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From Outsiders to Insiders? Partner Choice and Marriage among Internal Migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm, 1850–1930

*Paul Puschmann, Nina Van den Driessche, Per-Olof Grönberg, Bart Van de Putte & Koen Matthijs**

Abstract: »Von Außenseitern zu Etablierten? Partnerwahl und Heirat unter inländischen Migranten in Antwerpen, Rotterdam und Stockholm, 1850–1930«. Processes of social inclusion and exclusion among internal migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the period 1850–1930 are studied with the help of data on partner choice and marriage of migrants who moved to these cities as singles. In practice, four outcomes related to meeting and mating are linked in our conceptual model to four acculturation trajectories, which form together a sliding scale in terms of social in- and exclusion. The models were tested by means of logistic regression. The results show that in all three cities social exclusion was a widespread phenomenon, and that only a small minority of the migrants became fully incorporated into urban mainstream society. Social exclusion was highly related to cultural differences between migrants and natives. Economic capital did not reduce the migrants' risk of facing marginalization, but it did facilitate the crossing of group boundaries for a specific group of migrants who were able to escape marginalization. The fact that social inclusion took place on a larger scale in Antwerp and Rotterdam compared to Stockholm suggests that large port cities facilitated the incorporation of migrants more than industrial cities.

Keywords: Migration, partner choice, marriage, social inclusion, social exclusion, acculturation.

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1. Introduction¹

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Western European cities witnessed a strong increase in urban in-migration as a result of a combination of push and pull factors, including the demographic transition, the decline of the family economy, agricultural crises and industrialization (Moch 2003; Lucassen and Lucassen 2009).

The increase in human mobility generated a process of diversification in European cities in terms of culture, language, ethnicity and religion. This is especially true for port cities, as they attracted vast amounts of newcomers with different profiles (Lee and Lawton 2002). The question is whether the growing groups of newcomers found their way in the city, got established, and became part of urban mainstream society. Were migrants able to adapt to their new environment? Were they successful in the labor market? Did newcomers manage to establish a social network? Did they start to identify themselves with their new place of residence and the city's native population? Did migrants mingle with other social groups or did segregation take place? Did they face discrimination? These are all fundamental questions scholars of social in- and exclusion try to answer.

By social inclusion we mean the process that increases the capability of migrants to participate in social, economic, political and cultural activities in the receiving society. Social inclusion reduces inequalities between migrants and natives by increasingly giving migrants access to different domains of the host community (Papillion 2002; Sen 2000). Differently put: Social inclusion transforms outsiders into insiders by breaking down group boundaries. Social exclusion is the opposite process: Migrants are prevented from participating in activities in core domains of the host community (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud 2002). Social exclusion increases inequalities between migrants and natives, and group boundaries continue to exist or grow even larger (Omidvar and Richmond 2003; Chakravarty and D'Ambrosio 2006). Outsiders stay outsiders.

While processes of social in- and exclusion have been studied extensively for American cities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, so far, those processes have hardly been analyzed for European cities in that specific era (Dribe and Lundh 2008). This is related to the fact that contrary to the Trans-Atlantic movement, migration within and towards Western Europe in the past is not part of the collective memory (Lucassen 2005). Only more recently, inspired by contem-

¹ We would like to thank Robyn Donrovich (KU Leuven), Nadia Fadil (KU Leuven), Jan Kok (Radboud University Nijmegen/KU Leuven) and Kees Mandemakers (International Institute of Social History) for their useful suggestions and comments we received from them. We are grateful to Sven Vrielinck and Erik Vanhaute (Ghent University) for the retrieval from the Historical Database of Local Statistics (LOKSTAT). Next, we would like to thank Nadja Dörflinger (KU Leuven) for the language edits of the German abstract. Last but not least we thank Research Foundation Flanders (FWO) for providing the financial means for this research.

porary debates on adaptation and acculturation, historians, sociologists and historical demographers have become interested in processes of social in- and exclusion of migrants who settled in Western European cities before World War II.

In this paper we will shed light on processes of social in- and exclusion of internal migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We will evaluate the role of human capital in those processes, as well as the impact of economic and demographic structures. We will do this by studying the partner choice and marriage behaviour of internal migrants who moved as singles to these cities. More specifically, we link four outcomes related to partner choice and marriage to four acculturation paths or trajectories, which form together a sliding scale in terms of social in- and exclusion. This approach has been applied in an earlier publication on migrant adaptation in Antwerp by Puschmann, Van den Driessche, Matthijs and Van de Putte (2012).

By comparing three cities, we can also account for the influence of the historical context on mechanisms of social in- and exclusion. We chose Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, as these cities were confronted with heavy urban immigration, but offered different opportunity structures for migrants. Antwerp and Rotterdam became the two largest port cities of Europe. Stockholm also had a port, but it was only of secondary importance for the local economy. The Swedish capital turned instead into Sweden's prime industrial hot spot. Anne Winter (2009) hypothesized that social inclusion was easier in port cities compared to industrial cities, because of the large demand for unspecialized labour in ports, which suited the profile of unskilled rural labourers particularly well. We expect therefore that migrants faced less social exclusion in Antwerp and Rotterdam compared to Stockholm.

The comparison of Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm was only possible, because for all three cities large historical demographic micro-level databases are available, which contain detailed and reliable data on the life courses of internal migrants during the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

2. Social Inclusion and Exclusion in the Literature

The literature on social in- and exclusion of late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban in-migrants has produced an inconsistent picture. In older literature on the topic, dominated by scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology (Park 1928; Park and Burgess 1925) and their followers (Handlin 1951; Chevalier 1958), the adaptation process of urban in-migrants is described in a fatalistic way. Newcomers to the city were believed to have become socially and culturally disrupted. They did not adapt to the labour market, because they lacked skills, experience, knowledge and a social network. In addition, they faced discrimination and social deprivation. Unable to thrive in the city, uprooted newcomers impoverished and became involved in all kind of social evils, ranging from

heavy drinking, births out of wedlock and prostitution to crime (Moch 2003). Scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology focused on the adaptation process of rural migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe in US cities, but this gloomy picture found its way also to the literature on urban in-migrants in European cities. Good examples are Bouman and Bourman (1955) on Rotterdam and Lis (1986) on Antwerp.

Next to this gloomy image of the adaptation process of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban in-migrants, based largely on qualitative data analysis, there is a line of research which sketches migrants as extraordinarily successful city dwellers (Sewell 1985; Lucassen 2004). In these quantitative studies, it is underlined that migration is a selective process in the sense that young, dynamic, educated, skilled and enterprising persons were more likely to leave their place of birth and settle in a city compared to older persons lacking in human capital. Consequently, newcomers to the city were those people who had the right profile to face the challenges life in an unfamiliar city posed to them. Moreover, it has been argued that migrants were not left by themselves, but moved within networks. Family members, friends and acquaintances offered shelter to newcomers and assisted in the processes of obtaining necessary documents and finding employment (Tilly and Brown 1967; Anderson 1971; Hareven 1982).

3. The Ensemble of Agency and Structure

Processes of social in- and exclusion are generated by complex sets of interactions between migrants and the receiving society. Whether outsiders become insiders is dependent of the *agency* of migrants within certain *structures* (Giddens 1971; Bourdieu 1984). In this piece of research, the three cities and their specific historical context function as structures. The three receiving urban societies consisted of various fields with their own *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984). The concept of habitus refers to the social constructions, which encompass common frames of reference and patterns of action, which natives have internalized from young on, but which migrants only encounter upon arrival in the host society. This habitus is important as it produces and reproduces power relations within the field (Clycq 2009).

Within the different fields of society, historical actors had a certain degree of freedom to manoeuvre. This human agency was to a considerable degree dependent upon the human capital migrants had at their disposal. Bourdieu (1984) distinguishes between economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital refers to the economic assets, which historical actors used to obtain power within society. Cultural capital is the set of cultural competences which are linked to higher social positions in the field. It is basically an umbrella term for education, knowledge and taste. Social capital refers to the social relations individuals have in society. Another important form of human capital which

influenced the opportunities of migrants to experience social inclusion – although in ways more difficult to measure (especially in the historical context) – is erotic or sexual capital (Hakim 2010).

Migrants tried to obtain all kinds of scarce items in different fields of the receiving society through means of human capital: a job at in the labour market, a dwelling in the housing market, a partner at in the marriage market, etc. To what extent migrants were successful in obtaining those scarce items was, on the one hand, dependent of their amount of human capital, on the other hand, of the local opportunity structure. Discrimination and stigmatization played a role too (Lucassen 2005; Lucassen, Feldman and Oltmer 2006).

In this article we investigate the impact of economic and cultural capital of internal migrants on their chances of social inclusion in three different cities. We focus on the marriage market, but our results are also related to the housing and labour markets. After all, during the period of investigation, Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm were characterized by the Western-European marriage pattern of late marriage and large proportions of bachelors and spinsters. During that age individuals were expected to form independent households upon marriage, which required a certain form of economic independence not easily obtained (Hajnal 1965).

4. Partner Choice, Marriage and Social In- and Exclusion

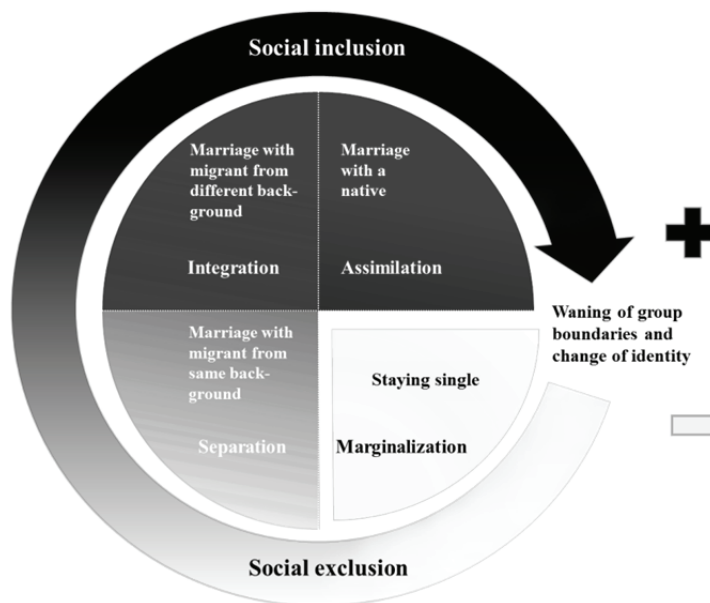
Partner choice and marriage are often used as measures of processes of acculturation and social inclusion. Mixed marriages (between migrants and natives) have even been acknowledged as being the best indicator of processes of acculturation. It has been presented as a ‘litmus test’ of adaptation (Alba and Nee 2003) or the last step in a series of adaptations before a migrant group has become fully assimilated to mainstream society (Gordon 1964). Mixed marriages show that the social distance between migrants and natives has become smaller and that differences between both social groups are no longer considered as obstacles for living together (Alba and Nee 2003; Lucassen 2005). Inter-marriage demonstrates that migrants and natives have frequent contact and share intimate (emotional and sexual) relationships (Schrover 2005). It also proves that they accept each other as social equals (Kalmijn 1998). In the long run, mixed marriages lead to the merging of migrants and natives.

Next to partner choice, marriage timing and propensity provide insight into social inclusion. Existing studies show that migrants in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cities used to marry less and later than the native population, which indicates that access to the marriage market was restrained for migrants. (Van Poppel 1992; Lee 1999; Lynch 1991; Oris 2000). The absence of a social network and the lack of command of the local language made it more difficult to find a partner and to adapt to the labour market (Van Poppel 1992). Since

couples-to-be were expected to be financially independent, bad or slow labour market adaptation decreased the likelihood of getting married. Moreover, certain groups of migrants had bad reputations, which made them unpopular marriage candidates (Schrover 2002).

While existing studies either focus on access to the marriage market or the degree to which mixed marriages took place, we have developed a conceptual model which combines both approaches. The model is inspired by Berry's (1997) boxes and is more in line with the latest development in the field of migration and acculturation studies, as it acknowledges that migrants do not necessarily experience full assimilation to the dominant culture of the host society. Acculturation can instead follow multiple paths and can have multiple outcomes (Portes and Zhou 1993). Assimilation, as measured by ways of intermarriage, is only one potential outcome. In total, we link four outcomes related to partner choice and marriage to four acculturation trajectories. These four acculturation trajectories are to be treated as 'ideal types' in the Weberian sense of the word. Together they form a sliding scale with respect to social in- and exclusion (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Conceptual Model Partner Choice, Marriage, Acculturation and Social In- and Exclusion



According to our conceptual model, migrant groups who married natives, *assimilated* into the host society. These migrants had full access to all core domains of society and faced no discrimination. The socio-cultural differences

between them and the native population had largely faded away or had become so small that group boundaries had either fully disappeared or become extremely blurred. The members of this migrant group had started to identify themselves with the culture of the native population, and felt home in the receiving society. Outsiders had become full insiders.

Migrant groups who married migrants with different geographic and cultural roots *integrated* into the host society. These migrants had their most important and intimate relationships outside their own group, which signifies that group boundaries had become less rigid, and that the maintenance of the own culture and identity was not their highest aim. A certain form of social inclusion had taken place, but this was less far-reaching than in the case of assimilation, as a certain distance with the native population remained. A change of culture and identity had taken place, but not necessarily in the direction of the native population.

Migrant groups who married with migrants from the same geographic and cultural background experienced *separation*. These migrants had their most intimate relationships in life within their own groups. This implies that group boundaries were robust and that segregation existed. Migrants had not undergone a major shift in identity and belonging and they had not internalized the dominant culture of the receiving society. Rather they had kept the identity and culture of their place of origin. The fact that these migrants managed to marry, signifies nevertheless, that they were successful in their own group. After all, a certain form of social integration is a precondition for meeting and mating (De Graaf and Kalmijn 2003), and the economic requirements for marriage were high at the time. Nevertheless, outsiders had stayed largely outsiders.

Migrant groups who stayed single in the host society, faced *marginalization*. This group of newcomers was unable to start long-lasting relationships and did not manage to establish roots in the receiving society. Outsiders had stayed outsiders as a result of marginalization. This could have been the result of discrimination and/or a lack of human capital, by which these migrants were undesired in the marriage market or were unable to formalize an existing relationship. While not all individual migrants who did not get married were necessarily marginalized, at the group level, and that is the level to which our results point, remaining single was a good indicator of marginalization and social exclusion.

At this point, we would like to underline that our model in its present form is only applicable to societies in which marriage is a highly attractive institution, and accordingly a large majority of the population marries at some point in the life course. For such societies marriage gives a genuine insight into the social fabric of society and the position of migrants. However, for societies, like Western Europe today, in which marriage has lost much of its attraction and non-marital cohabitation is a substitute of marital cohabitation, marriage data tell only part of the story. After all, staying single in such a society does not necessarily mean that one is unable to engage in a long-lasting and intimate relationship, nor does it mean that one has not the means to formalize an exist-

ing relationship by ways of civil marriage. Next, studying assimilation, integration and separation exclusively on the basis of marriage partners in a society with large-scale non-marital cohabitation, could lead to biases, as the group of cohabitants is not included in the analysis, while their partner choices might differ considerably from the group of migrants that marries.

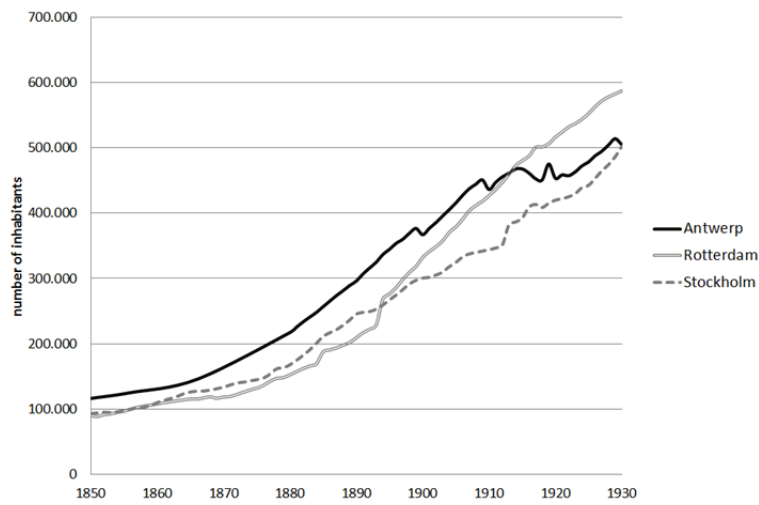
While our model in its present form might be less appropriate for Europe today, it is highly applicable to North-Western European cities in the period from about 1850 to 1970, when marriage was the only institution which provided legitimate access to sex and reproduction. The advent of the age of the male breadwinner went hand in hand with a mimetic appetite for marriage. Consequently, ages at marriage dropped and proportions of life time singles grew smaller, among all social classes (Matthijs 2002). In the meanwhile non-marital fertility declined, while divorce remained for the time being a relative uncommon life transition (Shorter 1975). Next, marriage was linked to many other life course transitions (becoming an adult, becoming a head of household), property transfers between parents and children (Dribe, Manfredini and Oris 2014). Also, marriage was increasingly linked to the idea of romantic love and equal partnerships (Coontz 2005). In such a type of a society very few people had the desire to stay single for the rest of their lives. It simply was the norm to get married.

The fact that marriage was so common and widespread, means that the group of life-time singles was a very specific group, largely made up of people who were unable to find a partner for life and people who never managed to meet the economic and/or legal requirements for marriage. Next, the partner choice of those migrants who married reflects their most important ties in the receiving society, as well as their cultural attitudes and identity. Together marriage and partner choice reveal group boundaries, as well as identity, feelings of belonging and degrees of cultural maintenance among migrant groups.

5. Three Different Port Cities

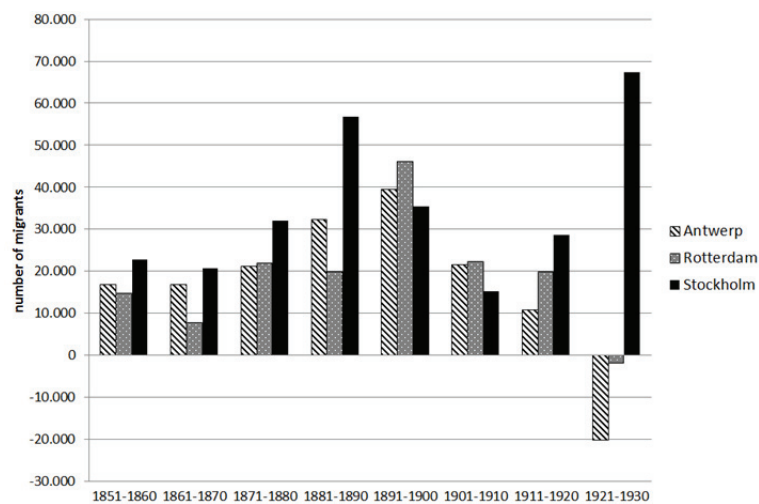
Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm experienced strong population growth in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as a result of positive net-migration, mortality decline and the incorporation of neighbouring sub-urban municipalities. Rotterdam grew at a slightly higher rate, through which the Dutch port city became the largest of the three cities at the beginning of the twentieth century (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Total Population²



Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-database; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbooks of Stockholm.

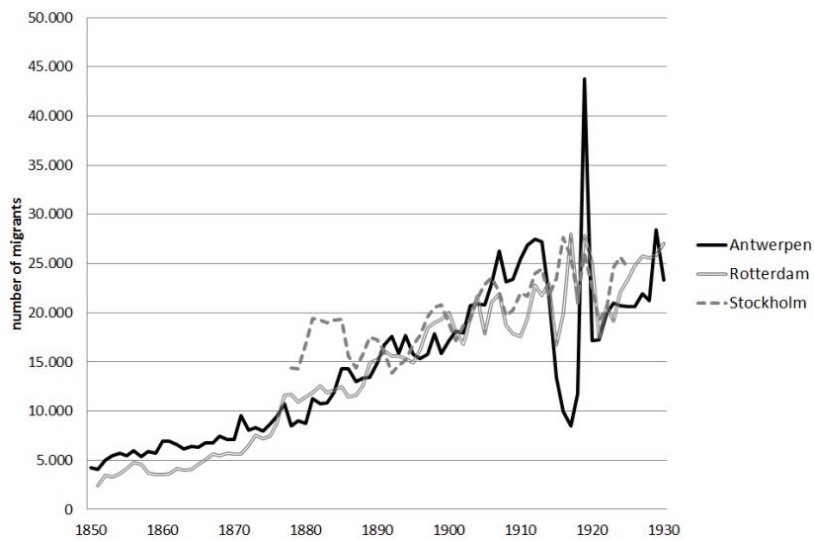
Figure 3: Net-Migration



Source: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbooks of Stockholm.

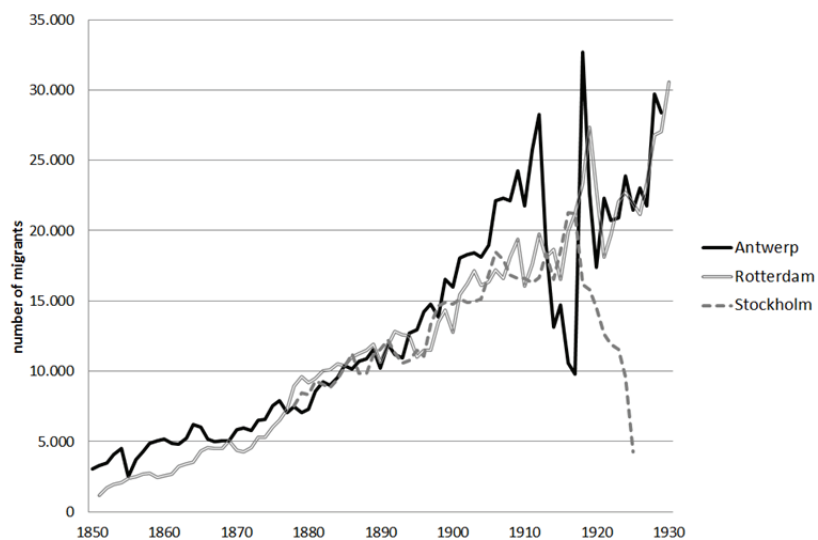
² In the case of Antwerp the suburban municipalities of Berchem, Borgerhout, Deurne, Hoboken, Merksem and Wilrijk are included in the figures.

Figure 4: Urban In-Migration



Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Estimates based on digitalized part of the Roteman archives, which covered 80% of Stockholm at the time in- and out-migration were calculated.

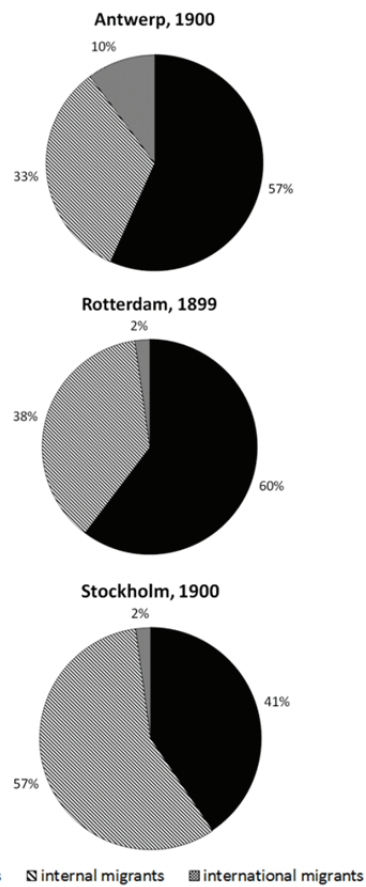
Figure 5: Urban Out-Migration



Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Estimates based on digitalized part of the Roteman archives, which covered 80% of Stockholm at the time in- and out-migration were calculated.

In all three cities more people moved into Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm than left those cities in the period 1850-1920, as is indicated by the positive net-migration (figure 3). Urban in-migration and out-migration followed roughly comparable trends (figures 4 and 5). There are two important exceptions. The first is related to WWI. In 1914 German troops besieged Antwerp, upon which thousands of inhabitants left the city. In total about a million Belgians took refuge in the Netherlands. After the war the majority of the refugees returned (Obdeijn and Schrover 2008). Since Sweden and the Netherlands were not involved in the fighting, in- and out-migration in Rotterdam and Stockholm stayed largely unaffected by the war.

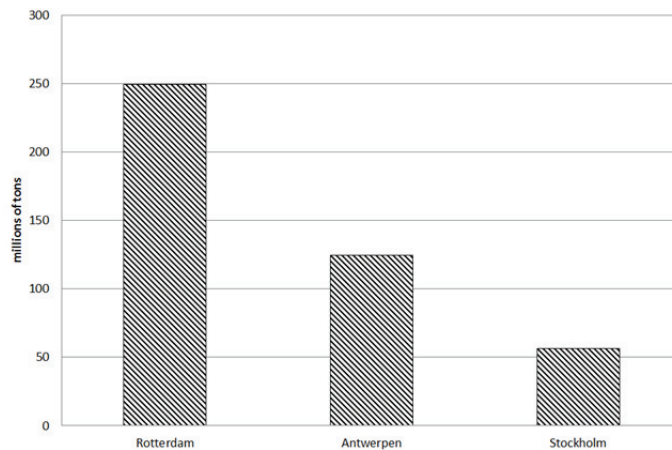
Figure 6: Total Population According to Birth Place



Source: Antwerp LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Census of 1899; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbook of Stockholm 1900.

The second largest anomaly regarding urban in- and out-migration took place in the 1920s, when Antwerp and Rotterdam experienced negative net-migration, while Stockholm witnessed the largest positive net-migration of the whole period of study. Figure 5 shows that this was related to divergent trends in urban out-migration. While the outflow of migrants in Antwerp and Rotterdam kept on growing steadily after an exceptional peak at the end of WWI, out-migration in Stockholm kept on declining from 1916 on.

Figure 7: Total Turnover of Cargo, 1900-1910



Source: Rotterdam: Database Project Rotterdam-Antwerp: A Century and a Half of Port Competition 1880-2000: <http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/english/rotterdam_antwerp_1880_2000/introduction>; Antwerp: Data collection of the Economic History Workshop (Center of Economic Studies, KU Leuven) <<http://www.econ.kuleuven.ac.be/ew/academic/econhist>> and K. Veraghtert, De havenbewegingen te Antwerpen tijdens de negentiende eeuw. Een kwantitatieve benadering (Unpublished PhD thesis KU Leuven 1977; Stockholm: Commerce-Collegii Underdåniga Berättelse om Sveriges Inrikes Sjöfart 1849-1857; Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik. E. Sjöfart. Kommerskollegii Underdåniga Berättelse, 1858-1910.

Migration also had an impact on the population composition of the three port cities. Around 1900, the proportion of international migrants in Rotterdam and Stockholm (both 2%) was considerably smaller than in Antwerp (10%). The Swedish capital was the city with the lowest share of natives in the total urban population (41%) and the only city of the three in which the migrants formed a majority. In Rotterdam and Antwerp the natives accounted respectively for 57% and 60% (see figure 6).

From an economic and political perspective Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm differed substantially from each other. A first major difference is related to the size and functions of the port. In Antwerp the port dominated the city's economy more or less completely during the period of study. The port became the second largest of Europe. Rotterdam turned into Europe's largest port city

(Weigend 1973). Rotterdam's success was strongly related to the construction of the *Nieuwe Waterweg* ("New Waterway"), which when it was opened in 1872, gave even the world's largest ocean vessels direct access to the port. Stockholm was also a port city, but of considerably smaller size than Rotterdam and Antwerp, as is indicated by figure 7, which presents the total in- and outflow of goods in tons for the period 1900-1910. The turnover of goods in Rotterdam was twice as large as in Antwerp. In Antwerp the amount of goods was twice as large compared to Stockholm.

In terms of industrialization there were major differences between the three cities. Stockholm became the largest industrial city of Sweden in the course of the nineteenth century. In 1905 the city counted about 750 plants, that employed some 31,000 labourers (Bidrag till Sveriges officiella statistik (BiSOS) D 1878-1910; Statistical Yearbook of Sweden 1914-1928). In the Netherlands the Industrial Revolution took off slowly. In Rotterdam the first factories were established in the 1870s, and in the following decades the city became slowly but surely a centre of industry, although transit trade with the German hinterland became the main driver of the economy (Weigend 1973; Van de Laar 2003). According to the business census of 1909, 48,926 males and 10,052 females were employed in industry. Many industries were related to the port, and they usually processed raw materials into semi-finished and finished products like tobacco, sugar, soap, butter, and after WWI also oil (Van de Laar 2000). Antwerp differed considerably from Stockholm and Rotterdam, as the Belgian port city hardly industrialized at all before WWI (Veraghtert 1977). Besides the city's world famous diamond sector, there was ship building and ship repairation, as well as food, wool and steel industries, but those industrial branches were very tiny and could not even give a boost to the city's port activities (De Brabander 1986).

A final major difference between all three cities is of political nature and is related to the cities' urban functions. Contrary to Antwerp and Rotterdam, Stockholm was a capital city. The presence of the royal palace, the parliament, the ministries, in addition to other government buildings, created a demand for higher educated administrative staff and diplomats. This demand was largely absent in Antwerp and Rotterdam, which were known as typical labourer cities.

6. Data

The data for this research originates from three different historical demographic databases. The data on Antwerp is retrieved from the Antwerp COR*-database, a letter sample from the population registers and the vital registration of births, marriages and deaths (Matthijs and Moreels 2010). From all persons whose name started with the letters 'COR,' as well as their resident kin, all life course information was collected, cleaned, linked and stored in a database consisting

of 33,583 individuals. The sample is representative of the population, which lived during the period 1846-1920 in the district of Antwerp. For more information on the database, see Matthijs and Moreels (2010).

The data on Rotterdam is retrieved from the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) (Kok, Mandemakers and Bras 2009). The dataset *HSN Life Courses Release 2010.01*, which is used for this research, contains life course information on 37,173 research persons (Mandemakers 2010). The research persons are selected by way of a random sample from the Dutch birth registers from the period 1812-1920. Subsequently, all life course information of these research persons from the population registers and the vital registration of births, marriages and deaths was collected, cleaned, linked and stored. Research persons were followed through time and space, as long as they did not leave the Netherlands.³

The data on Stockholm was retrieved from the Stockholm Historical Database (SHD). This database is a digitalization of the Roteman Archives. Between 1878 and 1926 the Roteman Registration System was active in Stockholm, which meant that in all wards of the city a civil servant, called Roteman, carefully registered all demographic and socio-economic changes of the whole population in a population register, which was yearly updated on the basis of a census. The Stockholm Historical Database is not a sample, but a digitalization of the whole population which was living by the time in the city. At the moment the data retrieval was conducted, SHD consisted of 23 out of 36 wards of the Swedish capital. For more information on SHD, see Geschwind and Fogelvik (2000).

From the three databases we selected internal migrants who were single upon arrival in the city. By *migrants* we mean those people who were not born in Antwerp, Rotterdam or Stockholm, but moved to one of these cities at any moment during their life course. With the term *internal migrants* we refer to those migrants who moved within the country borders of Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden. In the case of Antwerp and Rotterdam, we selected all internal migrants from the databases who were still unmarried upon arrival. For Stockholm we took a random sample of every fifth internal migrant who moved between 1878 and 1915 to the Swedish capital. From this group we selected subsequently only those who were single upon arrival.

For all internal migrants the following information was collected: identification number, sex, birth date, birth place, occupation (first registered occupation upon arrival), age at arrival and place of settlement (ward in the case of Stockholm; municipality in the case of Antwerp; for Rotterdam neighbourhood information was lacking in a majority of cases). Subsequently, it was investigated who married in the place of settlement. For those who entered matrimony, information on the marriage was collected, including the date of marriage and birth place of the partner.

³ For more information on HSN, we refer to the website of the database: <<http://www.iisg.nl/hsn>>.

7. Methodology, Variables and Hypotheses

With the help of the above described data, we constructed variables which helped us to gain insight into the likelihood of experiencing social inclusion (versus staying excluded), measured on the basis of outcomes regarding partner choice and marriage, as described in paragraph four of this article. Two types of analyses were conducted with the same independent, but different dependent variables. In the first analysis the likelihood of getting married (versus staying single) was modelled by means of binomial logistic regression (see figure 8). In this part of the analyses we investigated which assets of the migrants decreased their likelihood of facing marginalization and social exclusion. In the second analysis we conducted a multinomial logistic regression for those migrants who actually married. The outcome variable distinguishes between endogamous marriages, exogamous marriages with a migrant and exogamous marriages with a native (see figure 9). These outcomes correspond in our conceptual model with separation, integration and assimilation, respectively. The two analyses together form a study of four acculturation trajectories, which form a sliding scale in terms of social in- and exclusion.

Figure 8: Binomial Logistic Model: Marrying versus Staying Single

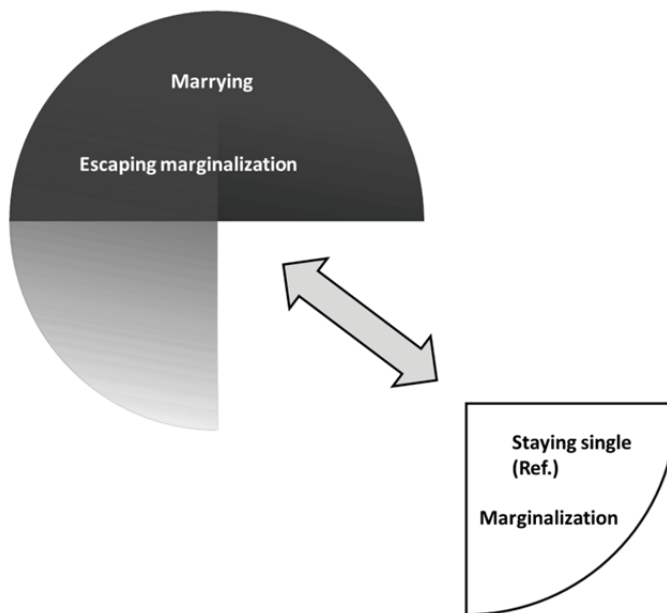
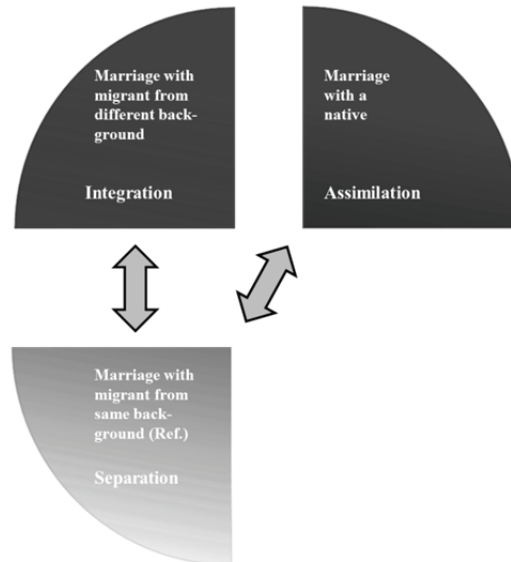


Figure 9: Multinomial Logistic Model: Marrying Endogamous versus Marrying Exogamous with a Migrant or Marrying Exogamous with a Native



7.1 Dependent Variables

- *Marrying versus staying single* (binomial logistic regression): This dichotomous variable distinguishes between migrants who married and migrants who stayed single during their stay in the receiving city. Staying single is the reference category.
- *Marriage types* (multinomial logistic regression): This variable has three categories: 1 endogamous marriage with a migrant; 2 exogamous marriage with a migrant; 3 exogamous marriage with a native. The first outcome is the reference category. This variable is based on the birth place information of the marriage partner. Marriages with migrants from the same birth province are treated as endogamous marriages; marriages with migrants from another birth province are classified as exogamous marriages with a migrant. Exogamous marriages with a native are those marriages with a partner who was born in Antwerp, Rotterdam or Stockholm.

7.2 Independent Variables

The independent variables in the models measure the agency of migrants on the marriage market. We assume that this agency is determined to a large degree

by the economic and cultural capital and the socio-demographic features of the migrants.

7.2.1 Economic Capital

The economic capital of the migrants is measured with the help of social class information based on occupational titles from the population register.

- *Social class*: This variable is based on the first registered occupation of the migrant upon arrival in the city. Occupations are coded in HISCO (Van Leeuwen, Maas and Miles 2002) and subsequently recoded into SOCPO, a meaningful social class scheme based on the concept of *social power* (Van de Putte and Miles 2005). The original five classes were recoded into three categories: (1) unskilled labourers, (2) semi-skilled and skilled labourers and (3) middle class and elite. We expected that the higher social classes would have better chances of getting married compared to the lower social classes, as their economic capital would function as a trump card on the marriage market (Kalmijn 1994). A comparable, but less strong effect, could be expected for the semi-skilled and skilled labourers compared to the unskilled labourers. Last but not least, we expect that the higher social classes were more likely to marry a native.

7.2.2 Cultural Capital

- *Language*: This variable was only created for Antwerp, because all internal migrants in Rotterdam and Stockholm are expected to have shared their native language with the local population. For Antwerp we distinguished between migrants who were born in the French-speaking Walloon area (0) and the Dutch-speaking Flanders (1). We expect that French-speakers had lower odds to get married and higher odds of marrying within their own group, as Dutch was a language barrier to them in the Dutch speaking port (Van de Putte 2003).
- *Distance*: This metrical variable measures the bird-flight distance between the birth place and the city of settlement. In order to calculate the distance, we made use of the Euclidean measure to calculate between x and y coordinates:

$$d(p,q) = \sqrt{(p_1 - q_1)^2 + (p_2 - q_2)^2}$$

For the Belgian data, the so-call Lambert coordinates (distance between the church towers or city halls) were used (Vrielinck 2007). We expect that migrants who moved over larger distances had smaller odds of getting married, as they differed culturally more from the native dwellers than short distance migrants, and because they were less likely to have a social network in the city of settlement.

- *Rural versus urban*: This variable distinguishes between migrants who were born in a city (1) and migrants who were born in the countryside (0). We

expected that rural migrants were less likely to marry, as they were not used to city life. Moreover, we assume that rural migrants had a more closed mentality and, therefore, we expect them to have married more often within their own group (Van de Putte 2003). We expect that urban dwellers had higher odds of marrying a native.

- *Age at arrival*: This variable has three categories: Migrants who arrived before their 17th birth day (1), between the ages of 17 and 30 (2), and migrants who arrived after their 30th birth day (3). The first group is the reference category. We expect that the group who arrived during childhood had higher odds of getting married in general and of marrying a native, because they differed the least from the native population as they were partially socialized in the city of settlement (Gordon 1964; Hwang et al. 1999).

7.2.3 Socio-Demographic Variables

Although, we are first of all interested in the economic and cultural capital of migrants there are some important variables, which most likely influenced marriage opportunities, that we will have to control for.

- *Sex*: This variable distinguishes between males (1) and females (2). We expect female migrants to have had a lower likelihood to get married, because there was an excess of females in these cities. We expect that this improved the chances of males to get married.
- *Place of settlement*: This variable indicates where first migrants settled within the city. For Antwerp, a distinction was made between Antwerp city and the suburban municipalities of Hoboken, Wilrijk, Berchem, Borgerhout and Deurne. The variable was reduced to two categories: Antwerp city (1) versus sub-urban municipalities (0). We expect that the likelihood of migrants to get married was higher in the suburbs, and that the likelihood of marrying within the own group was higher, because of the large presence of internal migrants in those areas (Puschmann et al. 2012). For Stockholm a distinction was made between labour class neighbourhoods (Södermalm and Kungsholmen), mixed and middle class areas (Old city, Klara and Brännkyrka) and residential neighbourhoods (Östermalm). The first group is the reference category. We expected that the opportunities to marry were better in the labour class neighbourhoods, and that the likelihood was higher to marry within the own group. Migrants who lived in more residential neighbourhood, most likely did not only have to cross cultural borders, but also social class borders, which reduced the likelihood of getting married. For Rotterdam we did not have neighbourhood information for the majority of the migrants. We therefore decided not to include this variable for the Dutch port city.
- *Age at marriage*: This categorical variable is only used in the multinomial logistic regression. It has three categories: those who married before age 25

- (1), those who did so between 25 and 30 (2), and those who entered matrimony after age 30 (3).
- *Birth cohort*: This variable has three categories: born between 1801-1867 (1), between 1868-1881 (2), and born between 1882 and 1924 (3). The youngest cohort is the reference category. We expected that the later born migrants had a higher likelihood of getting married. After all, the Western European marriage pattern was gradually disappearing during the period of study, as declining average ages at first marriage and decreasing proportions of life-time singles suggest (Hajnal 1965). We expected that in Stockholm, especially, the marriage chances of the last cohort were much higher, as the decline in out-migration during that period suggests that the odds for social inclusion were increasing.

8. Descriptive Results

Figure 10 shows that in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm male and female migrants had higher mean ages at marriage compared to native-born men and women. International migrants married on average even later than the internal migrants, with the exception of females in Rotterdam. This is a first indication that adaptation posed challenges for migrants and that outsiders did not turn necessarily into insiders.

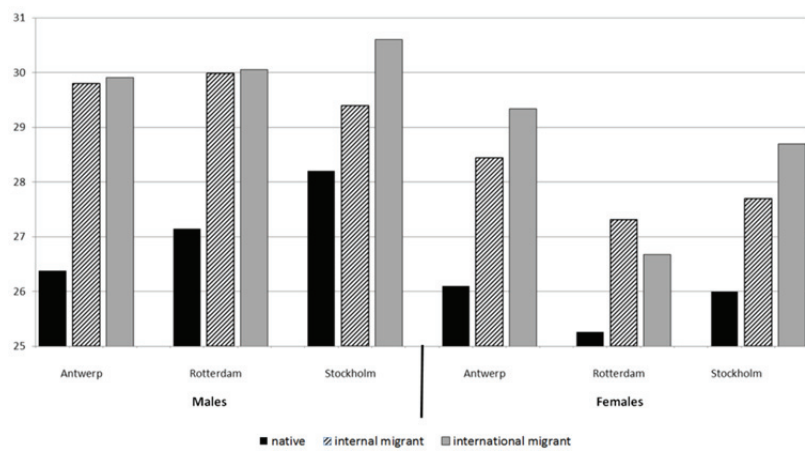
Table 1 and figure 10 display for every city the percentage of internal migrants that stayed single and the percentage that married. For the latter category a distinction is made by marriage type within table 1, which is also visualized in figure 11. An important conclusion we can draw from figure 11 is the fact that a majority of the migrants who arrived as singles stayed unmarried during their sojourn in the city of settlement. In Rotterdam 45.1% of the migrants who arrived as single married. In Antwerp this was 42%. In Stockholm the percentage that married was considerably lower: only 16.1% of the internal migrants married.

Table 1: Research Persons According to Marital Status Change and Marriage Type

	Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stayed single	556	58	769	54.9	39588	83.9
Married	403	42	632	45.1	7607	16.1
Endogamously	110	27.3	155	24.5	1226	18.7
Exogamously (with a migrant)	103	25.6	186	29.4	4812	63.3
Exogamously (with a native)	111	27.5	101	16	1422	18.7
Birth place partner unknown	79	19.6	190	30.1	147	1.9
Total	959	100	1401	100	47195	100

Source: Antwerp COR* database, release 2010, *HSN Life Courses Release 2010.01* and *Stockholm Historical Database*, retrieval.

Figure 10: Mean Ages at Marriage of Natives, Internal Migrants and International Migrants in Antwerp, 1850-1930⁴



Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database

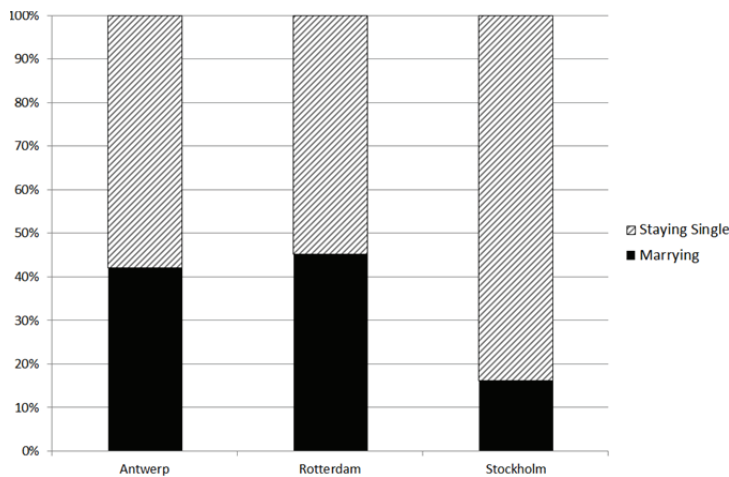
From figure 11 we can conclude that a large share of the migrants were marginalized and faced social exclusion. After all, a majority of the migrants stayed unmarried during their stay in the city. This conclusion deserves, though, further qualification, as not all of these migrants intended to marry, which is also suggested by the low average age upon which migrants left the city again. In Antwerp, for example, 60.8% of the migrants who left the city were younger than 25. Unfortunately only for Rotterdam it was possible to investigate whether these persons married somewhere else later in their life, as only in the HSN database migrants are followed everywhere through the country. It turns out that 276 out of 769 internal migrants who left Rotterdam as single, married somewhere else in the Netherlands later in the life course. This means that of the group of internal migrants 35.2% stayed single for the rest of their life. This was much higher than for the Rotterdam and the Dutch population as a whole. According to the census of 1909 only 11.58% of the Rotterdam population in the age-category 45-49 was unmarried. For the Dutch population as a whole this was 14.35%. This group of migrants, thus, encountered considerable difficulties in gaining access to the marriage market, and the problems did not disappear by leaving the city.

Moreover, we performed some sensitivity analyses for Antwerp, in order to make sure that low proportions of marriage among migrants were not caused

⁴ In the case of Rotterdam the international migrants consist only of the Germans and Italians from the DVI sample.

by certain groups of young migrants who were only temporary in the city and who did not intend to settle and marry (e.g. as they deemed themselves too young). This would typically apply to apprentices and domestic servants. However, it turned out that the risk of marriage of these groups did not differ from other groups of migrants.⁵ This means that the odds of marrying in the receiving society was equal among stayers and leavers, and that the high percentage of migrants who stayed single cannot be explained in terms of temporary migration to the city.

Figure 11: Proportion of the Migrants that Married during their Stay versus the Proportion that Stayed Single



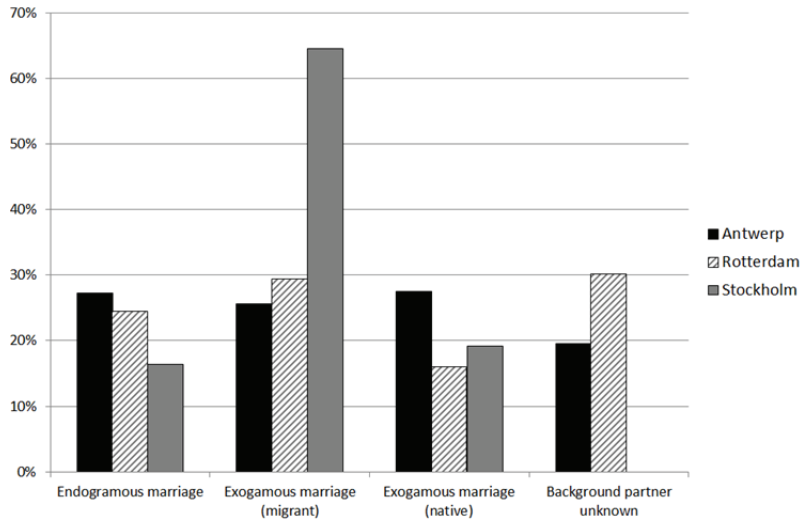
Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database.

The fact that the risk of staying single was largest in Stockholm suggests that marginalization in the Swedish capital was more common than in Antwerp and Rotterdam. Immediately the distinction between two big port cities versus one industrial city with a minor port becomes clear. This result therefore confirms Anne Winter's (2009) hypothesis that social inclusion in port cities was easier compared to industrial cities, as port labour fits especially the profile of unskilled labourers from the countryside. However, at the same time, we have to take into account that cohabitation was more common in the Swedish capital, especially among the lower social classes (Matovic 1986). In practice, this means that a part of the group of unmarried migrants in fact had a relationship with a partner. For that specific group marginalization was not as drastic as it was for people without a relationship. Nevertheless, social exclusion seems to have had a stronger hold

⁵ Results available on request by contacting the authors.

in Stockholm, since the likelihood of family formation among migrants in Stockholm was also considerably lower than among migrants in Antwerp (Puschmann et al. 2014).⁶

Figure 12: Marriages According to Marriage Type



Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database.

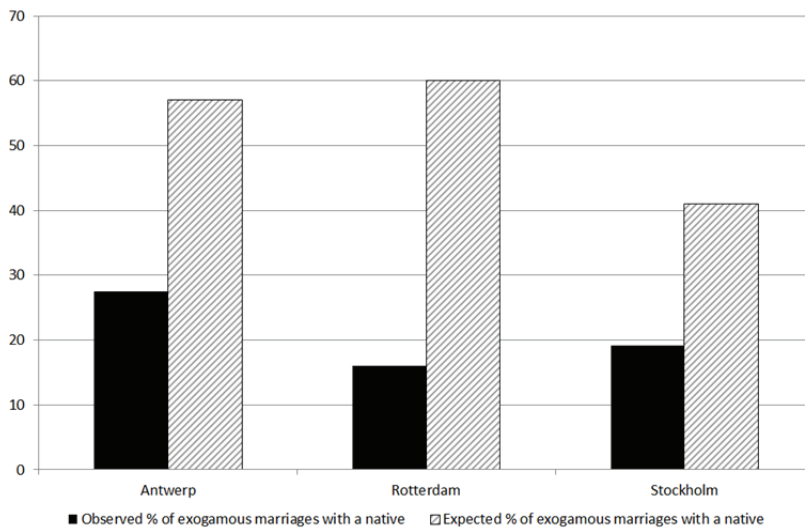
Table 1 and figure 12 give us insight into the patterns of partner choice of those migrants who married during their sojourn in the city. The picture might be somewhat distorted by the fact that, contrary to Stockholm, for Antwerp and Rotterdam the birth place of the partner was sometimes unknown, as either the marriage certificate was lacking⁷ or the information was not provided or unreadable. In Antwerp 19.6% of the marriages had a partner from an unknown birth place, for Rotterdam this was the case for 30.1% of the marriages. For purely administrative reasons it is very unlikely that those partners were native Rotterdam or Antwerp dwellers. That said, the percentage of mixed marriages was low and it was much lower than we would expect if partner selection within the city would have taken place randomly. Figure 13 shows us per city the actual observed percentage of migrants who married a native next to the expected percentage of mixed marriages, if partner choice would have taken place randomly, taking only the groups size of migrants and natives in the cities into account.

⁶ For Rotterdam this has not been investigated yet.

⁷ If the marriage was contracted outside of the area covered by the data, we only had a marriage entry in the population register, and no marriage certificate. In that case we did not have detailed information about the spouse.

Small differences between the expected and the observed percentages of migrants that married a native might have been a result of imbalances in the population with regard to sex, age and marital status. The differences between the expected and observed are, however, extremely large, especially in the case of Rotterdam. In the Dutch port city, we would expect that 60% of the migrants married a native. However, only 16% of the internal migrants who signed a marriage certificate in Rotterdam did so with a native partner. This suggests that there were serious barriers between natives and migrants, and that only a small minority of the migrants assimilated and experienced full social inclusion.

Figure 13: Expected versus Observed Proportion of Migrants Marrying to Natives



Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database.

Figure 13 and table 1 also show that only a minority of the migrants who married did so with a partner from their home province. This means that the percentage of *import marriages* must have been very low among the migrant population, and that those migrants who actually married mostly found their partner among other groups of migrants who lived in the city of settlement. In the case of Stockholm, a large majority of the migrants who entered matrimony married a migrant from a different birth province. In the Swedish capital integration was the most experienced acculturation track for migrants who escaped marginalization.

Table 2 displays the distribution of migrants by marital status (whether they got married or not) within the different independent variables. The first conclusion is that most of the internal migrants were semi-skilled or skilled labourers

(ranging from 54.6% in Rotterdam to 88.2% in Stockholm). Striking is the large proportion of unmarried migrants from the higher social classes in Rotterdam (55.8%). Next, 87% of the migrants in Antwerp had Dutch as their native tongue. A majority of the migrants were born in the countryside, ranging from 61.4% in Rotterdam to 97.8% in Stockholm. In Rotterdam, country dwellers who got married were overrepresented: 71.4% of the migrants who married was born in the countryside. Most migrants moved before their 30th birthday (ranging from 81% in Antwerp to 94.4% in Rotterdam). In Antwerp and Stockholm the majority of the migrants arrived between the 17th and 30th birthday, while in Rotterdam most migrants settled during childhood. In Rotterdam this group of migrants who arrived at a young age was also overrepresented in the category who got married during their stay. In Antwerp and Stockholm this was the case for migrants who arrived between the ages of 17 and 30. In Stockholm the average distance to the birth place was about four times as large as in Antwerp and Rotterdam. With respect to the socio-demographic assets of the migrants, we find a relatively balanced sex distribution in Antwerp and Rotterdam, and an overrepresentation of (mostly married) females in Stockholm. Most of the migrants in Antwerp (50%) were born during the earliest cohort (1801-1867). For Stockholm there was a fairly equal distribution with regard to cohort. In Stockholm the largest group of migrants moved into a labourer neighbourhood (47%). This group is also overrepresented among those who entered matrimony.

In the next step, we will evaluate with the help of a binomial logistic regression whether the above described different outcomes in marriage behaviour are related to the economic and cultural capital and the socio-demographic features of the migrants. In the last step, we will test with the help of a multinomial logistic regression whether differences in partner choice can be explained in terms of the migrants' economic and cultural capital, as well as their socio-demographic features.

Table 2: Internal Migrants According to Marital Status Change (Staying Single versus Marrying) and Marriage Type

	Antwerp			Rotterdam			Stockholm									
	Single		Total	Single		Total	Single		Total							
	N	%	N	N	%	N	N	%	N							
Economic Capital																
Social Class																
Unskilled	67	51.1	64	48.9	131	46	34.3	88	65.7	134	3919	79.3	1026	20.7	4945	
(Semi-)Skilled	226	59.2	156	40.8	382	201	56.6	154	43.4	355	24399	85.1	4266	14.9	28665	
Mid. Class & Elite	99	66.4	50	33.6	149	348	82.1	76	17.9	424	3707	82.5	784	17.5	4491	
Cultural Capital																
Language																
Other Language	91	75.2	30	24.8	121											
Dutch	465	55.5	373	44.5	838											
Rural-Urban Birth Place																
Countryside	341	55.0	279	45.0	620	409	47.6	451	52.4	860	333174	98.1	6395	1.9	339569	
City	213	63.2	124	36.8	337	360	66.5	181	33.5	541	6384	84.1	1203	15.9	7587	
Age at In-Migration																
<17	118	55.4	95	44.6	213	373	65.7	195	34.3	568	3507	80.0	875	20.0	4382	
17-30	298	56.3	231	43.7	529	342	76.2	107	23.8	449	31440	83.5	6194	16.5	37634	
>30	113	64.9	61	35.1	174	50	72.5	19	27.5	69	4641	89.6	538	10.4	5179	
	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.	mean	S.A.
Distance (km)	64.1	45.8	58.2	49.4	61.15	47.6	55.7	53.4	41.5	48.6	51.9	114.6	202.3	142.2	211.6	143.4

Table 2 continued...

Socio-Demographic Features		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Sex																		
Female		276	56.1	516	43.9	492		398	55.6	318	44.4	716		22166	86.5	3454	13.5	25620
Male		278	59.8	187	40.2	465		371	54.2	314	45.8	685		17422	80.8	4153	19.2	21575
Age at Marriage																		
<25				187		187				234		234				1952		1952
25-30				127		127				208		208				3599		3599
>30				88		88				190		190				2055		2055
Birth Cohort																		
1801-1867		320	67.5	154	32.5	474		96	36.8	165	63.2	261		14987	83.6	2936	16.4	17923
1868-1881		189	63.6	108	36.4	297		139	55.8	110	44.2	249		15234	85.9	2502	14.1	17736
1882-1924		47	25.1	140	74.9	187		534	59.9	357	4.1	891		9367	81.2	2169	18.8	11536
Place of Settlement (Antwerp)																		
Suburb		482	53.3	345	41.7	827												
Antwerp City		74	56.5	57	43.5	131												
Place of Settlement (Stockholm) – Neighborhoods																		
Poorest														17872	80.0	446	20.0	22337
Mixed														8501	85.8	1405	14.2	9906
Residential														13215	88.4	1737	11.6	14952

Source: Antwerp COR* database, release 2010, HSN Life Courses Release 2010.01 and Stockholm Historical Database, retrieval.

9. Results: Multivariate Analyses Marriage Opportunities

Table 3 displays the results of the binomial logistic regression with the dependent variable *marrying versus staying single*. In all three cities, the semi-skilled and skilled labourers had less opportunities to marry compared to the unskilled labourers. In Rotterdam, the middle class and elite had much lower odds of getting married compared to the unskilled labourers. In Antwerp and Stockholm, the results for the middle class and elite were not significant. These results on social status run largely against our expectations. We anticipated that marriage chances were higher for migrants with more economic capital, but the results tell a different story: Migrants from the lowest social classes, with the least economic capital, had the best chances to get married.

In Antwerp, Dutch-speaking migrants had much higher odds of marrying compared to French-speaking migrants. This is completely in line with our expectations. Distance to birth place had a slightly negative effect on migrants' odds of getting married, but was not significant for Antwerp. Again, this points to the importance of cultural differences. Migrants who moved over longer distances differed more from the native population in terms of dialect, dressing style, habits, etc. compared to those who moved over shorter distances. Migrants who moved over longer distances were also less likely to have a network of family and friends in the city of settlement who could assist them in finding a job, an appropriate dwelling, and a marriage partner.

In Antwerp and Rotterdam urban migrants were less likely to marry than rural migrants, while in Stockholm no significant difference between both categories was found. This finding goes against our expectation, as we thought that rural dwellers would have had more difficulties in adapting to the urban environment.

Next, we found that migrants who moved to Rotterdam and Stockholm after the age of 17, had lower odds of marrying compared to those migrants who already moved during childhood. For those who moved after the age of 30 the association was the strongest. This indicates that migrants who grew up in the city of settlement, and were socialized in the receiving society, had a higher likelihood of experiencing social inclusion. They were better adapted to the society they lived in and possessed specific local human capital which increased their chances in the labour and marriage market. Last, but not least, for the native population it was easier to perceive them as insiders. For Antwerp, however, no significant differences regarding the age at arrival were found.

In Stockholm and Rotterdam, males had a higher likelihood of getting married than females, while in Antwerp no significant differences for sex came to the light. In first instance, we can explain these results by referring to the fact that Rotterdam's and Stockholm's total population had a female surplus.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics on Individual Features of Internal Migrants, According to whether they Married or Stayed Single during their Stay in the City

	Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm	
	Exp (B)	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.
Economic Capital						
Social Class						
Unskilled (ref.)						
(Semi-)Skilled	0.758+	[0.645-0.891]	0.460***	[0.391-0.540]	0.908***	[0.881-0.935]
Mid. Class & Elite	0.766	[0.609-0.962]	0.104***	[0.088-0.123]	1.046	[0.998-1.096]
Cultural Variables						
Language						
Other (ref.)						
Dutch	2.146**	[1.664-2.769]				
Distance (km)	0.999	[0.998-1.002]	0.997*	[0.996-0.998]	0.999***	[0.999-0.999]
Rural-Urban Differences						
Countryside (ref.)						
City	0.639**	[0.549-0.744]	0.562***	[0.490-0.645]	0.973	[0.939-1.008]
Age at In-Migration						
<17 (ref.)						
17-30	1.254	[1.049-1.499]	0.223***	[0.192-0.259]	0.827***	[0.792-0.863]
>30	1.163	[0.924-1.464]	0.210***	[0.152-0.290]	0.485***	[0.455-0.516]
Socio-Demographic Features						
Sex						
Female (ref.)						
Male	0.954	[0.822-1.106]	1.472**	[1.287-1.684]	1.391***	[1.354-1.429]
Birth Cohort						
1801-1867 (ref.)						
1868-1881	1.189	[1.012-1.398]	0.492***	[0.396-0.612]	0.750***	[0.727-0.773]
1882-1924	6.127***	[4.994-7.517]	0.331***	[0.278-0.395]	1.017	[0.984-1.051]
Place of Settlement (Antwerp)						
Suburbs (ref.)						
Antwerp City	0.98	[0.796-1.207]				
Place of settlement (Stockholm) – Neighborhoods						
Poorest (ref.)						
Mixed					0.595***	[0.570-0.621]
Residential					0.580***	[0.563-0.598]
Nagelkerke R ²	17.1		20.9		4	
Log likelihood null model	1284.8		1664		41559.9	
Log likelihood full model	1162.8		1444		40519.3	

Source: Antwerp COR* database, release 2010, *HSN Life Courses Release 2010.01 and Stockholm Historical Database, retrieval.*

We also found significant differences between the birth cohorts. In Antwerp, migrants who were born between 1882 and 1924 had much better chances of marrying compared to those born between 1801-1867. In contrast, in Rotterdam the chances of getting married decreased for the cohorts 1868-1881 and 1882-1924 compared to the cohort 1801- 1867. In Stockholm the odds of get-

ting married were smaller for the cohort 1868-1881. In Antwerp the opportunities to get married grew enormously over time, while in Rotterdam and Stockholm they were decreasing.

No significant differences were found between migrants who settled in Antwerp and migrants who settled in Antwerp's suburbs upon arrival in the Belgian port city. However, migrants who settled in Stockholm's middle class and residential neighbourhoods had significantly fewer marriage opportunities compared to those who moved into labour class neighbourhoods. This points again to the idea that entering into the higher social strata of the receiving society was most difficult. This was a privilege for natives and a very selective number of newcomers.

10. Results: Multivariate Analyses Partner Choice

Table 4 presents the results of the multinomial logistic regression of the different marriage types. Endogamous marriages with partners from the same province of birth are the reference category. In Rotterdam, skilled migrants had higher odds than unskilled migrants of marrying exogamous with other migrants versus marrying endogamous with a migrant. Although this result is only significant at the 0,1 level, it is plausible that migrants with specific economic capital had better chances of integrating into Rotterdam (versus separation). Against the expectations, a rather opposite result was found for skilled labourers in Stockholm. In the Swedish capital, skilled migrants had, compared to unskilled migrants, lower odds of a marriage with a native versus an endogamous marriage. The middle class and elite in Stockholm had, though, higher odds of marrying a native versus marrying within the own group compared to the unskilled labourers. This implies that financial means and social status did have an impact on the likelihood of experiencing assimilation. Apart from this, no significant results were found for social status.

In Antwerp, French speaking migrants had lower odds of marrying a native (versus marrying endogamous) than Dutch speaking migrants. This result makes very assumable that that language differences not only increased the risk of marginalization, but also the risk of separation. In that sense, having grown up with another language formed a strong barrier to social inclusion. Next, in Stockholm and Rotterdam urban migrants had higher odds of marrying outside their own group (versus marrying within their own group) compared to rural migrants. The effects were the strongest for marriages with natives.

For all three cities, we found that, as distance to the birth place increased, the odds of marrying outside of the own group grew larger. This result was found for exogamous marriages with a migrant, as well as for exogamous marriages with a native. Probably this effect is a result of the fact that the own group was smaller in the place of settlement for migrants who moved over

larger distances. After all, most migrants in the city were recruited from the direct hinterland. The fact that we found this result also for Antwerp makes it likely to think that language was a larger obstacle to social inclusion than other cultural differences. After all, migrants from the distant Limburg and West Flanders had a somewhat higher likelihood to marry a native, while for migrants from Wallonia the opposite was the case, as they had considerably smaller chances to marry a native.

In Antwerp and Stockholm, internal migrants had lower odds of marrying outside their own group (versus within their own group) if they arrived after their 17th birthday, compared to those who arrived as children. In both cities the effect was strongest for migrants who settled after their 30th birthday. The age effects were also especially pronounced for marriages with a native. Thus, migrants who arrived early in the city had the highest odds of crossing group boundaries. This means that crossing group boundaries was strongly boosted by having experienced a considerable part of the socialization process at destination. Migrants who arrived in Antwerp and Stockholm after their 30th birthday had considerably lower odds of marrying outside their own group. This implies that arriving late in the city of settlement heightened the risk of experiencing separation. However, in Stockholm, migrants who arrived after their 30th birthday had higher odds of marrying to a native versus marrying within their own group, compared to the migrants who arrived before their 17th birthday. These migrants who had higher odds of experiencing assimilation might have been especially attractive to natives, who were unable to find a native partner to marry.

Compared to women, male migrants in Stockholm and Rotterdam had significantly lower odds of marrying exogamous with a migrant versus marrying endogamous. This implies that female migrants were more likely to connect on a permanent basis to members of other migrant groups. They were probably urged to search for partners outside their own group, because there were not enough marriageable men available in their own group.

In Stockholm migrants who were born in the period 1882-1924 had higher odds of marrying exogamous with a migrant versus marrying endogamous with a migrant, compared to migrants born between 1801 and 1867. For exogamous marriages with natives the same effect was found for migrants who were born in the period 1868-1881. This implies that the odds of crossing group boundaries in Stockholm grew during the period of study, although, as we have seen the risk of marginalization grew also for the cohort 1868-1881.

In Antwerp, internal migrants who settled upon arrival in the city proper had lower odds of marrying exogamous with a migrant versus marrying endogamous, compared to internal migrants who settled in Antwerp's suburbs. In the latter municipalities it was thus easier to integrate. For Stockholm, no significant differences were found for neighbourhood of settlement.

Table 4: Results Binomial Logistic Regression Marriage Opportunities (Marrying versus Staying Single)

	Exogamous Marriage (Migrant)						Exogamous Marriage (Native)					
	Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm		Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm	
	Exp	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.	Exp (B)	C.I.
Economic Capital												
Social Class												
Unskilled (ref.)												
(Semi-)Skilled	1.139	[0.610-2.129]	1.809+	[0.916-3.573]	0.944	[0.815-1.093]	0.756	[0.408-1.401]	1.27	[0.566-2.848]	0.773**	[0.645-0.927]
Mid. Class & Elite	0.864	[0.300-2.493]	0.953	[0.407-2.231]	1.143	[0.892-1.465]	1.078	[0.381-3.053]	1.212	[0.475-3.092]	1.462*	[1.096-1.950]
Cultural Capital												
Language												
Other (ref.)												
Dutch	0.25	[0.047-1.345]					0.172*	[0.031-0.946]				
Distance (km)	1.009*	[1.001-1.018]	1.026***	[1.017-1.035]	1.001***	[1.001-1.002]	1.008+	[0.999-1.017]	1.024***	[1.014-1.033]	1.001***	[1.001-1.002]
Rural-Urban Birth Place												
Countryside (ref.)												
City	0.708	[0.347-1.443]	1.728+	[0.952-3.134]	1.184+	[0.974-1.441]	1.445	[0.754-2.768]	1.900+	[0.984-3.669]	1.776***	[1.422-2.218]
Age at In-Migration												
<17 (ref.)												
17-30	0.484+	[0.214-1.094]	1.178	[0.618-2.246]	0.638**	[0.489-0.832]	0.334**	[0.162-0.690]	1.617	[0.802-3.259]	0.278***	[0.209-0.369]
>30	0.328*	[0.113-0.951]	0.89	[0.262-3.028]	0.413***	[0.284-0.599]	0.087***	[0.028-0.273]	0.795	[0.173-3.654]	0.171***	[0.110-0.267]

Table 4 continued...

Socio-Demographic Features												
Sex												
Females (ref.)	0.813	[0.440-1.501]	0.560*	[0.316-0.992]	0.831**	[0.727-0.951]	1.088	[0.599-1.978]	0.704	[0.361-1.372]	0.927	[0.784-1.097]
Males	1.796	[0.875-3.685]	1.027	[0.580-1.821]	1.086	[0.927-1.272]	1.027	[0.511-2.064]	1.063	[0.563-2.008]	1.005	[0.827-1.221]
Age at Marriage	3.944**	[1.654-9.401]	1.231	[0.671-2.258]	1.318**	[1.078-1.610]	2.054	[0.848-4.972]	0.88	[0.430-1.798]	1.443**	[1.131-1.841]
Birth Cohort												
1801-1867 (ref.)	1.776	[1.654-9.401]	1.014	[0.492-2.091]	1.076	[0.927-1.249]	1.122	[0.518-2.429]	0.733	[0.293-1.832]	1.224*	[1.008-1.485]
1868-1924	0.943	[0.825-3.823]	0.875	[0.474-1.616]	1.205*	[1.013-1.424]	0.943	[0.469-1.893]	1.255	[0.610-2.583]	2.033***	[1.651-2.502]
Place of Residence (Antwerp)												
Suburbs (ref.)	0.375*	[0.156-0.901]					0.553	[0.251-1.219]				
Antwerp City												
Place of Residence (Stockholm) – Neighborhoods												
Poorest					0.958	[0.768-1.195]					1.133	[0.864-1.486]
Mixed					0.974	[0.835-1.136]					0.943	[0.777-1.145]
Residential					6.5		21.5		21		6.5	
Nagelkerke R ²	21.5		21		12334.7		693.5		907.5		12334.7	
Log Likelihood Null	693.5		817.2		11920.3		627.9		817.2		11920.3	
Log Likelihood Full	627.9											

+ < 0.1; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Source: Antwerp COR* database, release 2010, HSN Life Courses Release 2010.01 and Stockholm Historical Database, retrieval.

11. Conclusion

The first aim of this paper was to investigate to what degree outsiders became insiders in North-Western European cities in the period 1850-1930. We examined the role of economic and cultural capital and socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants in the process of social inclusion. By comparing three different cities, we also gained insight into the effects of the demographic and economic structures of the receiving society on the odds of experiencing social inclusion.

In this study we used marriage and partner choice as indicators of processes of social in- and exclusion. While previously scholars studied either the migrants' likelihood of getting access to the marriage market, or their odds of marrying to a native, we applied one conceptual model that connects four outcomes related to partner choice and marriage and links it to four acculturation trajectories. Together these trajectories form a sliding scale in terms of social in- and exclusion.

This study shows that social exclusion was taking place at a large scale in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. A majority of the migrants did not get access to the marriage market. In Antwerp 58% of the migrants who arrived as singles did not marry during their stay in the city; for Rotterdam this was 55% and for Stockholm 84%. This means that most migrants did not put down roots in the receiving society. Differently put: Most outsiders stayed outsiders. This cannot be explained in terms of large numbers of temporary migrants, as sensitivity analyses showed that the risk of marrying was equal among stayers and leavers. Moreover, later-life information on Rotterdam demonstrates that leavers did not simply marry somewhere else. If we take into account the marriages, which were contracted after the migrants had left Rotterdam, the percentage of migrants that stayed single for the rest of their lives was still way above the percentages of the total populations that stayed single in Rotterdam, and the percentage that stayed single in the Netherlands as a whole.

In all three cities, exogamous marriages with natives occurred on a much smaller scale than one might expect taking into account the group sizes of migrants and natives. Accordingly, one can assume that migrants were mostly perceived as unattractive marriage partners, which is in line with studies on partner choice of internal and international migrants in other cities in this period (Schrover 2002; Van de Putte 2003). Next, the figures on partner choice show that internal migrants who came as singles to the city, did not *import* marriage partners on a large scale, otherwise the percentage of migrants that married with partners from the same birth region would have been much larger. This shows that migrants who escaped marginalization did not cluster within their own groups, but mingled with other migrants, and to a limited extent with natives.

The degree to which migrants were able to escape from marginalization and social exclusion varied from city to city and from migrant group to migrant group. The fact that migrants had lower odds of marrying in Stockholm, compared to Antwerp and Rotterdam, confirms Anne Winter's (2009) hypothesis that in port cities the likelihood of social inclusion was higher than in industrial cities, as port labour fitted better to the profile of low-skilled rural migrants. However, contrary to our expectations, having economic capital did not reduce the migrants' risk of facing marginalization. Quite the contrary was true, as the analysis of marriage opportunities showed that migrants with limited social status had better chances of getting married. Social inclusion went easiest among the unskilled and among the rural migrants. This was not only the case in Antwerp and in Rotterdam, but also in the industrial and capital city of Stockholm, which offered many jobs for more experienced and higher educated jobseekers.

The results on social status indicate that semi-skilled and skilled migrants, as well as migrants from the middle class and elite had a harder time finding jobs compared to the unskilled. For unskilled newcomers it was easier to find employment, because they searched for low-paid, less-prestigious jobs which were more dangerous, and thus unpopular among the native population. Much more competition was found for the more prestigious, less dangerous and better-paid jobs. These jobs were reserved for insiders by insiders, through which migrants with more economic capital faced a harder time than those with less economic capital. However, for those migrants who managed to escape marginalization, economic capital did increase their chances of crossing groups boundaries. This, at least, was the case for semi-skilled and skilled labourers in Rotterdam (increased risk for marrying exogamous with a migrant), and for the semi-skilled and skilled workers, as well as the middle and higher social classes in Stockholm (increased risk for marrying exogamous with a native).

Who was perceived as insider and who was perceived as outsider was strongly related to cultural differences. French-speaking migrants in Antwerp faced a significantly higher risk of marginalization compared to Dutch-speaking migrants and they were confronted with more rigid group boundaries. Internal migrants who were born in a French-speaking area in Belgium were at an increased risk of experiencing both marginalization and separation. The French-speakers obviously had a different identity and a dividing line between them and the Dutch speaking population could easily be drawn.

Next, the further away migrants were born from the city they moved to, the larger was their risk of facing marginalization. This was most likely also related to cultural differences in the population of the receiving society, like dialect, dressing and habits. These cultural differences fed the insider-outsider dichotomy. However, on other hand, for those migrants who escaped marginalization, the likelihood of integration and assimilation increased as the distance from their birth place grew. This must have been related to demographic constraints:

The likelihood of marrying in the own group was smaller, because the members of that group were less well-represented in the receiving urban society.

The insider-outsider dichotomy was also fueled by differences in the age at which migrants moved to the city they lived in. For Rotterdam and Stockholm the risk of marginalization was much larger for those who arrived as adults compared to those migrants who arrived as children. Those who arrived young were largely socialized in the city they lived, which meant that they differed less from the native population and that they were more easily perceived as insiders by the native population. Striking is the fact that no significant age-differences were found for Antwerp, which might indicate that the insider-outsider dichotomy for the Belgian port city was less strong.

Processes of social inclusion and exclusion also had a time-dimension. In Antwerp, the odds of escaping social exclusion were much higher for the later cohorts compared to the earlier cohorts. This raises the idea that as time passed, Antwerp had more opportunities to offer to newcomers. We think that this was related to the fact that Antwerp's port success relied largely upon migrants (Greefs 2008; Winter 2009). This created a very open and stimulating climate for newcomers in the long run. It also meant that the best jobs in the city were not concentrated in the hands of a native elite, which reserved the best jobs for the members of their own group. In Rotterdam and Stockholm, where natives had been more engaged in port activities and industry from the beginning, social exclusion rather increased over time. In Stockholm the odds of transcending group boundaries were considerably higher for the last cohort. One can assume that towards the end of the period of study internal migrants in Stockholm were more and more regarded as social equals and easier became part of mainstream society. This, however, stayed a privilege for a specific group of migrants, as most stayed simply excluded.

12. Discussion and Limitations

This study shows, in line with more qualitative studies of the Chicago School of sociology (Park 1928; Park and Burgess 1925) and their later followers (Handlin 1951, Bouman and Boumann 1955; Lis 1981), that the incorporation of 19th and early 20th century migrants into North-Western European cities was not a smooth process. Marginalization and social exclusion took place on a large scale. These results are incompatible with studies that state that the incorporation of migrants was an easy-going process, because newcomers had, as a result of selection effects, an abundant amount of human capital to face the challenges urban life posed to them (Sewell 1985; Lucassen 2004). After all, our study showed that rural dwellers and unskilled migrants had better chances to escape social exclusion than skilled newcomers and migrants from the middle and higher classes. This seems to be a paradox at first glance, but it is not.

Rural migrants and migrants with a low social status were successful, because they applied for jobs which were badly paid, perceived as inferior by natives, and unhealthy. The native population left these jobs to newcomers, but reserved the better-paid, healthier and more prestigious jobs for the members of their own group. It was very hard to gain access to this group of insiders, as the low figures on intermarriage have proven.

The results of our study resemble particularly well some of the sociological mechanisms described by Norbert Elias and John Scotson (1965) in 'The Established and the Outsiders.' In the book Elias and Scotson analyse how the mid-twentieth century English community of Winston Parva was divided into two groups: (1) the old-established working class who lived for several generations in Winston Parva and (2) a group of newcomers who settled more recently in a neighbouring community. The established perceived themselves as superior people and looked down upon the newcomers and consistently treated them as outsiders. The established avoided social contact with the newcomers as much as possible and used their power to marginalize them. The social exclusion of the newcomers was reinforced by social control in the form of gossip about established members who sought contact with newcomers.

This study applied an agency-structure approach to social behaviour in the tradition of Giddens (1971) and Bourdieu (1984). We still believe that this is an appropriate way of studying the acculturation of migrants, but we also experienced that this approach might be misleading in a sense. By focusing on the agency of migrants within the overall structure of the receiving society, one might forget that the established community, which in this approach is necessarily treated as *structure*, in fact consists of historical actors who use their own *agency* to limit the *agency* of newcomers. The agency-structure approach tends to black out the dialectic of processes of acculturation and social in- and exclusion. This study showed that human capital alone is often not enough to get established in the receiving society, because the established actively try to exclude newcomers from mainstream society. They are successful, because they are the ones who pull the strings. To study this dialectic relationship, other approaches might suit better.

This study puts contemporary debates about the adaptation of migrants into Western society into context. Alarming studies and policy reports on the failing integration of international migrants become considerably less shocking if we realize that it is only a century ago that Western societies were struggling with the social inclusion of internal migrants into European cities. Social observers, as well as some of the leading sociologists at the time, already feared, that urban society was breaking down as a result of the negative consequences of heavy urban in-migration (Hareven 1982). Those migrants who were marginalized in a time when identity was still locally defined, and the 'imagined community' did not reach much further than the own municipality (cf. Anderson 2006), became fully incorporated into mainstream society after WWII when the

nation-state had become internalized by ordinary citizens. The arrival of *guest-workers* fuelled this process as it led to a redefining of the established-outsider figuration, incorporating all internal migrants into the group of insiders and turning the newly arrived international migrants into the new outsiders. The next major redefinitions of the insider-outsider figuration in Western Society were driven by the integration of the European union, the fall of the iron curtain, the construction of *Fortress Europe* and 9/11.

The fact that Moroccan and Turkish migrants and their descendants hardly intermarry with established European citizens today, is often used to underline that the integration of these groups has failed. Moreover, the fact that intermarriage is indeed low often leads to the question of what is wrong with these migrants. This study shows that low-intermarriage rates of non-Western migrants and their descendants in Europe are less surprising than certain contemporary studies suggest. Moreover, this study shows that one should not only address the question “What is ‘wrong’ with the migrants?”, but to also ask “What is ‘wrong’ with the ‘established-European citizens?’” Social inclusion does not only require efforts from the *outsiders*, but also from the *insiders*, as it is by nature a two-sided process.

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