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During the 18th and 19th Centuries**

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Leaving for Life: Using Online Crowd-Sourced Genealogies to Estimate the Migrant Mortality Advantage for the United Kingdom and Ireland During the 18th and 19th Centuries

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Abstract

Demographic studies consistently find a mortality advantage among migrants, but a lack of longitudinal data tracking individuals across national borders has limited the study of historical international migration. To address this gap, we use the crowd-sourced online genealogical database Familinx to estimate the migrant mortality advantage for migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland between 1750 and 1910. We compare age at death for non-migrants and migrants to Canada, the United States, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia using mixed-effects regression models that account for unobserved factors shared between siblings. Results suggest an overall expected migrant advantage of 5.9 years, 95% CI [5.7, 6.2] even after accounting for between-family variation, with migrants estimated to live an additional 2.6 [1.1, 4.0] to 8.7 [6.3, 11.2] years depending on the country of destination. This study contributes to the understanding of the migrant mortality advantage in a historical context and shows the potential for online genealogies to contribute to demographic research.

Keywords: *crowd-sourced genealogies, migrant mortality advantage, United Kingdom, Ireland, sibling effects*

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Introduction

Across a range of periods and contexts, migrants are found to live longer than their counterparts in both the origin and destination countries. This effect has been found to be robust across a range of contexts (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999; Aldridge et al. 2018; Swerdlow 1991) despite possible statistical censoring issues such as the undercounting of return migrants (Pablos-Méndez 1994). One hypothesized reason for the migrant mortality advantage is the healthy migrant effect, which argues that healthy individuals positively select into migration (Razum 2008). If this is true, it is unclear the *extent* of the migrants' mortality advantage over non-migrants, especially as migrant destinations may vary greatly from one another and from the origin country. Additionally, the mortality outcomes of migrants may not be independent of their family members' outcomes, even among family members who did not migrate. Siblings are especially similar because of shared genetic and environmental factors. Yet, data limitations have typically limited the ability to study how between-family effects may contribute to the migrant mortality advantage.

A common strategy in many migrant mortality studies is to compare migrants with non-migrants in the destination country. However, this strategy risks obscuring the relationship between migration and mortality, as it rests on the assumption that non-migrants in the destination serve as an appropriate comparison group. Instead, we use the online crowd-sourced genealogical dataset Familinx (Kaplanis et al. 2018) to study the migrant mortality advantage during a period of large emigration from the United Kingdom and Ireland from the mid-18th century until the early 21st century. The genealogical structure of the data permits comparison between migrants and non-migrants who are born in the same country, and even between siblings. We test whether the migrant mortality advantage holds for this migration flow using mixed effects models which allow

us to distinguish between the effects on mortality that stem from shared health advantages within families versus the direct effect of migration on mortality.

The current study is guided by the following questions: (1) What is the size of the migrant mortality advantage for migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland between 1750-1910? (2) How does this mortality advantage vary across the destination of migration? Our results suggest an overall expected migrant advantage of 5.9 years, 95% CI [5.7, 6.2] even after accounting for between-family variation. The results also suggest that the migrant mortality advantage is heterogeneous by destination, ranging from 2.6 [1.1, 4.0] years in South Africa to 8.7 [6.3, 11.2] years in New Zealand.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. We first review the literature on the healthy migrant hypothesis and discuss potential mechanisms driving the migrant mortality advantage. We discuss the historical context of our case study, that is, emigration from the United Kingdom and Ireland during the 18th and 19th centuries. We next consider how the migrant mortality advantage may play out at the family level. Then, we describe our data and analytic strategy. We present the results from our models and conclude with a discussion of what these results imply for the literature on the migrant mortality advantage, as well as the use of crowd-sourced genealogical data in demographic research.

Background

Mechanisms Driving the Healthy Migrant Hypothesis

Studies consistently find a mortality advantage for immigrants in the destination country relative to the native-born population (Guillot et al. 2023; Mehta et al. 2016; Razum 2008). This result has been explained using the *healthy migrant hypothesis* which suggests that relatively healthy

individuals are more likely to migrate (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999; Feliciano 2020). Studies of more recent migration flows have argued that this advantage is paradoxical, as migrants tend to be of lower socioeconomic status than individuals in the destination country (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999; Bakhtiari 2022). Measurement issues and other data limitations further complicate understanding this relationship. Return migrants may be negatively selected or undercounted in population statistics, leading to numerator-denominator bias and rendering them “statistically immortal” as their deaths are not recorded by the destination country (Pablos-Méndez 1994; Puschmann, Donrovich, and Matthijs 2017). Additionally, observed demographic rates in either the origin or destination country may suffer from migration censorship, that is, an overrepresentation of individuals who die before they can migrate, artificially decreasing the average age of death for non-migrants relative to migrants (Kasakoff and Adams 1995; Ruggles 1992). However, studies still find a mortality advantage even after accounting for many of these potential biases (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999).

The extent of the migrant mortality advantage is partially dependent on the group against whom migrants are compared. Non-migrants in the origin country are likely to share early-life conditions and other characteristics that may be associated with their survival outcomes. Comparing migrants to their non-migrant peers in the origin country also permits the examination of alternative mechanisms that may shape the migrant mortality advantage, such as the role of unobserved factors shared between siblings (e.g., early-life environment or parental resources) which may contribute to similarities in mortality between migrants and their non-migrant siblings. Table 1 shows two common approaches of studies investigating the migrant mortality advantage, including data requirements and interpretations for these approaches. The first, more

common approach is to compare migrants to non-migrants in the destination country, and the second approach is to compare migrants to non-migrants from the same origin country.

Table 1 Migrant mortality comparison approaches

Comparison	Data required	Interpretation	Example studies
Migrants and origin country non-migrants	Data from both the origin country and the destination country	There is a mortality advantage for migrants over their peers in their origin country; migrants deviate from the baseline mortality in their home countries	Abramitzky et al. (2012); Mourits & Puschmann (2023)
Migrants and destination country non-migrants	Data from the destination country	There is a mortality advantage for migrants over individuals in the destination country, though it is not clear if this is due to migration or selection	Abraído-Lanza et al. (1999); Bakhtiari (2022); Palloni & Arias

Though migrants may be healthier than their counterparts in the destination country, it is less clear how much healthier they are than those who do not migrate, that is, the family and neighbors they leave behind. Migrants are not drawn from the population at random and could have lived longer regardless of whether they migrated. On one hand, emigrants may be positively selected on a host of factors that are typically associated with a longer life: socioeconomic status, health status, or survival to migration age, for example. On the other hand, emigrants may have moved due to a lack of economic and social opportunities in their home country, and thus benefitted from better conditions in their destination which increased their lifespan.

Scholars have argued that mortality differences that emerge due to migration are driven by conditions in the destination rather than the origin country (Hatton 2021; 2004). Recent research confirms this argument; immigrants to the United States in the early 20th century saw a mortality

disadvantage compared to the native-born population in the destination country because of higher infectious disease exposure in U.S. cities (Bakhtiari 2022). As such, the mechanisms behind the migrant mortality advantage are not certain. It may be that migrants are healthier and otherwise more positively selected compared to their peers, or, alternatively, migrating allows individuals to avoid poor conditions in their home countries that would have negative effects on their mortality.

Migrant Mortality Advantages and Family Effects

Individuals are not randomly selected into migration. Rather, selection into migration occurs at both the population level, where some individuals are more or less likely to migrate based on their socioeconomic circumstances, and within families, as siblings may have different abilities, economic opportunities, or familial responsibilities (Abramitzky et al. 2012; Mourits and Puschmann 2023). For example, individuals who do not expect to inherit their family's land, by virtue of gender or birth order, may have an increased propensity to migrate .

If migrant siblings possess mortality advantages because they are positively selected from the population, their non-migrant siblings may be similarly advantaged, as health-protective factors are correlated within families (Mourits and Puschmann 2023). Siblings are more similar to each other than they are to random members of the population, likely because of shared genetic and environmental factors (Piraino et al. 2014), though evidence regarding whether the socio-environmental or genetic component is more influential for mortality is mixed (Cournil and Kirkwood 2001; Gudmundsson et al. 2000; Piraino et al. 2014). However, families may select the healthiest member to migrate as a risk diversification strategy (Stark and Bloom 1985). Siblings also compete for scarce resources amongst themselves (Donrovich, Puschmann, and Matthijs 2014; Lam and Marteleto 2008), which could diminish the magnitude of shared mortality

advantages between siblings. Evidence for the effect of sibling size on mortality is mixed (Baranowska-Rataj, Barclay, and Kolk 2017; Sonneveldt, DeCormier Plosky, and Stover 2013), though overcrowding due to having many siblings may be a key mechanism driving poor outcomes, especially for larger families (Hatton and Martin 2008). In light of these findings, it is important to consider both the role of unobserved factors shared between siblings and individual characteristics when considering the relationship between migration and mortality.

Historic Emigration From the United Kingdom and Ireland

Scholars have argued that the Demographic Transition, together with the Industrial Revolution, set the stage for mass emigration from Europe (Hatton and Williamson 1994; Richards 2018). In the United Kingdom, mortality decreased sharply and fertility remained stable until the mid-19th century before declining thereafter, resulting in a large population increase as the country moved through the second and third stages of the Demographic Transition (Friedlander and Okun 2022). This population growth exceeded agricultural labor demands, despite increasing agricultural productivity (Richards 2018). Coupled with rapid urbanization during the Industrial Revolution from 1750–1850, urban areas were subject to overcrowding, poor sanitation, and poor health conditions, resulting in decreased lifespan, particularly for low socioeconomic status individuals (Taylor 1988).

Emigrants moved for a variety of reasons. Economic circumstances worsened for many, with higher rent and declining access to land (Hatton and Williamson 1994; Horn 1998; Richards 2018). Emigration acted as a “safety valve” in the face of overcrowding and few economic opportunities, relieving the pressure caused by higher populations due to the Demographic Transition (Hatton and Williamson 1994). Migrants’ social networks also encouraged further

migration: as one family member migrated, many followed behind. The emigrants themselves were among a group most poised to benefit from migration: typically young, single, unskilled men or young couples with small children (Hatton and Williamson 1994; Horn 1998; Thompson 2009; Tomlins 2001). However, it is also important to note that many migrants were coerced to move, including convicts and indentured servants (Richards 2018; Tomlins 2001).

From the late 18th to the early 20th century, millions of Europeans emigrated, largely unencumbered by the restrictive immigration policies that exist today. Colonial relationships with overseas territories facilitated mass migration for Europeans to colonies in North America, Australasia, and Africa. Emigrants from the United Kingdom accounted for a large percentage of this flow, with the vast majority settling in present-day United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The sheer size of this flow, combined with the lack of legal restrictions on their immigration to these countries, makes it well-suited to studying differences between migrants and non-migrants (Hatton 2021). The varied destinations of the flow also make it possible to test the migrant mortality advantage in different contexts.

Current Study

We focus on the flow of migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland to Canada, the United States, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand for several reasons. Migrants moving from the United Kingdom and Ireland made up a large percentage of the flows of this time period (Hatton 2021). This period is also unique because the United Kingdom's colonial relationship with its territories facilitated virtually free international movement for European migrants on a scale that is no longer possible due to legal and immigration restrictions. As such, this period is an ideal case study for studying mortality differences between migrants and non-migrants as there was less

selection of migrants on characteristics such as socioeconomic status and education level (Hatton 2004, 2021).

We contribute to the continued debate on the migrant mortality advantage by using a genealogical dataset that can identify historic migration flows and transnational kin ties. We explicitly account for unobserved similarities between siblings that may shape the magnitude of the migrant mortality advantage. Our modelling strategy allows us to identify whether the migrant mortality advantage is heterogeneous by destination. Where other studies are constrained by challenges such as a lack of longitudinal data that follow individuals across national borders, Familinx allows us to compare migrants to non-migrants in the origin rather than the destination country. Finally, by analyzing historical data, we can measure the migrant mortality advantage across time rather than cross-sectionally.

Methods

Data and Sample

Data for the current study come from Familinx, a genealogical dataset with information on the timing and location of vital events such as birth and death for over 86 million individuals (Kaplanis et al. 2018). These data are crowdsourced in the sense that they represent the work of amateur genealogists to reconstruct family lineages across several centuries and world regions. Genealogical data have been used to investigate a variety of demographic outcomes (Blanc 2023; Chong et al. 2022; Cozzani et al. 2023; Gavrilov et al. 2002; Gay, Gobbi, and Goñi 2023; Piraino et al. 2014), and represent an opportunity for demographers to answer long-discussed questions about the nature of inter- and intragenerational demographic processes (Alburez-Gutierrez et al. 2019). Individuals born in the United Kingdom and Ireland are well-represented in Familinx, and

the data's genealogical structure is better suited for studying migration than similar family reconstructions using parish records which suffer from migration censorship (Ruggles 1992). This genealogical structure also allows us to identify transnational ties between kin and thereby account for unobserved similarities between siblings.

These data consist of user-generated profiles scraped from the website Geni.com. As such, there were several instances of reporting errors and other issues which necessitated extensive data cleaning and treatment before analysis. For example, some profiles in the dataset have missing information for country of birth or death; some records have implausible values for year of birth and death leading to an impossible age at death; and the names of some birth and death locations varied by language and changed over time. In general, we impute missing birth and death information using baptism and burial records from the same user where possible, and discard profiles with incomplete information on year and location of birth and death. Despite the biases inherent in crowdsourced genealogies (Calderón Bernal, Alburez-Gutierrez, and Zagheni 2023; Stelter and Alburez-Gutierrez 2022), and the messiness of the raw data, we take steps, such as documenting and publishing the data preparation procedure, to ensure transparency and reliability of our data and results. We describe in detail our data preparation procedure, including our treatment of missingness in key variables, in Appendix A of the Online Supplement. Replication materials for the entire data cleaning process are available at <https://osf.io/b87t6/>.

The initial sample consisted of over 86 million individuals, with parent-child ties for 43 million individuals. Because our interest is only in individuals who were born in the United Kingdom and Ireland between 1735-1895, we reduced our analytic sample to 98,057 profiles because less than one percent of the sample was born in the United Kingdom and Ireland (see Figure A1 in the Online Supplement for a visualization of the complete data cutting process). We

identify all individuals with complete information (year of birth and death, location of birth and death, and gender) who were born in the United Kingdom and Ireland between 1735-1895. Due to data limitations, we consider return migrants as non-migrants; however, given the period and destinations we analyze, there are few such cases. We limit the maximum age at death to 110 to avoid including profiles with implausibly long lifespans whose information was likely entered erroneously, and set the minimum age at death to 15. The sample consists of individuals who died either within the United Kingdom and Ireland (N = 62,076) or in Canada (N = 5,068), the United States (N = 18,381), South Africa (N = 1,185), Australia (N = 8,600), and New Zealand (N = 2,747). Our final sample consists of N = 98,057 individuals (N = 35,981 migrants).

Measures

We measure the outcome of age at death by subtracting one's birth year from their death year. While the data does not allow us to measure migration directly, individuals whose birth is recorded in the United Kingdom or Ireland and death is recorded in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, or Canada are considered migrants for the purposes of this study, as we infer that they would have migrated to their eventual death location. Individuals whose birth and death are recorded in the United Kingdom or Ireland are considered non-migrants.

To account for potential confounding between age at death and migration status, we control for gender and birth cohort, the latter measured as a categorical variable in 10-year intervals. We also include controls for the number of siblings, coded as a categorical variable (0, 1, 2, 3-5, 6+). To account for sibling effects, we construct a family ID for each profile using the unique ID of one's mother, or father's ID if the mother's is missing. Siblings are defined as individuals who share one or more parent ties, and we link individuals with their siblings. Individuals without

recorded siblings are given an individual ID. Table 2 shows descriptive statistics of selected variables.

Table 2 Sample descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean/Prop.	SD	Min	Max
Number of siblings	1.604	2.324	0	21
Age at death	65.870	18.272	15	109
Migrant	0.367	–	–	–
Proportion male	0.606	–	–	–

Note: N = 98,057

The migration and mortality literatures recognize the influence of socioeconomic status on one's propensity to migrate and age at death, respectively (Clouston and Link 2021; Lindstrom and Lauster 2001; Link and Phelan 1995). However, as our data consists of only demographic variables such as date and location of birth, date and location of death we cannot explicitly control for socioeconomic factors. This is a limitation of our study that we discuss in further detail below.

Analytic Strategy

To examine the migrant mortality advantage for those born in the United Kingdom and Ireland between 1735-1895, we estimate age at death using mixed effect models that incorporate random effects to capture unobserved similarities between siblings. We first examine mortality differences between migrants and non-migrants (Model A; migrant effects), and then estimate differences by one's country of death (Model B; destination country effects), as we infer this to be their migration destination. We interact these variables (migrant and country of death, separately) with birth cohort

to account for changing mortality conditions across time. The family random effects account for unobserved factors within families that are shared by siblings (Abramitzky et al. 2012). Family random effects have been used similarly in other studies of the migrant mortality advantage (Abramitzky et al. 2012; Cozzani et al. 2023; Mourits and Puschmann 2023). Though survival models are common in mortality research, we did not implement them due to concerns about how the quality of our data would affect the assumptions of hazard models. In addition, since hazard models are designed for incomplete data with right censoring issues, they were not necessary for our analyses as all observations within our dataset are deceased individuals who have completed the life course.

Results

A Migrant Effect?

We estimate the relationship between migration and age at death using mixed effect regression models. Results are presented as average marginal effects (AMEs), allowing us to interpret our findings as the effect of being a migrant (versus a non-migrant) on average in our sample, while holding control variables at their observed values (Mize 2019). The AME can be interpreted as the difference between the expected age at death of migrants and non-migrants. Positive values indicate that migrants have a mortality advantage while negative values indicate a mortality disadvantage.

Figure 1 demonstrates the AME of being a migrant versus a non-migrant (Model A1) across birth cohort. We include the full regression estimates in Table B1 of the Online Supplement. While there is fluctuation in the size of the AME, it remains positive and statistically significant for every cohort in our sample, indicating that migrants had a mortality advantage over their non-

migrant peers across all birth cohorts. The AME is highest for the 1840 birth cohort, which suggests a roughly 8.5-year, 95% CI [7.8, 9.3] mortality advantage of migrants over non-migrants.

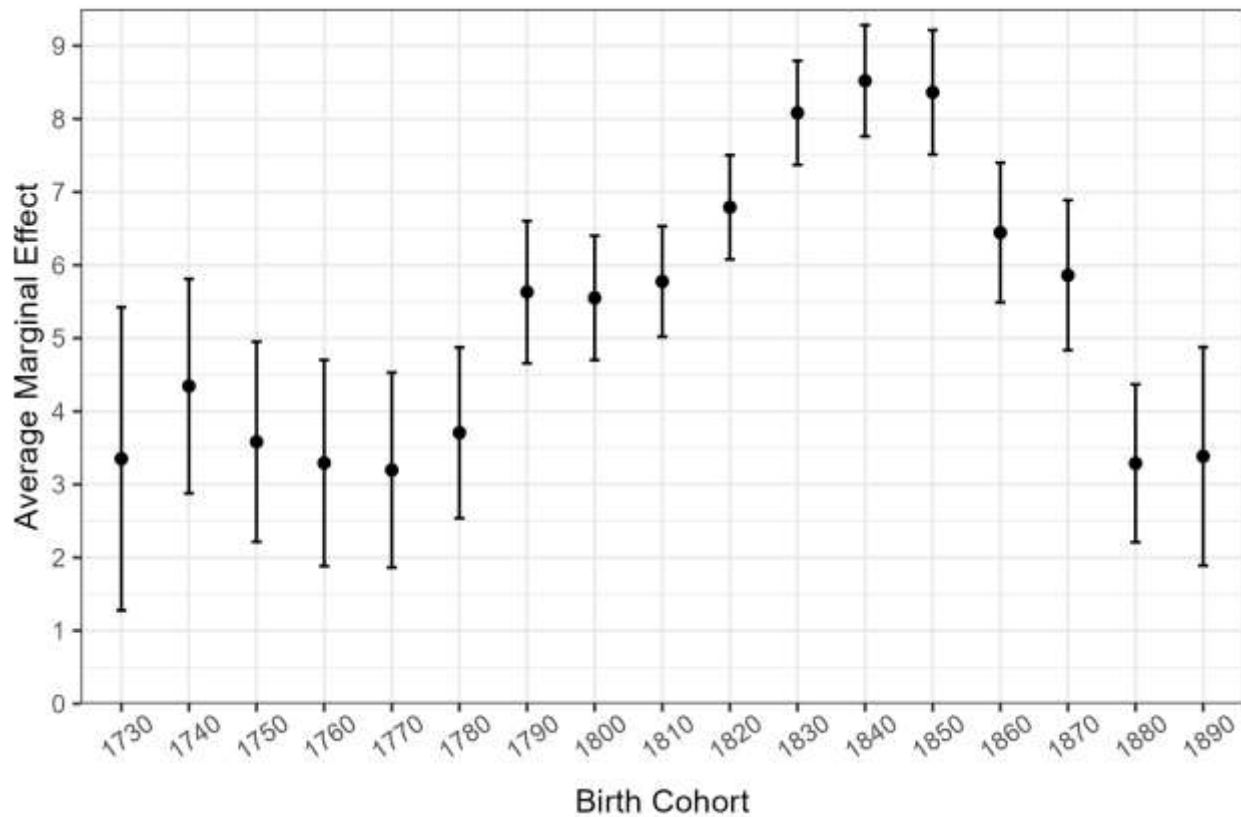


Figure 1 Average marginal effect of migration on age at death, across birth cohort (Model A1).

Next, we turn to the predicted contrasts by destination country (Model B1; see Figure 2). Here, the AMEs can be interpreted as the expected increase in age at death for migrants to a specific country. We include the total AME from Model A1 as a dashed green line and 95% confidence intervals to demonstrate the contrasts between the overall migrant advantage and individual countries' advantages. When comparing migrants to non-migrants overall in Model A1, we find an AME of 5.9 years, 95% CI [5.7, 6.2] for individuals who migrate, suggesting a 5.9-year mortality advantage of migrants over non-migrants. However, this model masks heterogeneity by

destination country. When disaggregating by destination country in Model B1, we find that the AME of migrating ranges from 2.6 years, 95% CI [1.1, 4.0] in South Africa to 8.7 years, CI [6.3, 11.2] in New Zealand. The AMEs for all destinations are positive and highly statistically significant ($p < 0.001$), suggesting a clear mortality advantage for migrants. Comparing models A1 and B1 shows that the general migrant mortality advantage is similar to the mortality advantage among migrants to Australia and the United States, while migrants to Canada and New Zealand have a greater advantage, and migrants to South Africa have less of an advantage.

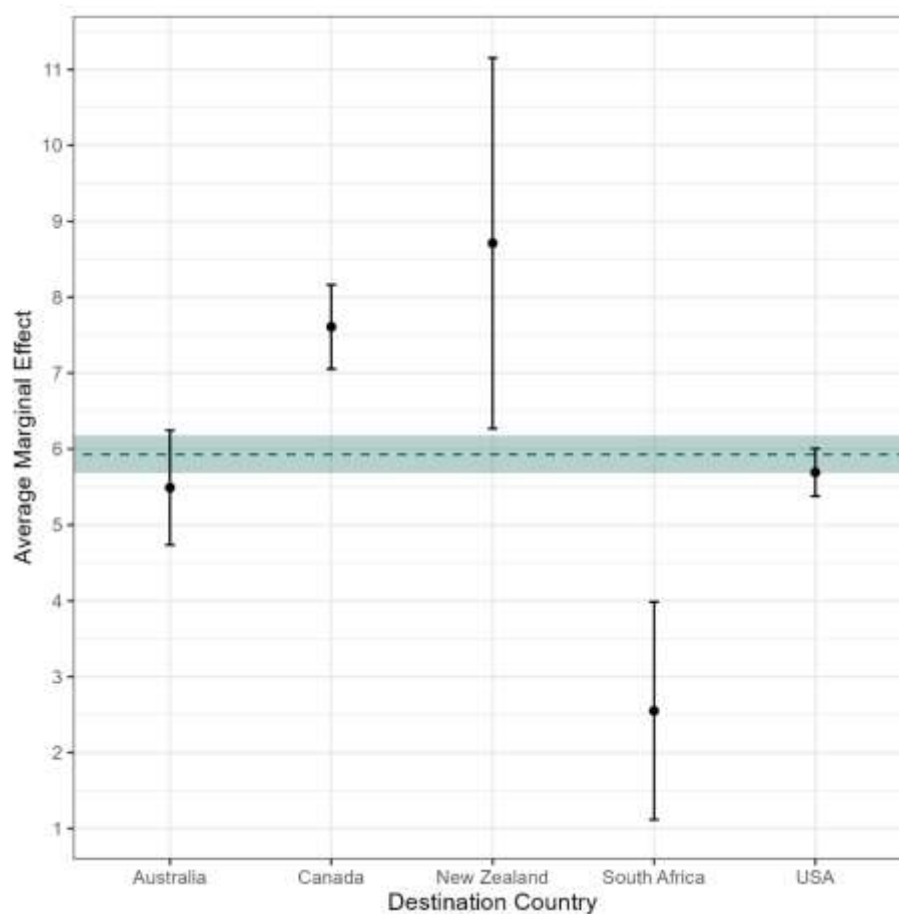


Figure 2 AME of migrating on age at death by destination country (Model B1) in black with 95% CIs. AME for Model A1 (migrant versus non-migrant) is shown by the dashed line, with 95% CIs as green shade.

Supplementary Models

We estimate several supplementary models to be sure of the robustness of our results. We first limit our sample to only individuals with at least one sibling in the data (Models A2 and B2; $N = 49,263$). The results are substantively similar to the previous models, both for the migrant model and by destination country (see Table B2 in the Online Supplement for regression estimates). We interpret the similarities between the set of models as an indication of model robustness, as well as that the migrant mortality advantage is generally stronger among those with siblings, including sibling groups with mixed migration statuses.

In the next set of supplementary models (Models A3 and B3) we repeat our original analyses, conditioning on survival to alternative ages, i.e., 0, 5, 10, 20, 25, ..., 50. In doing so, we attempt to correct for the fact that the migrant mortality advantage may vary across age (Guillot et al. 2018), or may be sensitive to alternative cut-off points. Figure 3 shows the AMEs from Model A3, which show a consistent migrant mortality advantage when conditioning on survival through age 15. As the minimum age increases, the extent of the mortality advantage decreases, though it remains positive and statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The size of the AME decreases with higher age cut-offs because samples with higher cutoffs have fewer individuals who die young and are biased towards those who live longer. As such, with higher age cut-offs there is less variability in age at death, so the difference between migrants and non-migrants diminishes when looking exclusively at a sample that dies older.

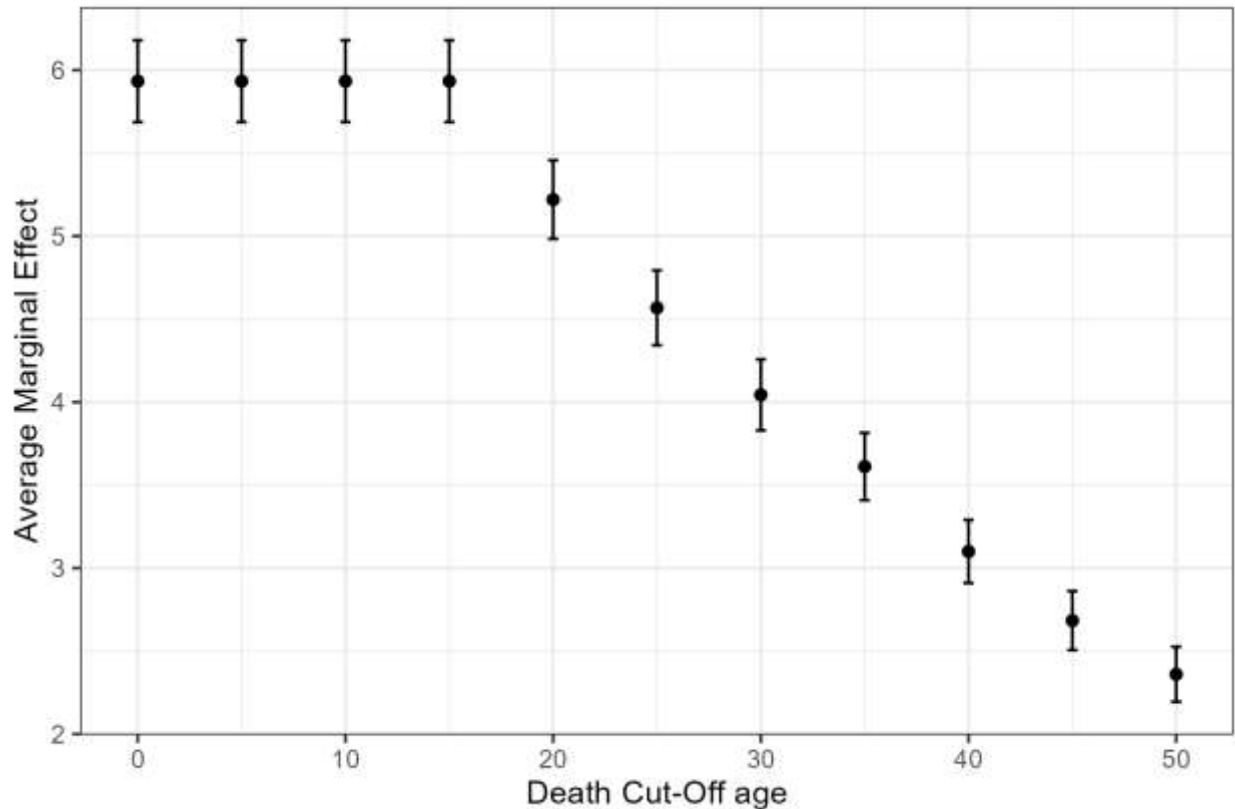


Figure 3 AMEs of migration on age at death across alternate age cutoffs (Model A3).

We find a similar pattern when looking at differences by destination country in model B3 (see Figure 4): the extent of the migrant mortality advantage is constant through a cut-off of age 15, though this advantage decreases as the cut-off age increases. The AMEs are positive and statistically significant for most estimates except for cut-offs over age 25 in South Africa. The former point indicates that our findings are generally robust across age cut-off, though the estimated extent of the migrant mortality advantage varies. The latter point indicates that when the age cut-off is above 25, we do not find statistically significant differences in age at death between migrants to South Africa and non-migrants.

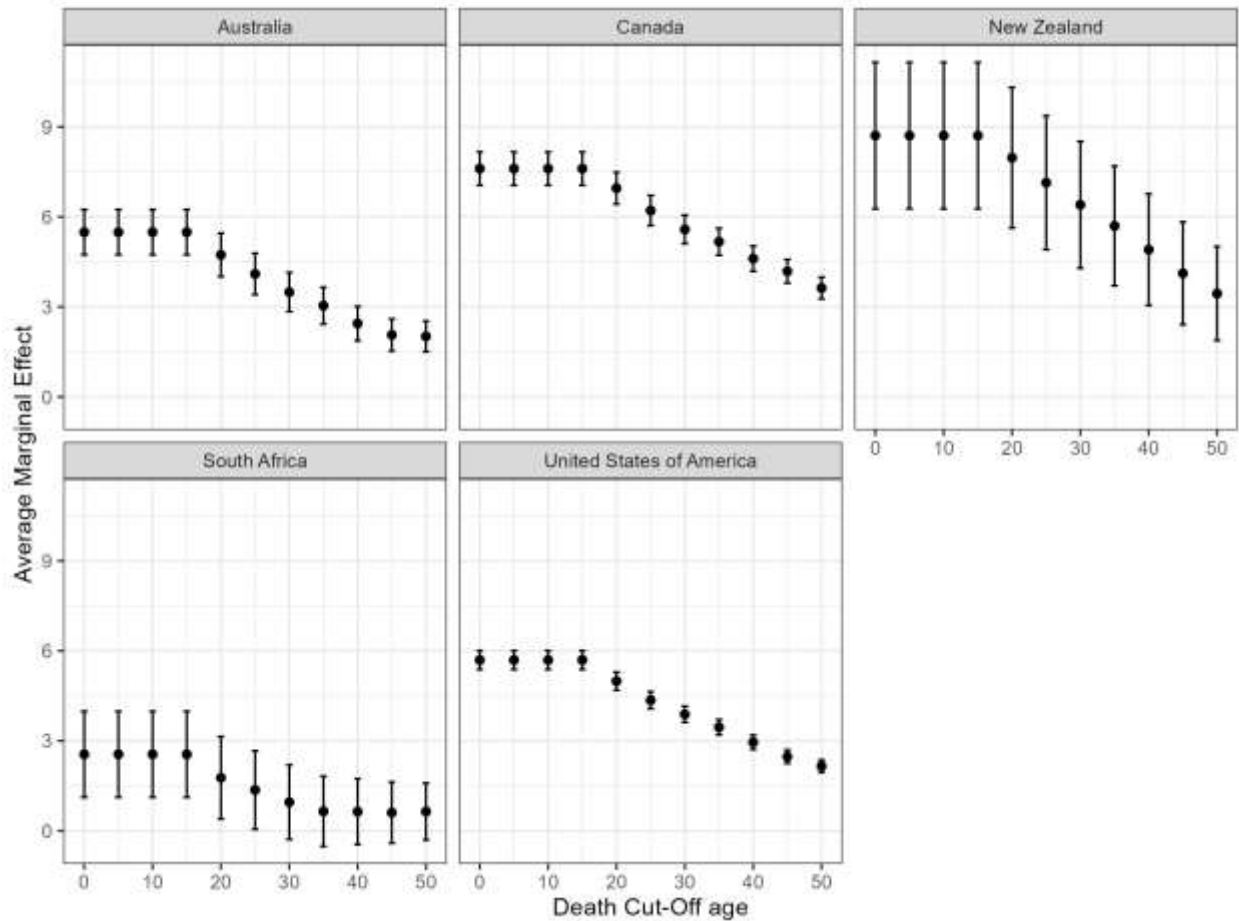


Figure 4 AMEs of migration on age at death across alternate age cutoffs and disaggregated by destination country (Model B3).

Discussion

Using the case of emigration from the United Kingdom and Ireland to the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa during the 18th and 19th centuries, we test the migrant mortality advantage hypothesis in historical migration flows. Using mixed effect regression models, we find that migrants live 5.9 years, 95% CI [5.7, 6.2] longer on average than non-migrants. The gap is heterogeneous by destination country, ranging from 2.6 years, [1.1, 4.0] in South Africa to 8.7 years [6.3, 11.2] in New Zealand. These findings are robust to alternate age

cut offs and sample specifications. Taken together, this suggests that the migrant mortality advantage is robust across birth cohort, even after accounting for unobserved similarities within families and comparing migrants to non-migrants in the United Kingdom and Ireland. We also highlight the possibility for online crowdsourced genealogical data to contribute to demographic research.

Our findings build on a long tradition of literature focused on understanding the existence and extent of the migrant mortality advantage across contexts. While the literature originally focused on the paradoxical mortality advantages found among Hispanic migrants living in the United States (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999; Pablos-Méndez 1994; Palloni and Arias 2004), over time it has come to describe a range of the experiences of migrant groups in various destination countries, ranging from historical flows (Mourits and Puschmann 2023; Puschmann et al. 2016) to more recent ones (Andersson and Drefahl 2017; Guillot et al. 2023; Helgesson et al. 2019; Mehta et al. 2016). These studies have tended to focus on non-migrants in the destination as their comparison group. We argue that it is necessary to understand the extent to which migrants hold a mortality advantage over their compatriots left behind – especially so as many of the ones left behind are family members such as siblings who provide a stronger counterfactual group for the existence and extent of the migrant mortality advantage.

Like much of the literature (Feliciano 2020), we confirm the existence of a migrant mortality advantage for migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland during the 18th and 19th centuries. We also find that this advantage ranges between migrants' country of destination. This variation may be evidence of positive selection *among* migrants. For example, some destination countries such as Australia and New Zealand saw more highly skilled immigration while migrants to the United States and Canada tended to be more unskilled (Haines 1997; Hatton 2021; Murdoch

2004). Yet, relative to the native-born, migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland to the United States tended to earn more even soon after arrival (Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson 2014). Reasons to migrate changed across time as well: what was originally the forced migration of convicts to Australia later became a flow of migrants seeking land and wealth in the Gold Rush (Murdoch 2004). Another interpretation is that distance played a role in shaping the extent of the mortality advantage. Migrant survival advantages are stronger the further they move (Puschmann et al. 2016, 2017), which may be because the journey from the United Kingdom and Ireland to Australia and New Zealand was much longer than the journey to the United States and Canada. Alternatively, the discrepancy may be a result of varying conditions across destination countries that would have differential effects on mortality. The smaller sample size of some destinations in our sample, especially that of South Africa compared to the United States, likely also plays a role in this variation.

An underexplored potential mechanism driving the migrant mortality advantage may be that time spent in either the origin or destination country (i.e., one's exposure to potentially unfavorable conditions in the origin country) may contribute towards a "weathering" effect on one's health. For example, Bakhtiari (2022) notes the *absence* of a mortality advantage for many European immigrant groups living in 20th century United States. In our application, exposure to diseases such as smallpox, in combination with persistent poverty and overcrowding throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland may have shortened non-migrants' lifespans, while migrants were able to avoid such conditions. This framing runs contrary to the typical narrative of the migrant mortality advantage because it posits that mortality advantages are due to poorer conditions experienced by non-migrants which depress their mortality. However, this line of analysis is outside the scope of our paper as the nature of the data prevents us from confidently identifying

when individuals migrated. Future studies should further investigate exposure to poor conditions in the origin country as a potential mechanism of the migrant mortality advantage.

Limitations

Our study suffers from a few key limitations. Several biases are inherent to crowdsourced genealogical datasets (Calderón Bernal et al. 2023): recorded people may only be those who had children, family trees may be incompletely reconstructed, and there is unequal access to information about relatives. For example, these biases may lead to childless women being less likely to be recorded or the underreporting of infant and child mortality. While we attempt to ameliorate the latter bias by conditioning our sample on survival to age 15, we do identify a gender bias in the recording of women, leading to an overrepresentation of men in the sample. Minardi et al. (2023) notes however that both the median and mean age at death for men and women were quite similar during much of our study period, and the female advantage in lifespan likely did not occur until after the 1850s. Thus, we assume minimal impact of this gender bias on our findings.

Additionally, we classify individuals who moved between Ireland and the United Kingdom as “non-migrants” rather than “migrants” because our interest was primarily in migration to Canada, the United States, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. As such, we do not investigate the possibility of a migrant mortality advantage between the United Kingdom and Ireland. We also do not capture migration between countries within the United Kingdom nor domestic rural-urban migration during this period. These limitations are in part due to the ambiguous usage of “United Kingdom” to describe locations within the dataset and the difficulty in extracting more granular location data from free text entries. Future work should certainly investigate this possibility, as migration within the United Kingdom and Ireland occurred at non-

trivial levels, often driven by many of the same factors that encouraged migration to the countries in this study (Nicholas and Shergold 1987).

Finally, though Familinx is rich in terms of the overall size of the data, it suffers from a lack of detail at the individual level. As a result, we are unable to control for socioeconomic status (i.e., literacy, financial resources, etc.) directly, which may influence not only one's propensity to migrate but also their mortality. We are also unable to determine when an individual migrated or account for multiple moves within one's life, although future work could attempt to account for this using the birth location of children as a proxy for timing of migration. Migrant outcomes may be partially determined by one's country of residence during early life (Alexander and Ward 2018), but we are unable to capture one's "exposure" to different epidemiological or socioeconomic conditions at specific points in their lifespan. Though it is possible to identify some "salmon" migrants who migrated abroad but returned to die in their home country using the birthplace of their children, we are unable to do so for childless individuals. Future studies should investigate the impact of exposure to poor conditions in the origin country as a mechanism depressing non-migrants' mortality.

Though our setting is historical, our findings are relevant for present-day migration flows. The migrant mortality advantage literature has focused on the paradox of immigrants outliving the native-born even when of a lower socioeconomic status (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999; Boen and Hummer 2019; Palloni and Arias 2004). Future work on the mechanisms driving this mortality advantage is necessary to help ascertain whether it is an associational or causal relationship, that is, whether migrants would have always outlived their non-migrant peers, or whether migration *causes* a longer life.

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Appendix A. Data Cleaning & Imputation

We began with a dataset of over 86 million individuals, many of whom had missing values across most variables. In preparing the data for imputations, only individuals with observed kinship ties were kept from the full data set. To address the high degree of missingness in key variables among the remaining observations, we imputed several types of missingness: (1) missingness in the birth and death year, (2) missingness in the birth and death location, and (3) missing gender. Figure A1 offers a visual representation of our data cleaning process.



Figure A1 Flow of data cutting process.

For type (1), we imputed missing birth and death years with birth and baptism years, which are included in the Familinx dataset. Similarly for type (2), we used coordinate information on birth, death, baptism, and burial to extract countries of interest for each event. Missing birth and death locations were imputed using baptism and burial locations, respectively. This included baptism and burial locations that were derived from coordinate information. Finally, entries containing abnormal birth years (negative years and years occurring after 2020) that likely contained errors were removed.

The coordinate information matching process was conducted as follows. Using the *countrycode* package (Arel-Bundock et al., 2018), columns containing country code information were then used to fill in entries that were still missing in these four columns, with imputed baptism and burial information from their respective country codes being used to fill in country level information. The *countrycode* package was also used to fill in birth and death countries with “USA” from the state-based location columns if they matched names or abbreviations of U.S. states. Finally, the free text columns were used to extract country level information through regex for rows that were still missing country information. This was repeated on the baptism and burial free text columns which were then used to impute birth and death country information that was still missing.

To fill in type (3) information for individuals with a missing gender, kinship ties were used. When two individuals were both parents of another individual in the data set and the gender information for one parent was known, this was used to fill in the gender information for the parent missing gender information.

To create the final country categories, a combination of term matching and regex approaches were used. For Ireland and Northern Ireland, regex was used to detect references to Ireland or “eire”. For England, Scotland, Wales, a term matching approach was adopted to match various spellings, languages and cities referenced. Finally, for the USA, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Canada, terms matching in the country column included references to territories, regions, states (that had not already been picked up previously), alternate spellings and names in other languages. The full list of terms used for term matching is presented in Table A1.

Table A1 Country matching terms

Country	Term
United Kindgom	'united kingdom', 'x-england', 'england', 'x-scotland', 'x-united-kingdom', 'scotland', '(present uk)', 'x-great-britain', 'x-wales', 'gb', 'x-northern-ireland', 'uk', 'northern ireland', 'england, uk', 'u.k.', 'wales', 'england, united kingdom', 'great britain', 'england uk', 'uk:great britain', 'uk:northern ireland', 'england (present uk)', 'scotland, united kingdom', 'uk:northern ireland', 'uk.', 'scotland, uk', 'uk:isle of wight', 'ireland (present northern ireland)', 'north ireland', 'scotland, uk', 'scotland, united kingdom', 'scotland uk', 'south wales', 'britain', 'england/ uk', 'n.ireland', 'engand', 'englnd', 'northern ireland, uk', 'middlesex', 'n. ireland', 'huntingdonshire', 'lancashire', 'london', 'uk:scotland:shetland islands:mainland', 'u k', 'united kingdom of great britain and ireland', 'northern-ireland', 'nothern ireland, uk', 'ireland (northern)', 'n. ireland', 'ireland or scotland', 'scotland or ireland', 'enfland', 'storbritannia', 'bonhill, dunbartonshire, scotland', 'cambridgeshire', 'chatham', 'crickdale, wiltshire, uk', 'eicester, leicestershire, uk', 'endglnd', 'england.', 'englanmd', 'englnd', 'enland', 'essex', 'fifeshire', 'gloucester', 'great briatin', 'great britai', 'herfordshire', 'lower bebington', 'newcastle upon tyne', 'north wales', 'reino unido', 'royaume uni', 'scotlans', 'swindon, wiltshire, england', 'tyrone', 'uk /england', 'uk/wales', 'uk:wales:anglesey', 'umited kingdom', 'united kinbgdom', 'united kinbgdom', 'winwick', 'woolwich, kent, uk', 'yorkshire', 'xengland', 'yhdistynyt kuningaskunta', "(present u.k.)", "(present day united kingdom)", "-england", "(now united kingdom)", "present united kingdom)", "", "הממלכה המאוחדת", "aberdeen city", "englang", "england,uk", "england or pa", "wales or england", "verenigd koninkrijk", "unitedkingdom", "united-kingdom", "uk:scotland:barra", "uk, england", "u. k.", "heathfield, sussex, england"
Ireland	'ireland', 'ie', 'republic of ireland', 'eire', 'bydoney,tyrone ,ireland', 'ireland, uk', 'uk (ireland)', 'ireland ???', 'ireland (eire)', 'ireland.', 'or ireland', 'kilkenny', 'tipperary', 'waterford', 'ulster', 'galway', 'down', 'carlow'
United Stats of America	us", 'usa', 'united states', 'united states of america', 'america', '(present usa)', 'colonial america', 'province of new york', 'new netherland colony', 'new england colonies', 'new england', 'present united states', 'american colonies', "british america", "new netherlands", 'new york', 'american colonies [present united states]', 'british north america', 'u.s.a.', 'new netherlands (usa)', 'nieuw netherlands', 'british colonies', 'nouvelle france', "british colonies of north america", 'american colonies (present usa)', 'usa:new york:long island', 'usa:49', 'usa:massachusettes:nantucket island',

	'usa:massachusetts:martha\'s vineyard', 'usa:44', 'the united states of america', 'massachusetts colony', 'british america', 'now usa', 'martin county, indiana, usa', 'richland county', 'u.s.a.', 'u.sa.', 'united states', 'united states', 'usa.', 'usa:hawaii:kauai', "ee.uu.", "(currently) united states", "(present usa)", "(present (usa))", "(present) usa", "amerikas forente stater", "cleveland", "estados unidos", "usa:california:santa catalina island", "usa (all present day)", "us virgin islands", "kittery, york, maine", "in what will be america"
Australia	'australia', 'au', 'australien', 'australia:tasmania', 'new south wales', 'australia [green slopes hospital]', 'aust', 'western australia', 'austrailia', 'australis', 'nsw', 'port melbourne', 'portsea', 'sydney nsw', 'tasmania'
New Zealand	'new zealand', 'nz', 'new zealand:north island', 'new zealand:south island', 'new zealand.', ', new zealand', 'christchurch', 'king street, sydenham, christchurch, nz', 'new zeaand', 'new zealand of senile decay', 'new, zealand', 'tennyson street, sydenham, christchurch, nz', "king street, sydenham, christchurch, nz"
Canada	'canada', 'ca', 'kanadas', 'canada:27', 'united province of canada', 'british north america (present canada)', 'canada:cape breton island', 'province of canada', 'canada:11', 'canada:newfoundland', 'upper canada', '(present canada)', 'acadie', 'canad', 'can", 'canadá', 'canada:15', 'canada:vancouver island'
South Africa	'za', 'south africa', 'suid afrika', 'cape of good hope', 'cape colony', 's africa', 'cape colony (south africa)', 'rep south africa', 'south africa', 'south africa', 'south africa.', 'union of south africa'

To produce the final data set, only rows that were complete (i.e: had no missing information regarding birth/death year, gender and birth/death location) were kept. All individuals born in the UK/Ireland and dying in the UK/Ireland, USA, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa were kept. Figure A2 shows the counts of migrants by destination country and birth cohort.

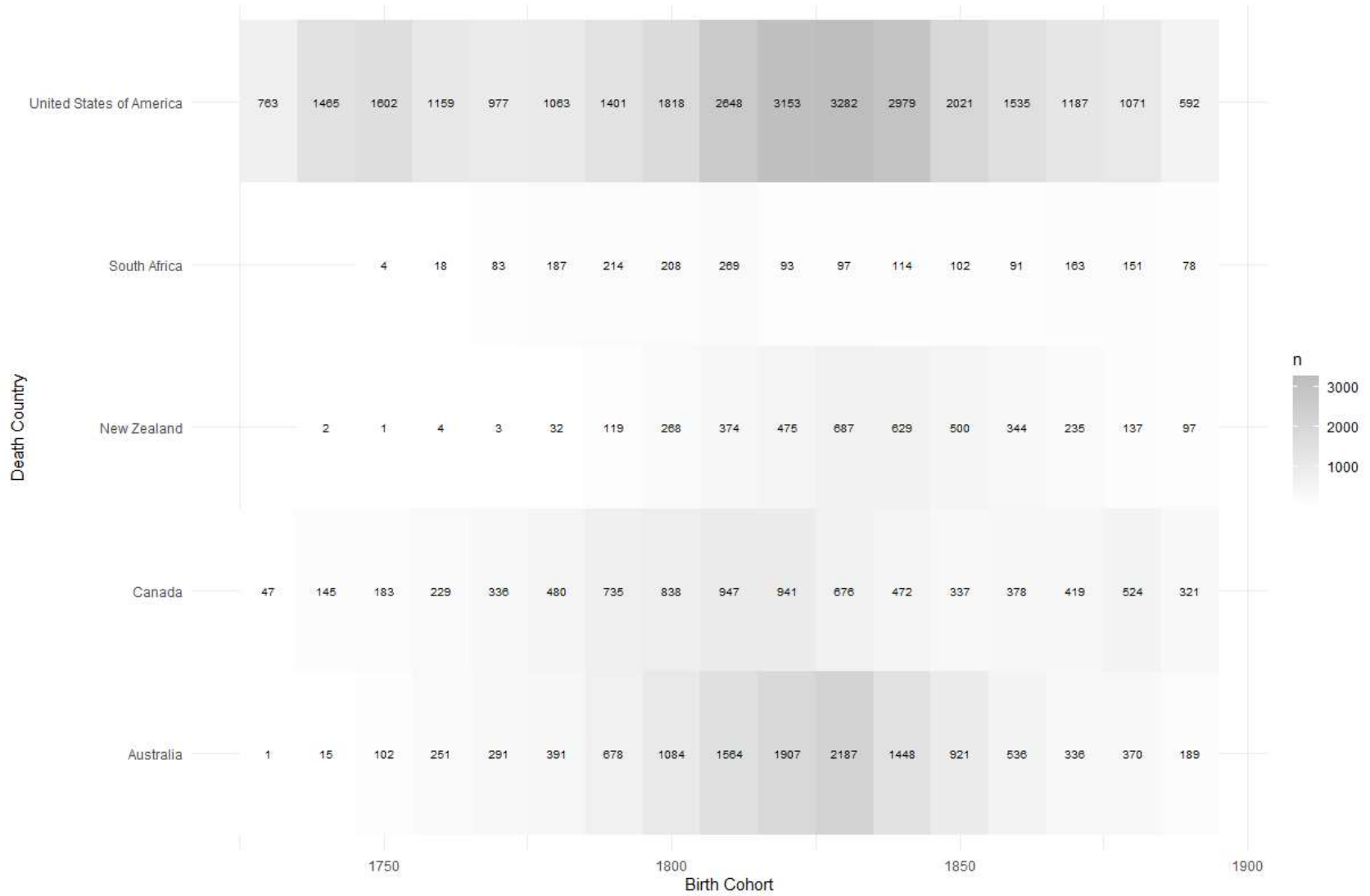


Figure A2 Counts of Migrants by Birth Cohort.

Appendix B. Results and Robustness Checks

This section is organized as follows. We first present regression estimates from the main models in Table B1. Next, we present regression estimates from supplementary models that were estimated on the reduced sample of individuals with at least one sibling in Table B2. Finally, we show that our models are robust to alternate minimum age cutoffs in Figure B1 and B2.

Table B1 Results from Main Models

Variable	Dependent variable: Age at Death	
	Model A: Migrant	Model B: Country of Death
Migrant (<i>reference: Non-Migrant</i>)	3.350** (1.058)	
Destination country (<i>reference: United Kingdom/Ireland</i>)		
Canada		1.242 (4.637)
South Africa		1.992 (2.716)
Australia		23.950 (17.595)
New Zealand		4.728* (2.276)
United States of America		3.377** (1.071)
Birth cohort (<i>reference: 1730</i>)		
1740	-0.743 (0.718)	-0.744 (0.718)
1750	-0.744 (0.710)	-0.744 (0.709)
1760	0.957 (0.698)	0.956 (0.697)
1770	2.068** (0.680)	2.067** (0.679)
1780	1.413** (0.669)	1.411** (0.668)
1790	0.042	0.039

	(0.660)	(0.659)
1800	-0.667 (0.655)	-0.666 (0.654)
1810	-1.556* (0.654)	-1.560* (0.653)
1820	-2.908** (0.650)	-2.914** (0.649)
1830	-4.918** (0.653)	-4.919** (0.653)
1840	-5.655** (0.656)	-5.657** (0.656)
1850	-5.831** (0.660)	-5.832** (0.660)
1860	-4.315** (0.665)	-4.320** (0.665)
1870	-1.971** (0.668)	-1.974** (0.667)
1880	1.414* (0.675)	1.414* (0.674)
1890	3.220** (0.733)	3.219** (0.732)
Male (<i>reference: female</i>)	0.0003 (0.117)	0.0002 (0.117)
Number of siblings (<i>reference: none</i>)		
1	-1.860** (0.177)	-1.861** (0.177)
2	-2.927** (0.213)	-2.926** (0.213)
3-5	-2.894** (0.179)	-2.889** (0.179)
6+	-2.468** (0.281)	-2.439** (0.281)
Migrant X Birth cohort interaction (<i>reference: 1730</i>)		
1740	0.995	

	(1.286)
1750	0.233 (1.266)
1760	-0.058 (1.278)
1770	-0.154 (1.258)
1780	0.356 (1.214)
1790	2.281 [†] (1.168)
1800	2.201 [†] (1.143)
1810	2.426 [*] (1.126)
1820	3.442 ^{**} (1.119)
1830	4.733 ^{**} (1.119)
1840	5.172 ^{**} (1.127)
1850	5.014 ^{**} (1.144)
1860	3.095 ^{**} (1.165)
1870	2.511 [*] (1.180)
1880	-0.062 (1.193)
1890	0.034 (1.304)

Destination country X Birth cohort interaction (*reference: UK/Ireland & 1730*)

Canada:1740

6.812
(5.071)

Australia:1740	-27.468 (18.693)
New Zealand:1740	-19.768 (12.822)
United States of America:1740	0.717 (1.314)
Canada:1750	3.462 (4.989)
South Africa:1750	-9.603 (12.907)
Australia:1750	-20.242 (17.823)
New Zealand:1750	21.868 (17.844)
United States of America:1750	0.051 (1.300)
Canada:1760	4.672 (4.918)
South Africa:1760	8.050 (6.256)
Australia:1760	-20.349 (17.718)
New Zealand:1760	3.531 (17.984)
United States of America:1760	-0.785 (1.340)
Canada:1770	6.418 (4.826)
South Africa:1770	-1.007 (3.788)
Australia:1770	-20.676 (17.669)
New Zealand:1770	12.420

	(17.983)
United States of America:1770	-1.663 (1.365)
Canada:1780	5.180 (4.765)
South Africa:1780	0.523 (3.429)
Australia:1780	-19.386 (17.642)
New Zealand:1780	6.123 (4.295)
United States of America:1780	-1.398 (1.329)
Canada:1790	7.663 (4.726)
South Africa:1790	0.373 (3.257)
Australia:1790	-18.345 (17.619)
New Zealand:1790	3.631 (3.076)
United States of America:1790	0.767 (1.267)
Canada:1800	5.398 (4.713)
South Africa:1800	-0.017 (3.117)
Australia:1800	-19.143 (17.610)
New Zealand:1800	2.873 (2.663)
United States of America:1800	2.302* (1.224)

Canada:1810	6.842 (4.701)
South Africa:1810	-0.009 (3.025)
Australia:1810	-19.261 (17.606)
New Zealand:1810	3.639 (2.545)
United States of America:1810	2.309 [†] (1.183)
Canada:1820	7.709 (4.701)
South Africa:1820	2.711 (3.572)
Australia:1820	-18.470 (17.604)
New Zealand:1820	3.913 (2.494)
United States of America:1820	3.431 ^{**} (1.165)
Canada:1830	9.520 [*] (4.723)
South Africa:1830	1.410 (3.663)
Australia:1830	-17.703 (17.603)
New Zealand:1830	2.965 (2.429)
United States of America:1830	5.660 ^{**} (1.164)
Canada:1840	7.929 [†] (4.752)
South Africa:1840	1.880 (3.418)

Australia:1840	-16.297 (17.606)
New Zealand:1840	4.338 [†] (2.454)
United States of America:1840	5.563** (1.171)
Canada:1850	7.069 (4.785)
South Africa:1850	0.987 (3.452)
Australia:1850	-15.637 (17.610)
New Zealand:1850	6.153* (2.485)
United States of America:1850	4.700** (1.202)
Canada:1860	4.712 (4.774)
South Africa:1860	-2.004 (3.473)
Australia:1860	-17.647 (17.620)
New Zealand:1860	5.006* (2.550)
United States of America:1860	2.890* (1.240)
Canada:1870	6.444 (4.759)
South Africa:1870	-1.099 (3.193)
Australia:1870	-18.831 (17.632)
New Zealand:1870	3.600

		(2.659)
United States of America:1870		2.254 [†] (1.271)
Canada:1880		2.450 (4.745)
South Africa:1880		2.230 (3.247)
Australia:1880		-20.162 (17.632)
New Zealand:1880		0.615 (2.894)
United States of America:1880		-0.864 (1.299)
Canada:1890		2.156 (4.831)
Australia:1890		-19.513 (17.674)
United States of America:1890		-0.415 (1.484)
Constant	66.785** (0.608)	66.784** (0.607)
Sibling random effects	Yes	Yes
Observations	98,057	98,057

Note: [†] p<0.1 *p<0.05 **p<0.01

Next, we present results from the supplementary models. This table corresponds to the AMEs presented in Figure 2 in the main article.

Table B2 Results from Supplementary Models, Only Individuals with Siblings

Variable	Dependent variable: Age at Death	
	Migrant	Country of Death
Migrant (<i>reference: Non-Migrant</i>)	2.881 (2.139)	
Destination country (<i>reference: United Kingdom/Ireland</i>)		
Canada		12.404 (18.608)
South Africa		2.810 (4.025)
Australia		24.674 (18.820)
New Zealand		8.164* (3.182)
United States of America		2.553 (2.153)
Male (<i>reference: female</i>)	0.221 (0.177)	0.231 (0.177)
Number of siblings (<i>reference: 1</i>)		
2	-1.076** (0.271)	-1.072** (0.272)
3-5	-1.046** (0.242)	-1.030** (0.242)
6+	-0.699* (0.341)	-0.662† (0.341)
Constant	63.838** (1.029)	63.822** (1.029)
Sibling random effects	Yes	Yes
Interaction effects	Yes	Yes
Observations	49,263	49,263

Note: We suppress coefficients for all interactions for space.

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table B3 AMEs of Models A1, B1, A2, B2

Variable	Model			
	Full Sample		Profiles with siblings	
	A1	B1	A2	B2
Migrant	5.9** (0.12)		7.1** (0.2)	
Australia		5.5** (0.38)		7.7** (0.65)
Canada		7.6** (0.28)		8.8** (0.5)
New Zealand		8.7** (1.24)		9.8** (0.87)
South Africa		2.6** (0.73)		3.2** (1.1)
USA		5.7** (0.16)		6.8** (0.27)
Observations	98,057	98,057	49,263	49,263

Notes: For model A2 and B2 the sample is limited to only individuals with at least one sibling
 ** $p < 0.01$

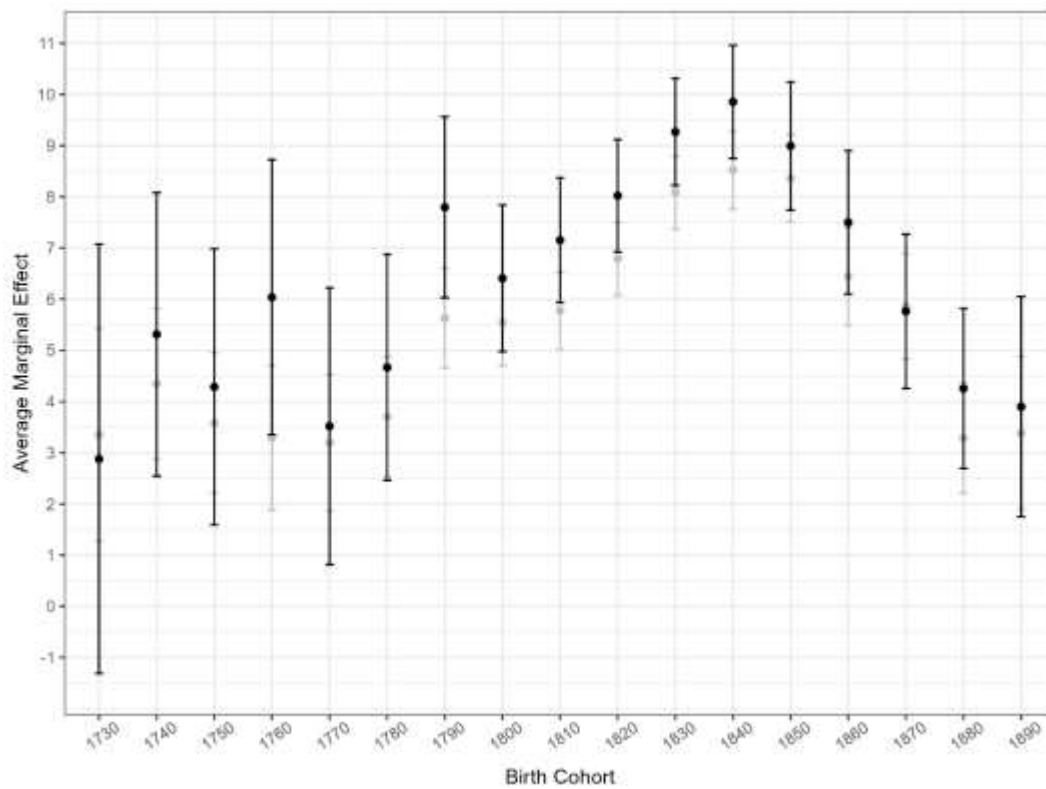


Figure B1 Average marginal effect of migration on age at death, across birth cohort (Model A2) shown in black. AMEs for full sample (Model A1) in grey.

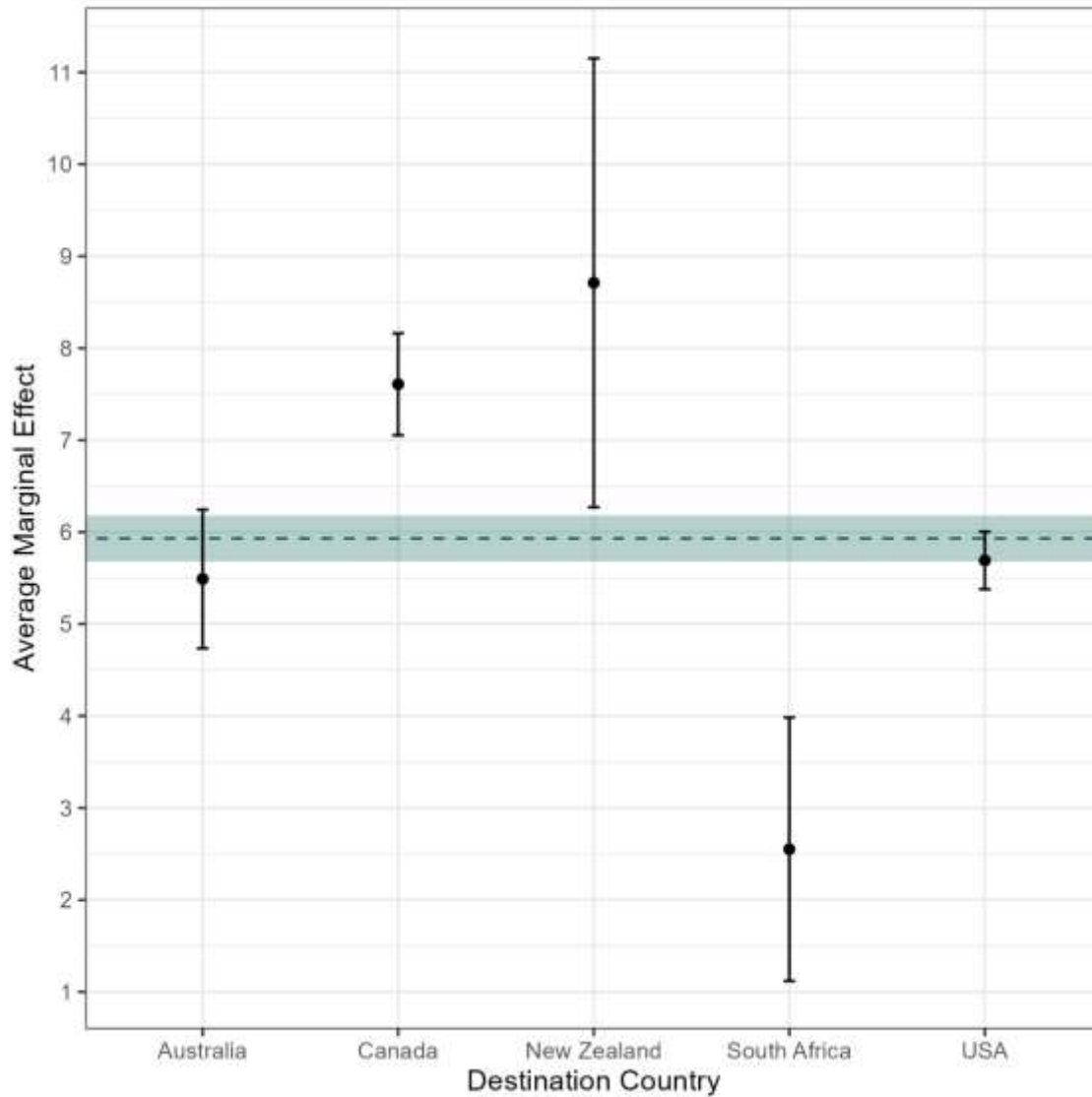


Figure B2 AME of migrating on age at death by destination country (Model B2) in black with 95% CIs. AME for Model A2 (migrant versus non-migrant) is shown by the dashed green line, with 95% CIs in green shade.

References

- Arel-Bundock, V., Enevoldsen, N., & Yetman, C. (2018). countrycode: An R package to convert country names and country codes. *Journal of Open Source Software*, 3(28), 848. <https://doi.org/10.21105/joss.00848>