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The impact of family and local ties on internal migration
among school graduates in Great Britain

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ABSTRACT

Graduating from school opens up a variety of options for young adults and simultaneously involves a lot of decisions to be made – one of them regarding internal migration and a potential move away from friends, family and well-known structures. The present research investigates the impact of family and local ties on the migration behaviour of secondary education graduates in Great Britain. Employing data from the British Household Panel Survey and including graduates from secondary education in England, Scotland and Wales between 1991 and 2008, it could be shown that common hypotheses on family and local ties only partly fit the special situation of young adults in the transition to independence. Using discrete-time event-history analysis and logistic as well as multinomial regression analyses, it was detected that having already founded an own family upon graduation decreases mobility, whereas still living in the parental home with both parents present enables migration. The magnitude of these effects was especially high for prospective university students. Furthermore, it could be shown that friendship ties keep graduates in the place of origin, whereas local engagement produces social capital, which has differing effects depending on the type of settlement.

Keywords: internal migration | life course | transition after school | student migration | family ties | local ties

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III. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BHPS	British Household Panel Study
DAS	Daily activity space
DZ	Data Zones
FE	Further education
GB	Great Britain
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HE	Higher education
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency (of the United Kingdom)
ISER	Institute for Social and Economic Research
LSOA	Lower Super Output Areas
SES	Socioeconomic status
UK	United Kingdom
UKHLS	United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Study

1. INTRODUCTION

Spatial family ties are known to be an important predictor for internal migration and current research outlines that ties to family in the area of origin can be a powerful force to prevent people from being residentially mobile. Simultaneously, if living elsewhere, they can equally become a strong pull-factor for a potential area of destination (Ermisch and Mulder, 2018). Beyond that, literature has provided evidence for a negative impact of local social networks on the likelihood of moving further than the individuals daily-activity-space. A large number of close friends living nearby is associated with a decrease in residential mobility (e.g. Belot and Ermisch, 2009; Clark et al., 2017). As distance is a strong predictor of support and contact, being in close proximity to family members and friends presupposes a frequent and intense contact as well as increased possibilities for the provision of care (e.g. Hank, 2007; Knijn and Liefbroer, 2006).

However, most of these studies focus either on family migration or labour market-related outcomes as the main driver for residential moves. They acknowledge migration as a decision to be made on the household level, which is most certainly important to keep in mind, but also excludes an important group of individuals being highly mobile. Migration is known to be very selective throughout the life and reaches its peak in the young adulthood, with migration for higher education or the entry to the labour market being the most prominent examples (Bernard et al., 2014). Graduating from school after having finished compulsory education opens up many opportunities for young individuals and simultaneously involves a lot of decisions to be made – one of them regarding internal migration and a potential move away from friends, family and well-known structures to start a new phase in their lives.

A large body of literature is committed to the issue of young adults leaving the parental home and some scholars have focussed on the relationship between familial household structures and the timing of departure. Mitchell et al. (1989, for Canada) and Aquilino (1991, for the US) have both shown that children of divorced parents or those living in step-family formation tend to move out at an earlier age compared to those living in traditional family models. When it comes to inter-regional migration for education, and more specific for tertiary education, the expansion of the tertiary education sector has led to increased student migration and a “mobility pattern where more students end up further afield from their parental home” (Kulu et al., 2018 p. 327, for Sweden). The most commonly researched factors for migration among students include socio-demographic and socio-economic motives along with norm-based and personal motivations (Mandic, 2008).

In terms of social and local ties, young adults seek interaction and connections “beyond local family ties to build a social network more in tune with their own values” (Burd, 2011 p.1). However, the impact of these ties on migration has previously primarily been analysed for either grown adults or on the family level. The special situation of school graduates, being in a stage of extensive personal development and change, and their bonds to local structures such as friends and families has been mostly neglected so far.

All in all, no research exists that precisely focusses on both the impact of family and local ties on the migration behaviour among school graduates, which will be the research objective of this work. It can be assumed that this group poses a special case, as they experience the transition to adulthood along with major life events happening simultaneously – graduating from school, moving out of the parental home, enrolling at university or entering the labour market and starting an independent life. All this, while ties to family and friends in the area of origin are potentially strong.

Placing this objective in the context of Great Britain is insightful especially for the findings on student migration, which is assumed to make up a great deal of the analysed

mobility patterns. The British system of higher education is based upon the historical processes and long-established traditions that young people will move away from their parental home and migrate to another region to undertake their university studies (Chatterton, 2010; Faggain and McCann, 2009). The distribution of students that migrate is thereby highly uneven with an association of prestigious and elite universities and young adults from wealthy and high SES backgrounds. By requiring high fees for tuition, the system triggers the reproduction of social class privilege and social mobility among school graduates as established elite and prestigious universities have higher proportions of individuals from wealthy households registered at their institutions (Smith and Jons, 2015). However, research on the linkages between migration for education and social status within the UK predominantly focuses on international migration (e.g. Waters and Brooks, 2011). Even though the given paper does not primarily concentrate on this last connection, social class as well as other factors facilitating or inhibiting mobility will be discussed and considered.

The analyses are based on all 18 waves of the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS). Amongst other data, it includes annual and biennial information on the constructs of interest such as household composition and data on networks and social engagement. As a great advantage, it additionally provides finely grained information on the residential location, which makes it possible to investigate the migration behaviour of school graduates. Using migration, for any reason as well as for specific reasons, as the event of interest, discrete-time event-history analyses were performed. Family ties inside the household in the form of household composition and local ties predicted through the clustering of friends and local engagement present the key independent variables.

This paper provides a novel view on local ties as it not only introduces one, which has been common practice so far, but three predictors of local attachment – The frequency of seeing friends, membership and active participation in local organisations as well as the overall satisfaction with the residential surroundings. It furthermore includes family ties inside the household in both generation directions. Ties to the parents as well as ties to a potential partner and children will be investigated. Lastly, by including not only school graduates that have followed the classical path of education but also those that have completed school as an adult, various life course trajectories are part of the analysis. With this comprehensive view, the research contributes to the current discourse on internal migration and family ties, as it depicts the migration behaviour of young adults during an important transition in their respective lives.

The work is structured as follows: Firstly, the research question and objective are presented. Next, a chronological overview of the literature and important theories of the transition into adulthood including life events crucial for the presented research leads to the deduction of a conceptual framework and eight hypotheses to be tested. Chapter 4 is dedicated to data, variables and methods and provides information on the operationalisation of the constructs of interest. The results section starts with a descriptive overview of the sample and moreover tests the hypotheses by multivariate analyses. Lastly, the findings are discussed and limitations as well as well as remarks for future research projects are presented.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The present research aims to elaborate on the relationship between familial as well as local ties and the decisions made during the transition from school to either enter the labour market or continue to stay in education. Attention is given to the question whether or not the observed individuals migrate internally for this life event as well as the impact of family and local ties on this. Focus is given to the household structure an individual is living in (Solo, with both parents, with one parent, with partner or with partner and children) as a determinant of familial ties inside the household. Furthermore, social ties outside of the household such as local engagement in organisations and groups, the strength and size of the social network as well as the overall satisfaction with the surroundings are considered. In the case of higher education attendees, emphasis is thereby mainly put on the site of the educational institution rather than what it offers to students. In the case of those entering the labour market the location of employment rather than the actual occupational specification will likewise be of interest.

To include divers life-trajectories that fit the research objective, not only individuals and young adults that completed the ‘straight forward’ way of education are included but also those that return to education from employment to receive secondary qualification at a later stage and already live in a different context. This way, all possibilities for those graduating as well as their migration behaviour in the context of varying family and local ties can be included. These differing trajectories allow for a comprehensive analysis of the research objective.

The main research question that can be extracted from the considerations based on reviewed literature and research is formulated as follows: *What is the impact of family and local ties on the decision to migrate internally after graduating from secondary education?* The main goal therefore is not to find evidence that family and local ties have an impact on the decision to either enter the labour market or to attend an institution of higher education, such as a university, even though they might have, but to find out what their influence is on the decision to migrate for one of these life events. Individuals live their lives in multiple spheres, meaning their lives are made up of different intersecting trajectories. The present research combines these trajectories by constituting the influence of the family-life trajectory, namely the form and extension of familial ties inside the household, on the decisions made in the educational and work trajectories (Schwanitz, 2017).

3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

To dismantle the research objective into its core aspects this chapter covers each part individually. The current state of research as well as the according theoretical background are provided where applicable. Following a life course approach, this chapter proceeds chronologically. It commences with the overall concept of the transition from youth into adulthood, which introduces all important life events of the research objective: Graduation from school, the transition from school to either an apprenticeship (also referred to as vocational training), the labour market or tertiary education, leaving the parental home as well as the relationship of familial and local ties with all of these life events. Especially the latter one is of importance as these ties can account for a certain variability in the transition to adulthood (Schwanitz, 2017).

It has to be remarked that the transition into adulthood is by no means only made up of the events mentioned as those exclude, for example, union formation and parenthood. But as the present research is interested in the occupational decisions of young adults after completing school, concentrating on the events of graduation from school, the transition from school to either vocational training, the labour market or tertiary education and the often concurrent event of leaving the parental home is sufficient to answer the research question. This also leads to the specification that this chapter solely examines the behaviour of school graduates, meaning those who have already obtained secondary education. As already mentioned above, also those that have not taken the ‘classic’ path of education, such as adults that return to school to receive their secondary education qualification or those enrolled in part-time schooling, are included in the research. Therefore, their background is observed subsequent to the section on leaving the parental home because following decisions on internal migration as well as the impact of family and local ties concern both groups.

Examples of current research will be drawn, where possible, from the United Kingdom context as it matches the data used for the analyses. The chapter continues with remarks on the particularity of the UK education system as it shows substantial differences compared to other European education systems. Reviewing and explaining these constructs allows then for the deduction of a conceptual framework. The chapter concludes with the formation of the hypotheses.

3.1 The transition to adulthood

Examining the period during which individuals make the transition from youth to adulthood from a life course perspective, roughly designated to be between 15 and 30, important life events can be assigned to two major domains. The demographic domain includes events like leaving the parental home, entry into marriage or cohabitation as well as entry into parenthood, whereas the occupational domain is made up of events such as exit from or continuation in the educational system and entry into first employment (Liefbroer and Toulemon, 2010). As a number of studies link the timing of these life events to societal norms thought to influence individuals’ decisions, these events can be interpreted as markers of the transition from youth into adulthood (e.g. Marini, 1984). However, focusing on demographic and occupational events as markers for the transition is challenged by psychological approaches, which conclude that subjective feelings such as individualism and independence are much more important for being considered an adult than having experienced actual events (e.g. Arnett, 2000). Liefbroer and Toulemon (2010) have argued that objective markers such as life events present a suitable conceptualisation of the transition into adulthood, because they have significant influence on peoples’ future life chances and outcomes. Furthermore, paying attention not only to the events themselves but also to their timing, order and duration in-between as well as cross-national differences can reveal even more about the concept of transition.

The literature on transition into adulthood furthermore highlights the idea of individual life planning. “Young adults are increasingly expected to autonomously plan their future life trajectory, including their living arrangements [...]” (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010 p.60). With this normative change, increasing possibilities and an overall rise in subjective freedom of choice, diversified bibliographies and individual life course trajectories of school graduates have also increased in recent years (Liefbroer and Toulemon, 2010).

3.2 Graduating from school – What comes next?

Graduating from school after having finished compulsory education opens up many opportunities for young individuals. A UK website has summarised these opportunities under the heading “What comes after school?” (The Skills Development, 2019, p.1). It describes opportunities for school graduates and assesses for whom these options might be suitable. These include: Pursuing postsecondary education by attending college or university, continuing vocational training by starting an apprenticeship, entering the labour market by directly starting to work, starting a business, doing an internship or volunteering (The Skills Development, 2019). The process of decision-making as well as the actual outcome are determined by multiple factors. Normative patterns, social pathways, institutional and formal rules, external restrictions as well as individual differences have a relevant influence on the individual and her or his choices (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Schwanitz, 2017). Furthermore, “[...] ethnicity, gender and socioeconomic status have a significant impact on the life chances and possibilities that young adults have in higher education training and employment” (Evans, 2010 p. 245).

3.2.1 Pursuing tertiary education

The share of newly enrolled university students has increased almost everywhere in the last decade (Evans, 2010). In the academic year 2017/2018 UK universities reported approximately 666,000 first year higher educational (HE) student enrolments, which is a plus of 1% compared to the previous year (HESA, 2019). However, the individual decision whether or not to attend tertiary education depends on a multitude of factors and is influenced by both individual traits and external characteristics of the various spheres an individual is embedded in.

Above all, the socioeconomic status (SES) is an important determinant for pursuing tertiary education. Students with a high socio-economic background are more likely to aspire attending as well as actually enrolling at a university than those with a low SES (Bowden and Doughney, 2011; Evans, 2011). Broadly, three explanations for this phenomenon can be distinguished. As parental education is, next to the occupational status and wealth, a strong determinant of SES, highly educated parents might put more emphasis on schooling. The intergenerational transmission of educational achievement has been shown to be significant and children can either inherit this opinion and prefer more schooling to less or parental expectations can result in the same outcome (Rephann, 2002). Secondly, the financial costs of acquiring higher education are not as much of a burden for young adults with a high SES background as they are for those with a low SES. Lastly, normative and social expectations such as a potential loss in status can influence and pressure individuals into pursuing a career that requires tertiary education (Bowden and Doughney, 2011). Additionally, young adults facing the decision whether or not to attend university are subject to a multitude of external and internal influences. External influences arise from family, friends, peers, teachers, counsellors or recruiters. The individual can either consult those actors or they get addressed by them. The internal factors comprise of personal aspirations, preferences and the individuals’ motivation (Biggart, 2009).

Considering the macro perspective, a factor that has shown to be of influential power is the structural shift towards the importance of educational credentials. Relating his observations to the situation in the UK, Biggart (2009) argues that the rise in tertiary educational participation is closely linked to the process of qualification inflation and changes in the labour market

structure with an expanding service and professional class. “With the collapse of many traditional working-class forms of employment and the increasing proportion of jobs requiring higher levels of qualification [...]” (p.119) young individuals are increasingly incorporating economic circumstances and future prospects into their considerations.

The provision of governmental financial aid as well as private grants and funding have shown to pose an additional factor that school graduates take into account during the decision-making process (Biggart, 2009; Billari and Liefbroer, 2010). Another interesting finding on the macro level with regard to the research question centres on the distance to an educational institution as a barrier to participation. “Geographical distance is a barrier to students thinking of going to university, because of the direct, informational and psychic costs involved in relocating or commuting a long way from the family home” (Gibbons and Vignoles, 2012 p.98). However, Gibbons and Vignoles (2012) have shown that the proximity towards a university has little or no impact for British graduates on the decision to participate in higher education.

The decision to enter postsecondary education results from a complex interaction among intellectual, academic, personal, social, and financial considerations. All described determinants are closely interlinked. If an individual has decided to pursue tertiary education the follow-up question has to be answered. The decision about where to attend university is an important task for school graduates as it often affects their future life paths. Research on the rationale for selecting a university has shown that applicants consider the following attributes as most important for choosing an institution: The reputation of the university in general, the quality of the offered programmes and courses, the location of the university and its surroundings, the infrastructure within the institutions, the costs of studying and living, future career prospects as well as the quality of life during their studies (Veloutsou et al., 2004).

3.2.2 Starting an apprenticeship

Another option for school graduates is the possibility to start an apprenticeship, which is a combination of vocational education and employment. An individual is developing skills and knowledge in a formal school setting needed for the field he or she is simultaneously already working in. Until the 1970s this form of assisted employment was seen as an alternative for those not wanting to attend school up until acquiring credentials to follow an academic path. Due to the decline in traditional industries, such as manufacturing, in the 1970s participant numbers dropped as the apprenticeship framework tended to be based around these fields. However, apprenticeships are experiencing a rise in popularity with increasing numbers since 2006. In the educational year 2017/2018 approximately 815,000 people participated in an apprenticeship alone in England, with 376,000 apprenticeships starting (Powell, 2019).

As seen in the subsection above, a young adult confronted with the decision to choose from a variety of options faces many influencing factors. Those components differ with regard to their content and composition but nevertheless present themselves similar to either prospective university students or apprentices. Individual traits and preferences, influence from teachers, parents and friends as well as financial considerations are being taken into account by the individual. Furthermore, the overall labour market conditions and governmental financial aid are likely to be evaluated, as apprentice wages differ highly between occupational fields and sometimes are not high enough to make a living out of them. Additionally, deciding to follow vocational training at institutions such as private schools comes with the additional burden of tuition fees. The UK government provides a special funding scheme for eligible students (Lee, 2012). Geographical proximity is of special interest for future apprentices, as, depending on the field of work, school and location of employment might not be in close proximity of each other.

Another factor that could have an influence on the decision to start an apprenticeship is the overall negative perception and the established belief that a university degree has a higher

value than an apprenticeship. “What is damaging are those criticisms about how apprenticeships work and what they achieve. Many young people, parents, teachers and employers have negative perceptions [...]” (Lee, 2012 p.228). Stereotypes such as ‘apprenticeships are only for the underprivileged and those that are less academically capable, they have limited options, are not paid well, are only suitable for males and are physically demanding’ have impacted the number of take-ups on apprenticeship places (Lee, 2012). As those accusations are known to be widely untrue, actual revelations in the UK on companies using apprentices as cheap labour and providing poor quality training rank among the more verifiable concerns (Lee, 2012).

3.2.3 Entering the labour market

Directly going into workforce is another, less widely distributed, option for school graduates. It constitutes the least advantageous position to enter the labour market compared to the two paths described above. Young adults directly starting to work are often young, inexperienced and neither have a university degree nor a diploma finished apprenticeship, which both certify theoretical and/ or practical knowledge in a certain field (Mortimer, 2009).

The jobs these young adults enter are often characterised by temporary and part-time work and long periods of ‘floundering’ – “moving between jobs that are often little different from jobs held during school, before settling into full-time work with ‘career’ potential” (Mortimer, 2009 p.151). However, Mortimer (2009) has shown that the transition from those ‘survival’ jobs to more stable full-time career jobs has become more and more challenging for young adults. Next to high school grades employees without any additional qualification need varying resources – intellectual, psychological, social, cultural as well as human capital – in order to succeed on the labour market. He furthermore found that students who already worked in student jobs during school years move more often directly into work compared to their classmates that did not have a job. Those who have not only worked during their school time but were highly invested teenage workers (averaging more than 10 hours per week) are also less likely to obtain university degrees (Mortimer, 2009).

Factors to be considered important for students deciding to directly enter the labour market upon graduation include mainly monetary circumstances. Being employed renders them financially independent. Furthermore, this group of young workers highly values experience in the work field and is not interested in theoretical knowledge transfer (Mortimer, 2009).

3.3 Leaving the parental home

One of the markers for the transition from youth to adulthood is considered to be the move out of the parental home. It marks not only an important event in the parent-child relationship but also the start of an independent life and often happens simultaneously to the graduation from school (Mulder, 2009).

As described above, young adults have a multitude of reasons to leave the parental home. While enrolment in higher education and starting employment are the most prominent cases, others leave home to form a partnership, to marry or because they want to gain independence from their parents. However, this independence can often only be guaranteed if the individual receives an income or is otherwise financially secured (Mulder, 2009). The factors underlying these different ways of leaving are hard to disentangle as they sometimes form a long time before the actual move out of the parental home is carried out. Determinants of leaving include normative patterns, social pathways, external restrictions, economic conditions, the housing situation as well as individual preferences and resources. The latter one is often found in the family of origin and expressed through financial resources that can have a great impact on the timing of the leave (Iacovou, 2010).

The family structure plays an important role in leaving home as well. Mitchell et al. (1989, for Canada) and Aquilino (1991, for the US) have both shown that children of divorced

parents or those living in step-family formation tend to move out at an earlier age compared to those living in traditional family models. Using British data, Bayrakdar and Coulter (2018) recently found evidence for a decreased likelihood of departing from the parental home to live alone by living with both biological parents.

Explanations for the increased rates of parental co-residence after graduating from school often point out growing restrictions for young people and their abilities to follow their residential preferences. They highlight unemployment, job insecurity, low pay in the first years on a job, welfare retrenchment, housing access and affordability as well as tuition fees and debts that hinder individuals to successfully enter the rental market (Bayrakdar and Coulter, 2018). “The growing difficulty of overcoming these constraints could mean that parental resources and intergenerational support are now critical factors in young people's home-leaving decisions” (McKee, 2012 p.857). All in all, young adults' residential pathways are, amongst other factors, shaped by the complex patterns of choice and constraint that are generated by disparities in family circumstances and external structures.

3.4 Returning to school – Completing secondary education as an adult

Apart from the most common process of the transition to adulthood with graduating from school, choosing an occupation and leaving the parental home, alternative ways to education exist that should not be left unconsidered when investigating the behaviour of school graduates. One of those pathways is returning to school and completing secondary education as an adult. While more recent cohorts have remained in education longer, previous generations have, on average, a lower educational attainment. The rising demand for a highly skilled and well-qualified workforce has increased the share of adults catching up on their education and qualifications (Jenkins, 2017).

Jenkins (2017) found an increase of adults returning to education in order to gain qualifications on different levels in the past 30 years in the UK. Thereby, the A Levels, which are similar to a high school diploma and are the entry requirement to attend higher education, have experienced the most growth (Deer, 2003; Jenkins, 2017). Reasons for the so-called ‘second-chance education’ among adults that are often already established on the labour market include requirements from a potential employer for a desired position, financial prospects that might come with higher educational attainment as well as personal aspirations. Since these individuals are in a different stage of their lives as school graduates that have regularly stayed into education, they have been living on their own for a substantial amount of years (depending on when they choose to take up their education). Partnership or marriage as well as family formation might also have already happened.

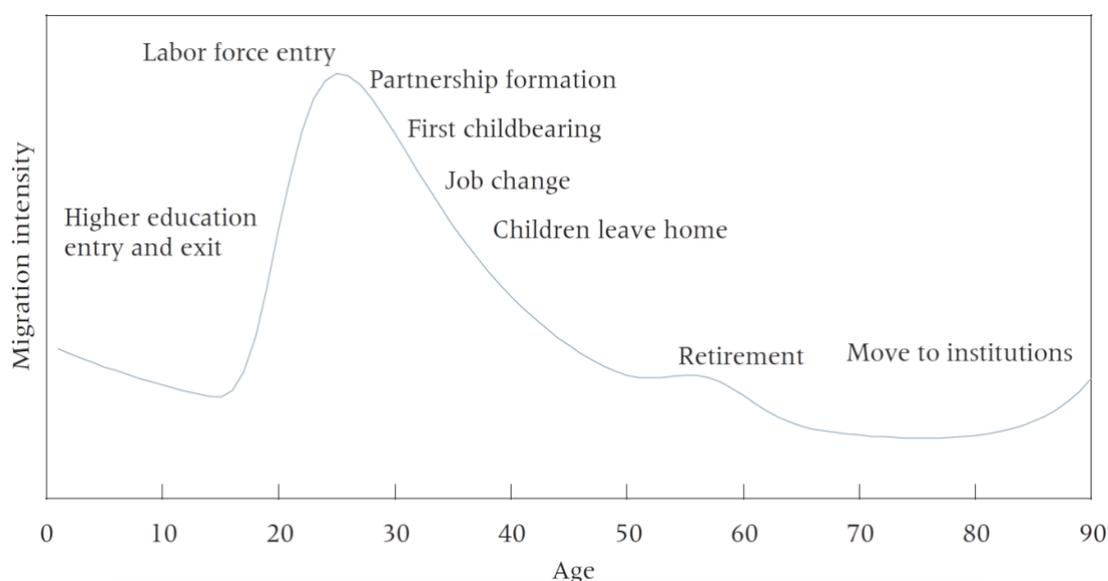
3.5 Staying put or moving away? – Internal migration

Once a young adult or an older one has graduated from school, the question about what to do also raises the one on where to do that, and whether to migrate or not. Often contrasted with residential mobility, migration is typically conceptualised as longer distance moves that, unlike residential mobility, exceed the daily activity space (DAS) (e.g. Clark and Maas, 2015). The DAS thereby can generally be defined as an area in which people exercise their daily activities and can be represented by either fixed spatial units, travel zones or predefined distances. The size itself is furthermore dependent on different socio-economic and demographic factors. It should be noted that no consensus about the measurement of migration exists. It can be measured in a variety of ways and studies propose using the daily activity space, administrative geographies, self-reported reasons for moving or distance thresholds (Clark and Maas, 2015). The latter design is widely spread and many studies investigating migration in Europe use a distance of 50 km as a threshold to indicate migration as this distance allows for daily interaction in most cases (Stillwell and Thomas, 2016). Depending on the specific context and

research aim, other distances have been used. The present study defines migration once a move exceeds the threshold of 50 km. A more straightforward distinction can be made between internal and international migration, whereby internal migration is considered as migration within a geopolitical entity, usually a nation-state. Migration in this paper always refers to internal migration if not specifically stated otherwise.

Migration is a highly age-selective process, with the propensity to migrate peaking at young adult ages. A substantial share of these young adults are students in post-compulsory education and employees migrating for their first job on the labour market (Lundholm, 2007). Underlying the regularities seen in [Figure 1](#) is a set of life course transitions, which include life events such as entry to higher education as well as entry to the labour force (Bernard, 2014).

Figure 1. Typical age profile of migration and key life course transitions.



(Source: Bernard et al., 2014 p.215).

To identify factors that are associated with the decision to change the location of residence or not, many models and explanations have been developed over the years. One of them was established by De Jong and Fawcett (1981). Their framework revolves around the value-expectancy model of migration decision-making behaviour, which is based on the idea that “the strength of a tendency to act in a certain way [to migrate] depends on the expectancy that the act will be followed by a given goal and the value of that goal to the individual” (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981 p.47). As the outcome is whether or not to migrate, De Jong and Fawcett propose to specify the personal values and goals that might be met by moving. Seven conceptual categories cluster potential values or goals related to moving, which are labelled wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation, and morality. [Table 1](#) presents the potential indicators related to these categories. In their model they argue that individual and household level characteristics, societal and cultural norms, personal traits as well as the macro-level opportunity structure all have an impact on the respective goals that an individual expects after moving and thus shape the decision-making behaviour. However, they also state that the strength of the effect can differ depending on the stage in the life course, the trajectory at stake and the reason for a potential move (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981).

Likewise, Fielding (2011) proposes to distinguish migration-related goals and models along the reason for a prospective move and maps ‘Education migration’, ‘Labour migration’ and ‘Housing migration’ as the three most common reasons for moving. Applying this to [Table](#)

1 implies that the expected values and their impact-strength a person associates with a move differ with regard to the respective situation and reasons. Conversely, if the desired goals have already been met, a person might decide not to migrate.

Table 1. Values and goals related to migration.

General values/ goals	Indicators of values/ goals
Wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High and stable income and economic security - Economic security (in old age) - Being able to afford basic needs and some luxuries - Access to welfare payments and other benefits
Status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prestigious job - Being looked up to in community - Obtaining good education - Power and influence
Comfort	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ‘Easy’ job - Living in a pleasant community - Ample for leisure time - Comfortable housing
Stimulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fun and excitement - Doing new things - Being able to meet variety of people - Active lifestyle
Autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic independence - Freedom of speech and action - Privacy - Being on your own
Affiliation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Living near family and friends - Being part of a group or community - Having a lot of friends - Being with spouse/ prospective spouse
Morality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Virtuous life - Practice religion - Exposing children to good influences - Community with favourable moral climate

(Source: De Jong and Fawcett, 1981 p.50).

Hence turning to the reason for internal migration and taking into account that migration for education and migration for employment are the most prominent reasons to change the location of residency for school graduates, it is important to distinguish between these two groups.

Migration for education – It firstly should be noted that educationally induced relocations have not been a distinctive topic of research into internal migration processes in the UK before the 1990s (Smith and Jons, 2015). This is however contradictive to the widely accepted and proven statement that “the UK system of higher education is generally predicated on an underlying assumption that young people will move away from their parental/ guardian home and migrate to another region to undertake their university studies” (Chatterton, 2010

p.111). Likewise, Faggian and McCann (2009) state that compared to other European countries Britain has extremely high rates of long-distance moves to attend university. At the same time, Christie (2007) found an increase in the tendency to attend local higher education institutions in the UK both for economic reasons as well as reported “emotional attachments to locally based networks of family and friends” (Christie, 2007 p. 2445). The distribution of students that do migrate is thereby highly uneven with an association of prestigious and elite universities and young adults from wealthy and high SES backgrounds. As the application process to any university in the UK is centralised and based on academic records this clustering is mostly due to the lower attainment of students from disadvantaged backgrounds, higher housing prices and general costs of living in certain ‘studentified’ cities (Smith and Jons, 2015). Another distinction was revealed by Finney (2011) finding evidence for increased mobility among UK university students without an immigration background as well as reduced chances to migrate for young adults from Black and South Asian ethnic groups. A report from the Bertelsmann Foundation furthermore revealed that fewer students from single-parent families enroll in post-secondary education (Klett-Davies, 2016). This was traced back to the discontinuation of child maintenance payments after the child has graduated from school with A Levels. Single parents do not receive guaranteed support if their child wants to go to university. This suggests that migration rates among those students that decide to enroll in higher education will be substantially lower than those from two-parent households. Research into decision-making behaviour of prospective tertiary education students revealed that an urban location of the institution as well as its surroundings play an important role (Veloutsou et al. 2004).

Migration for employment – Considering individuals who migrate for job-related reasons, one should distinguish between those who migrate for employment from an independent household and those migrating out of the parental home for their first job, with the latter case being a rather complex process over time. Evidence from England highlights that students moving into employment and their first independent living situation experience multiple moves between the parental home and new residences close to employment before settling into a stable and long-term residency (Green, 2007; Sage et al. 2013). Focussing on rural-urban migration, research into school-to-work transition has shown an increased share of graduates migrating into urban regions to start their first jobs. This is assumed to be related to higher wage potential, lifestyle amenities and possibilities for development (Browne, 2017).

3.6 The impact of family and local ties on internal migration

Turning back to [Table 1](#), De Jong and Fawcett mention affiliation as one of the goals related to migration. They explain that the expectation to accompany a spouse or to join close friends and family who have migrated earlier is an important driver in the migration decision-making process. They also argue that investigating the reasons for migration should include factors that prevent migration. From a cognitive perspective, a person has to have personally valued goals that she or he expects to be fulfilled by moving. If this person either has no unmet goals, all goals are already achieved or they are expected to be fulfilled by staying, applying a cost-benefit framework results in the decision not to migrate (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981). Associating this with the goal of affiliation, this section investigates the relationship between family and local ties and internal (non-)migration.

3.6.1 Family ties

De Jong and Fawcett (1981) dedicate an entire section to the family and its influence as a motive for migration. They argue that family and friends in the area of origin are an important determinant of the decision to stay and that they, if living elsewhere, can equally become a strong pull-factor for a potential area of destination. They can exercise an impact through household events in the life course such as family formation and extension, divorce or

separation. But this is not necessarily the case. In addition to the dimension of family change causing migration, family and friends can also have an impact on the migration behaviour without being an actual part of or reason for the change, as the wish to have a close relation with members of the own family “may reduce both the incentive and the cognitive availability of migration if family members reside in the home community, or it may act as an incentive and a motive for the decision to migrate if there are family members who have already left the home community” (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981 p. 243).

As distance is a strong predictor of support and contact, staying in close proximity to family members presupposes a more frequent and intense contact as well as increased possibilities for the provision of care. This is true for both elderly as well as child care in various European countries and has been shown repeatedly (e.g. Hank, 2007 or Knijn and Liefbroer, 2006). Zorlu (2009), using data from the Netherlands, found evidence for stronger family ties among immigrants than among native Dutch. Those with an immigration background were less likely to migrate to another region if many family members such as parents and siblings were either living in the same household or close by. This was traced back to a stronger attachment and orientation to family, a more traditional lifestyle, higher intensity of family contacts and stronger solidarity within immigrant families (Zorlu, 2009).

Focussing on the distance to parents and the likelihood of moving over longer distances in Britain, Ermisch and Mulder (2018) found that living far from parents increases moves over a longer distance and that increased interactions with neighbours and weekly interaction with parents reduces the likelihood of long-distance mobility. Connecting this finding to the parent-child relationship of school graduates that are about to migrate out of the parental home introduces a special constellation. Parents are usually responsible for the upbringing, socialisation and provision of resources, both financial and social, for their children. They play an important role by providing emotional care and closeness, social contact and support, which changes during the growing-up and often develops into a more equal relationship as the child reaches adulthood (Kan, 2007; Mulder, 2009).

But why are family ties a strong force in the migration decision-making behaviour of individuals? One point of departure is the relationship between parents, children and siblings. Bengston, alone as well as along with colleagues (Bengston 2001; Bengston and Roberts, 1991; Silverstein and Bengston, 1997), has introduced the term of intergenerational solidarity, which characterises the close relationships within a nuclear family. They argue against the debated statement of ‘family decline’ by putting forward the importance of family bonds and solidarity in the face of demographic change, “longer years of shared lives” (Bengston, 2001 p. 1) and the increasing importance of intergenerational care and support both for children and the elderly. Bengston and Roberts (1991) distinguish between six important elements of parent-child cohesion that shape solidarity within the family – Association, affection, consensus, resource sharing, the strength of family norms and opportunity structure. They propose that especially affection, or rather the emotional attachment and the sharing of norms and values as well as resources and exchanges of assistance over a long period of time shape the wish of family members to be in close proximity of each other to exercise solidarity (Bengston and Roberts, 1991; Silverstein and Bengston, 1997).

In conclusion it has become visible that, even though family ties exercise an impact on the relocation behaviour of an individual, no consensus about its definition and measurements exists. One could sum up the term as a social group that consists of parents and their children living in a shared household. However, this is by no means encompassing as it expresses a rather narrow view on the concept of family, ignoring non-traditional household compositions such as step-family formations or third and fourth generations living within the same home. It furthermore only includes the nuclear family and leaves out familial ties outside the household both in close and far proximity. Examining the operationalisation of the construct family ties in

two research papers whose findings have been presented in this chapter shows that no accordance about its measurement exists. Ermisch and Mulder (2018) introduce the frequency of contact with as well as the proximity (measured in travel time) to the parents as an indicator for family ties, whereas Zorlu (2009) investigates the living constellation and household structure, such as living with siblings, both or one parent. Both label their outcomes as either 'strong' or 'weak' family ties. Taking this back to the theory of intergenerational solidarity, both studies rather focus on the element of structural solidarity, which describes the "opportunity structure for intergenerational relationships reflected in the number, type, and geographic proximity of family members" (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991 p. 857). To sum up, the constructs that can be used to operationalise family ties often depend both on the data and information available and on the characteristics of the group of interest. In this study, due to data availability, family ties are operationalised through ties inside of the household as the household structure will be the main determinant.

3.6.2 Local ties

Not only the family has proven to be a powerful force to prevent people from migrating and being residentially mobile. Research suggests that also friends and the social and local network, in the following summarised as local ties, have a negative impact on migration. Dawkins (2006) and Kan (2007) found evidence for decreased long-distance mobility among families with strong local ties and a well-developed social network. This effect was found to be even stronger among low-income families as local social ties seem to be even more binding for those. Additionally, Belot and Ermisch (2009), using data from the British Household Panel Survey, show that a larger number of close friends living nearby substantially reduces residential mobility and migration. This effect was found to be even higher among families with children.

Local ties can be found in almost every aspect of an individual's daily life and in its space as "location itself matters for the formation and maintenance of friendships and social contacts" (Belot and Ermisch, 2009 p.431). The most important source of local ties is the social network that can be expressed through the number of close friends, their residential proximity or the frequency of interacting face-to-face with them. Furthermore, it can be made up of local engagement of any kind. This can include participation in e.g. religious organisations, sports club or voluntary groups. The emotional attachment to the place of residency can also be labelled as a 'social tie' (Belot and Ermisch, 2009; Mulder and Malmberg, 2014). Some scholars furthermore include the family and work as indicators for local ties (e.g. Mulder and Malmberg, 2014). In any case, local ties produce a feeling of inclusion and belonging as individuals interact with friends and neighbours with whom they share activities in the same area and exchange care and support. Especially young adults, being in a life stage of extensive personal development, have shown to seek interactions "beyond local family ties to build a social network more in tune with their own values" (Burd, 2011 p.1). These ties take time to develop and tighten and severing them is a cost that comes with migrating.

Contrary to the above described results, which state that local ties decrease the likelihood of migration, Garip (2008) found evidence for a positive impact of local ties on residential mobility. Building on Bourdieu's concept of social capital, he focusses on the correlation between social capital and migration and found that individuals are more likely to migrate if social capital resources in the community and neighbourhood are high. He argues that local social capital, which can be seen as a form of local ties and is created when lasting networks of mutual recognition and association arise, enables individuals to migrate. Gaining social capital through relationships and social cohesion provides resources, which can influence the migration behaviour. Those with higher social capital have more resources, such as information, knowledge and support, and due to that might decide more often to migrate. Additionally, previous social capital might enable them to settle quicker, acculturate in the new

environment and build new ties, which in return can help to regain social capital (Clark et al., 2017; Garip, 2008; Mesch, 1998). Haug (2008), using Bulgarian and German census data, additionally found that social capital at the place of destination has a positive impact on migration intentions.

A last finding addresses local and social ties in rural areas. Many theories suggest that social interaction highly differs in rural and urban areas with strong ties characterising rural and formal or rationalised interactions (weak ties) describing urban areas. Rockenbauch and Sakdapolrak (2017), using data from the Global South, recently found that rural communities have higher potential to connect people and facilitate a flow of resources, information and knowledge thus strengthening the social cohesion and building generally high levels of social capital and strong ties between their members. According to the first findings of this section this could lead to decreased mobility in rural communities, whereas the latter results indicate an increased likelihood of migration. Including the tendency to migrate out of rural areas, particularly for young adults, Browne (2017) implies that individuals from rural areas that have strong local ties are especially likely to migrate.

As with family ties, no overall consensus exists on the definition and measurements of 'local ties'. Since Granovetter (1973) shaped the terminology of 'ties', most scholars were in line with his characterisation of individuals with strong ties as those that interact intensively and regularly and have a broad and multilinked social network, whereas a person with weak ties is rarely socially involved. Relating this to the concept of place, the here described studies have executed different operationalisations in order to measure local, social or local social ties. Mulder and Malmberg (2014) include whether an individual lives close to her or his place of birth, whether she or he is working close to home and if the parents and siblings live close by as indicators for local ties, whereas Belot and Ermisch (2009) measure the intensity of social ties as the location of the closest friends and the frequency of interacting face-to-face with them.

All in all, the overall particular situation of school graduates and their relocation behaviour in the face of family and local ties remains largely unexplored. These individuals find themselves in a phase of their lives that is characterised by many transitions and changes. This should be taken into account while studying their migration. Contemporary research acknowledges that relocation decisions are not made isolated but are often household decisions. However, school graduates have a special position with respect to their individual situation in a family. In most cases they have not formed a family on their own but are in the process of un-linking their lives and becoming independent from their parents, which is often inhibited by emotional and financial dependencies. It is therefore important to make a distinction between different household structures and their impact on migration. Regarding local engagement and ties, most studies also do not further account for different life stages and what this could mean for local participation and networks. Only one paper could be found that questions the relationship between local attachment and the migration behaviour of school graduates. Rephann (2002) theorises that students who are strongly attached to their place of upbringing might be more willing to enrol in higher education if they can continue to reside there. However, no research was carried out investigating this idea.

3.7 The British context

The British education system differs from other European ones and it also differs within the three countries forming GB. Students typically enter secondary education around 11 years old and receive their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) at age 16. The Scottish equivalent are the National 5 (N5) qualifications. After that education becomes optional and the so-called 'post-16 education' or further education (FE) can be performed in different ways. FE can either be vocational, meaning in combination with a work-based apprenticeship or job, or purely academic, which means the student will enrol in a school. This in turn can either happen

at a ‘sixth form’ or at a college. Both will lead to the examination of the A Levels after typically two years. This certificate is similar to a high school diploma and is the entry requirement to attend post-secondary education (Deer, 2003).

Education in Great Britain is rather choice-driven with the main function of grades to “provide an indication of the probability of success in studies at the next level and it is in fact that grades are a good predictor of the transition to A Levels in England [...]” (Jackson et al., 2012 p.161). Even though the system is choice-driven, school performance is still important as teachers give education and career advice based mostly on grades, because the admission to universities and programmes is also based on those. These grades are mainly a result from central public examinations (Jackson et al., 2012).

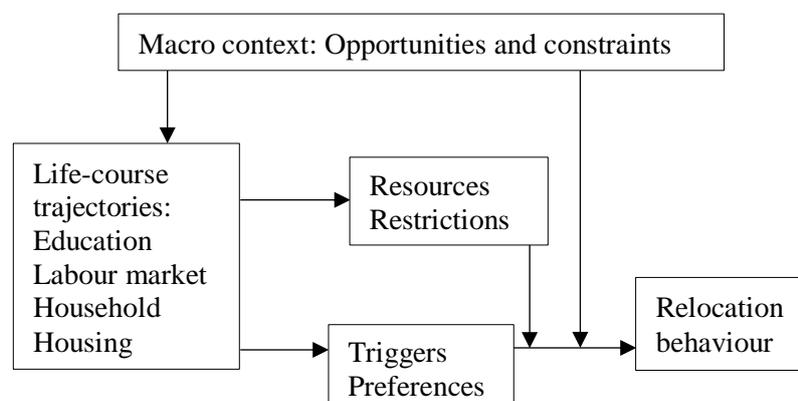
As already mentioned, compared to other European countries the United Kingdom shows high rates of long-distance moves to attend university and many scholars elaborated on the history of young people migrating out of their parental homes to undertake their studies in a different region (e.g. Faggian and McCann, 2009; Chatterton, 2010). As the move to a dormitory, or hall of residence, is most often obligatory for 1st year undergraduate students in Britain, only few students will continue to live with their parents. Therefore, the share of those moving out, even if they do not migrate, is extremely high.

In 2006, the United Kingdom introduced tuition fees of £3,000 per annum for each full-time student. This figure has increased dramatically each year and amounted to a fee of £9,250 per year in 2018 (Azmat et al., 2018). The amount is thereby dependent on the country of origin of a student as well as the course of study. As seen in Chapter 3.2.1 the decision-making behaviour of potential university students is complex with the financial burden being one of the influential factors (Veloutsou et al. 2004). Wilkins et al. (2012) have shown that with the drastic rise of tuition fees in 2011 financial issues now rank as the most important factor among students that consider enrolling in higher education in the UK. Higher education participation rates however have remained high and are increasing.

3.8 Conceptual framework

Following a life course approach along which the current research and literature has previously been presented, the research objective has been remodelled into a conceptual framework. The framework for residential relocations in the life course by Mulder and Hooimeijer (1999) provides its basis. As the value-expectancy model of migration decision-making behaviour by De Jong and Fawcett (1981) and especially their proposition of goals related to moving was found to be a suitable approach, parts of this theory are incorporated into the concept.

Figure 2. Residential relocations in the life course.

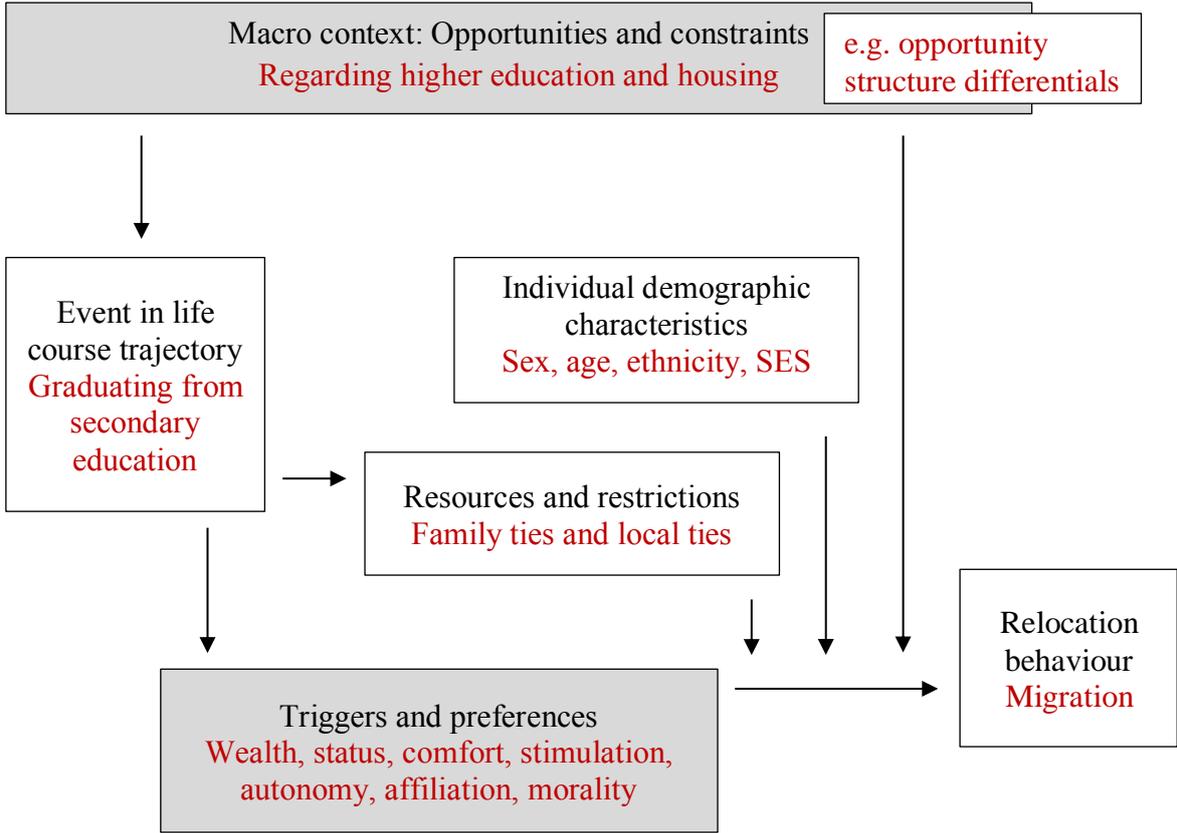


(Source: Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999 p.164).

Figure 2 shows the framework of residential relocations in the life course by Mulder and Hooimeijer (1999). It depicts how triggers from various life course trajectories generate a mismatch between the preferred and actual housing situation or location. The authors thereby distinguish between enabling and limiting circumstances on the macro (opportunities and constraints) and micro level (resources and restrictions).

Transforming this into a framework that accounts for a particular event in the life course and focusses on family and local ties as the main determinants of migration leads to Figure 3. The starting point forms a particular event in the life course, namely graduating from school. This event itself does not produce a potential mismatch between the actual and preferred residential location but it causes individuals to decide on a next step in their trajectories that in return includes decisions on migration. As the research objective is not primarily focused on the decision-making behaviour of school graduates, the framework does not consider this. The outcome or rather the actual migration behaviour is whether a school graduate migrates for whatever path she or he decides to follow. This behaviour is a consequence of personal preferences and triggers and is influenced by both circumstances on the micro and macro level.

Figure 3. Derived conceptual framework.



(Source: Based on Mulder and Hooimeijer (1999) and De Jong and Fawcett (1981); Note: Examples for each part are written in red, grey boxes are not part of the analysis).

The motive for moving, or the trigger, is a result of an event occurring in the life course trajectory and can be translated into certain preferences that require a new location or residence. These can range, according to De Jong and Fawcett (1981), from precise concepts to rather vague ideas (presented in Table 1). As described, the most common pathways of school

graduates lead either to higher education or to the labour market. It can be assumed that these groups pursue different goals or rank their importance differently. For young adults pursuing higher education the motive of wealth, expressed through educational attainment, might appear as the most prevalent one, but also autonomy from former structures and parental supervision, the perception of future status or prestige, the wish for a new location or cultural amenities in a city with many students can be personal motives that trigger the decision to relocate.

Resources as well as restrictions are themselves linked to the life course trajectories as they can be either needed to carry out the move or can act as an obstruction. In the given framework, family and local ties are the main forms of resource and/ or restriction that will be examined. As the literature review exposed, these ties can act as both facilitating or restricting factors. The case of Haug (2008) shows that social capital generated by local ties supports migration (local ties as resource), whereas Belot and Ermisch (2009) found a larger number of close friends living nearby substantially reducing residential mobility and migration (local ties as restriction). Since the same could be shown for family ties, the concept does not distinguish or predefine this function.

The individual demographic characteristics are transferred from the model by De Jong and Fawcett (1981) because current research has shown that determinants such as ethnicity, age or the socio-economic status can be influential on the decision-making behaviour (e.g. Finney, 201; Smith and Jons, 2015; Wilkins et al., 2012). These could be also interpreted as a form of resource or restriction, as done by Mulder and Hooimeijer (1999), but since the present research is primarily interested in family and local ties and their facilitating or restricting impact, demographic characteristics are listed and treated separately.

Focussing on the opportunities and constraints on the macro-level, a move can only take place, if a potential dwelling is available as well as, in the given case, an educational institution or a job vacancy, as this again determines the broader meaning of the move. These factors are external to the individual and part of the social context (Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). De Jong and Fawcett (1981) have a similar approach and include the opportunity structure between different areas as a determinant. In the given example the size or location of the settlement can be influential as Rockenbauch and Sakdapolrak (2017) found differences in social cohesion between rural and urban areas. Another example is the proximity to a potential workplace or institution of higher education (e.g. Lee, 2012).

All in all, this framework, in line with the research question, highlights the importance of family and local ties while also taking other determinants on the micro and macro level into account. It furthermore recognises that migration behaviour is a product of interactions between these aspects and should always be interpreted considering the specific life course trajectories of an individual. This is especially important in the given case, as school graduates who have followed the classical path of education have a different set of experiences and trajectories compared to those that have obtained their certificate through adult education.

3.9 Derived hypotheses

In line with the theoretical framework, seven hypotheses have been formulated to answer the research question. The first one addresses the decreased mobility for individuals that already have a family on their own with whom they are living. Costs of migration are higher as moving is more costly and furthermore means pulling out children of their known environment. Additionally, the personal and labour market-related preferences of the spouse have to be taken into account, which renders the decision to migrate to be made on the household level:

H1. Living with a partner (and children) reduces the likelihood of migration.

Hypothesis 2 states that living solo, meaning not anymore in the parental home but also not together with others, increases the chances of migration as individuals are unattached from household ties.

H2. Living solo increases the likelihood of migration.

Focussing on local ties, contradictory findings lead to hypotheses 3a and 3b. Being tightly connected through local ties can either decrease mobility, while local social capital, generated through local ties, can also enable individuals to migrate as it equips them with new perspectives, knowledge, support and the ability to adapt to new places by building new networks:

H3a. Local ties in the form of a well-developed social network inhibit mobility and thereby decrease the likelihood of migration.

H3b. Local ties enable mobility through local social capital and thereby increase the likelihood of migration.

The fourth hypothesis combines the higher potential to facilitate the development of local ties in rural areas with the stronger tendency for young adults to migrate out of rural settlements. This results in the following assumption:

H4. Local ties enable mobility through local social capital especially in rural areas, which leads to an increased likelihood of migration for individuals with local ties living in rural areas.

Concentrating on migration for education, H5 compares those that migrate for education to individuals that chose to enrol in a higher education institution locally. This focus introduces the discourse of tuition fees and the decreased resources of students from single-parent households. Students living in these situations are less likely to be mobile as migration to another region is expected to put additional financial pressure on the single parent. The hypothesis therefore states:

H5. Living in the parental household with only one parent present reduces the likelihood of migration for first-time enrolled students.

The two main types of migration – for either employment or education – are expected to be very different from each other, as individuals deciding to (re-)enter the labour market often have a different set of life course trajectories, divers motives and goals compared to those that enrol in post-secondary education after graduation from school. It can be assumed that the impact of local and family ties differs between these two groups. Up until this point, neither studies nor theoretical concepts exist that focus on the difference between these two types of migration and how they are influenced by family ties inside the household or local social ties.

The following hypothesis is therefore based on a combination of literature that partly examines this phenomenon as well as an understanding from the theoretical framework. Living with a partner and children has been shown to inhibit mobility. If an individual living in this household constellation decides to enrol in post-secondary education, it is more likely that he or she will attend the educational institution locally, as the costs of migrating with a family (financial, emotional and social) are not compensated by the expectation of future wealth as it is often the case with migration for employment. Additional years in education are expected to rather yield little to no income generated by the person attending. Furthermore, moving away

from the support system consisting of parents and friends that are potentially involved in the child care and the costs of pulling the child out of its known surroundings puts an additional burden on the move. Therefore:

H6. Living with a partner (and children) decreases the likelihood of migration for education more than the likelihood of migration for employment.

It can be assumed that further differences between the two types of migration will appear when comparing migration for employment to migration for education in the analysis. An additional expectation has been developed from the literature review that is related but not directly linked to family or local ties but can be investigated with given data. It picks up an assumption about the life course trajectory of school graduates enrolling in higher education and assumes that this subgroup will, if it decides to, migrate earlier than those entering the labour market. This might be due to the fact that enrolling at a university is often a gapless process for graduates. Even if not, the majority is expected to migrate after a maximum of three years, whereas employment initially after school is characterised by long periods of ‘floundering’. Settling into full-time work and thereby potentially migrating might take more years.

Lastly, the literature review suggests examining the interaction between stronger family ties and a reduced mobility for school graduates with an ethnic group membership other than white. However, this was unfortunately not possible due to the small sample size in the subcategory of individuals with an ethnic group membership other than white. To summarise the derived hypotheses [Table 2](#) provides an overview and additionally indicates the kinds of ties as well as the special type of migration the concerning hypothesis refers to.

Table 2. Detailed overview of hypotheses.

Hypothesis	Kind of ties	Type of migration
H1. Living with a partner (and children) reduces the likelihood of migration.	Family ties	Any migration
H2. Living solo increases the likelihood of migration.	Family ties	Any migration
H3a. Local ties in the form of a well-developed social network inhibit mobility and thereby decrease the likelihood of migration.	Local ties	Any migration
H3b. Local ties enable mobility through local social capital and thereby increase the likelihood of migration.	Local ties	Any migration
H4. Local ties enable mobility through local social capital especially in rural areas, which leads to an increased likelihood of migration for individuals with local ties living in rural areas.	Local ties * Type of settlement	Any migration
H5. Living in the parental household with only one parent present reduces the likelihood of migration for first-time enrolled students.	Family ties	Student migration
H6. Living with a partner (and children) decreases the likelihood of migration for education more than the likelihood of migration for employment.	Family ties	Migration for employment vs. for education

(Source: Own organisation).

4. DATA, VARIABLES AND METHODS

4.1 Survey

The empirical analyses were carried out using the British Household Panel Study (BHPS). The BHPS is a household-based panel study of 18 waves, which was conducted between 1991 and 2008. It was executed by the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) at the University of Essex with an initial sample of 10,300 individuals in 5,500 households from Great Britain. In 1999, additional samples of 1,500 households each from Scotland and Wales were added. The inclusion of 2,000 households from Northern Ireland in 2001 made the panel suitable not only for research within Great Britain but also the entire United Kingdom (University of Essex, 2018a). Amongst other data, it includes annual and biennial information on the constructs of interest such as household composition and data on networks and social engagement.

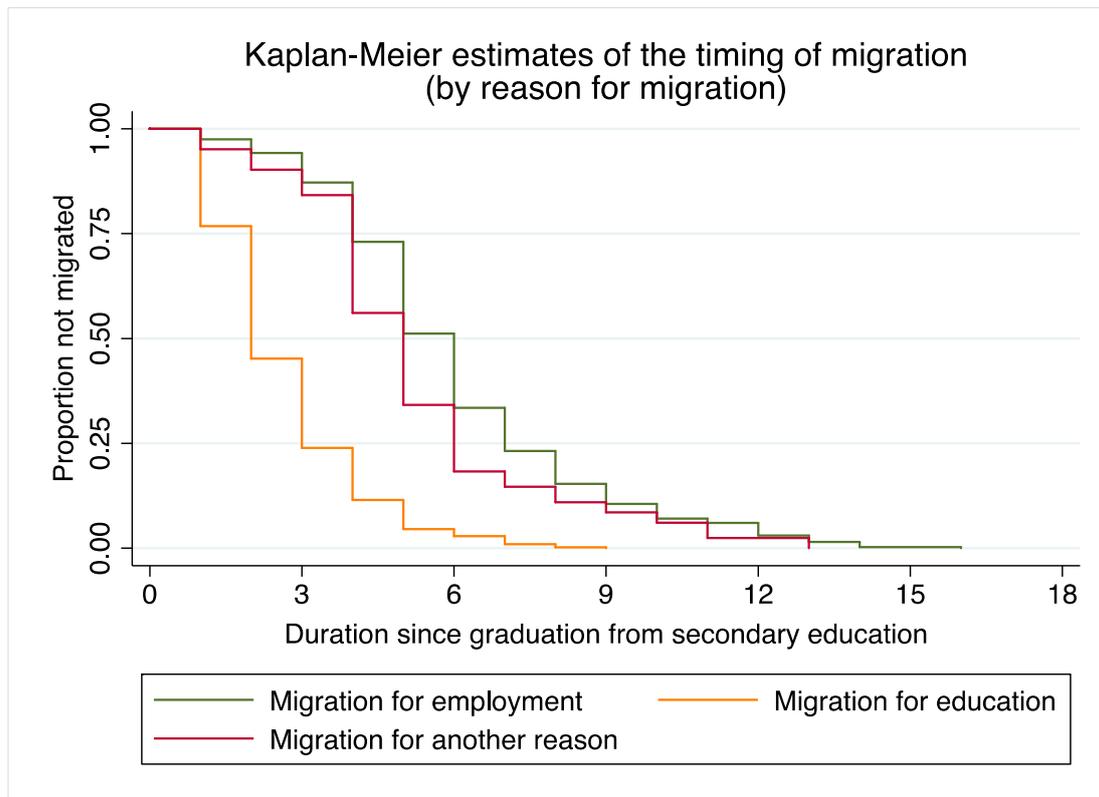
As a great advantage, it additionally provides finely grained information on the residential location. The lower-level geographical identifiers contain an average of 1,500 residents (or 650 households) and have an average radius of 0.76 km. Distances between places of residence can be calculated using the centroids of the area of residence employing the Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA) for England and Wales or the Data Zones (DZ) for Scotland (University of Essex, 2018b). Information was extracted from three different datafiles of the BHPS, namely the individual-level file, the household-level file and the LSOA and DZ file. Additionally, external data on the rural-urban classification for small area geographies as well as information on the centroids of the LSOA were used (Scottish Government Statistics, 2019; UK Office for National Statistics 2017).

4.2 Sample

As the research question focusses on school graduates migrating for the next step of their lives, the sample will contain individuals at risk of moving after graduating from secondary education. Each observation period starts one wave prior to graduation. To determine whether a person is a new school graduate, 'A Levels' have to be indicated to be the 'highest new qualification since last interview'. Individuals were followed until they either migrate for the first time or until after the last interview. No age truncation to the total sample was carried out in order to include also graduates from 'second-chance' and adult education. However, those that indicated to be new school graduates but are living in an elderly or retirement home (n=30) were deleted from the sample.

Information from all 18 waves of the BHPS was used and individuals were followed over a maximum of 7 years. The data were truncated after that, because migration for education poses the biggest migration flow (76%) and abates after 7 years. This can be seen below in [Figure 4](#), which shows the estimated proportion of individuals migrating over time and visualises the differences between the three subgroups of migration – for employment, education or another reason. It can be seen that the timing of migration highly differs for those migrating for education from the employment-related migration. During the onset of migration for education more people are migrating than for any other reason. It reaches its peak after two years with 35% migrating in said wave. Four years after receiving their school leaving certification almost 90% of those migrating for education carried out said migration, whereas only 50% of those migrating for employment-related reasons did so. Most of them (30%) migrated after five years.

Figure 4. Kaplan-Meier estimates of the timing of migration.



(Source: BHPS Waves 1-18).

As Northern Ireland was not included in the BHPS until wave 11, it won't be part of the analyses, which therefore are only based on data from Great Britain. The analysis covered 9,799 person-years of 2,156 individuals. 446 migrations were documented (see first rows of [Table 3](#)). Lastly, it should be noted that a small share of observations was not observed for certain waves but return later within the observation period. These gaps were rare and were left in the sample if the event of interest had not happened in between (no change of residential location) and if the gap was not bigger than three years. Nine observations had to be deleted due to a gap of four or more years. All in all, 131 cases had one missing wave in between the observations, 27 cases had a gap of two years and 12 cases had an unobserved time of three years. This can be seen in the last rows of [Table 3](#).

4.3 Measures

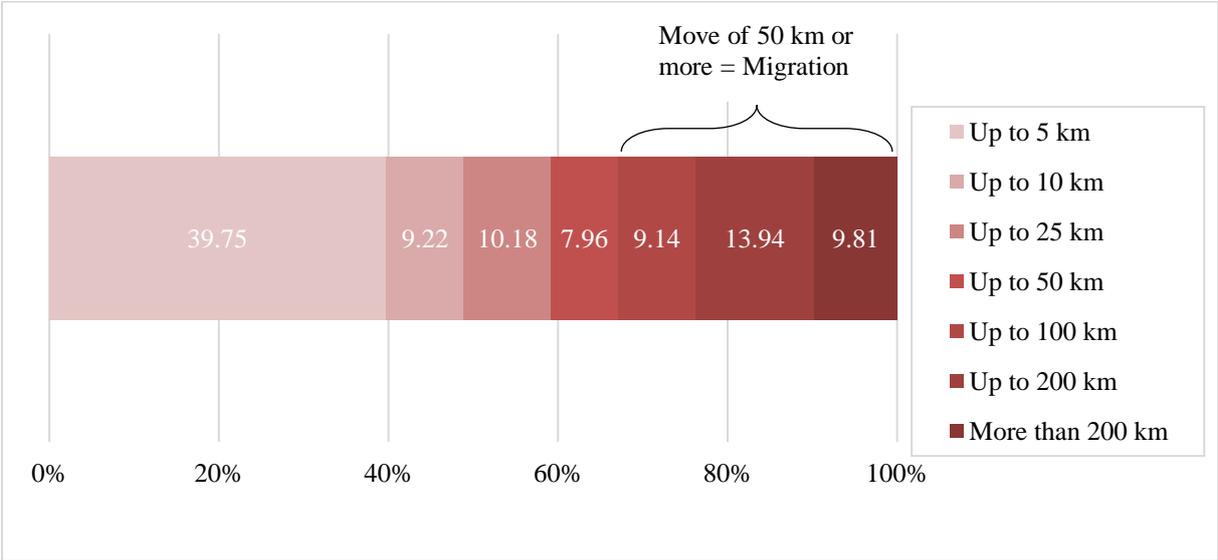
4.3.1 Internal migration

The dependent variable is internal migration. To evaluate whether a person changed their place of residence to an extent that it can be considered as migration, [Chapter 3.5](#) has elaborated on a theoretical definition and defined a threshold of 50 km. By comparing the geographical coordinates of residence of two waves, distances in kilometres can be estimated. If the value is equal to or bigger than 50 km, a dichotomous variable indicates that migration has occurred. For a more detailed analysis the dependent variable was also divided according to the reason for migration. To evaluate what the reason for migration was, the occupation after the move was observed. This results in the distinction between migration for employment, migration for education and migration for another reason. Unfortunately, the data did not allow for a further breakdown of information on education as the related interview question does not distinguish further than 'full-time student' until wave nine. Therefore, it is unknown whether the person is

enrolled at a university or at another higher education institution that requires A Levels as an entrance qualification, for example vocational training.

Figure 5 presents the distribution of moving distances in seven categories with the three most right categories regarded as migration. The overall sample presented 1,356 moves of whom 32.89% exceeded the threshold of 50 km and are considered migration (n=446). A small fraction of these moves did not happen within either England, Scotland or Wales but crossed their borders (n=9). These were exclusively relocations for education and occurred from either Scotland or Wales to England. They were kept in the sample, as Pennell and West (2005) argue that prospective university students in Great Britain “do not consider the country borders within Great Britain as going aboard and studying internationally but rather as a big move to the other side of a territory” (Pennell and West, 2005 p. 132).

Figure 5. Distribution of moving distances (in %).



(Source: BHPS Waves 1-18).

Operationalising migration on the basis of distances has two advantages for the given research compared to measuring whether a school graduate moved out of the parental home. Firstly, individuals can be investigated that do not live in a parental home anymore, because they have moved out to live solo, with a partner or family of their own. Secondly, regarding the migration for education, the move to a dormitory or hall of residence, is most often obligatory for 1st year students in Britain. Therefore, it would lead to a bias if all moves out of the parental home would count as migration for education.

4.3.2 Family and local ties

Information regarding family ties inside the household was accumulated on the basis of the household type and information on the reference person. Respondents were classified as one of the following: Living solo, living with both parents, living with one parent, living with partner (no distinction between married and unmarried), living with partner and own kids (biological, adopted and children of the partner taken into account) and living unrelated together with one or more person or other household constructs. Those indicating to be living solo with a dependent child were sorted into ‘other household structures’ as their share was small.

Following Clark et al. (2017) and Belot and Ermisch (2009), local ties were measured on the basis of three different indicators: Local engagement, average frequency of seeing closest

friends and whether or not the person liked the neighbourhood she or he was living in. Local engagement was operationalised by creating a scale that then was transformed into four categories. Membership and active participation in 10 different organisations were taken into account separately. Being a member and/ or participating actively in one or more of the following groups, clubs and organisations was considered: Political party, trade union, environmental, tenants, religious, community, social or voluntary service group, sports club or any other organisation. One point was awarded if a person was a member and an additional two points if this person also actively participated in the organisation. This created a 30-point scale with a mean of 2.33 (actual maximum was 17). Classifying the scale resulted in four categories: None (0 points), low (1 or 2 points), medium (3 or 4 points) or high local engagement (5 or more points). The average frequency of seeing the three closest friends is an averaged 4-point scale from the three variables ‘frequency of seeing closest, second closest and third closest friend’. It was classified into: Most days, at least once a week, at least once a month or less often than a month. Lastly, the satisfaction with the neighbourhood was dichotomised to ‘likes present neighbourhood’ (0/1). The information used to construct the scales for local engagement as well as the one for the average frequency of seeing closest friends was only asked biennially. Missing information was filled in with data from the previous year. If the data was missing in the first observation, it was filled in with the information from the following interview.

4.3.3 Control variables

Age is measured in four categories, namely 15-17, 18-20, 21-25 as well as 26 and older. Depending on the requirements of the different models and the type of migration analysed, these categories were be adjusted. Sex and ethnic group membership are dichotomised, whereas the latter one distinguishes between ‘white’ and ‘other’ due to too few cases of varying ethnic groups. The variable ‘country of residence’ has three categories, namely England, Scotland or Wales. A binary variable indicates the type of settlement (rural/ urban). A location is coded as ‘urban’ if its population exceeds 10,000. Household income was continuously measured by the real equivalised monthly household income using the modified OECD scale (Martin, 2017). Additionally, a binary variable indicates whether the index person subjectively regards the own financial situation as good (0) or not good (1).

4.4 Methods of analysis

A descriptive analysis of the distribution of all variables provides insight into the structure of the sample regarding migration, family and local ties as well as socioeconomic and demographic variables. A Kaplan-Meier survival analysis was employed to visualise the timing of migration distinguished according to the reason of migration. Furthermore, discrete-time event-history analyses were performed with migration as the dependent variable. The first model is a binary logistic regression of migrating versus staying (no distinction between reason for migration) to get an overview of the migrating individuals and to test most of the hypotheses. Secondly, a binary logistic regression of migration versus staying for the subsample of newly enrolled students in post-secondary education was established to compare those who migrate for education to those that attend a higher education institution locally. In this subsample age was truncated after 25 in order to avoid bias as migration for education is mostly prominent among individuals no older than 25, which can also be seen in [Table 3](#).

5. RESULTS

5.1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics for all variables as well as overall migration percentages and according to the migration type are presented in [Table 3](#). Regarding the dependent variable migration, almost 76%, which equals 337 moves, were due to education. Moves that could not be allocated to either employment or education were rare ($n=15$) and are made up of persons reporting to be either unemployed, inactive, on maternal-leave or carrying out family care.

It can be observed that more than half of the person-year sample has been living in the parental household with both parents present at some point during the observation. This group is most likely to migrate for education-related reasons (5.01%). Regarding local ties, the likelihood of migration is biggest for those that have indicated to have medium or high levels of local engagement. Individuals seeing their three best friends at least once a month are most likely to migrate regardless of the reason (5.56%).

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of person-years.

	Column %	Mean (std dev)	% migrated for:		
			Employment	Education	Total*
Number of person-years	9,799				
Number of individuals	2,156				
Number of migrations	446				
Migrated 50 km or more	4.55				
Mean migration distance	169.91	(100.74)			
Migration type					
Employment	21.08				
Education	75.56				
Other	3.36				
Household status					
Solo	4.17		1.47	1.96	3.91
With both parents	52.54		1.05	5.01	6.18
With 1 parent	12.85		1.03	4.29	5.56
With partner, no children	8.69		1.06	0.59	1.64
With partner, children	17.29		0.53	0.06	0.83
Unrelated or other	4.46		0.69	2.52	3.2
Level of local engagement					
None	19.3		0.69	3.38	4.23
Low	40.52		0.98	2.74	3.9
Medium	26.36		0.97	4.03	5.03
High	13.82		1.26	4.43	5.98
Freq. of seeing closest friends					
Most days	43.69		0.89	3.95	4.91
At least once a week	37.2		0.93	3.02	4.09
At least once a month	13.94		1.46	3.88	5.56
Less often	5.17		0.39	0.99	2.17

Table 3 continued

Likes present neighbourhood				
Yes	91.57	0.91	3.47	4.55
No	8.43	1.45	3.15	4.6
Age categories				
15-17	22.18	0.32	5.43	5.84
18-20	32.87	0.96	6.15	7.3
21-25	21.39	2.05	0.91	3.2
26 and older	23.56	0.56	0.09	0.74
Sex				
Female	53.93	0.96	3.41	4.52
Male	46.07	0.95	3.48	4.59
Ethnic group membership				
White	94.96	0.99	3.45	4.57
Other	5.04	0.4	3.24	4.25
Country of residence				
England	71.41	1.17	4.04	5.39
Scotland	14.81	0.41	2.76	3.17
Wales	13.79	0.44	1.04	1.7
Type of settlement				
Rural	24.47	1.5	4.84	6.51
Urban	75.53	0.78	2.99	3.92
Monthly household income**	1270.53(858.51)			
Subjective financial situation				
Good	70.36	0.86	3.55	4.55
Not too good or bad	29.64	1.21	3.17	4.55
Occupation status at to				
Employed	23.52			
In education	70.87			
Other	5.61			
Missing waves***				
1	1.34			
2	0.28			
3	0.12			

Source: BHPS Waves 1-18

* Includes mig. for education and employment as well as mig. for other reasons (not shown)

** Real equivalised household monthly income using the modified OECD scale

*** Number of waves with missing information within one index person

5.2 Multivariate analyses

5.2.1 The role of family ties

Table 4 presents a discrete-time event-history analysis employing a logistic regression with migration (no distinction of reason for migration) as a dependent variable. It can be used to test several hypotheses, such as H1, which states that living with a partner and children reduces the likelihood of migration. Keeping all other variables constant, school graduates living with a partner and children are less mobile than those living with both parents. They were estimated to be 49.9% ($\exp(-0.691)=0.501$; $(1-0.501)*100\%$) less likely to migrate. This difference was statistically significant ($p=0.052$). Graduates living with a partner, but no children were also estimated to be less likely to migrate. In terms of magnitude, this effect was not as big as the latter one, but also statistically significant ($p=0.099$). This results in a support of the H1. The likelihood of migrating is reduced by 38.7% ($\exp(-0.49)=0.613$) if living with a partner and by 49.9% if living with a partner and one or more children in the household compared to those living in the parental household with both parents present. This indicates that family ties do have an impact when it comes to migration.

Turning to H2, stating that living solo increases the chances of migration as individuals are unattached and free of household ties, the model in Table 4 confirms this effect ($b=0.192$). Compared to school graduates living with both parents, those living independently are indeed 21% ($\exp(0.192)=1.212$) more likely to migrate than those living in a traditional family model with two parents present. This effect is however less than half as big that the one for graduates in a household with a partner and kids and furthermore not statistically significant ($p=0.488$). H2 is therefore not supported. The current state in the life course provides an explanation, as individuals that are already living on their own while graduating from school are likely to make up the group of the 'second-chance education' pursuers. This group is on average older, has already settled in the labour market as well as in a residential location and most likely does not experience the consecutive life event of starting university or the first job. Iacovou (2010) provides another possible explanation, saying that those already living solo upon graduation are to be situated at the very start of their respective careers and are often not financially well off enough to handle a move to uncertainty.

Further investigating other effects of family ties, living with only one parent instead of both slightly increases the likelihood of migration. This finding is however not statistically significant. Even though the data do not provide statistical power to draw conclusions, living in a shared accommodation with unrelated others or in any other structure seems to be associated with decreased mobility. A potential explanation might be found in the undetectedness of other more family-like housing situations in this subgroup.

5.2.2 The role of local ties

Hypotheses 3a and 3b are contradictory and stating that local ties either inhibit or enable migration. The model was estimated using three different predictors for local ties: the level of local engagement, frequency of seeing closest friends, and the overall satisfaction with the neighbourhood. Inspecting the level of engagement in local organisations and clubs, it becomes apparent that being not at all engaged increases the likelihood to migrate compared to those being engaged on a low level. Keeping all other variables constant, school graduates that are not at all locally engaged are 60.3% ($\exp(0.472)=1.603$) more likely to migrate than those being engaged a bit (low level). This finding is highly significant ($p=0.001$). However, a similar, less influential, effect was found for medium levels of engagement. Being involved on an intermediate level increases the likelihood of residential mobility by 16% ($\exp(0.148)=1.16$). However, this finding does not have statistical power and should therefore not be interpreted. This is also true for high levels of local engagement, which show to decrease mobility.

Table 4. Logistic regression of migrating (ref. Staying); N=9,799

	Coef.	<i>p</i>
Household status (ref. With both parents)		
Solo	0.192	0.488
With 1 parent	0.084	0.550
With partner, no children	-0.490†	0.099
With partner, children	-0.691†	0.052
Unrelated or other type	-0.284	0.319
Level of local engagement (ref. Low)		
High	-0.016	0.912
Medium	0.148	0.237
None	0.472**	0.001
Average freq. of seeing closest friends (ref. Most days)		
At least once a week	-0.312	0.330
At least once a month	0.493**	0.001
Less often than once a month	-0.034	0.762
Does not like present neighbourhood (Does like)	0.040	0.824
Age (ref. 18-20)		
15-17	-0.157	0.182
21-25	-0.809***	0.000
26-30	-1.855**	0.001
31-35	-1.897**	0.002
36-40	-1.668**	0.003
41 and older	-2.168***	0.000
Female (ref. Male)	0.135	0.181
Ethnic group membership other than white (ref. White)	0.037	0.784
Country of residence (ref. England)		
Wales	-0.645***	0.000
Scotland	-1.258***	0.000
Type of settlement is rural (ref. Urban)	0.506***	0.000
OECD equal. monthly HH income	0.000*	0.030
Financial situation is not good (ref. Good)	0.018†	0.098
Constant	-2.443***	0.000

Note: †*p*<.10, **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001
Source: BHPS Waves 1-18

The estimates of the frequency of seeing closest friends tell a similar story. Those that see their friends at least once a month are more likely to migrate than those that see them on most days ($b=0.493$). The magnitude is comparable to the effect of no levels of local engagement and is statistically significant ($p=0.001$). Seeing them either less often than once a month or at least once a week slightly decreases mobility. Both coefficients are not significant and especially the strength of the estimate for seeing the closest friends less often than a month is weak ($b=-0.034$). Therefore, it can be concluded that an increased frequency of seeing the closest friends decreases the likelihood to migrate.

Lastly, the overall satisfaction with the current surroundings provides the information that being satisfied is associated with a decrease in the likelihood of moving away. However, no statistical significance and a small impact indicate no effect in the given sample.

All in all, the findings regarding local ties are mostly internally consistent. No instead of low local engagement increases mobility and seeing the closest friends only once a month instead of most days has the same effect. This provides support for the H3a, which states that local ties in the form of a well-developed social network inhibit mobility and thereby decrease the likelihood of migration. Especially the result of local engagement should be interpreted carefully as the effect could only be found for low levels and not for medium or high. This suggests that only being involved in the community a bit has an inhibiting effect, which disappears with increasing engagement. Nevertheless, the findings support H3a and to not indicate a confirmation of H3b.

To test H4, which is concerned with the facilitation of mobility through local ties and local social capital especially in rural areas, [Table 5](#) provides an interaction term between the type of settlement (rural/ urban) and the predictor of local engagement, as community-based social capital is most likely channelled through the level of local engagement.

Table 5. Logistic regression of migrating (ref. Staying); N=9,799

	Coef.	<i>p</i>
Level of local engagement (ref. Low)		
High	-0.143	0.416
Medium	-0.004	0.978
None	0.467**	0.007
Type of settlement is rural (ref. Urban)	0.298	0.103
Type of settlement * Local engagement (ref. Rural* Low)		
Rural * High	0.390	0.200
Rural * Medium	0.433†	0.097
Rural * None	0.021	0.945
Constant	-2.898***	0.000

Note: Same control variables as in [Table 4](#), results not shown;
†*p*<.10, **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001
Source: BHPS Waves 1-18

At first glance it becomes apparent that the estimator for the type of settlement, compared to [Table 4](#), does not provide any statistical power. In this model, living in a rural instead of an urban area does not have an impact on the likelihood of migration. The effects for levels of local engagement are almost similar to the model without an interaction effect.

Being locally engaged on a medium level, while living in a rural settlement increases mobility by 54.2% ($\exp(0.433)=1.542$) compared to low engagement in rural areas. Linking this to medium engagement in an urban environment, the model shows no comparable results and hypothesis 4 is hence supported. Local social capital, expressed through an intermediate level of local engagement, has a different effect on migration depending on the type of settlement. Being locally engaged enables migration when living in a rural settlement, while it inhibits it in an urban one.

5.2.3 Differences in the reason for migration

As the theoretical explanations have shown, the two presented types of migration differ with regard to underlying life course trajectories and personal goals. Studies have moreover shown that the migration behaviour of young adults for either education or employment-related reasons differ highly, which can also be traced back to differing plans and expectations. Turning to migration for education, H5 states that the likelihood of migrating for education is reduced if the prospective student is living in the parental household with only one parent present. To test this, [Table 6](#) presents a logistic regression of migrating for education among first-time enrolled students vs. not migrating and enrolling in a local educational institution. This subsample therefore only consists of respondents that have indicated to attend a tertiary educational institution either with or without prior migration after graduation from school.

Table 6. Logistic regression of migrating for education among first-time enrolled students (ref. Staying and getting enrolled in education); N=3,346

	Coef.	<i>p</i>
Household status (ref. With both parents)		
Solo	-0.201	0.609
With 1 parent	0.057	0.729
With partner, no children	-0.571*	0.034
With partner, children	-0.700	0.505
Unrelated or other type	0.005	0.988
Level of local engagement (ref. Low)		
High	0.043	0.799
Medium	0.252†	0.093
None	0.300†	0.090
Average freq. of seeing closest friends (ref. Most days)		
At least once a week	-0.353	0.460
At least once a month	0.422*	0.019
Less often than once a month	-0.004	0.977
Does not like present neighbourhood (ref. Does like)	0.082	0.716
Age (ref. 18-20)		
15-17	-0.435**	0.001
21-25	-0.931***	0.000
Female (ref. Male)	0.085	0.480
Ethnic group membership other than white (ref. White)	0.335	0.224
Country of residence (ref. England)		
Wales	-0.663***	0.000
Scotland	-1.681***	0.000
Type of settlement is rural (ref. Urban)	0.462***	0.000
OECD equal. monthly HH income	0.000*	0.018
Financial situation is not good (ref. Good)	0.306*	0.027
Constant	-2.659***	0.000

Note: Age truncated from 26 onwards;

†*p*<.10, **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

Source: BHPS Waves 1-18

The model shows that, according to the given data, the opposite is true. Living with one parent instead of both is associated with an increase in mobility for prospective university (or any other post-secondary educational institution) students by 5.9% ($\exp(0.057)=1.059$). Yet, this finding does not provide any statistical power. H5 is not supported. As the theoretical starting point of H5 is the small amount of financial resources that can be provided by single parents, solely looking at the household situation might lead to a bias, as children can still receive money from their other parent even if he or she does not live in the same household. Investigating the estimates for the perception of the financial situation, however, supports the rejection of H5, as prospective students are more likely to migrate if they perceive their own financial situation as not good. These students are 35.8% ($\exp(0.306)=1.358$) more likely to migrate for education than prospective students indicating their financial situation to be good.

Further investigating the different types of migration, [Table 7](#) provides a multinomial regression of migrating for employment or education vs. not migrating, which allows to examine possible differences in the impact of familial and local ties for graduates moving for varying reasons. H6 states that living with a partner (and children) decreases the likelihood of migration for education more than the likelihood of migration for employment. Individuals living with a partner are less likely to migrate for employment than those living with both parents in the parental home ($b=-0.230$). The same is true for those migrating for employment. The magnitude however is more than three times as big ($b=0.0782$). Both estimates reach statistical significance. Regarding individuals living with a partner and one or more children, both types of migration are less likely. Living in a household with a partner and children decreases employment-related mobility by 55.7% ($\exp(-0.815)=0.443$), whereas the likelihood for migration for employment is reduced by 88% ($\exp(-2.119)=0.12$) compared to those living with both parents. Seen in H1, Household migration is already less likely as it is a more complex process when migrating with an entire family and it is furthermore inhibited even more by the expectation of less income and fewer support when migrating for education. H6 is therefore supported.

What is also visible is the statistical insignificance of the estimates for local engagement and face-to-face contact with closest friends for the subgroup of labour market migrants. In this model, the first two predictors of local ties do not have an impact on the decision to migrate for employment. Surprisingly, the perception of the neighbourhood does have an effect on the migration behaviour that is statically significant ($p=0.014$). While keeping all other variables constant, not liking the present neighbourhood is associated with an increase in mobility for employment by 60.2% ($\exp(0.471)=1.602$) compared to graduates that do like their neighbourhood. This could not be found for prospective tertiary students migrating and further underlines the assumption of differences in values and goals related to moving for the two groups.

Table 7. Multinomial logistic regression of migrating for employment or education (ref. Staying); N=9,784*

	Migrated for employment		Migrated for education	
	Coef.	<i>p</i>	Coef.	<i>p</i>
Household status (ref. With both parents)				
Solo	0.088	0.853	0.043	0.909
With 1 parent	0.032	0.921	0.073	0.643
With partner, no children	-0.230†	0.056	-0.782†	0.098
With partner, children	-0.815†	0.091	-2.119**	0.005
Unrelated or other type	-0.604	0.323	-0.142	0.659
Level of local engagement (ref. Low)				
High	-0.293	0.368	0.055	0.738
Medium	-0.020	0.939	0.235*	0.014
None	0.351	0.238	0.505**	0.003
Average freq. of seeing closest friends (ref. Most days)				
At least once a week	-1.077	0.143	-0.573	0.218
At least once a month	0.401	0.165	0.486**	0.004
Less often than once a month	-0.147	0.545	-0.032	0.805
Does not like present neighbourhood (ref. Does like)				
	0.471*	0.014	-0.031	0.884
Age (ref. 18-20)				
15-17	-1.049*	0.013	-0.070	0.574
21-25	0.815**	0.001	-1.841***	0.000
26 and older	-0.122	0.784	-3.319***	0.000
Female (ref. Male)				
	0.147	0.493	0.139	0.227
Ethnic group membership other than white (ref. White)				
	0.981	0.178	-0.017	0.950
Country of residence (ref. England)				
Wales	-1.154**	0.007	-0.508**	0.004
Scotland	-0.921*	0.032	-1.537***	0.000
Type of settlement is rural (ref. Urban)				
	0.783***	0.000	0.436**	0.001
OECD equal. monthly HH income				
	0.000	0.635	0.000**	0.006
Financial situation is not good (ref. Good)				
	0.312	0.161	0.147	0.260
Constant				
	-4.863***	0.000	-2.689***	0.000

* Migration for other reasons (n=15) was excluded from this analysis

Note: †*p*<.10, **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

Source: BHPS Waves 1-18

5.2.4 Other findings

The effect of age on migration differs strongly between the models. The overall estimation of migration vs. no migration (Table 4) shows a tendency of an increased reduction of mobility with increasing age. The negative association of migrating with growing age is overall highly statistically significant and most likely due to the fact that moves for a consecutive occupation after graduating from school are carried out in the first few years, which renders the group most likely to move 18 to 20 years old. Consulting Table 7, this is also true for student migration, while migration for employment is most likely to happen for individuals aged 21 to 25. This is in line with the literature reporting that the peak propensity of moving might differ according to the chosen path and is expected later for labour market-related relocations (Mortimer, 2009). Including age squared to the models did not change the results in any model.

Sex as well as the membership to an ethnic group were not significant in any model. Especially the latter aspect is surprising, as previous research has empathised the differences in migration behaviour among individuals with a non-white background. As already mentioned, the small sample size could be a reason for the lack of statistical significance.

Living in Wales or Scotland instead of England is in all models associated with a strong and statistically significant decrease in the likelihood to migrate. This is also true for the effect of living in a rural instead of an urban settlement. The estimates for household income always were, even though significant in all models, zero. Satisfaction with the financial situation was exclusively significant in the model concerning migration for education (Table 6), suggesting that money matters most for prospective university students.

6. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this research the role of family ties inside the household and local ties in internal migration of school graduates in Great Britain was assessed. Using the BHPS and including graduates from secondary education in England, Scotland and Wales between 1991 and 2008, it could be shown that family as well as local ties do have an impact on school graduates deciding to migrate for the next step of their respective life courses. However, not all findings are straightforward and some of them should be interpreted with care.

Family ties – In line with previous findings, living with a partner or living with a partner and already having children reduces the likelihood to migrate compared to those that have previously lived in the parental home with both parents present (H1). Having a family by oneself turns the migration decision into a form of consensus finding. Not only the own preferences, goals and trajectories have to be taken into account but those of a partner as well.

Adding one or more children to this equation increases the costs of migration even more and results in decreased mobility in the sample. This was especially found to be true for school graduates pursuing higher education (H6). The outlook to years of learning rather than earning money in a different place and the loss of a child-care support system significantly reduces mobility for adults with partner and children.

Contrary to previous research (Bernard et al., 2014) arguing for increased flexibility and unattachment, graduates in the sample have not shown to be more mobile as living solo rather than with both parents in the parental home was not found to increase the likelihood of migration (H2). While being in the transition to independence, young adults have to balance resources and restrictions. Graduating from school opens up a multitude of options and at the same time involves a lot of decisions that have to be made and considerations to be taken into account. Living with both parents was found to be a resource rather than a restriction in the given sample. It was argued that parents, after providing years of emotional and financial support, form a strong tie. This tie has shown to enable graduates to move away and especially pursue higher education, as proven biggest for education-related moves. Yet, another string of thought suggests that young adults move away because they want to gain autonomy from former household structures and/or parental supervision.

Local ties – The outcomes regarding local ties are not overall consistent. H3a could be supported, as local ties in the form of a well-developed social network inhibit mobility and thereby decrease the likelihood of migration. This was however more evident for the frequency of seeing friends than for local engagement, as the latter case could only be found for low levels of involvement. This suggests that mainly friendship ties are important, as moving away drastically reduces opportunities for face-to-face contact. After introducing an interaction effect between the type of settlement and local engagement, H4 could be supported. Local social capital, expressed through an intermediate level of local engagement, has a different effect on migration depending on the type of settlement. Being locally engaged enables migration when living in a rural settlement, while it inhibits it in an urban one. The facilitation of mobility through local engagement could therefore only be supported for rural communities. This may work as follows: By participating in various clubs and social groups, individuals gain new insights and broaden their horizon. They meet new people, are exposed to different values and rise above their previous view of the world. This equips them with social capital, which in return does two things: It triggers the urge for new experiences in different places, as the term ‘global citizen’ describes, and furthermore helps migrants to acculturate in a new setting and find new networks. Combining this with the desire of young adults to migrate into urban areas due to fewer opportunities, lack of amenities and the urge not to ‘miss out’, local engagement in rural areas could enable mobility, as shown in this sample.

All in all, the impact of family as well as local ties has shown to be two-folded in the phase of transition after graduating from school. Both ties can be seen as forms of restrictions or resources. The own founded family restricts mobility, whereas support in the parental home can enable it. Similarly, friendship ties keep graduates in the place of origin, whereas local engagement, found only in rural settlements, increases mobility. Next to the new insights that have been presented, the strength of this research has been the inclusion of different types of school graduates living in different household structures as well as the detailed operationalisation of local ties. Especially the local social ties have highlighted the need to distinguish between enabling and limiting specifications of ties outside the household.

6.1 Limitations

While the BHPS provides valuable data on household structures and migration behaviour, it lacks information regarding certain controlling variables, which limits the findings and their scope. One of those is the operationalisation of family ties. Bengston and Roberts (1991), among others, propose to measure these ties along the frequency of interaction, types of common activities, ratings of affection, trust and respect or the concordance with values and beliefs. Solely investigating the household structure might have led to inaccurate results of family ties. Moreover, neither did the sample size allow to further differentiate additional forms of household structures such as living with siblings or less common situations, nor was a distinction for less prominent pathways after graduation possible. The migration behaviour of those starting an own business, doing a gap year or caring for family members would have been interesting to examine.

Furthermore, the data did not allow to explore the influence of school grades, potential funding and grants as well as individual preferences regarding specific universities and courses. If the respondent has a long hold wish to attend a specific university on the one side or is on the other side, due to his or her performances, limited to a small pool of possibilities, familial and local ties could be rendered irrelevant. As already mentioned, the inseparability of institutions offering further and higher education makes it impossible to assign apprenticeships to either labour market- or education-related moves.

Issues such as residential heterogeneity and spatial sorting can underly the analysis, as the models cannot be strictly causal. Families and individuals with different sets of resources such as income or abilities live in different settlements that in return vary in their proximity to universities and jobs. These settlements are not uniformly distributed over space. A low likelihood of migration could be the result of lacking financial resources or due to the fact that well-educated parents have already moved into an area with many educational options, which renders a later move of the child unnecessary. Gibbons and Vignoles have investigated this problem and summarise that “it is easy to mistakenly infer a causal linkage between distance and participation, when the causation comes from family background, income or ability” (Gibbons and Vignoles, 2012 p.98).

6.2 Future research

Additional aspects can develop new insights. Including the timing of migration not only according to the reasons of the move but also in relation to different household structures can reveal whether the findings by Bayrakdar and Coulter (2018) are also true for school graduates. It could be of interest to investigate the duration of residence in the current location to determine whether ties, especially local and friendship ties, strengthen over time and become even more important. Additionally, measuring the duration of the partnership the person is living in as well as the age of children can show if the impact changes. Most likely due to the small sample size and too few cases in categories, the data did not allow to investigate the relationship between migration and ethnicity (Smith and Jons, 2015).

In the future, research might contribute to a better understanding of the special transition section in the life course of young adult by observing their migration behaviour over a couple of years. This research stopped after the first move but following the respondent longer can give insights on the consistency and duration of decisions made in the young adulthood. Schwanitz et al. (2017) did this for the transition out of the parental home and incorporating migration behaviour for education or employment could refine this approach.

In conclusion, future research will be needed to understand the special situation of young adults in the context of destandardised life course trajectories, changing personal preferences and a globalised labour market. For now, this research contributed to findings on the importance of family, both as a restricting and enabling factor, as well as the heterogenous impact of friendship networks and local participation.

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