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Steve Hochstadt

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Article abstract

Migration research has been dominated by broad assumptions which this paper brings into question. Modernization theory holds that rural-urban migration was one-way, permanent, and continually increasing during industrialization. Nominal-level research on urban populations tends to accept the idea that nonnatives are becoming permanent residents. Data from Germany show reality to have been quite different. Urban mobility peaked around 1900, and has fallen steadily since then. The great majority of urban inmigrants soon left the city, mainly returning to their rural origins. Thus a new model of urban migration is needed. This model must lake into account certain structural characteristics of urban migrants in Germany. Males were more mobile than females, but the differences lay primarily among unmarried adults, whose mobility rates were at least five times those of families. Mobility was inversely proportional to income: workers and domestics were several times as mobile as professionals and the self-employed. The paper does not construct a new model of migration but uses these data to raise questions which might lead to such a model.

Urban Migration in Imperial Germany: Towards a Quantitative Model

STEVE HOCHSTADT

Résumé

Migration research has been dominated by broad assumptions which this paper brings into question. Modernization theory holds that rural-urban migration was one-way, permanent, and continually increasing during industrialization. Nominal-level research on urban populations tends to accept the idea that nonnatives are becoming permanent residents. Data from Germany show reality to have been quite different. Urban mobility peaked around 1900, and has fallen steadily since then. The great majority of urban inmigrants soon left the city, mainly returning to their rural origins. Thus a new model of urban migration is needed. This model must take into account certain structural characteristics of urban migrants in Germany. Males were more mobile than females, but the differences lay primarily among unmarried adults, whose mobility rates were at least five times those of families. Mobility was inversely proportional to income: workers and domestics were several times as mobile as professionals and the self-employed. The paper does not construct a new model of migration but uses these data to raise questions which might lead to such a model.

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La recherche sur la migration a été dominée par de grandes hypothèses que cet article remet en question. La théorie de la modernisation affirme que la migration de la campagne vers la ville fut à sens unique, permanente et constante pendant la période de l'industrialisation. La recherche basée sur les recensements nominatifs de la population urbaine, amène à accepter l'idée que les non-autochtones deviennent des résidents permanents. Des données provenant de l'Allemagne démontrent que la réalité est toute autre. La mobilité a attient un sommet vers 1900, et n'a cessé de décroître depuis. La grande majorité des immigrants urbaines ont tôt fait de quitter la ville, principalement pour retourner à leurs origines rurales. Un nouveau modèle d'immigration est donc nécessaire. Ce modèle doit tenir compte de certaines caractéristiques de la structure de la migration urbaine en Allemagne. Les hommes étaient plus mobiles que les femmes, mais les principales différences s'observent chez les adultes célibataires, pour qui la mobilité était cinq fois plus grande que pour les familles. La mobilité était inversement proportionnelle au revenu: les employés et les domestiques étaient beaucoups plus mobiles que les professionnels ou les travailleurs indépendants. Cet article ne propose pas un nouveau modèle d'immigration mais utilise ces données pour soulever des questions qui pourraient mener à un tel modèle.

The purpose of this paper is to raise several questions for discussion about the relationship of migration and urbanization in European history. The paper describes research findings at an incomplete stage, at which public discussion of some of my ideas would be helpful to further work. The data refer to Imperial Germany but my intention is to raise questions which have broader application.

My reading of the migration literature, both from history and allied social science disciplines, leads me to conclude that the understanding of migration is currently in the early stages of transition. A traditional view is coming under attack as inadequate, but its dominance is still obvious and no clear replacement is in sight. This traditional model of migration and urbanization was developed as a social science hypothesis at the end of the nineteenth century by observers of the rapid urbanization which accompanied industrialization in Europe. In the Anglo-Saxon world the names of E.G. Ravenstein and Adna F. Weber are associated with early theory-building and data collection.[1] But they were accompanied by many others (notably in Germany where the data were, and remain, excellent), in the development of a specific link between migration and urbanization. The model which emerged from these early investigations has undergone some minor alterations but still dominates social science research, lately under the guise of modernization theory. This model stresses particular assumptions about the nature of migration in industrializing Europe as the source of urban growth. City and countryside were linked by a one-way stream of urbanward migrants. Migration is thus mainly discussed as rural-to-urban movement. Allied with this assumption is the belief that these shifts were permanent. Urbanization represents the expansion of cities due to the permanent influx of rural migrants, who adapted to and changed the urban environment.

Previous work has indicated the ubiquitous nature of these assumptions, which run through the sociological and economic literature on contemporary migration.[2] The point here is to stress how this model permeates historical studies of migrants and cities. The recent use of quantitative methods in the social sciences highlights this particular view of migrants: numerous studies of urban populations analyse lists of inhabitants assuming that those identified in the data as inmigrants adequately represent the category "migrants" and that they will remain in the city.[3] The experiences of migrants are then analyzed in terms of these assumptions about the nature of their migration. Particular causes of permanent migration are sought

1. E.G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48 (1885): 167–227 and ibid., 52 (1889): 241–301; Adna F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics* (New York, 1889).
2. Steve Hochstadt, "Migration in Germany: An Historical Study," PhD diss., Brown University, 1983, 14–26.
3. See, for example, David F. Crew, *Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860–1914* (New York, 1979); Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Ithaca, 1979).

in rural conditions. The urban experience is defined as assimilation or failure: those who did not choose to remain in the city have failed to adapt.[4] The city too is analyzed in terms of an implicitly permanent population. Those who live in the city are urban dwellers, who had transferred their physical presence, if not their ways of thinking, to the city. These assumptions are as prevalent in Marxist as in "bourgeois" history, beginning with Marx's own description of the causes of rural emigration,[5] and continuing to the most recent Marxist analysis of urbanization.[6]

This consensus about migration appears to be changing, especially under assault from data which do not fit. Studies of urbanization and migration in Russia before 1917 frequently deal explicitly with the temporary nature of peasant migration to the city and the continuing ties of peasants to their communes of origin.[7] But these are usually taken to be the result of the exceptional legalized caste system of the Russian autocracy, based on legal social estates and enforced by rural collectives acting out of fiscal self-interest. Much new work on mobility in the Third World stresses the temporary nature of urban migration, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific islands,[8] but frequently with the caveat that these patterns differ from the historical migration patterns which have been dominant in Europe.[9] Finally, some recent research about the process of

4. The assumption of failure of outmigrants can be found in many places. Some examples are Crew, *Town in the Ruhr*, 71–73; Heilwig Schomerus, *Die Arbeiter der Maschinenfabrik Esslingen* (Struttgart, 1977), 158; Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 231; Donald J. Bogue, *Principles of Demography* (New York, 1969), 765, 775. Peter J. Knights, on p. 118 of *The Plain People of Boston, 1830–1860: A Study of City Growth* (New York, 1971), notes the prevalence of the failure hypothesis and calls the study of urban outmigrants "terra incognita."

5. Karl Marx, *Capital*, ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York, 1967), 1: 642.

6. David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, 1985), especially 69, 124, 131–32.

7. James H. Bater, "Transience, Residential Persistence, and Mobility in Moscow and St. Petersburg, 1900–1914," *Slavic Review* 39 (June 1980): 239–54; Robert Eugene Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian. The Working Class of Moscow in the Late 19th Century* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1979); Joseph Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, 1985).

8. Sidney Goldstein, "Circulation in the context of total mobility in Southeast Asia," *Papers of the East–West Population Institute* 53 (Honolulu, 1978); Lionel Cliffe, "Labour Migration and Peasant Differentiation: Zambian Experience," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 5 (1978): 326–46; J. Clyde Mitchell, "Africans in Industrial Towns in Northern Rhodesia," *Peasants in Cities: Readings in the Anthropology of Urbanization*, ed. William Mangin (Boston, 1970), 160–69; Jean Fages, "Migration and Urbanization in French Polynesia," *Population Change in the Pacific Region*, ed. Yunshik Chang and Peter J. Donaldson (Vancouver, 1975), 175–77.

9. Walter Elkan, *Migrants and Proletarians, Urban Labour in the Economic Development of Uganda* (London, 1960), 41–42; William Petersen, *Population*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1975), 497–98 and 537–38.

proletarianization in Europe stresses the continuing exchange between countryside and city, the tenuousness of migrants' links to the new urban environment, and the extended process of the creation of a permanent urban proletariat. [10]

My first questions are concerned with the fluid situation in the historical view of migration and city growth. How widespread is the dissatisfaction with the traditional model of permanent one-way migration? Does its rejection necessarily entail a different view of the urbanization process?

i

The exceptionally complete data on German migration since the late nineteenth century provides evidence to challenge the traditional view of migration and urbanization. The following material shows the inadequacy of any conception of migration based on notions of permanence and of the study of urban migrants as new city residents about to be assimilated.

Figure 1 charts the rates of in- and outmigration for cities of over fifty thousand in Germany in the decades before World War I. In this period, mobility reached a modern peak: both before 1880 and after 1920 mobility was considerably lower, falling below 6 per cent annually in recent years. [11] The graph shows that in- and outmigration followed exactly parallel paths. The amount of *net* migration to cities in Germany was only a fraction of the total volume of migration. This period was the heyday of urban growth, the epitome of German urbanization. Between 1880 and 1910 the rural population remained the same, while urban population more than doubled and cities over 100,000 quadrupled their total size. [12] Yet a focus on the net change due to migration misses the great bulk of the migrants themselves.

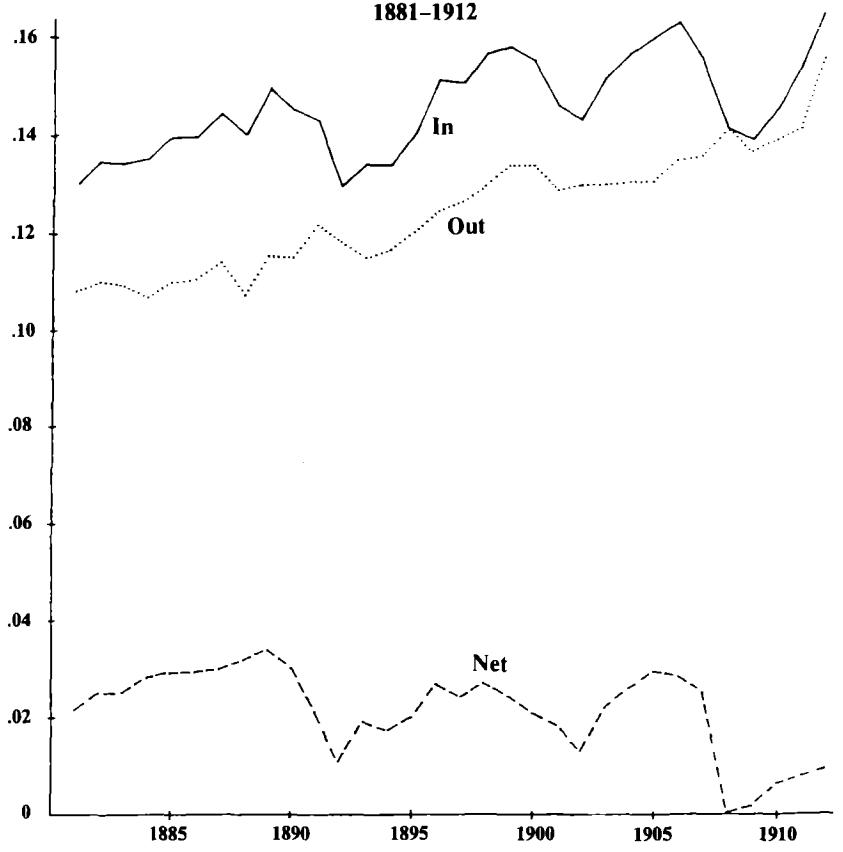
The near balance between in- and outmigration was due to the temporary nature of residence in the city for migrants. The lack of persistence by inmigrants is not as well documented as total mobility, but available data clearly show the pattern. The detailed Berlin census of 1885 demonstrates the rapidity of turnover in Table 1. Nearly one-third of the inmigrants of 1885 had already left Berlin by the end of that year; over half had left before the end of three years. Evidence from the Dusseldorf census of 1905 shows an even more rapid turnover than in Berlin twenty

10. See especially Michael Hanagan, "Agriculture and Industry in the Nineteenth-Century Stéphanois: Household Employment Patterns and the Rise of a Permanent Proletariat," *Proletarians and Protest: The Roots of Class Formation in an Industrializing World*, ed. Michael Hanagan and Charles Stephenson (New York, 1986), 77–106.

11. For a summary of long-term migration trends in Germany since 1800, see my "Migration and Industrialization in Germany, 1815–1877," *Social Science History* 5 (Fall 1981): 445–68.

12. John E. Knodel, *The Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871–1939* (Princeton, 1974), 32, 207.

Figure 1
In-, Out-, and Net Migration Rates in 15 Cities Over 50,000
1881–1912



The cities included are (years data missing): Berlin, Breslau, Augsburg (1900, 1912), Essen, Cassel (1905), Görlitz, Frankfurt a. d. Oder (1891, 1892), Köln, Düsseldorf, Chemnitz (1890), Barmen, Krefeld, Halle, Dortmund (1900, 1902), Erfurt (1897, 1898).

Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Städte*, vol. 1-21 (1890–1914).

Table 1
Percentages of Yearly Migration Cohorts No Longer in Berlin, According to 1885 Census

Year of Inmigration	% Absent		Average Length of Stay in Years
	Men	Women	
1885	31.9	27.0	0.5
1884	58.0	48.8	1.5
1883	64.6	54.1	2.5
1882	71.9	59.9	3.5
1881	74.5	60.1	4.5
1880	74.0	57.1	5.5
1879	77.3	62.3	6.5
1878	79.7	64.9	7.5
1877	83.6	70.2	8.5
1876	84.2	69.8	9.5

Source: R. Böckh, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Wohnungs-Aufnahme vom 1 December 1885 in der Stadt Berlin*, 2. Heft (Berlin, 1891), 21.

years before: within two years, two-thirds were gone.[13] The comparison of migration and census data for a host of other German cities in this period demonstrates the ubiquity of this pattern.[14] More detailed, though less comprehensive, studies for two other cities in Table 2 show that single migrants, the great majority of all migrants, were unlikely to persist more than a year or two, while families would typically stay longer.

These data show that migrants to German cities quickly moved on, that they only rarely became permanent residents of the city. But this does not explain where the migrants went. If they simply went to other cities, circulating within the urban network, then they would have contributed to urbanization, although in a different way than normally assumed. If they returned to their place of origin, however, the

13. Otto Most, *Die Nichteinheimischen in Dusseldorf nach der Volkszahlung vom 1. Dezember 1905*, Mitteilungen zur Statistik der Stadt Düsseldorf 4 (Dusseldorf, 1908), 10, 26.

14. For example, Berlin in 1871 and 1875, Breslau in 1885, Magdeburg in 1900 and Bremen in 1905. The data for these comparisons can be found in *Die Bevolkerungs-, Gewerbe- und Wohnungs-Aufnahme vom 1 Dezember 1875 in der Stadt Berlin* 3–4 (Berlin, 1878), 24–25; *Breslauer Statistik* 10. Serie, no. 5 (Breslau, 1886), 438 and ibid., 11. Serie, no. 2 (Breslau, 1888), 56; *Magdeburger Statistik 1903* (Magdeburg, 1904), 5, and *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Amts der Stadt Magdeburg* 22 (Magdeburg, 1914), 38; *Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1905 im Bremischen Staate* (Bremen, 1909), 68 and *Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Städte* 17 (Breslau, 1910), 69.

Table 2
Duration of Residence for Outmigrants by Family Status

Duration of Residence	Frankfurt Singles	1891 Heads of Families	Duisburg Singles	1890 Heads of Families
Up to 1 Year	67.5%	39.5%	71.5%	29.7%
1 – 2 Years	12.7%	12.7%		
2 – 5 Years	11.3%	17.2%	28.5%	70.3%
Over 5 Years	2.0%	6.7%		
Unknown	6.4%	23.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Migrants	12277	966	1446	354

NOTE
1. For Frankfurt, only male migrants; for Duisburg, only a sample of migrants.

Sources: H. Bleicher, "Die Bewegung der Bevölkerung im Jahre 1891, insbesondere Studien über die Wanderungen," *Beiträge zur Statistik der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* N.F. 2 (1893): xxxvi; James H. Jackson, Jr., "Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley, 1850–1900," Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1980, 164.

whole pattern of migration between countryside and city needs to be reconceptualized. Data which show the precise destination of outmigrants are rare. Migration statistics for the quite different cities of Konigsberg in eastern Prussia and Duisburg in the Ruhr valley indicate a close correspondence between the proportion of inmigrants to these cities who came from the countryside and the proportion of outmigrants to the countryside. [15]

In the absence of fuller data on this question, the following set of equations enables one to estimate the size of the return flow to rural areas from other, more readily available, data:

Let I_R equal the total inmigration to all cities from the countryside, and

O_R equal the total outmigration from all cities to the countryside, and

I_C equal the total inmigration to all cities from other cities, and

O_C equal the total outmigration from all cities to other cities.

15. James H. Jackson, Jr., "Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley, 1850-1900," PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1980, 151; A. Dullo, *Die Bevölkerungsbewegung in Königsberg i. Pr.*, Konigsberger Statistik 7 (Konigsberg, 1906).

Then assume that x equals the total net migration divided by total inmigration, or

$$x = \frac{(I_R - O_R + I_C - O_C)}{(I_R + I_C)}$$

but I_C must equal O_C, and therefore

$$x = \frac{(I_R - O_R)}{(I_R + I_C)}$$

Assume that y equals the proportion of inmigrants from the countryside. Hence

$$y = \frac{I_R}{(I_R + O_C)}$$

and therefore

$$I_R + I_C = \frac{(I_R - O_R)}{x} = \frac{I_R}{y}$$

$$I_R - O_R = \frac{(xI_R)}{y}$$

$$O_R = I_R - \frac{x}{y} I_R$$

$$O_R = I_R \left(1 - \frac{x}{y}\right)$$

The final equation shows the relationship between the two streams of migrants moving from countryside to city and back, in terms of the quantities x and y. As we have seen earlier, x (the ratio of net inmigrants to all inmigrants) is small for all German cities, perhaps about 0.1 during the entire period. The meager data available show that y was probably at least 0.5 for cities. Using these values in the final equation indicates that the outmigration stream from the cities back to the countryside was probably at least 80 per cent of the inmigration stream. This kind of calculation is meant to be suggestive rather than definitive. In the absence of better data on the composition and direction of the outmigration stream, however, such theoretical considerations do demonstrate that the great majority of urban inmigrants from the countryside not only later left the particular city, but left all cities. They contributed to urbanization only temporarily.

This section ends as it started, with a series of questions. Do these data demand a new model of migration and a different way of studying migrants in cities? Do they require a new model of studying migrants in cities? Do they require a new model of the urbanization process? What other historical concepts would such models, if necessary, affect?

ii

The following sets of data are meant to contribute to the formulation of a new model of urban migration. They are necessarily incomplete, due to the gaps in the data themselves and the stage of my work with available sources. Increasingly detailed categorizations of the migration data do show, however, that overall urban migration rates (shown in Figure 1, for example) mask significant differences in mobility for various urban subpopulations. The "model" towards which this research points, aims at dividing the urban population into discrete and socially meaningful groupings and at assessing their differential mobility.

The simplest division is by sex: Table 3 shows the substantial differences in overall mobility for men and women in German cities for different years. Migration rates for both sexes were considerably higher in Düsseldorf than in Berlin, but the sexes remained at about the same relative level, with female migration about 60 to 70 per cent of male migration.

The comparison is considerably refined when we divide the sexes further into age groups. Table 4 uses a crude age division to reveal the major age differentials in

Table 3
Inmigration Rates by Sex, Berlin and Düsseldorf

		1888	1897	1901	1905
Berlin:	men	.15	.14		.17
	women	.10	.11		.12
Düsseldorf:	men			.24	.25
	women			.14	.15

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbücher der Stadt Berlin* (hereafter SJ Berlin) 1888–1905; *Jahresberichte des Statistischen Amts der Stadt Düsseldorf* (hereafter JB Düsseldorf), 1901–5.

Table 4
Inmigration Rates by Sex and Age, Berlin and Düsseldorf

		0-15	15-30	30-60	Over 60	total
Düsseldorf	men	.08	.50	.15	.05	.24
1901–05	women	.08	.31	.08	.04	.15
Berlin	men	.04	.30	.09	.04	.18
1907–09	women	.05	.24	.06	.03	.13

Sources: JB Düsseldorf 1901–5; SJ Berlin 1908–11, 5-7, 216-7, 217*-218*.

migration rate. The great bulk of migration occurred among young adults, while children (presumably migrating with families) and the aged were much less mobile. The differences between the sexes are less significant among these two groups than in the active ages. These broad age categories, while useful for comparing a manageable number of subpopulations, tend to mask the smooth progression in age-specific migration rates apparent when a finer age categorization is employed. Table 5 utilizes the excellent data from Berlin to pinpoint the most mobile ages from twenty to twenty-five, and to reveal the progressive decline in mobility thereafter. Note that for women there is no difference between the age groups from fifteen to twenty and from twenty to twenty-five due to the early entrance into the labour market of young female domestics. The sex difference is unimportant after age fifty.

The above tables display only *in*migration rates for the sake of convenience; because outmigration closely paralleled inmigration, outmigration rates provide little additional information on the significance of age and sex differentials. The comparison of in- and outmigration in combination with age, however, reveals clearly the mechanism of population turnover, because net migration varied considerably with age. Again data from Berlin show that the city population experienced a strong net influx in the most mobile ages and then a gradual net loss after age twenty-five. Table 6 demonstrates that, while the overall net gain was miniscule compared to the total streams of migration, there was significant net inmigration in the ages fifteen through twenty-five.

Table 5
Inmigration Rates by Age, Berlin 1905

age	men	women
0 – 5	.06	.06
5 – 10	.05	.05
10 – 15	.05	.05
15 – 20	.32	.29
20 – 25	.44	.29
25 – 30	.28	.17
30 – 35	.16	.10
35 – 40	.11	.07
40 – 45	.08	.05
45 – 50	.07	.04
50 – 55	.05	.04
55 – 60	.04	.04
60 – 65	.04	.04
65 – 70	.04	.04
Over 70	.05	.04
total	.17	.12

Source: SJ Berlin 1905.

Table 6
Net Migration Rates by Age, Berlin 1901–1910

age	net rate
0 – 5	-.021
5 – 15	.001
15 – 20	.072
20 – 25	.024
25 – 50	-.012
over 50	-.008
total	.002

Source: Calculated from data in SJ Berlin 1900–11.

Some general conclusions about the process of migration can be drawn from these data. The majority of inmigrants left within a year. Those who stayed longer gradually moved out, extending temporary stays over several or many years. These data show another side of the pattern displayed in Table 1. They also make clearer how migration affected city growth. Migration swelled the young adult cohort, then gradually diminished all age groups over twenty-five.

The low migration rates for children indicate that families were less mobile than single migrants. This comparison can be made clearer by dividing the population into a few family-status categories to highlight the differences in mobility between families and single migrants. Table 7 displays data from Berlin and Dusseldorf which are broken down using the three variables of age, sex, and family status. A rate of "family migration" can be estimated from the rates for children and married adults for each city. In each case families had only a fraction of the mobility of single adults. The widowed were more mobile than families in Berlin, but less than in Düsseldorf.

While Table 7 highlights the significant difference between mobility of singles and families, these differences are complicated by the fact that the single population tended to be younger than that of married adults. A truer picture of the separate effects of age and marital status on the migration rate is provided by Table 8, which shows Berlin's inmigration rates for various age and marital status categories. Men were more mobile than women except for singles between the ages of fifteen and twenty (the aforementioned young female domestics) and the widowed between twenty and thirty, a rather small category. At every age and for both sexes, the widowed were much more mobile than the married or "family" migrants, and singles tended to be about twice as mobile as the widowed. Age played a crucial role for all categories of family status, with young adults between fifteen and thirty being three to four times as mobile as those over fifty.

Table 7
Inmigration Rates by Family Status and Sex, Berlin and Düsseldorf

	children under 15	married	widowed	singles over 15	total
Düsseldorf 1904–1907					
male	.08	.08	.04	.61	.25
female	.08	.09	.07	.33	.15
Berlin 1907–1909					
male	.04	.06	.07	.32	.14
female	.05	.05	.05	.25	.11

NOTE
1. The small number of divorced are included in the widowed in Düsseldorf, but in the singles in Berlin, due to the way the data were tabulated in the sources.

Sources: JB Düsseldorf 1904–7; SJ Berlin 1908–11.

Table 8
Inmigration Rates by Age and Marital Status, Berlin 1907–1909

age	married		widowed		single	
	men	women	men	women	men	women
15 – 20	(.35)	.14	--	(.11)	.26	.27
20 – 25	.13	.12	.22	.23	.41	.34
25 – 30	.11	.08	.14	.14	.35	.27
30 – 35	.09	.06	.14	.10	.30	.19
35 – 40	.07	.04	.12	.06	.23	.14
40 – 45	.05	.03	.10	.05	.18	.10
45 – 50	.05	.03	.08	.05	.16	.08
50 – 60	.03	.02	.06	.05	.12	.06
over 60	.03	.02	.05	.04	.09	.03

NOTE
1. Single category includes divorced. Numbers in ( ) indicate rates based on small numbers.

Source: SJ Berlin 1908–11.

Table 9
Inmigration Rates by Income

Income Groups	Stettin 1909–12	Essen 1912	Kiel 1910–12
Total population	.15	.18	.18
3000 – 5000 M.	.04	.06	.05
5000 – 9500 M.	.04		
9500 – 19500 M.	.03	.03	
over 19500 M.	.02		

Sources: *Statistische Jahresbericht der Stadt Stettin* 1912, v. 3, p. 3, 24, 27, 36; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Essen* 1912–1919, v. 6, p. 31-34, 109, v. 7, p. 7; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Kiel* 1912, v. 1, p. 51-2, 184; *Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Städte*, v. 19, p. 849, v. 21, p. 87.

These basic demographic variables exerted a powerful effect on the mobility of urban people. To these should be added two other socioeconomic categories which will complete the attempt to separate urban subpopulations by mobility. Some scattered data on the mobility of the wealthiest taxpayers, collected in Table 9, appear to indicate that mobility fell with rising income. In each case those with an income over three thousand marks represent only between 2 and 3 per cent of the total population. These data on wealth are supported by estimates of differential migration among broad occupational categories in Düsseldorf. Comparing the migration data from 1907 with the occupational census of that year shows self-employed merchants amd artisans with an inmigration rate of .05, government officials and professionals at .18, and white-collar employees, workers, and domestics at .39. While the categories of the census and the migration data do not match exactly, the significant differences in migration rate confirm that mobility increased as socioeconomic status decreased.[16]

The data displayed in the above tables could be supplemented by material from other cities and by other variables. They represent only a sampling of the rich possibilities for analysis offered by German urban migration data in the period around 1900. Such data enable us to pinpoint much more accurately than heretofore those demographic subpopulations and classes which were highly mobile during industrialization. They contrast the essential stability of the urban population living in families with the remarkable fluidity of the young unmarried population.

16. Unique data on the social differentials in persistence in Chemnitz also show the higher mobility of the working class; see Georg Froehner, *Wanderungsergebnisse im erzgebirgischen Industriegebiet und in der Stadt Chemnitz*, Beitrage zur Statistik der Stadt Chemnitz 1 (Chemnitz, 1909).

It is still unclear whether these data are a sufficient foundation for a new model of urban migration. What other variables or breakdowns could be or should be made? What kinds of analysis would most fruitfully address issues beyond historical demography? What questions arising out of the analysis of migration in other countries could be addressed by such German data?

iii

The final question must remain an open one: how applicable are the above findings to countries other than Germany? The data described here are far more detailed than exist or have been published for any other European country. For most of Europe, there are no direct measures of migration. Therefore it is not possible to compare in- and outmigration for particular communities, to assess the importance of net migration in relation to total migration, or to measure the extent of temporary migration. This lack of data and the reliance on indirect measures of migration (such as census results) have been partially responsible for the assumption that migration was mainly permanent. A variety of data for other European countries — notably studies of population movements in Switzerland,[17] Sweden,[18] and Italy[19] — demonstrates that these late nineteenth-century German patterns were not unique to Germany. But the two countries of major interest to American scholars, France and England, are not amenable to such analysis. A choice must be made among assumptions, none of which are reliably confirmed by empirical data. This choice is crucial, for it will determine whether data are sought to clarify this question or whether traditional assumptions will continue to guide research.

17. Heribert Wolfensberger, "Die Zuwanderung in die Stadt Zürich seit 1893," diss., University of Zürich, 1952, 56.
18. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750–1933* (New York, 1941), ch. 7; Sune Äkerman, Egil Johansson and Kari Juslin, "Computerized Family Reconstitution: A Preliminary Report," *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart, 1976), 194.
19. David I. Kertzer and Dennis P. Hogan, "On the Move: Migration in an Italian Community, 1865–1921," *Social Science History* 9 (Winter 1985): 1–24.