

Caversham Working Paper, 1998-3

Local Migration I *Movement Between Subarea*

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1. Introduction

Earlier working papers have investigated the movements made by, and characteristics of, extra-urban, rural and intra-urban migrants recorded in the Caversham database. This paper begins to explore a fourth migration type - *local migration*, which refers to residential movement *within* the Caversham Project study area. The analysis of migration is confined to that of men only, for reasons outlined later in section 3.1. Section 2 focuses on current working definitions, and begins by defining the varying classifications or 'categories' of local movement adopted for explorative purposes at this stage in the study (section 2.1). One of these relates to movement *between subareas* within the Caversham Project study area, and it is to this particular classification that this paper devotes attention. This is followed in section 2.2 by a list of other working definitions relevant to the analysis of local migration. Section 3 provides an overview of the data source, and methods used in the collection, categorisation and analysis of data. Emphasis is placed on the fact that this paper utilises data from the electoral roll only, whereas previous papers also used data derived from the Stones and Wises street directories. Sections 4 and 5 discuss preliminary findings, including the direction and volume of movement between different subareas within the study area (section 4) and the characteristics of migrants making such moves (section 5). These sections also compare the characteristics of those remaining within the same subarea (ie. local 'non-migrants') with those who were geographically mobile. The characteristics and movement patterns of men making more than one move between Caversham subareas ('multiple movers') are discussed separately in section 6.

2. Working definitions

2.1 Defining the local (and non-) migrant

As noted in the introduction, local migration has been defined as *movement within the Caversham Project study area*. Three categories of local (which can also be referred to as 'micro') movement have been identified. These are:

- i) movement *between subareas* (geographical study area sub-units adopted by the Caversham Project) within the Caversham Project study area (ie. Kensington,

- Rockside, St Clair, Kew/Corstorphine and Caversham Township) between two consecutive electoral roll years;
- ii) movement *between street clusters* (groups of streets thought to have similar socio-economic characteristics) within the Caversham Project study area between two consecutive electoral roll years; and
 - iii) movement *between individual streets* within the Caversham Project study area between two consecutive electoral roll years.

Accordingly, it is possible to define three corresponding categories of persistence, or 'non-migration':

- i) persistence within a given *subarea*;
- ii) persistence within a given *street cluster*; and
- iii) persistence within an individual *street*.

For the purposes of the investigation at hand, a Caversham resident is considered to be a persister or non-migrant if he remained in the same subarea for *at least* two consecutive electoral roll years *and* the database contains *no record(s) of him having moved to another subarea* at any point between 1902 and 1928. Hence, the length of persistence may vary markedly amongst this group. Variations in the length of persistence is not a topic of enquiry in this paper, but can be looked at further at a later point in time. Some of the local movers and persisters discussed in this working paper may have arrived from, or left for, centres outside the study area prior to or after being identified in the Caversham electoral roll. As a result., they may also be classified as extra-urban, intra-urban or rural migrants (see CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3). These persons have not, however, been differentiated from those who remained in Caversham for the entire period of study, because data analysis was confined to information provided by the electoral roll and did not involve the search for Caversham's leavers and arrivers in street directories. The collection and analysis of data required for such a differentiation would be extensive and has not, therefore, been conducted at this point in the study process.

This paper investigates the first of the local-migrant categories (movement between subarea), comparing it with that of the corresponding (within subarea) non-migrant (or 'persister') category. The other two categories of local- and non-migrants will be topics of future working papers.

2.2 Other general working definitions

2.1.1 Migrant

For the purposes of Caversham Project Objective Five, the term 'migrant' refers to a person who changed their normal place of residence, as indicated by an entry in an electoral roll or street directory. In this paper specifically, local migrants are taken to be people who

moved between subareas according to records provided by the electoral roll (see section 3.1).

2.1.2 Movement (or move)

The term movement (or move) refers to a change in normal place of residence, as indicated by an entry in an electoral roll or street directory, again, this is confined to the electoral roll only for the purposes of this paper.

2.1.3 Multiple mover

Using information from Stone's and Wise's street directories, earlier papers deemed 'multiple movers' to be people who made more than one movement (ie. changed their normal place of residence) more than once during any single inter-electoral roll year period (see CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3). Stone's and Wise's directories were published annually, thus the residential locations of residents, including those who migrated, were effectively sampled once per year. The electoral roll, to which the tracking of local migration is confined, was only produced tri-annually (or less often, for instance when there was no general election during WWI, and also note that the Caversham database does not include information from the 1908 electoral roll - see James (1997)). This factor effectively means that local migrants are sampled once in every three years (or longer). This difference in frequency affects the definition of multiple movers. When using street directories, multiple moves made within a single year are not found (CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3). By using the electoral roll only, however, the multiple moves of local migrants in between election years cannot be traced. In other words, the nature of the definition remains the same, but the level of detail is less finely grained in the analysis of local migration. Multiple local movers are not included in the general discussion of local movements and migrants in sections 4 and 5, but are discussed as a wholly separate group in section 6.

2.1.4 Ocgrouop

The Caversham project uses a (non-hierarchical) occupational classification scheme with a basic set of nine occupational categories. An 'ocgroup' contains all of the specific occupational titles included in one of these categories.

2.1.5 Occlass

The 'occlasses' referred to in sections 5.1.2, 5.2.2 and 6.2.2 are the amalgamations of ocgroups into five broader categories, being: higher non-manual, lower non-manual, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Being more hierarchical in nature than the Caversham Project's ocgroup scheme, occlasses are useful for discussing migrants' occupational mobility.

3. Method: Tracing local movement

3.1 Data source and analysis

This paper uses data contained in the Caversham Project database as at April 1998. All of the data used in the analysis of local migration was obtained from the 1902, 1905, 1911, 1914, 1919, 1922 and 1928 electoral rolls. The use of electoral roll data provides a 'snapshot' of the residential location of Caversham residents at each point in time, allowing us to trace residents' movement throughout the study area. Street directories (which were used in the analysis of extra-urban, rural and extra-urban migration - see CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3) have not been consulted during the investigation of local movements because this would involve a very extensive time- and labour-consuming data collection phase. The process checks for death, filtering out persons who died so that they are not included in the analytical procedure nor subsequent discussion.

At this point in the investigation of Caversham Project Objective Five, it has been decided that the analysis of migration data is best confined to that of men only. This has been done primarily because of the very few references to women searched for in the street directories, but also in response to the unavailability of information relating to women's occupational characteristics in the electoral roll.

3.2 The study area

The Caversham Project study area is divided up into five subareas: Kensington, Rockside, St Clair, Kew/Corstorphine and Caversham Township. The location and boundaries of each are defined in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Study area subareas

Note: 1. All of Forbury Road is included in St Clair

2. Macandrew Road is not included in the database

4. Movement (and persistence) within the Caversham study area

4.1 Local movement

4.1.1 Directional flows between subareas

Excluding the changes of residence recorded for multiple movers (discussed in section 6), the database contains records for 480 individual movements (made by 480 different individuals) from one subarea to another. These are shown in Table 1, wherein the left hand column represents the subarea in which local migrants were resident prior to moving, and the top row lists the respective destinations of each migrant.

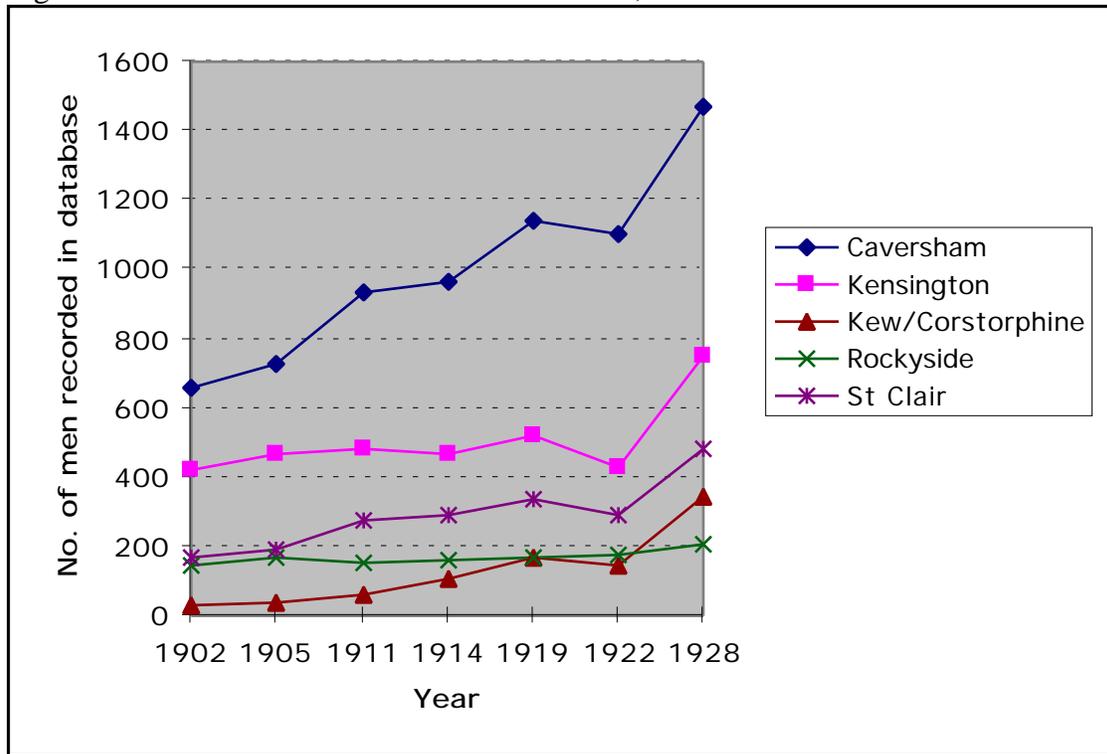
Table 1: Number of moves between subareas, 1902-1928
subarea in year 'b' (destination)

		Caversham	Kensington	Kew/ Corstor- phine	Rockyside	St Clair	Total leav- -ing
subarea in year 'a' (origin)	Caversham		61	34	56	27	178
	Kensington	91		6	12	11	120
	Kew/ Corstorphine	14	9		3	10	36
	Rockyside	68	9	5		3	85
	St Clair	44	7	8	2		61
	Total arriving	217	86	53	73	51	480

Caversham Township was by far the most common destination for local migrants, with almost half of the moves recorded being made to this subarea from other parts of the study area (Table 1). The majority of these particular moves were made from Kensington (91 moves) and, to a lesser extent, Rockyside (68 moves). In fact, very few migrants originating in Rockyside moved to anywhere other than Caversham Township (Table 1). It is possible to recognise a smaller counter flow of migration in each case, however, with a significant number leaving Caversham Township for Kensington (61 moves) and Rockyside (56 moves).

When considering the relative in-flow and out-flow of local migrants in each subarea over the entire period of investigation (ie. 1902-1928), it is evident that the number of men arriving in Caversham Township and Kew/Corstorphine was greater than those leaving (Table 1). In contrast, all other subareas experienced an overall loss of persons through such migratory processes between 1902 and 1928. This was most marked in Kensington, from which a total of 120 men left and only 86 arrived from other parts of the study area. Migration from other parts of the study area must, therefore, have played only a minor role in the overall population increase experienced by Kensington, Rockyside and St Clair throughout the entire period of enquiry (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Number of men resident in each subarea, 1902-1928



Data source: 1902-1928 electoral rolls

4.1.2 Temporal trends

a) number of moves during each period

If one disregards the direction of movement, it can be demonstrated that the overall number of movements being made were polarised over time, with the highest number of moves being made during the 1902-1905 and 1922-1928 inter electoral-roll periods (Table 2). One must, however, remember that the latter (1922-1928) period is twice the length of most of the others. This fact makes the low number of moves in the 1905-1911 period (which is also six years long) all the more remarkable.

Table 2: Number of local moves made during each inter electoral roll period

period	no. of moves
1902-05	102
1905-11	60
1911-14	65
1914-19	63
1919-22	79
1922-28	111
Total	480

b) proportional in- and out-flows according to time period

Table 3 breaks the proportional in-flows and out-flows of migrants recorded for each subarea down according to the time period in which they occurred. It identifies the inter electoral-roll periods within which the number of local migrants arriving in each subarea was greater than that of those leaving and vice versa. Periods characterised by a difference of 50% or greater are indicated by an asterisk.

Table 3: Proportional in- and out-flows over time

subarea	year periods	
	in-flow > out-flow	out-flow > in-flow
Caversham	05-11*, 11-14, 14-19, 19-22*	02-05, 22-28
Kensington	02-05*, 14-19	05-11*, 11-14*, 19-22*, 22-28
Kew/ Corstorphine	05-11, 11-14*, 22-28*	02-05*, 14-19*, 19-22
Rockyside	02-05, 11-14	05-11*, 14-19*, 19-22*, 22-28
St Clair	05-11, 22-28	02-05, 11-14*, 14-19

The dominance of in- or out-migration for each period clearly fluctuated within each subarea. For example, because the number of men living in Kew/Corstorphine was very low early in the twentieth century (being less than 100 prior to 1914) (Fig. 2), even small inward and outward migration flows had a significant effect on population size. In this manner, the loss of men via local migration as a proportion of the number residing in the area was dramatic during the 1902-1905 period, wherein almost 18% of the subarea's male residents moved elsewhere within the study area (Appendix A). This did not, however, appear to have had a detrimental impact on the overall number of residents in the subarea as this remained stable at the time (Fig. 2), despite the fact that there was only one local in-migrant identified by the database in 1905. The directional trend for Kew/Corstorphine did, however, reverse in later years, with recently-arriving local migrants making up over 10% of the subarea's male population in 1914 (Appendix A). This latter trend was consistent with a slight population increase at this time (Fig. 2).

Although the difference in number of 'arrivers' (29) and 'leavers' (21) moving to and from Rockyside during the 1902-1905 period was not great (Appendix A), the subarea's 'population turnover' between these years was remarkable. Indeed, 14% of the men resident in Rockyside in 1902 left for another part of the study area, and local in-migrants formed 17% of Rockyside's male population in 1905. Paradoxically, Brooking et al. (in press) found that 42% of the men resident in Rockyside in 1902 still lived there in 1911, and 44% of the subarea's male population persisted between 1911 and 1922, hence concluding that men were more likely to persist in Rockyside than in any other subarea.

Their finding corresponds with the fact that the population size of Rockyside (at least as it relates to males) was more static than elsewhere in the study area (Fig. 2). When collating the results of the investigation of local migration with that of Brooking et al.'s (in press) study of persistence, it appears that the population of Rockyside was characterised by both a high degree of persistence and a proportionally greater 'turnover' of population than other parts of the study area. While this phenomenon was much less marked in later periods (Appendix A), the population turnover in Rockyside was, on average, still greater than that of other subareas with the exception of Kew/Corstorphine wherein the turnover of population was quite marked at certain points of time - see Appendix A.

4.2 Persistence

2132 men remained in a single subarea for at least two consecutive electoral roll years and were not recorded as being resident in another subarea at any point in time by the database. They can, for the purposes of this paper, be considered (local) 'non-migrants'. Table 4 portrays the number of men persisting in each subarea. These figures should not be interpreted as an indicator of each subarea's persistence *rate*, because the length of persistence and point in time in which each began is not taken into account. The number of persisters was by far the greatest in Caversham, an expected finding given that it had the largest population during the entire 1902-1928 period (Table 4, Fig. 2).

Table 4: Number of men persisting in each subarea

subarea	no. of persisters
Caversham	1094
Kensington	500
Kew/Corstorphine	106
Rockyside	149
St Clair	283
Grand Total	2132

5. Local migrants and non-migrants

5.1 Characteristics of local migrants

5.1.1 Marital status

Table 5 shows that 58.5% of the 480 men making a single move between subareas were married prior to moving, while approximately 35% were single (assuming that those classified as 'questionably single' were in fact unmarried). The proportion of local migrants in the married category was, therefore, slightly higher than that typical of the study area's male population as a whole.

Table 5: Percent of local migrants and male residents in entire study area in each marital status category

Marital status	Local migrants	Study area ¹
Married	58.5	54.4
Single	30.2	29.4
Questionably single	4.8	8.4
Widow/widower	1.0	0.8
Unknown	5.4	7.0

1. This column shows the average percentage of the study area's male population in each marital status group between the electoral roll years of 1902 and 1922. 1928 statistics are not included because marital status records from this year have not yet been entered into the database.

With regard to changes in marital status, 40 (ie. 24%) of those listed as being single or questionably single in year 'a' were recorded as being married in year 'b' (that is, the year in which they were listed as being resident in a new subarea). Two others reverted from married to single. In addition, one married male was widowed between years 'a' and 'b'.

Table * determines the relative mobility of each marital status group. That is, it portrays the percent of all the men in the study area in each marital status group who moved to another subarea between the year identified and that which followed. Clearly, the differences in percentage of married and single men making local moves varied over time. Nevertheless, the greater percentage of married men making local moves in all but two of the years identified suggests that, on the whole, married men were slightly more mobile, (with respect to local migration, at least).

Table *: Relative (local) mobility of each marital status group¹

Marital status	1902	1905	1911	1914	1919	1922	average
Married	8.20	3.70	3.35	3.47	3.48	5.87	4.68
Single ²	6.33	4.18	3.47	3.09	3.14	3.89	4.02
Widow/widower	0.00	0.00	5.26	4.35	0.00	10.00	3.27
Unknown	5.13	1.32	0.00	1.27	3.68	0.00	1.90

1. This table shows the percentage of each marital status group in entire study area who moved to another subarea between each electoral roll year and the one following

2. The 'single' category incorporates men classified as both 'single' and 'questionably single' in the database

5.1.2 Occupation

Table 6 lists the oclass and ogroup classifications of local migrants before they moved from one subarea to another. Only 4% of local migrants were classified as higher non-manual - a proportion only slightly lower than that of the percentage of the study area's total (male) population. While being less than that of extra-urban and intra-urban migrants, this figure (4%) is still greater than that of rural migrants (CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3). 30% of local migrants worked in lower non-manual occupations - a percentage comparable to the Caversham average and that of rural and intra-urban migrants. Similarly, the percentage of local migrants employed in semi-skilled (5%) or unskilled

(24%) jobs were comparable to that of the average of other migrant types (CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3). The proportion of local migrants in skilled occupations (34%), however, was greater than that of any other migrant type and in fact the average proportion of Caversham's total male population (30%).

Table 6: Percentage of local migrants and male study area population in each occlass and ocgroup

occlass	ocgroup	local migrants	study area ¹
higher non-manual	employer	2.1	3.0
	professional	1.9	2.7
lower non-manual	semi-professional	2.8	2.1
	petty proprietor	9.1	10.7
	officials and petty executives	2.5	3.2
	white collar	16.1	14.5
skilled	skilled	35.0	31.8
semi-skilled	semi-skilled	5.1	5.6
unskilled	unskilled	25.3	23.6

1. This column shows the average percentage of the study area's male population in each ocgroup between the electoral roll years of 1902 and 1928. Note also that men not classified into ocgroups 1-9 are not included in these figures.

The most common specific occupations held by local migrants included labourer (74 migrants), carpenter (28), clerk (22), carter (17), painter journeyman (12) and storeman (10).

5.1.3 Occupational changes

153 of the 480 men moving once between subareas changed their specific occupation while doing so. At 32%, the proportion changing occupation is greater than that of all other migrant types (calculated at 25% for extra-urban, 28% for rural and 15% for intra-urban migrants) (CGMWP's 1, 2 and 3). Many of these occupational changes led to a change in occlass, and these (along with those which did not) are summarised in Table 7, where 'A' refers to higher non-manual occupations, 'B' to lower non-manual, 'C' to skilled, 'D' to semi-skilled, and 'E' to unskilled occupations. Note that Table 7 does not include any occupational changes made by those whose ocgroup classification was greater than nine since these do not have a corresponding occlass. The total in this table is, therefore, slightly less than that of the total number of migrants changing specific occupation.

Table 7: Local migrants occlass changes

		occlass in year 'b'					
		A	B	C	D	E	Total
occlass in year 'a'	A	3	0	0	0	0	3
	B	4	29	8	4	5	50
	C	3	11	21	1	9	45
	D	0	1	4	2	3	10
	E	0	6	3	5	21	35
	Total	10	47	36	12	38	143

When looking at occupational mobility, one can view the 37 moves to the left of the diagonal line as being 'upward' in nature, while the 30 to the right were 'downward'. The majority of specific occupational changes did not, however, result in a change in occupational status (or class). Interestingly, the three migrants employed in higher non-manual occupations 'stayed put' with regard to occupational status, while almost half of those in the lower non-manual category in year 'a' changed oclass. Four of these 21 migrants managed to obtain higher non-manual status, while the others 'slipped down' in terms of occupational status. Over half of those classified as 'skilled' changed oclass when changing specific occupation, the number increasing oclass status being slightly higher than that of those decreasing. The majority of those in the unskilled oclass remained in this category, however.

5.2 Characteristics of non-migrants

This section summarises the main characteristics of non-migrants - that is, those who did not move between subarea at any point between 1902 and 1928. (It is important to remember, however, that some of these non-migrants might have moved beyond the study area. They may, as such, be classified as extra-urban, rural or intra-urban migrants also).

5.2.1 Marital status

Almost 54% of the men choosing to stay within the same subarea were married - a proportion only marginally lower than the proportion of the study area as a whole which was married. Local migrants were more likely to be married than non-migrants, since the proportion of each was 58.5% and 53.7% respectively (Tables 5 and 8). Accordingly, the percentage of persisters who were single was greater than that of the study area and those who made local (between subarea) moves (40% compared to 37.8% and 35% respectively) (Tables 5 and 8).

Table 8: Percentage of local non-migrants and study area population in each marital status group

Marital status	Local non-migrants	Study area ¹
Married	53.7	54.4
Single	34.7	29.4
Questionably single	5.0	8.4
Widow/widower	0.1	0.8
Unknown	6.5	7.0

1. This column shows the average percentage of the study area's male population in each marital status group between the electoral roll years of 1902 and 1922. 1928 statistics are not included because marital status records from this year have not yet been entered into the database.

When comparing the relative immobility of each marital status groups, **** (Table *)

Marital status	1902	1905	1911	1914	1919
Married	50.2	11.1	29.6	15.1	18.7
Single	38.3	11.1	33.1	17.4	22.1
Widow/widowe r	100	10	0	4.35	0
Unknown	10.3	6.58	0	21	20.6

5.2.2 Occupation

The proportion of non-migrants in each of the oclass categories was very similar to that of the average calculated for Caversham's (male) population as a whole (Table 9). Hence, when compared with the occupational structure of the local migrant group, the proportion of local non-migrants in the higher non-manual category was greater. The percentage of non-migrants in each of the other groups, however, was very similar to that of the local migrants. The occupational characteristics of non-migrants were, therefore, a closer reflection of Caversham's average occupational structure than that of men who were geographically mobile.

Table 9: Percentage of local non-migrants and total study area population in each oclass and ogroup

oclass	ogroup	Local non-migrants	Study area ¹
higher non-manual	employer	4.1	3.0
	professional	2.2	2.7
lower non-manual	semi-professional	2.0	2.1
	petty proprietor	9.7	10.7
	officials and petty executives	3.3	3.2
	white collar	14.2	14.5
skilled	skilled	33.9	31.8
semi-skilled	semi-skilled	5.9	5.6
unskilled	unskilled	24.8	23.6

1. This column shows the average percentage of the study area's male population in each ogroup between the electoral roll years of 1902 and 1928. Note also that men not classified into ogroups 1-9 are not included in these figures.

6. Multiple moving local migrants

84 men were recorded in the database as having made more than one move between subareas. This section looks at their movements (section 6.1), before providing an overview of the characteristics of 'multiple movers' (section 6.2).

6.1 Movements

Table 10 portrays the point of origin and destination of each individual move made by all multiple movers. When comparing the relative importance of each subarea as a potential destination for multiple-movers (Table 10) with that of local migrants making only one movement (Table 1), it is possible to see that Kew/Corstorphine and St Clair were less popular as destinations for multiple movers than for those making only one single move. Conversely, 25% of the moves made by multiple movers involved a move to Kensington, whereas Kensington was the destination for only 12% of those making a single move.

Table 10: Individual moves made by multiple movers

		subarea in year 'b'					
		Caversham	Kensington	Kew/Corstorphine	Rockyside	St Clair	Total leaving
subarea in year 'b'	Caversham		14	20	18	16	68
	Kensington	12		1	4	4	21
	Kew/Corstorphine	18	1		0	2	21
	Rockyside	22	2	2		9	35
	St Clair	22	3	4	3		32
	Total arriving	74	20	27	25	31	177

When investigating the movement patterns made by each local multiple mover, it is possible to identify three different types. The first is what might be regarded as a form of 'return migration', the second 'cyclical', and the third a 'step-wise' (or sequential) pattern. With respect to the first of these, two thirds of the migrants *returned* to the first subarea in which they were recorded after having moved away to another part of the study area.

Three local migrants (individuals 389, 5857 and 6145) made what could be considered 'cyclical' movement patterns (eg. Rockyside -> Caversham -> Rockyside -> Caversham). Of these, the well-known Thomas K. Sidey was the most mobile, moving between Kew/Corstorphine and Caversham Township no less than four times between 1902 and 1922. He worked as a solicitor in all recorded years with the exceptions of 1914 and 1922 (both years in which he was resident in Kew/Corstorphine), wherein he was listed as a Minister of Parliament.

Apart from the local migrants making 'return' or 'cyclical' movement patterns, however, all other multiple movers were recorded in three different subareas during the years in which their place of residence was recorded in the database. Patterns such as this might be regarded as *step-wise*.

The movement patterns of some migrants comprised elements of more than one pattern 'type'. For example, three migrants made step-wise movements before or after 'returning' to the a given subarea (individual numbers 1222, 1250, and 5463).

6.2 Characteristics

6.2.1 Marital status

Although most of the other migrant types discussed in earlier working papers and the local and non-migrants discussed in this paper were dominated by married men, the proportion of multiple movers who were married was far greater than that discovered in all other instances. For, 62% of the men making more than one movement between subareas were married (Table 11). If one assumes that the majority of these married migrants took other family members with them as they changed place of residence (a not entirely unrealistic assumption), the impact of such moves on the population size of the subareas concerned would have been all the more marked.

Table 11: Percentage of multiple movers and total (male) study area population in each marital status group

Marital status	Multiple movers	Study area ¹
Married	62.0	54.4
Single	35.0	29.4
Questionably single	1.2	8.4
Widow/widower	0.0	0.8
Unknown	2.4	7.0

1. This column shows the average percentage of the study area's male population in each marital status group between the electoral roll years of 1902 and 1922. 1928 statistics are not included because marital status records from this year have not yet been entered into the database.

Ten (ie. one third) of the single (including the questionably single category) migrants were recorded as being married in the subsequent electoral roll year (ie. the year in which they were listed as being resident in a new subarea. The proportion of multiple movers changing marital status while changing place of residence was higher than that of individuals making a single move.

6.2.2 Occupation

Local multiple movers, like local migrants making a single move and local non-migrants, were predominantly classified in the skilled (34%), lower non-manual (30%) and unskilled (24%) occupational class categories (Table 12). When one looks at the ocgroup breakdown, however, there are a number of more finely-detailed differences between this group of migrants and the study area's total population than the other groups discussed thus far in this paper. In particular, the proportion of multiple movers in the petty

proprietor, skilled and unskilled ogroups was greater than that typical of the study area as a whole (Table 12).

Table 12: Percentage of local multiple movers and total (male) study area population in each ogroup

oclass	ogroup	Multiple movers	Study area
higher non-manual	employers	2.4	3.0
	professional	4.8	2.7
lower non-manual	semi-professional	1.2	2.1
	petty proprietor	13.1	10.7
	officials and petty executives	4.8	3.2
	white collar	8.3	14.5
skilled	skilled	35.7	31.8
semi-skilled	semi-skilled	2.4	5.6
unskilled	unskilled	27.4	23.6

6.2.3 Occupational changes

28 (ie. 33%) of the total 84 local multiple movers changed their occupation at least once when moving between subarea. Multiple movers were, therefore, slightly more likely to change their occupation when they shifted place of residence than was any other migrant 'type' investigated thus far. Occupational changes made by multiple movers are specified in Appendix B. Exactly half of such migrants did in fact change their occupation twice or more when making a geographical move, hence the column and row totals in Table 13 are greater than 28.

Table 13: Multiple movers oclass changes

		oclass in year 'b'					Grand Total
		A	B	C	D	E	
oclass in year 'a'	A	2	0	2	0	0	4
	B	1	7	2	0	2	12
	C	1	3	9	0	0	13
	D	0	0	0	0	2	2
	E	0	2	0	3	4	9
	Grand Total	4	12	13	3	8	40

Once again, the majority of changes in specific occupation did not lead to a change in oclass and a significant proportion of migrants continued to work in the same or a similar field of employment as they had prior to moving (eg. chair maker (ocgrp 7) -> cabinet maker journeyman (ocgrp 7) (individual 2317); hairdresser (ocgrp 4) -> tobacconist/hairdresser (ocgrp 4) -> hairdresser journeyman (individual 1250); linesman railway -> linesman electric -> inspector (individual 2731). Nevertheless, some specific

occupational changes within a single field of employment resulted in major occupational status changes (eg. brewer (ocgrp 1) -> brewer employee (ocgrp 7) -> brewer (ocgrp 1) (individual 739)).

Frederick Martin (individual 3950) is an example of someone who was very mobile in not only geographical but also social terms. He gradually moved 'upward' from ocgroup seven to ocgroup one between 1902 and 1911, changing from french polisher journeyman (ocgrp 7) -> french polisher (ocgrp 4) -> business owner/partner (ocgrp 1) (Appendix B).

In accordance with findings discovered in the analysis of all multiple movers making more than one occupational change (see CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3), a lot of local multiple movers 'returned' to their original occupation at some point after having changed it (eg. individuals 2536, 2727, 5310, 6145, 7190 and 9476). One interesting example was George Addington Turner (individual 7190) who was a railway inspector in Rockside, before retiring in Kew/Corstorphine and then returning to work as a railway inspector - residing in Caversham in the latter instance. Two others made 'cyclical' occupational changes. These included brewer -> brewer employee -> brewer -> brewer employee (individuals 739) and miner -> labourer -> miner -> labourer (individual 5310).

7. Conclusion

This paper has confirmed the existence of a significant flow of micro (local) movement within the Caversham Project study area in the early part of the twentieth century. Although not affecting the population size of the area as a whole, the movement of men between subareas presumably had an impact on the population size and social composition of each.

Of the study area subareas, Caversham Township and Kew/Corstorphine were the only ones to experience an overall gain of population via local migration between 1902 and 1928. A significant proportion of the migratory flows recorded were between Caversham Township and other parts of the study area - Kensington and Rockside in particular. The proportional in- and out-flows of local migrants varied markedly throughout the study period in all subareas. The number of moves made, disregarding direction of movement, were polarised in the 1902-1905 and 1922-1928 periods.

Over half (58%) of the local migrants were married - a proportion slightly greater than that of those choosing to stay within a single subarea and the study area population as a whole. The occupational characteristics of local migrants reflected that of the study area as a whole more than that of other migrant types, but not to the extent of those who 'persisted' within a single subarea. Local migrants were far more likely to change occupation and

residential location than were other migrant types (see CGMWPs 1, 2 and 3). While over half of these moves did not lead to changes in occupational status (ie. occlass), a significant number moved either 'upward' or 'downward' in terms of social mobility.

A number of migrants made more than one move between subarea between 1902 and 1928. Multiple movement patterns between subareas were of three forms: 'return', 'cyclical' and 'step-wise'. Multiple movers were even more likely to change their specific occupation when moving than those making only one geographical move. Multiple occupational changes accompanying multiple moves can also be considered to be step-wise, return or cyclical in nature. These sometimes, but not necessarily, corresponded with the type of geographical movement pattern made.

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Appendix A: No. of moves/migrants as a proportion of the (male) population in each subarea

subarea	year period	moves/migrants leaving subarea		moves/migrants arriving in subarea	
		no.	% of subarea pop. ¹ in yr 'a'	no.	% of subarea pop. ¹ in yr 'b'
Caversham	2- 5	48	7.33	39	5.38
	5-11	18	2.48	36	3.85
	11-14	23	2.46	33	3.43
	14-19	22	2.29	31	2.73
	19-22	20	1.76	39	3.54
	22-28	47	4.27	39	2.65
Kensington	2- 5	16	3.79	26	5.53
	5-11	17	3.62	6	6.83
	11-14	19	3.93	7	1.50
	14-19	14	3.00	12	2.29
	19-22	23	4.40	11	2.55
	22-28	31	7.19	24	3.20
Kew/Corstorphine	2- 5	6	17.65	1	2.78
	5-11	3	8.33	2	3.13
	11-14	1	1.56	11	10.38
	14-19	3	2.83	6	3.57
	19-22	13	7.74	12	8.28
	22-28	10	6.90	21	6.05
Rockside	2- 5	21	14.29	29	17.26
	5-11	13	7.74	5	3.31
	11-14	7	4.64	9	5.56
	14-19	11	6.79	5	2.94
	19-22	18	10.59	12	6.78
	22-28	15	8.47	13	6.25
St Clair	2- 5	11	6.40	7	4.17
	5-11	9	4.71	11	7.28
	11-14	15	5.45	5	3.09
	14-19	13	4.51	9	5.29
	19-22	5	1.48	5	2.82
	22-28	8	2.75	14	6.73

1. The 'percent of subarea population' columns show the proportion of those leaving or arriving in each subarea as a percentage of the number of *men* listed in the database in year 'a' or 'b'. These columns do not, therefore, show the no. of moves as a proportion of the *entire* subarea population - merely that of the male residents in each.

Appendix B: Occupational changes of multiple movers

id no.	period	year 'a'			year 'b'		
		sub-area	occupation	ocgp	sub-area	occupation	ocgp
739	2- 5	R	Brewer	1	S	Brewer (employee)	7
	14-19	S	Brewer	1	C	Brewer (employee)	7
782	11-14	C	Tobacconist/ Hairdresser	4	K	Hairdresser	4
1101	5-11	R	Lineman	7	C	Linesman Telegraph	7
	14-19	C	Linesman Telegraph	7	T	Lineman	7
1133	5-11	C	Engineer Mechanical	7	R	Engineer (unspecified)	7
	11-14	R	Engineer (unspecified)	7	T	Manager (unspecified)	1
1250	5-11	R	Hairdresser	4	C	Tobacconist/ Hairdresser	4
	14-19	T	Tobacconist/ Hairdresser	4	C	Hairdresser Journeyman	7
1660	14-19	S	Barman	9	C	Operator Billiard Saloon	4
2317	14-19	T	Maker Chair	7	C	Maker Cabinet Journeyman	7
2385	14-19	K	Hawker	4	R	Labourer	9
2536	2- 5	C	Printer (employee)	9	S	Machinist Printer	8
	19-22	S	Machinist Printer	8	C	Printer (employee)	9
2554	5-11	S	Moulder Iron	7	C	Moulder	7
2727	2- 5	R	Farmer	4	C	Agent News	4
	5-11	C	Agent News	4	S	Farmer	4
2731	5-11	K	Lineman Railway	7	R	Linesman Electric	7
	14-19	R	Linesman Electric	7	C	Inspector	5
3950	2- 5	R	French Polisher Journeyman	7	C	French Polisher	4
	5-11	C	French Polisher	4	S	Businessman Owner/Partner	1
3977	19-22	C	Labourer	9	K	Fitter Range	8
3990	5-11	S	Painter Journeyman	7	C	Painter/Decorator	4
4578	5-11	R	Striker	8	C	Employee Railway	9
5083	22-28	C	Labourer	9	T	Driver Motor	8
5310	14-19	C	Miner	9	R	Labourer	9
	22-28	R	Miner	9	C	Labourer	9
5830	14-19	T	Plumber Journeyman	7	C	Slaughterman	7
6145	14-19	T	Member of Parliament	1	C	Solicitor/Barrister	2
	19-22	C	Solicitor/Barrister	2	T	Member of Parliament	1
6182	5-11	R	Warehouseman	6	K	Commercial Traveller	6
6847	5-11	C	Surfaceman	9	R	Employee Tramway	9
6900	11-14	R	Labourer	9	S	Lamplighter	9
7025	14-19	C	Maker Boot	4	T	Carpenter	7
7190	14-19	R	Inspector Railway	5	T	Retired/Pensioner	10
	19-22	T	Retired/Pensioner	10	C	Inspector Railway	5
9476	11-14	K	Mechanic	7	T	Slaughterman	7

	14-19	T	Slaughterman	7	K	Mechanic	7
9821	19-22	C	Dairyman/Milkman	4	T	Farmer	4
	22-28	T	Farmer	4	C	Labourer	9
21670	5-11	C	Labourer	9	K	Settler	4
	19-22	K	Settler	4	S	Retired/Pensioner	10
30331	22-28	C	Inspector Tram	5	R	Inspector	5
Grand Total							

Key: C = Caversham Township, K = Kensington, R = Rockyside, S = St Clair, and T = Kew/Corstorphine