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MIGRATION PROBLEMS

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SOME REMARKS ON SELECTIVE MIGRATION

BY

E. W. HOFSTEE

PROFESSOR OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY
AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY, WAGENINGEN

*With a preface by D. V. Glass,
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Editor:

*Dr G. Beijer, 17 Pauwenlaan
The Hague, Netherlands*

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PREFACE

Professor Hofstee has collected together, in compact and highly readable form, some of the most important conclusions so far reached in the study of selective aspects of internal and external migration. Of still greater value, however, than this summary of findings, and more stimulating to those of us who are directly concerned with demographic research, are Professor Hofstee's comments on the undocumented hypotheses with which the literature of migration abounds, and his suggestions concerning the kinds of questions to which objective answers are needed if effective progress is to be made in this branch of social studies.

The study of migration has had a curiously unsatisfactory history. Statistics of migration developed as by-products of governmental policy and, even so, with scant regard to those questions on which light needed to be thrown if policy was to have a sound basis. And as, for long periods, internal movement was not considered a fit subject for policy, the statistics in that field tended to be even less useful. In many countries, net balances of movement by major administrative areas were the only indicators that could be obtained. No less important, however, as an explanation of the unsatisfactory state of the subject is the fact that so much of non-governmental research has been piece-meal and un-coordinated — often of considerable interest in itself but, as is the case with sociology in general, not building up into a systematic structure. Surveying, in 1938, European and American research on internal migration, Professor Dorothy Thomas and her colleagues found few studies that seemed to offer a basis for future research¹). Nor has subsequent research contributed greatly to the development of the subject as an entity. Once again, there have been a few exciting studies. But examination of progress since 1938 has led Professor Thomas to state that

¹ D. S. Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials* Social Science Research Council, New York, 1938.

“although more than 1000 new items have been inventoried for the revised bulletin, few of them fulfil the hope expressed in 1938 that research on differential migration would be furthered if investigators were willing to ‘repeat, extend and improve the few valid experiments’ that had been made. In 1952, as in 1938, much of the recent empirical research on migration differentials seems ‘trivial and inept’”.¹

There have, nevertheless, been some developments which offer better prospects for research in the future. Since the War, national and international agencies have shown an increased interest in the provision of suitable basic data. The Population Commission of the United Nations has made a number of recommendations for extending the scope and increasing the comparability of statistics on external migration, while the U.N. Population Division has, as part of its programme of work, a series of studies on the character and consequences of external migration. In some countries, new types of questions, dealing specifically with internal migration, have been included in the national censuses, while the much wider application of sampling techniques has, in others, made possible the continuous collection of inter-censal data on internal movement². On the qualitative side, stimulus and direction have been given by the series of studies initiated by UNESCO, in co-operation with the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, on the problems of assimilation of immigrants. It is just because new data are becoming available and fresh research is being considered, that Professor Hofstee’s contribution is especially timely. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that *Some remarks on Selective Migration* may play its part in turning research workers away from the “trivial and inept” and in promoting a new co-ordination of migration studies.

D. V. GLASS

Professor of Sociology, University of London

¹ D. S. Thomas, “The Committee on Migration Differentials and its relations to the Council’s activities”, *Items*, June 1952 Social Science Research Council, New York.

² In the Netherlands, with its continuous registration system, based upon a combination of individual and family cards, information of particularly high value could be made available.

SOME REMARKS ON SELECTIVE MIGRATION

The sizable overseas emigration from the Netherlands since the end of the Second World War¹ and the general expectation that emigration will continue to be important during the immediate future have renewed this country's interest in the question of whether or not such a migration is selective. What is meant is not primarily selection by age, sex, and so forth, but rather the possible selection by the personal qualities of the individuals in the population, the mental attributes based at least partly on hereditary predisposition. During the past few years, this old problem has been animatedly discussed in many newspaper and magazine articles in the Netherlands, and more often than not the question has been answered affirmatively: as convinced as the Dutch people are that a large part of the natural increase in the Netherlands must be counterbalanced by emigration, they are usually just as convinced that this emigration results in a qualitative loss to the country.

To date, Dutch social scientists have contributed little to the renewed discussion of this problem. Its reappearance was perhaps a bit unexpected: after the considerable attention given to the problem of selection while the social sciences were developing in the Netherlands, during the past twenty years hardly anyone has concerned himself with it.² There are, in fact, no important

¹ As is always the case with matters attracting public attention, there is a tendency in the Netherlands to overestimate the quantitative importance of overseas migration. If the movement to and from Indonesia is omitted, in 1950 41,071 persons emigrated and 13,480 immigrated, so that the population of the Netherlands decreased by only 27,591 as a result of migration, as compared with a natural increase of about 154,000. If Indonesia is included, the emigration of 50,697 in 1950 must be compared with an immigration of 70,602, so that there was a sizable net immigration.

² Stachouwer's interesting research concerning socialpathological symptoms among immigrants in Amsterdam must be excepted. Cf. J. D. F. Stachouwer. *Criminaliteit, prostitutie en zelfmoord bij immigranten in Amsterdam* (Utrecht—Nijmegen, 1950); "De plaats van geboorte van geesteszieken in Amsterdam, als indicatie voor psychische selectie bij migratie," *Maandblad voor de Geestelijke Volksgezondheid*, Vol. 6 (1951), 40-51.

recent publications in this field. Perhaps this paper can contribute something to the serious discussion of the problem and start research in this field again in the Netherlands. From both a scientific and a practical point of view, such research could be interesting — from the scientific point of view, because the present large emigration from the Netherlands offers a favorable opportunity for well founded studies; from the practical point of view, because a good insight into the selective process in migration, if any, and into the circumstances leading to it, can guide policy.

The earlier Dutch investigators concerned with the problem of migratory selection were in general¹ convinced that migration does lead to selection, and that migrants are more valuable elements than the average of the group from which they come. Steinmetz, the unchallenged leader of social sciences in the Netherlands of that time, expressed this point of view on several occasions, both orally and in writing,² while several of his pupils also stressed selective migration to explain certain social phenomena.³ In this, the Dutch sociographers and sociologists of that period certainly did not stand alone; not only the "anthropo-sociologists", like Ammon, Hansen and Lapouge but a large part, probably the majority, of the international sociological world shared this attitude.⁴ Insofar as this was not a matter of opinion derived from general philosophical concepts, this point of view was based, in the first place, on the results of direct comparative measurements of migrants and non-migrants and, secondly, on investigations of the social achievements by various groups of migrants.

¹ W. A. Bongers as a Marxist naturally formed an exception. Among other things, see his review of Ter Veen's book about the Haarlemmermeerpolder in *Mensch en Maatschappij* (1926), p. 90.

² See, for example, S. R. Steinmetz, „Der erbliche Rassen- und Volkscharakter“, *Gesammelte kleinere Schriften*, Vol. II (Groningen, 1930), 284–285.

³ It should be noted that the research of one of his pupils (J. van Hinte, *Nederlanders in Amerika*, Groningen, 1928) in particular made Steinmetz doubt the correctness of the idea that the desirable qualities to be observed among various groups of colonists should be largely attributed to migratory selection. Cf. his article: „Veranderingen bij de Nederlandse landverhuizers in Amerika“, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 286 ff. The hypothesis offered there concerning a possible psychic mutation is not very convincing.

⁴ It is typical, for instance, that Ter Veen simply takes it for granted that migration is selective. H. N. ter Veen, *De Haarlemmermeer als Kolonisatiegebied* (Groningen, 1925), p. 108.

If the craniometry of the "anthropo-sociologists" is not taken into consideration, however, there was certainly little concrete material concerning international migration then to support the first of these two points. Comparative measurements of the qualities of migrants and non-migrants had seldom been made on a mass scale. The only important data available in the middle 1920's were the results of the intelligence tests given American army recruits during the First World War. To the extent that this test permits conclusions regarding European migrants to the United States, its results in general certainly do not favor them. It goes without saying, however, that these data can hardly answer the question whether migration was accompanied by selection as here defined, since no comparison was available with the non-migrants in the various countries of origin. Moreover, this test was surely not "milieu-free", and thus it presumably gave too unfavorable a picture of those migrants who were in the United States for only a short time.¹ A disadvantage of these tests as well as of practically all measurements of migrants' qualities — and this is true also of the data, discussed later in this paper — is of course that they are all more or less limited to intelligence or attributes closely associated with it, such as school marks and the like. However important intelligence may be, an individual's social worth, according to whatever standards it is measured, is only partly fixed by intelligence. No matter what one considers as socially valuable — and the judgement concerning this will of course always be subjective — other qualities as well as intelligence will always be important.

Our knowledge of the qualities of the overseas migrants based on comparative measurements has changed but little since the 1920's. It is true that over the years there was much research in the United States comparing the intellectual capacities of immigrants from various countries, but even apart from the fact that for our purposes, as has been noted, these studies were made at the wrong end, the final results give us little to go by. "The problem of the relative capacity for intelligence of the various foreign stocks in this country remains involved", Lorimer

¹ Cf. *inter al.* Julius Isaac, *Economics of Migration* (London, 1947), pp. 193-4.

and Osborn¹ conclude. So far as I have been able to determine, there has been little meaningful research in other immigration countries or in the emigration countries, so that few data based on direct measurements remain to be noted concerning the selective effect of overseas migration. This does not mean, however, that migration research in general has not improved sufficiently to have increased our knowledge in this respect. On the contrary, during the last decades, particularly in the United States, many studies have been made to determine the attributes selected in internal migration.² It seems to me, however, that the inferences to be drawn from these studies concerning the process of selection in migration are of some importance in analyzing not only internal but also overseas migration. While a definite conclusion concerning the latter will of course not be possible, in my opinion these studies can indicate what trends we may expect from future research.

At first sight, almost all American studies seem to confirm the old theory that it is the best who feel the urge to leave and who do migrate. At least if intelligence is taken as the standard — and, as has been noted, almost all investigators try to measure this in one way or another — it seems that, from the point of view of the original group, migration almost always results in a negative selection and so presumably has a dysgenetic effect. The most recent data in the Netherlands also apparently tend in this direction. The preliminary statistical analysis of the tests given to Dutch recruits since the Second World War in general indicates that the towns — which are, of course, generally centers of immigration — have a considerably higher level of intelligence than the countryside.³ Only an occasional study tends in another direction — such as that of Klineberg,⁴ who found nothing to indicate that the American Negroes migrating

¹ Quoted in Isaac, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

² For a survey of the results of this research, cf. *inter al.* T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis* (New York, 1948), pp. 365 ff., and Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (Third Edition; New York, 1950), pp. 224 ff.

³ See map, Annex VIII, of the report, *De verspreiding van de bevolking in Nederland* (1949), prepared by the Instituut voor Sociaal Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk for the Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan. See also *Begaaftheidsonderzoek en intelligentiespreiding*, Utrecht, 1951.

⁴ Cf. Gist en Halbert, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

from the South to the North were selected with respect to intelligence.

A closer analysis of the results of the various studies, however, shows that this conclusion is incorrect, or at least incomplete. The interest both in the United States¹ and in Europe has been primarily in whether or not migration from country to town has been selective, so that little attention has been paid to the migration process as a whole. If, whenever the data permit, one also considers migration not directed to the towns, the result is different.

Gee and Runk² concluded from a study in Virginia that as a group, the least intelligent were the most mobile, even though those who migrated to the cities were above the average. Migrants to other rural districts had a lower average than the population of their original residence.

Amy A. Gessner³ concluded from a study in Belleville (N.Y.) that those who leave the district are subject to a second selection on the basis of their destination; the migrants who remain in the country are hardly better than non-migrants, while those who move to town are much above the average.

From a study of farmers' children in two Kentucky counties Beers concluded that on the average the children who had left their parents' farms were not better educated as the group of children as a whole, but those who had moved to town had an education considerably above the average. In one of the two counties the mean education of those who went over to the rural non-farm group was above the average, while in the other county this was not the case.⁴ Here, too, the migrants did not form a homogeneous unit but fell into groups with different qualities.

¹ Already in 1917, the well known American sociologist of the older generation, A. E. Ross, wrote a somewhat alarming article about the selection in migration to the town. Cf. also his *Principles of Sociology* (Third Edition; New York; 1938), pp. 71 ff.

² Cf. Gist en Halbert, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

³ Amy A. Gessner, *Selective Factors in Migration from a New York Rural Community* (Bulletin 736, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1940), p. 25.

⁴ Howard W. Beers, *Mobility of Rural Population* (Bulletin 505, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, 1947), pp. 19-20.

According to another investigation in Kentucky,¹ in which the relation between migration and various other social phenomena was studied, migration had the highest correlation with education and with income. Among those with more education, the rate of migration was higher, while migration was lower among those with a higher income. However, since there was the usual positive correlation between income and level of education, apparently these two factors, working independently of one another, acted on two different groups of migrants; and it can be assumed — although this was not investigated separately in this study — that most of those who left for the towns, were better educated.

Hobbs² investigated migration in one of America's "depressed areas", the anthracite district of northeast Pennsylvania. He concluded that there was hardly any difference in education between migrants as a group and non-migrants, but that migrants who left the anthracite district, nearly all of them for large towns, were considerably better educated than the non-migrants.

Sanford³ studied the migration in a rural community in Alabama and reached conclusions tending to confirm the second of the abovementioned Kentucky studies. Relatively, the community's labor force lost many of the best qualified and of the least qualified, leaving mainly the middle range. Those the community received as immigrants were also principally of medium quality. As a whole, the community lost by the migration.

This survey of various American studies, each of which in one way or another reports on the elements that can be distinguished in certain groups of migrants, is of course incomplete; and in a

¹ Merton D. Oyler, *Fertility Rates and Migration of Kentucky Population, 1920 to 1940, as Related to Communication, Income and Education* (Bulletin 469, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944). According to a third study in Kentucky, Irving A. Spaulding and Howard W. Beers, *Mobility and Fertility Rates of Rural Families in Robertson and Johnson Counties, Kentucky, 1908-1941* (Bulletin 451, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, 1943), it appeared that in both counties the lower-income groups had a stronger tendency to migrate than those with higher incomes, but in one case there was, in the other case there was not, a positive correlation between education and migration.

² A. H. Hobbs, "Specificity and Selective Migration", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII (1942), 772 ff.

³ Gilbert A. Sanford, "Selective Migration in a Rural Alabama Community", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. V (1940), 759 ff.

certain sense the choice is even arbitrary. The results, however, all tend towards the same conclusion, which has not been contradicted by any other study with which I am familiar, namely, that migration as such is not necessarily selective with respect to intelligence and education. Sometimes the group of migrants was formed according to a positive selection, sometimes not. Migration from country to town does generally seem to follow such a selection, while migration within the countryside does not.

How are these differences among the various groups of migrants to be understood? They become clearer, in my opinion, if one takes as a general hypothesis, not that the more intelligent or better educated per se are more inclined to migrate, but rather that the circumstances are such that they more often have a motive to migrate than those with less intelligence or education. The migration process as a whole must be seen as that redistribution of individuals permitting them, on the basis of their abilities and knowledge, the supposedly best opportunities. In general, one does not move because one wants to move, but because one sees better opportunities elsewhere. Thus, who will migrate to a certain place depends on the specific opportunities that it offers. If there are good possibilities in one locality for those of relatively high intelligence or good education, then migrants to it will be positively selected; if another place offers especially good opportunities for unskilled laborers, then the reverse will be the case.

It is an empirical fact confirmed by various studies¹ that a relatively high percentage of the most intelligent children and of those with the highest marks in school get into the intellectual and semi-intellectual, or "higher" occupations, even if one considers the selection in this respect as still insufficient. This tendency is also to be observed among children in the country. The countryside, however, offers few opportunities for such occupations, contrary to the towns and cities, with their higher concentration of intellectual and higher occupations. This, in my opinion, is the primary cause of the fact that migrants from country to town are positively selected with respect to intelli-

¹ Cf. *inter al.* Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Scholastic Achievement and Occupation", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII (1942), 752 ff.

gence and intellectual achievements. Urbanization is, in fact, an occupational selection, a selection resulting from the relatively high demand for highly qualified work in the towns. If the demand changes, the selection also changes. The Negroes of Klineberg's study, who migrated in response to the good opportunities for unskilled laborers in the North, were not positively selected. Country people who migrate to another rural area react not to a demand for very intelligent persons but to opportunities to earn a living in agriculture, and so they also do not form a positive selection. The immigrants to the Alabama community studied by Sanford were not positively selected, since it offered few or no opportunities in the higher occupations. The results of all the studies surveyed above can easily be explained once the notion is abandoned that a selection with respect to intelligence is inherent in migration as such.

We do not want to say, however, that migration as such is never selective to some degree or in any of its aspects. The data available refer only to intelligence, or in part to a more general ability to fill certain social functions, so that they do not permit general conclusions. There are indications, however, that although migrants do not deviate from the average in their intelligence, they are not a typical sample in all respects. Thus, as I remarked concerning the results of a restricted rural study, the propensity to migrate is strongest among those who deviate from the norm of the area, even if sometimes only in external, physical characteristics. Just because they are "different," they feel less at home in a rural community striving for uniformity, and thus they leave. In that case, too, as I tried to show, the more talented do not have a special tendency to migrate.¹

Observations on migratory selection have usually been concentrated, however, on this general giftedness and in particular on intelligence. Concerning this, we can conclude that apparently migration does not result in a direct selection, and that whether there is an indirect selection depends on the circumstances.

In this connection, it is interesting to recall Stouffer's theory of "intervening opportunities."² According to this theory, the number of persons that migrate from A to B is directly propor-

¹ E. W. Hofstee, *Het Oldambt*, Part I: *Vormende Krachten* (Groningen, 1937), p. 44.

² Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. V (1940), 845 ff.

tional to the number of opportunities offered migrants in B and inversely proportional to the number of opportunities between A and B. Stouffer tested this hypothesis in one example, and later Margaret Bright and Dorothy Swaine Thomas¹ tested it concerning interstate migration as in the United States indicated in census data.² In both cases, Stouffer's theory, which can be expressed in a simple mathematical formula, seemed to hold good. Strictly interpreted, Stouffer's theory does not allow for an inherent urge to migrate, whether strong or slight, among persons of a certain temperament, and thus also not for a selection resulting from such differences in the propensity to migrate. Whether persons migrate or not is decided solely by the spatial distribution of satisfactory opportunities for individuals, viewed with respect to their innate or their acquired characteristics. If there are satisfactory opportunities in one's place of birth, one does not migrate; if there are none, then one seeks them elsewhere. If there are opportunities close by, one migrates only a short distance; if one finds nothing there, then one moves further away.

It would be too facile to assume that Stouffer's theory, however attractive its simplicity makes it, really completely covers all aspects of the migration process; migration is too complex for that. Empirical evidence tends to show, however, that the spatial distribution of opportunities is by far the most important factor in determining not only the amount of migration but also migratory selection, if any. In my opinion, the concept "opportunities" as used here must not be interpreted only as economic opportunities but rather as the more general chances to develop one's personality and to find the necessary social recognition for it. It need hardly be said that opportunities elsewhere are relevant to the potential migrant only if he knows of them and that, though in the long run real opportunities are decisive, for any one potential migrant supposed opportunities are as significant as real ones.

¹ Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VI (1941), 773 ff.

² Concerning the relation between distance and migration in America, cf. also Donald J. Bogue and Warren S. Thompson, "Migration and Distance", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIV (1949), 236 ff. According to their findings, it is apparently only partly true that a migratory movement gradually and evenly subsides in all directions from the area of origin, since migrants are inclined to pass over areas offering them no opportunities. Though they do not mention Stouffer, to a certain extent their results confirm the basic concept of his theory.

LOCALISATION OF SELECTED AREAS AND TOWNS

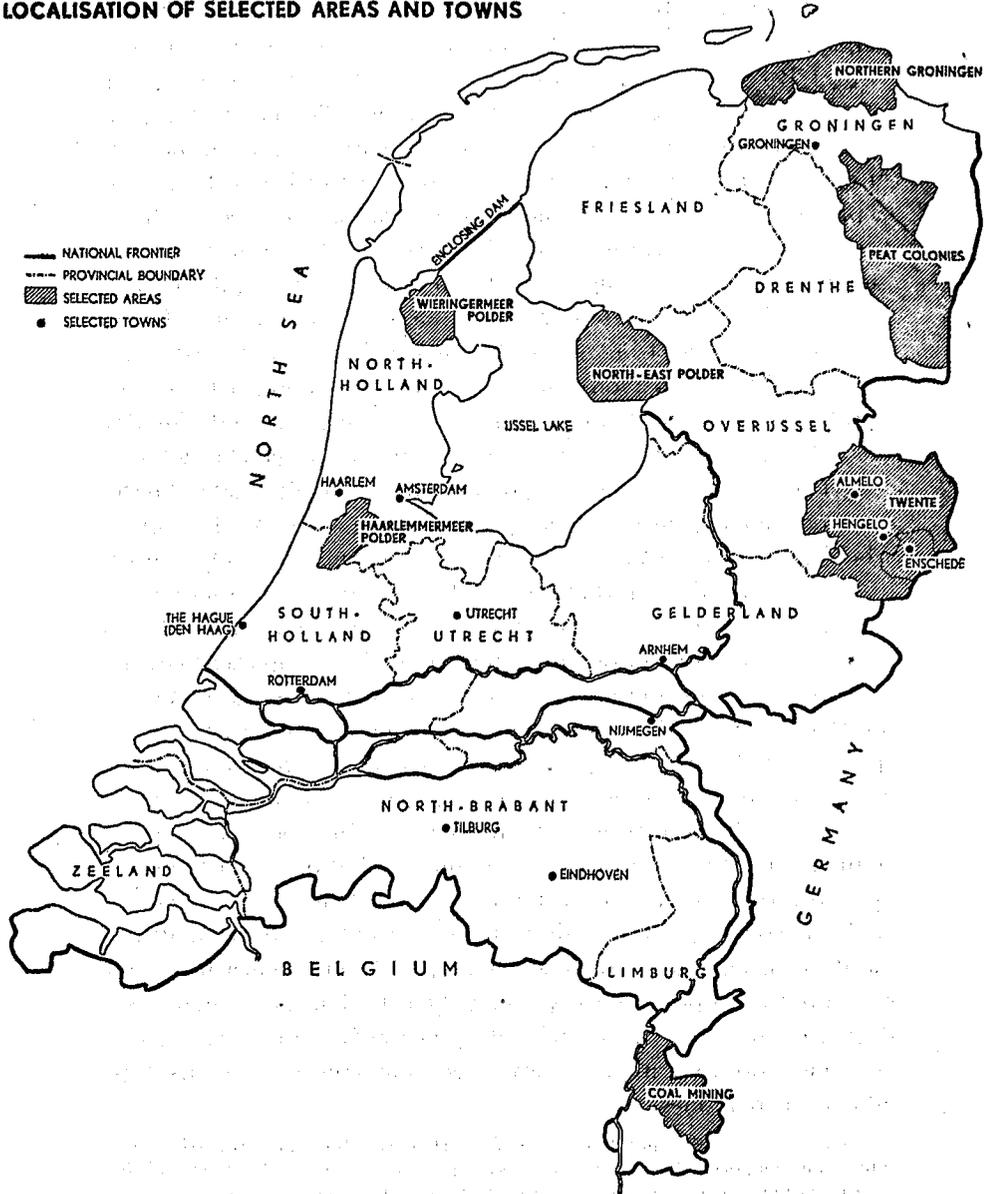


Figure I

**LAND RECLAIMED FROM THE SEA AND FROM LAKES
SINCE THE 13TH CENTURY**

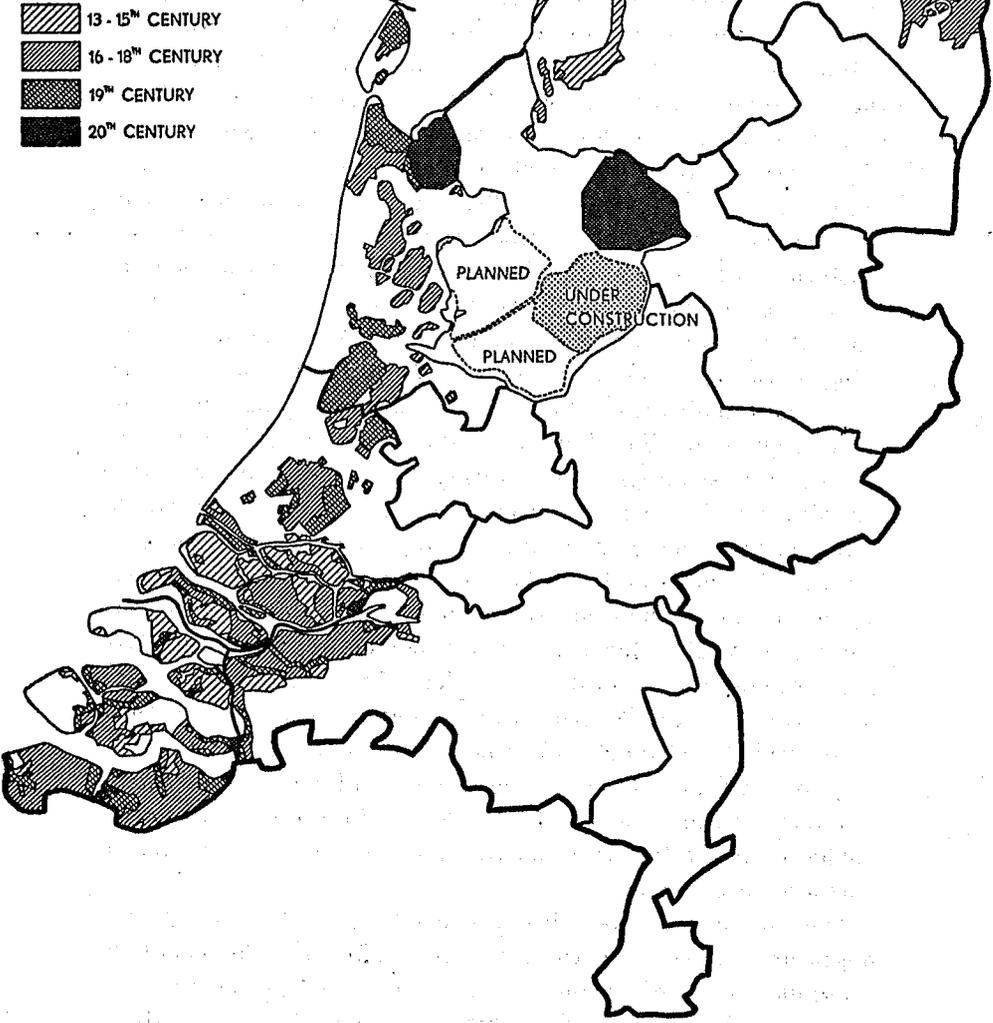


Figure II

On closer examination, the Dutch data — and particularly the results of the postwar army tests — point in the same direction¹ as the American studies. Well known immigration areas do not have a uniformly higher average. In general, as has been noted, towns and cities have a higher level of intelligence than the countryside, but there are relatively large differences within each category. Towns that, because of the nature of their economic structure, offer more job openings for unskilled or semi-skilled, show lower averages than towns with a more “intellectual” structure, which tend more to select their immigrants according to their intelligence. Thus, Amsterdam and The Hague have higher ratings than Rotterdam. In Twente (eastern Overijssel), the textile towns Almelo and Enschede do not rise much above the countryside, while the steel town Hengelo, which demands more intelligent and skilled personnel, has a higher rating. Eindhoven, the site of the Philips factories, has a relatively high rating, but that of the mining district is only moderately high. Rural districts that were recently colonized do not have strikingly better ratings than their environs. Peat colonies, which have been reclaimed up from the 17th to the 20th century, have very low ratings, particularly those in Drente. Notwithstanding the migration of commuters with higher urban occupations to Badhoevedorp and other towns, the rating of the Haarlemmermeer polder (reclaimed in 1852) does not compare favorably with that of its environs. Although the settlers of the Wieringermeer polder (reclaimed in 1930) were specially selected, and although in comparison with other clay-soil agricultural areas the polder still has a shortage of farmhands (who, as a rule, have a low rating), the figure for the polder is about the same as the average for such an area as northern Groningen.

The Dutch data also clearly show that, to the extent that migration is selective with respect to intelligence, this is not the consequence of migration as such but rather primarily of an occupational selection. The Dutch countryside also tends to expel an important part of its most intelligent inhabitants, but, here too, not because they are intelligent but because they tend to get into typically urban occupations. In the Dutch countryside,

¹ See footnote 3, p. 4. For the districts and towns mentioned here, see Figure I p. 10.

as is generally the case elsewhere, the parents of children with the best marks in school, often at the suggestion of their teachers, try to have them continue their education, which means that in most cases the countryside will eventually lose them.¹ The less intelligent also move away — for example, the many who leave to find work as unskilled laborers. But each prospective migrant moves or not depending on his own specific opportunities, and the types of skill among those migrating to any place will depend on the types of openings there.

As has been pointed out, there is of course no certainty that the conclusions that can be drawn with respect to internal migration also apply to overseas migration. It seems to me, however, that the hypothesis presented above — that the spatial distribution of opportunities and not the character structure of the individual migrant is of decisive importance in migration — is in all probability relevant. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the past, as still today, agriculturists have always formed so large a proportion of migrants. If intelligence, an enterprising spirit, the desire for adventure, and similar qualities often said to be associated with the propensity to emigrate really influenced it decisively, it would be difficult to understand why the rural population — prudent, more bound by tradition, certainly not above the rest of the population in intelligence — should be so heavily represented among migrants.

The rural residents' reason for emigrating was undoubtedly the lack of opportunities in the old country. The disparity between the rapid natural increase, on the one hand, and the impossibility of extending the cultivated area, on the other hand, forced a large part of the rural population to look for opportunities elsewhere. Internal migration to the cities was not very attractive, particularly to those who were no longer young. Trained only in agriculture, they could get no job in the city other than as unskilled workers, which was poorly paid and of low social esteem; and they found the way of life of the city

¹ It is astonishing that Waterink, without any important evidence, can write, "We might formulate the thesis thus: of the people that leave the countryside, in general the best go abroad, and the substratum goes to the city or, as the case may be, the industrial center". (J. Waterink, *De mens in het bedrijf*, 1950, p. 180). He seems to have completely failed to see that thousands of the most gifted country children found their way into urban trades by way of the courses in continuation schools.

strange and were often hostile to it. To move to a new country, where the reserve of arable land would make it possible for them to continue working in agriculture without being restricted to a small holding, must have appeared very attractive to them, especially since in general they had only a vague notion of the spiritual and material difficulties associated with assimilation in the new country.

Thus if we can assume that international migration, also, is not directly selective with respect to intelligence, and that whatever indirect selection there may be depends on the comparative opportunities in the Netherlands and overseas, then there is apparently little reason to suppose that emigration, as it has developed in the Netherlands since the end of the war, will entail a sizable loss of intelligent persons. At present (and as nearly as we can tell this will continue in the immediate future), there are three groups in this country for whom the lack of opportunities here makes emigration attractive — agriculturists, unskilled laborers, and some of the semi-intellectuals. There is still a surplus of farmhands in certain parts of the country, but before long this can be expected to change over into a shortage.¹ Then the surplus rural population will be limited almost entirely to the family farms on the sandy soil, particularly the somewhat larger farms, whose owners are inclined to keep at home more of their sons than will later be able to establish themselves as independent farmers.² Since it is difficult for those sons, once they have reached maturity, to find a satisfactory place for themselves outside agriculture, emigration is the obvious solution for them.

As for workers outside agriculture, it is to be expected that in the future, as in the past, skilled workers will be able to make a good living in the Netherlands; thus, for example, the number of jobs for metal workers doubled between 1930 and 1950.³ Consequently, skilled laborers will in general have little reason to emigrate; for them, there are too many "intervening opportunities".

¹ Cf. E. W. Hofstee, "Sociale aspecten van de landbouwpolitiek", *Landbouwkundig Tijdschrift* (1951), pp. 25-26.

² Concerning this question, cf. especially *Het Kleine-Boeren vraagstuk op de zandgronden*. Rapport uitgebracht door het Landbouw-Economisch Instituut (Assen, 1951), as well as several other reports published by the regional research branch of the Landbouw-Economisch Instituut during the last few years.

³ Cf. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, *Mededelingen*, B.T. 1 (March 1951).

There is, however, a more or less permanent surplus of unskilled laborers, and whenever they are given a better opportunity abroad, they are likely to emigrate in relatively large numbers. As for the higher occupations, persons with scientific training and the middle range of technicians can be expected to be fully employed at home, though it may be that some agronomists will seek their livelihood abroad. Capable business owners and managers will also in general find good opportunities in the Netherlands; but in view of the very extensive economic relations that the Netherlands has with other countries, it can be expected that a sizable number of executive employees of Dutch concerns will live abroad for a certain period.

The wide appeal that white-collar jobs still have in the Netherlands has resulted in an almost permanent surplus in some semi-intellectual occupations, particularly among commercial and office personnel. The propensity to emigrate among persons in such occupations, however, is very much checked by the fact that, because of language difficulties and the non-recognition of Dutch diplomas in other countries, they find it difficult to get suitable positions abroad.

Although migration and labor force statistics can be compared only with some difficulty, such a comparison warrants the conclusion that migration through 1950 followed the trends to be expected from the points made in this paper.¹ "Employees,

¹ From the data of the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (*Maandschrift*, July 1951, p. 536), the following table was compiled to show the occupations of occupied Dutch emigrants from the Netherlands to all overseas destinations except Indonesia, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles in 1950.

	United States	Canada	Latin America	Asia without Indonesia	Africa	Australia and New Zealand
Farmers	50	279	38	1	10	40
Other business owners and managers	113	122	21	27	46	338
Professionals	41	12	17	24	40	49
Employees and officials	459	311	316	274	442	951
Building-trade workers	74	79	11	2	31	291
Industrial workers	292	311	39	42	207	1,226
Miners	1	10	—	—	8	10
Agricultural, horticultural, and forest workers	188	1,230	61	6	18	325
Other workers	152	191	17	14	35	617
Total of occupied persons	1,370	2,545	520	390	837	3,847

officials, and professionals," which include intellectual, semi-intellectual, and a portion of the other higher occupations, have made up a rather high percentage, about 30 percent, of the occupied persons emigrating overseas (omitting emigration to Indonesia, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles), while they form only about 20 percent of the Dutch labor force. Many of these persons, however, are not true emigrants but rather representatives of Dutch business, as is indicated by the especially high percentage (60 percent and more) of them emigrating to such countries as Asia excluding Indonesia and Latin America, which cannot be considered typical immigration countries for the Netherlands. The percentage of this group going to the actual immigration countries is much smaller. Even emigration to the United States, in spite of the large number who go there in connection with Dutch-American economic relations or with United Nations activities, includes only about 30 percent of this occupational group. It makes up about 25 percent of the emigrants to Australia, and not even 20 percent of those to Canada. That a propensity to emigrate exists among "employees and officials" is apparent, however, from the fact that they make up a much higher proportion, a good 50 percent, of the emigrants to South Africa, where language difficulties are less of a factor. Taken as a whole, actual postwar emigration, which in large part has been to Canada and Australia, has not in my opinion included an abnormally large proportion of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals; and in spite of the strong propensity to emigrate among a portion of the semi-intellectuals, the movement of this group is likely to remain relatively small, because of language difficulties and professional barriers.

The number of business owners and managers emigrating is comparatively small, which indicates that those able to earn a fair living here have little inclination to move away. If officials, employees, and business owners and managers are taken together as the "higher occupations", then the percentage that this group forms of the total number of occupied emigrants is a little lower than its percentage of the Dutch labor force. Correlatively, workers, who make up about 50 percent of the Dutch labor force, are more heavily represented among overseas migrants. This is particularly so of migrants to the typical

immigration countries, Canada and Australia. As is well known, emigration to Australia in particular has included a high proportion of unskilled laborers.

If emigrants are divided into agriculturists and non-agriculturists, it appears that agriculturists are more heavily represented among emigrants than in the Dutch labor force. This is particularly so of emigrants to Canada.

It can be assumed that employees, officials, and professionals as a group have a higher average intelligence than the Dutch people as a whole. Presumably business owners and managers are also above the average. Workers, particularly unskilled workers, to the extent that their relative position can be determined, are below the national average, and the agriculturists are also on the low side.¹ As I have tried to show, there is no reason to assume from the research to date that migrants come primarily from those occupational groups with the highest average intelligence. Thus, in my opinion, there is no justified basis for the opinion that the sizable postwar emigration from the Netherlands has occasioned a relatively large loss of intelligent persons.

The direct comparative measurements of migrants and non-migrants, as has been noted, have not as yet yielded any significant findings as to a relation between migration and selection with respect to any socially desirable qualities other than those correlated with intelligence. This does not mean that there is no such relation, but it certainly does not mean that there is. Since intelligence tests have shown that migration is probably not directly selective with respect to this quality,

¹ Naturally, the validity of this opinion about the intelligence of the various occupational groups depends on what value one attaches to the usual tests used to compare intelligence. A test really entirely free of environmental influences must be regarded as an unattainable ideal, and sociologists have always pointed out the dangers of using these tests in comparative studies of groups that grew up in markedly different surroundings. So, for example, American rural sociologists have always had important reservations with respect to the relatively low score that a rural population nearly always has in intelligence tests. In my opinion, however, if modern test methods are used it would be difficult to maintain that the differences noted can be ascribed entirely to environmental factors. Cf. *inter al.* Charles W. Nelson, "Testing the Influence of Rural and Urban Environment on A.C.E. Intelligence Test Scores", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII (1942), 743 ff., and Mapheus Smith, "University Student Intelligence and Occupation of Father", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII (1942), 743 ff. However, cf. also T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-368.

the general conclusion must be that up to the present time direct measurements have not clearly indicated that migration is directly selective by socially desirable qualities in general.

But do not the social achievements of various migrant groups indicate a selection with respect to qualities that made it possible for migrants to develop more fully than the groups from which they came? More than the direct measurement of migrants' qualities, these successful migrant groups have formed the polemical base of those in the Netherlands and abroad who have defended the theory of selective migration.

In the first place, as I have pointed out elsewhere, not all migrant groups by far have been remarkably successful in their new homeland.¹ The clearest example of this is the population of South America, whose achievements, whether in the economic or in any other sphere of life, have not been noteworthy. In the Netherlands, too, one can find migrant groups whose social accomplishments are not distinguished in any way.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that migration, both internal and international, has often had a particularly happy result. Of such cases of internal migration in the Netherlands, the settlement of the Haarlemmermeer polder and of the peat colonies in Drente and Groningen, among others, can be cited. Do not such examples indicate that a special quality of person was culled by migratory selection, a type of person capable of special achievements?

This reasoning is too simple. The polemical force of these favorable examples remains only as long as one assumes that the achievements of these migrant groups are altogether, or at least primarily, the result of the personal qualities of the individual migrants, and so attaches little importance to the influence of the social-cultural relations in the group of which they are members, or to how their position in the group affects their actions, first in the emigration area and then in the new environment. In other words, this line of argument is valid only if one accepts the principle of the psychological school of sociologists, and especially of that branch of this school that attributes

¹ E. W. Hofstee, "Enige aspecten van bevolking en samenleving in de Drents-Groninger Veenkoloniën", *Verslag van de Akademiedagen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Vol. II (Amsterdam, 1949), 11 ff.

great importance to individual human traits and explains differences in social behavior by differences in the distribution of these traits in various groups.

Now, it certainly would be incorrect to say that character traits, in the sense of the more or less permanent structure of the human personality, and the difference in the distribution of these traits in various groups, are not significant in explaining the typical behavior of these groups. On the other hand, it needs hardly be said that sociological research, particularly during the past decades, has made it more and more evident that both the social-cultural relations in a group and the place that an individual has in it have a decisive influence on his actions, including also his economic activities. Thus, if a migrant group shows a behavior pattern different from that of the parent group is not, in itself, an indication that selection has brought about a different distribution of character traits, not to mention hereditary differences.

As has been emphasized in research during the past decades, both in the United States and elsewhere,¹ the social-cultural relations consequent to migration and to the position that migrants take up in their new environment have often had an unfortunate influence on migrants' behavior. But under some circumstances, which I shall illustrate in what follows, migrants can also distinguish themselves positively.

In the first place, I would like to review briefly what I have said elsewhere concerning the influence exercised on migrants by the cultural ideal in their country of origin.² By cultural ideal I mean the whole of the concepts prevailing in a certain group concerning the correct spiritual and material life patterns. The feelings, thoughts, and aspirations associated with such a cultural ideal determine the behavior of individuals to a large degree. This is also true when a portion of the group leaves, and in particular when the migrants have an opportunity to realize their cultural ideal more or less independently in the new country.

¹ An interesting report on France's experience with Polish immigrants from this point of view was given by Georges Mauco at the general meeting of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population in Geneva in 1949. Cf. Georges Mauco, "The Assimilation of Foreigners in France", in *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants* (Cambridge University Press, 1950).

² Hofstee, "Enige aspecten van bevolking en samenleving in de Drents-Groninger Veenkoloniën".

In the country of origin, there are in principle two possibilities concerning the cultural ideal. It can remain more or less static during the period of migration, accepted by the whole of the group as right and thus undergoing little or no change. Under such circumstances, the migrant group will strive to establish a copy of the old country's culture in the new country, limiting changes in the main to the necessary adaptations to such external conditions as climate, etc. To a large degree, this describes the Spanish-Portuguese colonization of South America. The cultural ideal had been quite static in the Iberian countries for a long time, so that there was hardly any impulse to develop new life patterns in the South American countries. There are also colonies in the Netherlands, settled by persons from districts whose cultural ideal was static at the time of the migration, and these colonists also have not accomplished anything novel or striking.

When the parent group is clearly developing towards a new cultural ideal, however, the effect on migrants' behavior is quite different. Migrants will carry this new cultural ideal with them, and they will be able to realize it more quickly and in a purer form than was possible in the old country. For in the old country the realization of the new cultural ideal is hampered by laws, organizational patterns, morals, customs, community patterns, dwellings, business establishments, etc. — in short, by a material, institutional, and spiritual legacy from the past, in which the old cultural ideal persists. In the new country these hindrances will largely disappear, not because colonists are progressive by nature, but because the base of the old cultural pattern will have been lost and no one will want to recreate it. Thus, the new ideal will be able to grow quickly and without inhibitions, and the new country will be "ahead" of the old in its development.

In the old country, it often happens that the old cultural ideal will hamper the development of a new one so much that, before this has been fully realized, the influence of a still newer ideal is felt. Thus, the cultural ideal of an era often finds its purest expression in a colony.

This is why so many of the colonies formed during the past centuries by the peoples of Northwest Europe, both within their countries and abroad, were so successful in the eyes of their

contemporaries. For these colonies were established during the period of development of the new cultural ideal that, as regards its economic facet, is usually called capitalist and that, for convenience, we can designate by the more general term "modern." The migrants who first shaped American culture — English, Scandinavian, Dutch, German — carried this modern cultural ideal with them to the new country, and realized it there in a stronger and purer form than in Europe itself. The first component of this ideal that comes to mind is America's *Wirtschaftsgeist*, which is, as Rühl¹ pointed out, essentially the same as in Europe — that is to say, capitalistic — but distinguished by its "*reinere Ausprägung und schärfere Durchbildung.*" The same tendency is to be seen in other areas of American society. The principle that the three powers of government should be separate, to take a typical example, developed in Europe, but in spite of the revolutionary changes in the form of government effected in various West European countries during the Napoleonic period, it was never completely applied there, but found its purest expression in the American constitution, which was written during the same period. The same tendencies to be seen in America and other immigration countries on a grand scale can be found in smaller size in various areas of internal colonization in the Netherlands, such as the Drente-Groningen peat colonies and the Haarlemmermeer polder. By this hypothesis one can understand why the inhabitants of the peat colonies, who according to various tests have a low average in intelligence, have nevertheless clearly risen above the surrounding areas, especially the Drente sand region, in the spirit of enterprise and the will to economic achievement. Here, too, the pervasive effect of the modern cultural ideal is to be seen also in other sectors of communal life.

If it is clear why, just because of the character of the social-cultural relations in the old country, under some circumstances the new country, judged by the criteria of the time, can forge ahead in certain respects, it is also necessary to keep in mind that the circumstances of the individual migrant often act as a stimulus for him to distinguish himself.

¹ Alfred Rühl, *Vom Wirtschaftsgeist in Amerika* (Leipzig, 1927), p. VIII.

One of the interesting aspects of migration, and particularly of migration over a considerable distance, is that the social position of the migrant becomes more or less indefinite. He no longer feels a rung of the social ladder firmly under his feet but to one degree or another floats in the air. Especially one who is born and bred in a small town or in the countryside, so long as he remains in his place of birth, is pretty much nailed down to his place in the social scale. His personal achievements at any time can have only a slight influence on his place in society, which is determined primarily by his background. It depends in large part on his family's position in this region, perhaps for generations past, together with his own history from birth on. Permanent things are more important than temporary ones; property, whether his own or his family's, counts more than income. Outward behavior does not carry much weight, since everyone knows what stands behind it.

To rise in social position is very difficult, since for everyone an individual always remains "So and so's son" and "the boy who used to be this or that." On the other hand, if circumstances threaten to bring about a sharp fall in social position, suddenly everything is arranged to prevent too great a misfortune.

With migration, however, a large part of this background suddenly disappears. The migrant must and can show by his own personality and his own achievements what he is worth, where in society he belongs. Someone with a high position in the old environment will have to prove himself in the new one; someone with a modest place in the old society gets the chance to rise, unhampered by his environment. Just because he lacks this background, the migrant has to show by outward signs where his place in the social scale is. Income becomes very important to him, since it makes it possible for him to display the outward signs of the prosperity by which he is socially rated; he will have a tendency towards conspicuous consumption. He will be very active in business, not only in order to earn the high income he needs, but because this activity in itself will give him social prestige. His activity, however, will not be limited to business; he will strive for leading positions in other areas of communal life as well, positions that will give him prestige in his new environment. Everywhere he will try to become

a leader — in fashionable society, in politics, in club life, in every other sphere of activity.

This fluid social prestige of the migrant, it seems to me, and the desire to consolidate it at as high a point as possible, are one of the principal causes of the extraordinary activity of migrants so often to be noted. Thousands have found overseas the chance to rise in social position that had been denied them at home, and they have seized this opportunity with all their strength.

This change of attitude is of the utmost importance not only in international but also in internal migration. This, in my opinion, is an important reason why it is not primarily the old inhabitants who stand out as activists and pioneers, not only in business but in all facets of communal life, but the immigrants.¹ One condition, of course, is that the immigrant must be able to adapt himself to the new environment: if the cultural differences between the old and the new environment are too large, it will be impossible for him really to assert himself in his new surroundings.

I am aware of the fact that I have mentioned only a few of the factors that can influence the way migrants behave in their new environment. Nonetheless this brief sketch may be sufficient to show that migrants' behavior can be understood without positing migratory selection with respect to individual character traits.

In general, my exposition of selective migration has had a rather negative slant. This does not mean that I believe that further research in this field would not be very desirable. Several of the generally accepted points concerning selective migration

¹ It is to Regeling's great credit that he has shown in his study of Wageningen (*De stad der tegenstellingen*, Wageningen, 1933), how the social life of a certain community can be dominated by immigrants. To one degree or another, I think, this dominance can be seen everywhere, except perhaps in the very largest towns. In the summer of 1951, I attended a convention in the United States devoted to community development, and insofar as I could judge from that meeting, it appeared that there, too, the impetus to develop the local communities did not come primarily from the "old-timers" but rather from those who had immigrated to the community as adults.

See also Sámuel W. Blizzard and M. E. John, *Social Participation Patterns of Husbands and Wives, who are Migrants in the City*, (Paper No. 1772, Journal Series, Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station). In this study, based on extensive data on migrants to Greater Pittsburgh, the authors show that migrants whether from the countryside or other American cities, furnish leadership out of proportion to their numbers.

rest on a very narrow empirical base, and sometimes the necessary research is altogether lacking, so that we have to be content with a hypothesis. If indeed, there proves to be no direct relation between migration and selection, it cannot be denied that migration can be indirectly selective, and of this indirect relation we still know far too little. In view of the importance that migration will have for the Netherlands in the immediate future, further research is imperative, and I hope that this paper will serve to give this research some directives.

SOMMAIRE

L'importante migration des Pays-Bas vers les territoires d'outre-mer qui s'est développée depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, a de nouveau soulevé, dans ce pays, des discussions sur le caractère sélectif d'une telle migration. Ce sont surtout les quotidiens et les périodiques populaires qui se sont occupés de la question à laquelle la réponse est en général positive.

Jusqu'ici la science néerlandaise n'a pas pris une part active à ces discussions. Durant les dernières décades, elle s'est à peu près tue sur ce sujet, bien qu'au début du développement de cette nouvelle science, dont le coryphée était le professeur Steinmetz, il fut en général admis que les migrants doivent être considérés comme une sélection positive de la population d'origine.

Il est désirable de nous pencher de nouveau sur cette question et cela pour deux raisons: d'une part, parce que l'importante émigration actuelle des Pays-Bas nous offre l'occasion de procéder à des études approfondies, d'autre part, parce que les résultats de telles études peuvent revêtir une grande importance pour la politique pratique de la migration. La présente étude représente une première tentative pour une nouvelle orientation dans ce domaine.

Ceux, qui, il y a vingt à trente ans, soutenaient la thèse de la sélection positive de la migration invoquaient en général deux arguments:

en premier lieu, ils croyaient qu'une comparaison directe entre les facultés mentales des migrants et des non-migrants donnait un résultat en faveur du premier groupe;

d'autre part, ils pensaient que les remarquables efforts dans le domaine social accomplis par les différents groupes de migrants dans leurs nouvelles résidences prouvaient que la qualité moyenne des migrants était supérieure à celle de la population d'origine.

Si on laisse de côté la craniométrie des anthroposociologues (Ammon, Lapouge etc.), il paraît, lors d'une étude plus détaillée, qu'on ne disposait autrefois guère de données dignes de foi sur les capacités des migrants, en comparaison avec celles des non-migrants. Pour la migration d'outre-mer, la situation n'a guère changé. Nous ne disposons pas encore de données comparables sur les capacités mentales des migrants d'outre-mer et des groupes dont ils proviennent. Entre 1920 et 1930 cependant, de nombreuses recherches — notamment en Amérique — ont été effectuées sur la sélection spontanée que peut assurer une migration interne. Il y a lieu d'espérer que les expériences faites sur la migration interne pourront nous fournir des indications assez nettes sur ce que nous pouvons attendre d'une migration vers l'étranger.

De prime abord il paraît, selon les résultats des recherches américaines, que la migration est en effect sélective, au moins quant aux capacités intellectuelles. Presque toutes les recherches prouvent qu'en moyenne les capacités intellectuelles des migrants sont supérieures à celles des personnes restées chez elles. En comparant les résultats d'une étude sur l'intelligence des recrues de l'armée néerlandaise selon les différentes régions d'origine, on arrive à la même conclusion: le niveau d'intelligence paraît plus élevé dans les régions d'immigration que dans celles d'émigration. Une analyse plus détaillée de ces données démontre cependant que cette conclusion n'est juste qu'en apparence. Lorsqu'on considère la migration non dans son ensemble mais par région d'accueil, le niveau d'intelligence des migrants paraît parfois supérieur à celui de la population autochtone dans son ensemble, mais, dans d'autres cas, n'est pas supérieur. Ainsi, par exemple, les migrants ruraux se rendant d'une région rurale à une autre ne sont — du point de vue intellectuel — pas supérieurs à ceux qui sont restés chez eux, tandis que la migration vers les villes n'est pas toujours sélective au même degré du point de vue intellectuel.

Une étude plus approfondie des données américaines et hol-

landaises a convaincu l'auteur que la migration en soi n'exerce pas d'effet sélectif à l'égard de l'intelligence; si l'on constate néanmoins une sélection intellectuelle, elle est, au fond, due à une sélection selon les professions. Cela explique entre autres pourquoi la migration vers les villes (migration qui comporte un pourcentage bien plus élevé de professions exigeant une plus grande intelligence) est sélective quant à l'intelligence, tandis que la migration d'une région rurale vers une autre, ne l'est pas. Conformément à cette conviction, une migration vers la ville résultant d'une demande d'ouvriers non qualifiés n'est, d'après les données disponibles, pas sélective quant à l'intelligence.

Si la conclusion précédente est également applicable à la migration vers les territoires d'outre-mer — comme il a été dit plus haut certains indices donnent à penser qu'il en est effectivement ainsi — une analyse de la composition du groupe des migrants néerlandais d'outre-mer nous apprend néanmoins qu'il n'y a pas à craindre de voir l'intelligence moyenne des Pays-Bas souffrir de cette migration.

Quant aux qualités autres que l'intelligence, nous ne disposons guère de données comparables. Il faut donc conclure que les données directement comparables sur les capacités mentales ne donnent aucune indication que la migration en soi mène à une sélection.

Les résultats sociaux favorables obtenus par plusieurs groupes de migrants ne constituent une preuve en faveur de la sélection que si l'on adhère aux principes de l'école psychologique de la sociologie et notamment aux principes de la branche de cette école qui, attribuant une grande valeur aux facultés mentales des individus, expliquent les phénomènes sociaux par une distribution différente de ces facultés parmi les divers groupes. Sans vouloir méconnaître la signification de cette opinion on pourrait cependant faire remarquer que les recherches sociologiques durant les dernières dizaines d'années ont nettement démontré que la nature des relations sociales dans un certain groupe et la place qu'occupe l'individu dans ce groupe, ont une influence décisive sur les actes de cet individu, y compris ses actes économiques.

Durant les dernières dizaines d'années on a signalé en Améri-

que et ailleurs l'influence défavorable de la position sociale des migrants dans leur nouvelle patrie, sur leur conduite.

D'autre part, il faut signaler que, dans certaines conditions, la nouvelle situation dans laquelle se trouvent les migrants, peut mener à un développement extrêmement propice. Dans ce rapport, l'auteur signale en premier lieu une théorie dont il a déjà parlé ailleurs, à savoir la théorie concernant l'influence de la nature de l'idéal culturel du pays d'origine. Si dans le pays d'origine cet idéal est statique, le migrant s'efforcera d'établir dans sa nouvelle patrie une copie de la culture de son ancien pays. Si, au contraire, au moment où la migration a lieu, un nouvel idéal culturel se développe dans le pays d'origine, le migrant essaiera de réaliser ce nouvel idéal dans sa nouvelle patrie. Puisque le développement de cet idéal n'y est pas entravé par un héritage matériel, institutionnel et spirituel du passé, — ce qui est toujours le cas dans le pays d'origine — les groupes de migrants bénéficieront d'une avance, quant au développement de cet idéal culturel; en outre, cet idéal s'exprimera plus purement dans les pays d'installation. Ce cas s'est présenté en Amérique; ce pays doit son développement culturel à la migration de l'Europe nord-occidentale et cela au moment où se développait, dans cette partie du monde, l'idéal culturel que nous désignons en général par l'adjectif „moderne”, et, du point de vue économique, par l'adjectif „capitaliste”. Cet idéal culturel moderne et capitaliste s'est en effet développé plus purement en Amérique qu'en Europe; voilà une des causes du développement économique propice de ce pays.

Un autre phénomène susceptible de favoriser, dans certaines conditions, un développement propice du migrant, se trouve dans le fait que la position sociale du migrant devient, par la migration même, indéfinie. Le migrant qui, par sa famille, par les traditions etc. occupait une position sociale élevée dans le pays d'origine, devra se maintenir dans sa nouvelle patrie par ses propres forces; mais le migrant qui dans le pays d'origine ne pouvait monter dans l'échelle sociale qu'avec grande peine, a des chances toutes nouvelles dans le pays d'installation. Que cette condition provoque non seulement une plus grande activité économique du migrant, mais également une tendance à se faire valoir dans la vie sociale, apparaît — notamment dans le

cas de migration interne — au nombre excessivement élevé de dirigeants de la vie sociale provenant d'un groupe de migrants dans une certaine région. Il va sans dire que, dans ce cas, il est indispensable que le migrant se soit adapté, du point de vue culturel, à son nouveau milieu.

Il est donc très possible d'imaginer une évolution très favorable de groupes de migrants, sans l'attribuer à une sélection positive par la migration. En concluant, nous pouvons dire que, vu notre savoir actuel, il ne paraît pas probable que la migration se traduise *directement*, de façon importante par une sélection. Une étude plus détaillée est cependant désirable, non seulement parce que les données disponibles sont encore à plusieurs égards insuffisantes, mais aussi parce qu'il est certain qu'*indirectement* la migration est dans beaucoup de cas sélective et parce que nous savons encore trop peu de cette sélection indirecte.