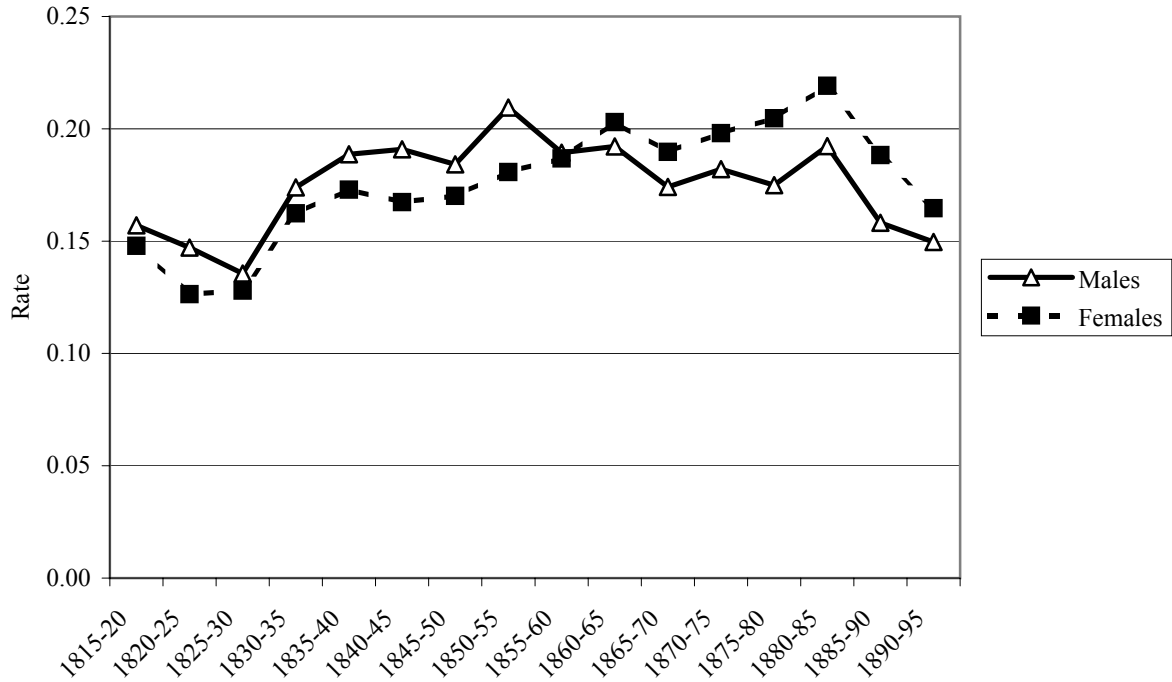


Figure 2. Migration rates from the five parishes, 0-17 km. All unmarried 15-45 years.

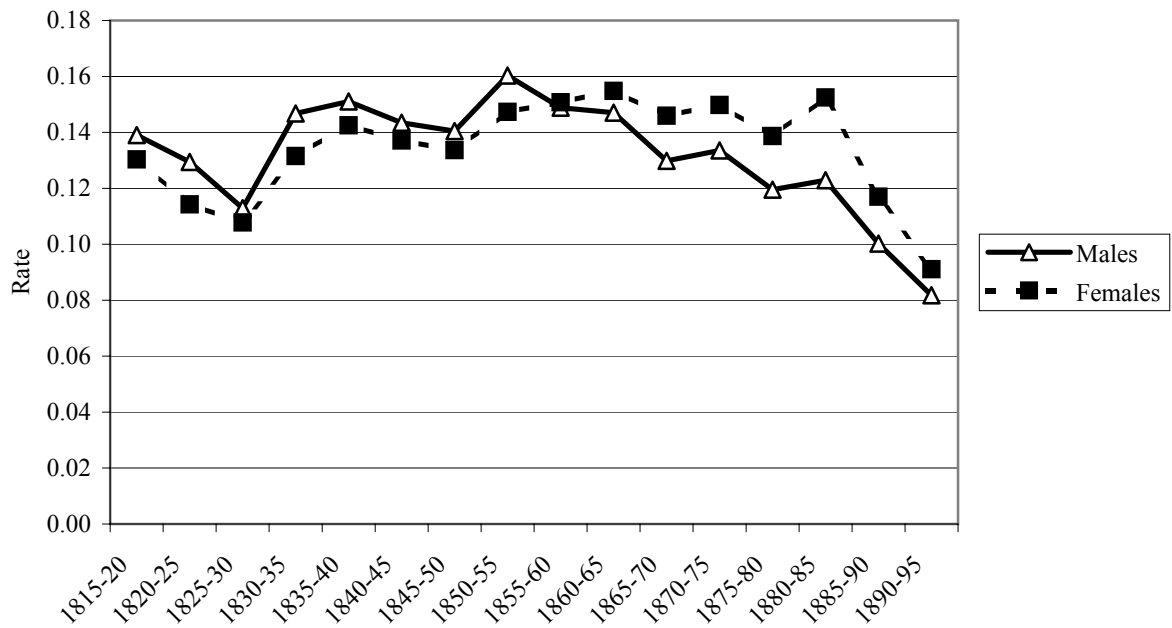


Figure 3. Migration rates from the five parishes, more than 17 km. All unmarried 15-45 years.

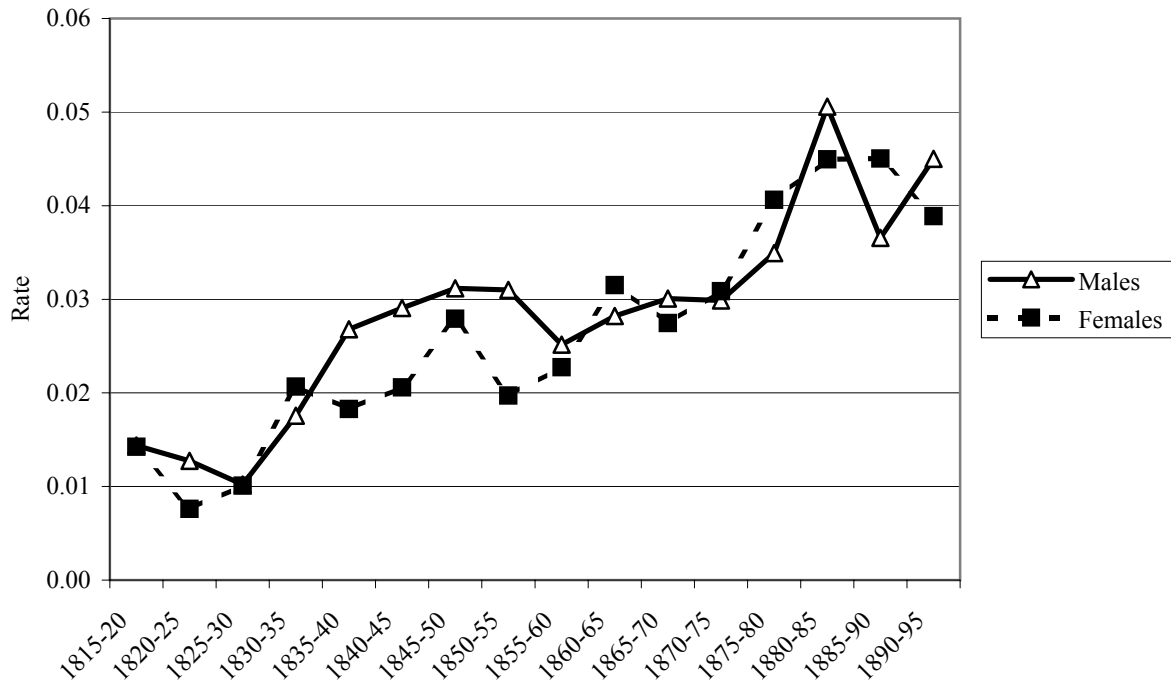


Figure 4. Migration rates from the five parishes, to towns in the region (Lund, Landskrona, Helsingborg and Malmö). All unmarried 15-45 years.

