Understanding the drivers of internal migration

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Abstract

This chapter reviews the complex factors that are associated with deciding to change address (or not). It considers how changing national aggregate levels of internal migration are a function of shifts in population composition (the proportionate increase or decrease of more or less mobile groups) and changes in the behaviour of these population sub-groups. It does this by examining the interplay of five groups of factors; (1) changing demography, (2) macro-economic and labour market factors, (3) technological developments, (4) societal and non-economic considerations and (5) other markets, regulatory and institutional structures. These factors sometimes pull in the same direction and sometimes work against each other. Whereas some, such as ageing, unambiguously reduce migration, others, like technological change, simultaneously enable mobility and immobility. It concludes by arguing that national institutions and policies may lead to country differences in the aggregate impact of some of the drivers of internal migration.

Internal migration plays a key role in national well-being because of its effects on economic, social and demographic change. It can be a major factor in patterns of population and employment growth and decline within countries. It has been identified as fundamental to the efficient functioning of economies and housing markets, as well enabling individuals and families to achieve their goals and aspirations (Bell et al., 2015; Bernard et al., 2014). In so doing, individuals and families make individual, household, economic and non-economic trade-offs (Clark and Maas, 2015). Such decision-making is highly complex, with the role of different factors varying in importance according to the reason for moving and the distance moved. Classical theories of mobility tend to major on the broad distinction between moves over longer distances being motivated primarily by job-related considerations and those over shorter distances more by housing and neighbourhood ones (Boheim and Taylor, 2007; Coulter and Scott, 2015). In reality, however, the situation is much more varied than this.

This chapter draws on the existing literature to demonstrate the multiplicity of factors driving internal migration in its various forms and, in the context of this book’s central aim of achieving a better understanding of long-term trends in migration intensities, provides an a priori assessment of whether changes in these factors might be expected to lead to an increase or a decrease in frequency of address-changing. It does this by examining five main groups of drivers relating to: (1) changing demography, (2) macro-economic and labour market factors, (3) technological developments, (4) societal and non-economic considerations and (5) other markets, regulatory and institutional structures. The first four of these may be considered generic, in that similar trends may be anticipated across the world, whereas in the case of the fifth group greater variability can be expected between countries due to their distinctive histories and cultures. Inevitably, some key trends and issues cut across the boundaries of these five groups and such intersections are highlighted below.
It should be noted that trends in internal migration are a function of two broad sets of factors: compositional changes, defined in terms of the changing distribution of the population between subgroups associated with higher and lower migration propensities, and behavioural changes, defined as trends over time in the level of residential mobility of individual population sub-groups. Compositional change and behavioural change may reinforce each other in leading to an increase or decrease in internal migration, but this is not necessarily the case: compositional change may lead to an expectation of increased internal migration but behaviour change might indicate a decrease in internal migration—possibly leading to an aggregate outcome of no change. In this chapter, an attempt is made to separate out the implications for these two broad sets of changes for mobility trends.

It is also the case that internal migration is only one form of spatial mobility. Besides internal migration itself subsuming both long- and short-distance migration as just mentioned, other types of spatial mobility—notably commuting—that Zelinsky (1971) termed ‘circulation’ can act as a substitute for internal migration. Hence, where feasible and appropriate, a distinction is made in this chapter between whether the drivers and trends outlined might be expected to lead to an increase or a decrease in the intensity of movement for (a) long-distance internal migration, (b) short-distance internal migration, and (c) circulation. However, as we shall see, often the expected direction of change is not clear cut, in which case the outcome is labelled unclear. The next five sections of the chapter discusses each of the five different groups of drivers in turn, while the final section provides an overall assessment of how and whether the drivers identified might be leading to changes in internal migration propensities and volumes.

Changing demography

This section considers four aspects of demographic change in turn: the age profile of the population, the changing ethnic make-up and diversity of the population, trends in international migration and household structures and living arrangements.

Age

Age is a key determinant in migration and is sure to remain so. Age may be considered a proxy for the life course, given that key migration events (e.g. moves to higher education, first jobs, family formation, birth of children, retirement and ill-health and housing equity release) tend to occur progressively through the life course. At the same time, variations in cultural context, social norms, economic conditions and institutional structures mean that there are detailed differences in the timing and sequencing of life-course events by age (Bernard et al., 2014).

Propensities to migrate, and reasons for migration, vary over the life course (Coulter and Scott, 2015). The key feature of the age profile of migration highlighted in the migration literature is that rates of migration are highest for young adults, a substantial proportion of whom are students or graduates, associated with participation in post-compulsory education (Lundholm, 2007) and first job (Lomax and Rees, 2015). The propensity to move then declines with age as individuals accumulate ‘commitments’—such as children or an employed partner—which tend to make
migration decisions more complex and costly (Coulter and Scott, 2015). However an aggregate migration schedule by age disguises considerable heterogeneity of experience within age groups—and volumes and patterns of internal moves are related also to household structures (discussed in a later sub-section) and economic circumstances (considered in the next section).

The key feature of change across all case study countries in this volume is the ageing of the population, characterised by a greater share of the population in older age groups and a reduced proportion in younger age groups. In compositional terms, this would be expected to be associated with an overall decrease in internal migration because individuals in older age groups tend to be less migratory than those in younger age groups.

In terms of behaviour change amongst young adults, a trend towards increased participation in higher education might be expected to lead to an increase in long-distance migration. Evidence from Sweden indicates a long-term increase in inter-regional migration amongst students (Lundholm, 2007). However, a greater tendency towards attending more local higher education institutions (Christie, 2007) in a country such as the UK, with a tradition of going away to university, may counter this trend.

A broader tendency is for young people to stay in the parental home for longer (Lennartz et al., 2016) and/or move back and forth from the parental home before establishing a more stable independent household, which means that young people may be more migratory (over both long- and short-distances) over an extended period. Evidence from Southampton, England highlights that the migration experience of students moving into employment is often complex, involving multiple temporary moves between place of study, parental home and a residence close to a new place of employment (Sage et al., 2013). However, in the USA there is evidence that the younger age groups migrated less often in 2009 than in 1999 (Cooke, 2011). There is some evidence that car usage amongst young adults is in decline in Europe, as they wait longer to get a driving licence and use greener modes of transport. This might lead to a decrease in circulation.

Amongst adults in the middle of the age range, a desire for ‘rootedness’ (in part to provide stability for children’s education) may be expected to lead to a reduced propensity for internal migration, and within this a predominance of short-distance housing related moves amongst internal moves—with labour market adjustments made through increased circulation.

With the lengthening of the lifespan, amongst older adults it seems appropriate to distinguish the younger ones who, if they are owner-occupiers, might move to release equity in property and/or to adjust to new lifestyle in a longer physically active old age. Indeed, evidence from Sweden indicates that migration propensity for these was higher in 2001 than in 1970 (Lundholm, 2007). In addition, they may have caring responsibilities for grandchildren and/or for elderly parents—involving travelling to (mainly local) locations. Amongst this sub-group these trends might be expected to lead to increases in both long- and short-distance internal migration and also to increased circulation. For the very elderly, moves may take place over short distances primarily to adjust to the vulnerabilities of the ageing body and associated care requirements (Lundholm and Malmberg, 2009; Findlay et al., 2015). While this might be expected to lead to more short-distance moves amongst the very elderly, trends toward a greater emphasis on independent living may mean fewer movers, so leading to an overall decrease in internal migration for this group.
Ethnicity and diversity

Changes in the ethnic composition and diversity of populations may impact on the volume and types of internal migration. Evidence from the UK suggests that, although there are differences in migration propensities by ethnic group (e.g. see Hussain and Stillwell, 2008) and in internal migration distances (e.g. with Chinese people tending to move over longer distances more than people from South Asian groups), in general ethnic minorities have higher rates of internal migration than the white population. This suggests that any increase in the population from ethnic minority groups would lead to an increase in internal migration—although there may be differences between countries here.

With globalisation, the ethnic origins of the population are generally becoming more diverse. There are pronounced ethnic variations in household structures, socio-economic structures and age profiles (for instance, non-White ethnic groups tend to have a younger age profile than the host population in Europe, North America and Australasia), which in turn will have implications for internal migration. Hence, it would be expected that many of the differences in volumes and patterns of internal migration by ethnic group would be captured by such other variables, rather than by a separate ethnicity dimension per se. Indeed, analyses of internal migration data for the UK from the 2001 Census by Finney and Simpson (2007) suggest that differences in levels of migration result from differing socio-economic and age compositions of ethnic groups. Moreover, different factors influencing migration may vary in importance between ethnic groups; for instance, Raymer and Giulietti (2009) suggest that education level is an important factor influencing migration patterns for the white population, whereas employment status is a more important factor for the ethnic minority population.

International migration

Related to ethnic composition and diversity, and also to political systems/institutional structures and policies, is international migration. There is increasing recognition that international migration can impact on internal migration, and also that conventional binary divides between international and internal migration (King, 2002) and between international migration and circulation are becoming less clear cut. In a cross-national analysis, Bell et al. (2015) point to a positive relationship between internal migration intensity and the international migration rate.

National and supra-national policy plays an important role in countries’ openness to international migration. For instance, there are important distinctions between free movers (i.e. those with a right to move and reside freely within a territory, as between member states of the European Union) and managed migration (i.e. where governments seek to control the types and volumes of international migrants such as for high-skilled workers who may be targeted to address labour shortages and skills deficiencies). There are also other types of international migration flows; for example, asylum seekers and refugees. In general, individuals who have been mobile across international borders might also be expected to be more mobile (over long and short distances within destination countries), such that the compositional change may be expected to lead to increased internal migration.
Highly-skilled immigrants on visas associated with managed migration policies might be expected to be more migratory than average (given the associations between skill level and internal migration discussed in the next section). In the UK, for instance, such policy means that there is an increase in intra-corporate transferees—coming to the destination country for short periods—with an increase in circulation at the expense of migration within destination countries. National policy differences are likely to impinge on the behaviour as well as the composition of managed migrants, such that it is unclear what overall trends to expect.

Likewise, free movers are a diverse group, but often tend to work in occupations below their skills levels and so seek to move between locations and jobs once in the destination country. Hence they tend to be characterised by higher than average internal migration rates (over both short and long distances) and also have higher than average levels of circulation as they seek better jobs/different experiences. However, as they become more established in the destination country, it might be expected that such rates of migration and mobility will decline, though still relatively high.

International migration may also impinge on the internal migration propensities of the host population. Since international migration tends to reduce labour and skill shortages, it may serve to obviate the need for longer-distance migration of the host population to address them. However, internal migration over short distances may increase as some members of the host population move out from migrant-dense areas.

**Household structures and living arrangements**

Although individual characteristics are significant determinants of migration, household structures and living arrangements are important too because internal moves often involve individuals moving together as members of a household. There are some important differences in household structures cross-nationally; for instance, between Anglo-American welfare states and Southern European ones, with the latter tending to have a history of young people living in the parental home for longer than in the former.

In compositional terms, two key features and trends are a rising share of single-person households and an increase in more complex and fluid household structures at the expense of nuclear households comprising of parents with children. An increase in household formation and dissolution would be expected to lead to an increase in internal migration associated with such transitions. A growth in single-person households amongst younger and middle-age adults would be expected to be associated with increases in both long- and short-distance internal migration as they satisfy their own needs and desires, without needing to consider other household members. On the other hand, more single-person households amongst older adults may be expected to be associated with a decrease in long-distance migration.

Other developments in household structures, such as the increase in dual-earner (with two adults in employment) and dual-career households (with two adults pursuing careers in high-skill occupations), have important overlaps with labour market change. Such households need to be in locations where there are employment opportunities for more than one household member and so these types of household are considered in the next section. A growth in the share of more
‘fractured’ households resulting from divorce—sometimes associated with complex living arrangements, including children living in more than one household—might also be expected to be associated with a decrease in long-distance internal migration as parents living in different households seek to remain physically close to each other to enable dual-residence arrangements for children. Such arrangements might necessitate an increase in short-distance internal migration and also circulation in order to achieve the desired configuration of residential arrangements. In aggregate, the expected compositional impact of these changes in household structure might be a decrease in long-distance internal migration taking place alongside increases in short-distance migration and circulation.

In terms of behaviour change, internal migration amongst single-person households comprised of younger adults is likely to be motivated by attraction to large cities for employment-related and cultural reasons. Migration for lifestyle reasons, including ‘discovery migration’ linked to wanting new experiences, may also involve long-distance moves. The associated expected behaviour change is an increase in long-distance moves, while housing and affordability constraints (in some countries and some local contexts) may prompt an increase in short-distance moves. Amongst single-person households in the oldest age groups, advances in healthcare technology and lower costs involved in home care for older age groups are both likely to lead to older people remaining in single-person households for longer, rather than moving into residential care. This leads to fewer long-distance moves, but perhaps to more short-distance ones into more appropriate accommodation. There may be an opposing trend for some older single persons to move into extended households, involving either long-distance or short-distance migration.

Turning to fractured households, it seems likely that divorce and other household transitions will continue to culminate in moves to new accommodation. These are generally short-distance so as to enable partners to maintain family ties and stay in contact with children (Mulder and Cooke, 2009). For complex households, there are likely to be advantages in being located in close physical proximity, meaning a continuing trend for reduced long-distance migration. Likewise, Mulder (2007) has suggested that the long-term decline in the importance of family context as an influence on residential choice might now be reversing, given the fluidity of family structures: single parents may be increasingly reliant on family members outside the household because they do not have a partner for support. Similarly, extended family relationships involving three (or more) generations are also likely to impact on migration decision-making (Clark and Maas, 2015). This may help tie households to a particular place, so leading to an expectation of reduced long-distance migration. In relation to short-distance moves in an intra-urban context, the presence of extended family has been shown to be an important factor in determining neighbourhood choice, particularly for immigrants and individuals with low socio-economic status (Hedman, 2013). Proximity to wider family members can also be important in providing care for the elderly.

Macroeconomic and labour market factors

This section considers two features of the macro economy, namely labour demand and the changing organisation of work, and changes in labour supply. Neo-classical models of migration place economic determinants of migration centre-stage, foregrounding the importance of human capital
factors in migration and assuming that individuals move for economic gain, typically measured in terms of income (Greenwood, 1975; Mincer, 1978; van Ham, 2002). While recent migration literature has placed enhanced emphasis on non-economic determinants of migration, it remains the case that securing continued employment is of paramount importance in migration decisions for the majority of working-age migrants (Morrison and Clark, 2011).

**Labour demand and the changing organisation of work**

Five topics are considered here in turn: the state of the macro economy, the changing sectoral profile of employment, the changing occupational structure of employment, changing spatial patterns of economic opportunity and changes in work organisation.

Neo-classical economics suggests that, during times of economic growth, rising demand for labour will result in greater opportunities for job-related mobility and hence long-distance migration, whereas recessionary conditions tend to be associated with below-average migration propensities. This is likely to reflect both a reduction in job openings and the fact that economic downturns tend to be associated with risk aversion. Macroeconomic impacts on migration propensities can be substantial, as exemplified by a decomposition analysis of inter-county moves in the USA between 1999 and 2009 in which 63% of the decline in migration rates was attributed to the direct effects of the Great Recession from 2007 (Cooke, 2011).

Throughout recent periods of economic growth and decline there have been clear medium-term trends in the sectoral profile of employment. At a broad level, there has been a decline in the share of employment in primary and manufacturing sectors and an increase in service sector employment (Wilson et al., 2014). In general, since employment in the primary and manufacturing sectors has historically been tied to specific geographical locations to a greater extent than services (although there is an important distinction between producer services and customer services, with the latter being more tied to local populations), sectoral trends may be expected to be associated with diminished sectoral diversity in employment across space and perhaps a decrease in internal migration. Technological developments may serve to reinforce this trend towards a reduction in sectoral diversity as boundaries between sectors become less clear and enable new decentralised production processes.

The key feature of medium-term change in the occupational profile of employment is ‘professionalisation’ of occupational structures, characterised by increasing demand for labour in high-skilled non-manual occupations. However, there is some evidence for ‘polarisation’, along with growth in low-skilled service occupations and shrinkage in intermediate occupations (including administrative, secretarial and skilled manual workers) in the middle of the skill and income range. In aggregate, however, the increase in high-skilled non-manual occupations would be expected to lead to an increase in internal migration (albeit there are counter trends in relation to dual-career households, as discussed below).

In terms of spatial patterns of economic opportunity, according to a conceptualisation of migration as a labour market adjustment process, individuals in employment would be expected to move to more dynamic areas. Where employment opportunities are relatively abundant across space, other
non-employment goals may play a greater role in migration decision-making (Morrison and Clark, 2011). As noted above, over the long-term, sectoral and occupational structures tend to have become more similar, such that a decrease in long-distance migration might be expected due to there being fewer potential economic gains to be made by moving. However, analyses of medium-term occupational advancement show that there are advantages (as measured by so-called ‘elevator’ and ‘escalator’ effects) to individuals of migration to and residence in dynamic city regions, such as London and the Greater South East in the UK context. This underscores the economic advantages of urban agglomerations, with their ‘thick’ labour markets offering a greater quantity and quality of opportunities. These effects are particularly pronounced in knowledge-intensive sectors and for young people (Gordon *et al*., 2015). This could lead to an expectation of an increase in long-distance migration to, and circulation involving, the largest urban agglomerations in order to benefit from the more advantageous spatial opportunity structures there.

In terms of hours of work, types of employment contracts and employment status, there are varying traditions between countries in the extent of full-time and part-time working, and in self-employment. However, a general trend in work organisation is a shift towards more flexible working. In general, this has different consequences for those in high-status/high-skill and low-status/low-skill occupations, with the former tending to be able to exercise greater discretion in when and where they work than the latter. Indeed, low-hours flexible contracts for some low-skilled workers place a premium on living close to the workplace, and so for this group of workers the expectation might be one of a decrease in long-distance migration and circulation—but not necessarily an increase in short-distance moves closer to the workplace because of the costs of moving and the precarious nature of some low-skilled employment.

It remains the case that the majority of workers in employment are employees and only a minority are self-employed. The demise of large bureaucracies outlined above opens up increased opportunities for self-employment. Although self-employment tends to be associated with an emphasis on entrepreneurial skills, there has been some growth in low-hours self-employment following recession. This highlights the heterogeneity of the self-employed and the difficulty of identifying what changes in the proportion of self-employed mean for internal migration trends. Traditionally, the literature has tended to suggest that the self-employed tend to be rooted in place and to be less migratory than employees because of the importance of family ties and contacts in the local business community. However, some recent analysis using data from Germany suggests that the self-employed are not more immobile than employees, and indeed those that flow into self-employment are positively associated with inter-regional moves (Reuschke, 2014). This suggests that behaviour change of the self-employed may be associated with an increase in long-distance migration. While there might be nationally-specific factors at work here, this latter finding is in line with Florida’s (2002) creative class theory that self-employment may be associated with lifestyle preferences about living in (and so migration to) certain geographical locations.

At an organisational level, the key features of change are the demise of large bureaucracies and the rise of a new organisational paradigm in which companies are defined increasingly as ‘network orchestrators’, in which collaboration in value creation networks is enabled by the virtualisation of business processes, fuelled by the rise of the digital economy (Störmer *et al*., 2014)—so highlighting the importance of technological change (as discussed in the next section). As a result, work has
become less location-specific, more network-oriented, project-based and increasingly technology-intensive. Workplaces and modes of working are under pressure to increase flexibility and to adapt to business volatility through outsourcing, leading to jobs and organisations becoming increasingly fluid. Businesses are increasingly able to create and disband corporate divisions rapidly, as they shift tasks between slimmed-down pools of long-term core employees, international colleagues and outsourced external service providers (Störmer et al., 2014). From a migration perspective, this means that career paths are less clearly defined than formerly, such that the positive association between social mobility and spatial mobility is less clear cut than formerly, both because of the demise of large organisations and because the changing organisation of work places greater emphasis on individuals (as opposed to large organisations) in career advancement.

**Changing labour supply**

The main long-term developments in labour supply revolve around ageing and increasing ethnic diversity, along changes in the gender and qualifications profiles and—related to these—the changing configuration of labour supply at household level. What impact can these changes be expected to have on internal migration intensities?

Key features of changing labour supply by age are a general shift to later entry into the labour market and also an increase in older workers in the labour market, as older people participate in the workforce for longer (in part because of a rise in state pension ages). Given the association between younger age groups and higher migration propensities, in compositional terms this might be expected to lead to a reduction in internal mobility. In regards to increasing immigration and ethnic diversity, it is unclear what this might mean for internal migration, given ethnic variations in migration propensities and differences in the timing of arrival and characteristics between the various groups of immigrants.

One of the most important changes in labour supply over the medium-term has been the long-term increase in women (including mothers with young children) in employment. In the USA, for instance, the proportion of women participating in the labour force rose from around 40% in the 1960s to around 60% by the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century (US Department of Labor, 2011). In terms of labour market participation, hours of work and wages, women and men have become more equal over time, and women account for a substantial proportion of projected growth in high-skilled non-manual occupations (Störmer et al., 2014). Nevertheless, it is well established that there are important differences between women and men in sectoral and occupational profiles of employment and these have implications for career prospects and financial gain. Analyses of data from the British Household Panel Survey and the UK Labour Force Survey show that female-dominated occupations have lower potential for earnings progression and greater geographic ubiquity (for example, in teaching and health-related occupations). These characteristics make individuals working in these occupations less likely to progress their careers through geographic mobility, leading to a lower propensity to become a ‘lead mover’ and a higher propensity to become a ‘tied mover’ in household migration decisions (Perales and Vidal, 2013). Moreover, the gendering of migration serves to reinforce occupational segregation by gender (Halfacree, 1995). Hence, although the increased labour market participation of women and their increased penetration into high-skilled occupations might lead to an expectation in compositional terms of increased long-
distance internal migration, patterns of occupational segregation and the presence of many women in dual-earner/dual-career households may militate against such an increase.

A further clear trend in labour supply is the increase in qualification levels, resulting primarily from increased participation in higher education. It is clear that university students now comprise one of the most important migration streams within countries: in Sweden, for example, Lundholm (2007) reveals that students accounted for 40% of inter-regional migrants aged 18–65 years in 2001, compared with just 10% in 1970. Individuals with higher educational attainment working in occupations associated with higher level skills search over geographically more extensive areas than those with lower level qualifications (Van Ham et al., 2001; Fielding, 2012). There is a clear positive association between level of educational attainment and geographical mobility (Greenwood, 1997; Molloy et al., 2011; Brandén, 2013). Moreover, given that individuals with higher qualifications typically have access to greater financial resources to offset the costs of internal and migration and commuting than less qualified workers (Thomas et al., 2015), an increase in the highly qualified proportion of the workforce would be expected to manifest itself in more long-distance migration and commuting. Implications for short-distance migration are less clear. However, given the greater heterogeneity of those with higher-level qualifications arising from the massification of higher education, a reduction in differentials by qualification in migration propensity may be expected and the positive association between education and migration propensity may weaken. The fact that highly educated men tend to be more mobile than highly educated women serves to reinforce this direction of change (Brandén, 2013).

A key feature of the changing configuration of labour supply at household level is the increase in dual-earner and dual-career households and decline in single-earner households. Dual-earner and dual-career households are disproportionately drawn from younger people, the highly educated and those in higher level occupations (Mulder, 2007)—all factors suggestive of a compositional increase in mobility. Yet research has indicated that dual-earner couples are less likely to migrate than single-earner couples (Smits et al., 2003; Lundholm, 2007) and, given the greater complexity of migration decisions that they face, are more likely to substitute commuting for migration in order to mitigate disruption to one partner’s career that might result from internal migration to benefit the other partner (Green, 1997). Hence, the compositional effect of an increase in the proportion of dual-earner and dual-career households is likely to be a decrease in longer-distance migration. There is no reason to expect a particular change in behaviour regarding short-distance moves (prompted mainly by non-economic factors). It is possible that technology could to some extent substitute for commuting (at least for some of the time) amongst dual-career households, changing the nature of circulation to take on an electronic rather than a physical form.

**Technological change**

Two aspects of technology are pertinent to changes in mobility: physical travel and transport and the role of the internet and information and communications technologies (ICT). Developments in former have impacted on the position of the threshold where trade-offs between internal migration and circulation take place, and so have a role in redefining the desirability of internal migration vis-à-
vis commuting. ICT developments have enabled virtual mobilities to substitute for physical movement, both internal migration and commuting (Findlay et al., 2015).

**Physical travel and transport**

There has been a general trend over the long-term trend towards easier and cheaper travel, especially over longer distances by land and air, so facilitating circulation. This might be expected to lead to a reduction in internal migration, as increasingly commuting can substitute for it—over both short and longer distances. Improvements in the ease of travel can enable an increasing separation of places of residence and workplaces (Fielding, 2012) through longer (in terms of both time and distance) commutes. The fact that there is a trend for local labour market areas to become larger over time is indicative of longer average commuting trips. However, it is possible that more frequent travel in terms of commuting, business and leisure trips, facilitated by easier physical travel, transport and virtual contacts over larger geographies enabled by mobile phones and ICT, might lead to greater internal migration, as mobility begets further mobility (Cohen, 2011; Cohen and Gossling, 2015). In a similar vein, Bell et al. (2015) interpret a positive association between the proportion of the population with a mobile phone subscription and internal migration propensity.

There is some evidence that, at least in some countries and especially in large cities, fewer young people have driving licences—partly because of the rising costs of running a car. This restricts their travel and commutes to work to locations that can be reached by public transport or by walking or cycling. This behaviour change might lead to an expectation of an increase in internal migration (over both long and short distances) to accessible locations, and a concomitant reduction in circulation. The scheduling and fare structures on public transport (and so the cost of travel) is likely to be influenced by national and sub-national level transport and accessibility policies, which are likely to have a particular impact on groups with less access to cars such as young adults, older adults and people on low incomes.

**The internet and ICT**

The internet and ICT have increased access to information about potential travel and migration destinations. Individuals born since the 1980s have grown up in the so-called ‘digital age’ and this could mean that there are particular cohort effects pertaining to this generation that mark them out from previous generations. In a qualitative study of young Swedish adults, Vilhelmson and Thulin (2013) presented evidence that use of the internet and social media could increase individuals’ understanding, awareness and curiosity about other places, so broadening their spatial horizons. Theoretically this might lead to an expectation of increased internal (and international) migration and circulation. Conversely, the fact that use of the internet and ICT enables people to maintain contact with each other more easily and frequently across space might lead to an expectation of reduced migration and circulation. However, the significance of the internet for internal migration might rest more as an enabler, than a key driver. The greater availability of information via the internet negates the need for speculative long-distance moves to find out about opportunities available at the destination; consequently, a greater proportion of moves that are made are likely to be pre-planned and researched. Indeed, modelling of international bi-lateral migration flows by
Winkler (2016) suggests that an increase in internet adoption among migrant-sending countries reduces migration from these locations.

As noted above in the section on labour demand, developments in ICT have facilitated the rise of network organisations and have been a key factor in changes in ways of working for individuals. The result is that some types of work are more footloose geographically. Also previously strong links between the ‘times’ and ‘spaces’ of work have become fractured, so allowing greater flexibility in where and when work is undertaken. An ability to work virtually can obviate the need for long-distance migration and circulation. However, working from home might prompt an increase in short-distance moving in order to achieve a ‘housing space’ more commensurate with full- or part-time home working. Evidence suggests that part-time virtual working (i.e. working remotely for part but not all of the time) has increased more than full-time virtual working (Felstead, 2012), and such working arrangements may be associated with a change in the nature of circulation, with fewer longer journeys substituting for more frequent shorter journeys as the internet and ICT facilitate more spatially and temporally flexible working arrangements. Hence, although at face value the diffusion of the internet and ICT might be expected to enable a reduction in mobility, on further investigation the picture is less clear cut.

**Societal and non-economic considerations**

Reference has been made above to increasing emphasis in the migration literature on the role of non-economic considerations in migration. Fielding (1992) called for a more culturally informed understanding of migration, and subsequently Halfacree (2004) made a case for a greater appreciation of non-economic issues (including life-course, cultural and spatial factors) to balance work undertaken in the economic tradition. This section highlights the part played by socio-cultural factors and a desire for rootedness in changing mobilities and identifies selected other non-economic considerations impinging on internal migration and circulation.

**Socio-cultural factors and rootedness**

Social networks and exchanges of social support can influence and be configured by mobility (Mulder, 2007). In research focusing on individuals in challenging economic circumstances in six deprived neighbourhoods in Britain, a need to live close to family and friends emerged as the most important factor relating to mobility and immobility (Hickman, 2010). A desire to live close to family and friends was a key factor in short-distance moves to their current place of residence as well as being a reason for not moving over long distances. The research suggested that, for many workless residents of deprived localities, their ability to ‘get by’ in difficult and challenging circumstances depended on their immobility, as their neighbourhood provided them with support from friends and family in both material terms and in other ways that helped to maintain working arrangements (e.g., helping with transport and care responsibilities). This location-specific capital is particularly important at times of austerity, when it acts as a deterrent to long-distance migration (Mulder, 2007). Where physical care-giving relationships are involved, geographical proximity is very important. There is a strong distance-decay effect in such circumstances (Knijn and Liebfroer, 2006,
quoted in Mulder, 2007), so such relationships may influence migration over short distances. Religious and ethno-cultural factors may also play a similar role in residential mobility decisions.

The fact that developments in communication infrastructures have facilitated greater mobility and flexibility may in turn fuel a desire for ‘spatial anchoring’ and ‘rootedness’. Cohen and Gossling (2015, p. 1673) suggest that there is “a darker dimension of hypermobility” and one key feature of this is a scaling back of individuals’ local and community social networks and a reduced ability to participate in family life. The implications for internal migration are unclear. Over a certain threshold long-distance daily and weekly commuting can disrupt local and family connections, but frequent long-distance moves can have the same effect. It is likely that the location of the threshold for substitution of migration with circulation (and vice versa) varies between individuals and households. There is some evidence, however, that availability of flexible working is becoming an increasingly important factor in employer choice over time, especially for parents and workers with caring responsibilities, as well as the highly qualified who are more likely to commute and migrate over long distances (Störmer et al., 2014).

On balance, a desire for spatial rootedness may lead to an expectation of a reduction in long-distance migration, with a mix of increased virtual and physical circulation substituting for it, but there is no clear reason why an enhanced importance for place-based social capital and rootedness should impact on short-distance migration.

**Selected non-economic factors**

Compositional factors may play some part in increasing the relevance of non-economic factors in understanding internal migration. Noting the higher-than-average internal migration propensities amongst young people with lower employment rates, Lundholm (2007) contends that it is reasonable to assume that fewer internal migration decisions are motivated by labour market factors than was the case formerly. Nevertheless, economic considerations may be expected to play a key part in mobility decisions for younger adults. Moreover, analyses of longitudinal data by Coulter and Scott (2015) show that people are more likely to move residence for ‘targeted’ reasons (such as employment opportunities) than ‘diffuse’ reasons (such as area characteristics). The same analysis of reasons reported by individuals for wishing to move residence indicated that area-related quality of life increases in importance for people from their mid-thirties to mid-sixties (Coulter and Scott, 2015).

It is important, however, not to underplay the role of economic factors in internal migration. As noted by Halfacree and Boyle (1993), a long-distance move for a new job among people of working age may be such a taken-for-granted component in migration decision-making that survey respondents do not think to mention this. Indeed, in many circumstances, it is so important that it must be addressed before a residential move is made (Morrison and Clark, 2011). Clark and Maas (2015) suggest that availability of jobs may be the context within which migration occurs, and that lifestyle choices, access to amenities, housing considerations and family change are important non-economic motivations for movement therein. Hence, it is appropriate (within a broader economic context) to consider migration as a social and consumption decision (Morrison and Clark, 2011). Glaeser et al. (2001) emphasise the attractiveness of cities as centres of consumption and associated
cultural amenities. In contrast, Partridge (2010) highlights that long-term growth patterns in the USA are consistent with natural amenity-led migration to locations endowed with natural amenities such as pleasant climates and attractive landscapes, mountains and oceans. More generally, green issues have risen up the agenda, leading to increasing concern with environmental considerations in ways of living, working and moving.

In the context of decisions about where to live, considerations about social, cultural and consumption amenities and environmental features of place attractiveness appear to have risen in importance. But the literature on these subjects suggests that such factors may impinge more on the spatial patterns of movement than on its volume.

Other markets, regulatory and institutional structures

Whereas previous sections dealt with drivers that are largely generic in nature, this section considers factors that are shaped to a greater extent by national regulatory and institutional structures, with nation-specific impact on migration intensity. It begins by discussing housing market factors and then the factors associated with labour market policy (including labour market regulation and welfare provision) and education and training policy. Other national-level policies (e.g. regarding transport) are also important, as highlighted in the section on the role of technology, but space constraints preclude detailed discussion here.

Housing market factors

Housing satisfaction and housing costs are important factors in shaping residential mobility (Morrison and Clark, 2011), with residential moves being prompted by changes in family and household structures in accordance with life course events and also by the cost of housing. Particular emphasis has been placed on variations in migration propensities by housing tenure. In the UK, for instance, social housing tenants have faced particular restrictions in moving between local authority areas and so this tenure is associated with low migration propensities over long distances (Hughes and McCormick, 2000). By contrast, private-sector tenants display greater migration propensities, reflecting greater ease of movement within this tenure. Contrastingly, owner-occupation is an important source of local ties, and so owner-occupiers tend to be less migratory than renters (Mulder, 2007), and are likely to be more inclined than private renters to substitute commuting for internal migration. Macroeconomic factors also play a role in the propensity for residential mobility amongst owner-occupiers. While some owner-occupiers in some circumstances might move residence to make financial gains, the state of the macro-economy can also act to repress migration amongst owner-occupiers, as exemplified by a decomposition analysis by Cooke (2011) which showed a significant reduction in the propensity of owner-occupiers to move between 1999 and 2009, attributable either directly or indirectly to the impact of the Great Recession.

Analyses of cross-sectional statistics across the European Union confirm a general trend towards diminishing access to owner-occupation amongst younger adults (aged 18–34 years), resulting in a larger rented sector in many countries (Lennartz et al., 2016). In compositional terms, this might lead
to an expectation of increased internal migration (over long and short distances), given higher migration propensities amongst renters than owner-occupiers. A shift in the profile of the rental sector from social to private renting might also lead to an expectation of increased long-distance migration. However, Lennartz et al. (2016) suggest that the focus on the rise of ‘Generation Rent’ in the popular media may be over-exaggerated, given the trend for adult children to live with their parents for longer (as indicated in the section above on changing demography). Adverse labour market conditions facing young people in the Great Recession and its immediate aftermath, as well as volatility in more financialised housing markets, highlight the role of macroeconomic and national financial policy factors in impinging on access to different tenures. Socio-demographic factors also play a role in access to owner-occupation, given the role of financial transfers to younger adults by parents and grandparents.

Housing costs in the owner-occupied and private-rented sectors are also a function of the volume of housing supply relative to demand. Higher rates of internal migration might be expected in circumstances where housing supply is relatively generous relative to demand ceteris paribus. Conversely, constrained housing supply relative to demand is likely to mean that for some people a desire to migrate remains unfulfilled. Indeed, analyses across 23 European countries by Caldera Sanchez and Andrews (2011) show that the probability of moving is facilitated by the responsiveness of housing supply and access to credit and constrained by transaction costs and rental regulations.

Labour market regulation, welfare and education and training policy

Differences in labour market regulation, institutional structures, welfare and education and training policies between countries would be expected to lead to national differences in the frequency and nature of mobilities. The openness of national labour markets has implications for international migration and also for the ease of sectoral and occupational mobility associated with geographical mobility within countries. In general, a negative association would be expected between labour market regulation and long-distance migration, alongside increased short-distance migration and circulation amongst labour market ‘insiders’. Limitations on pension portability might be expected to lead to an increase in long-distance migration at the behest of an employer, but a reduction in long-distance migration otherwise.

Where active labour market policies are relatively punitive and benefit levels are low (as tends to be the case in Anglo-American liberal economies), the general expectation would be for higher rates of internal migration and circulation to access job opportunities. However, the tendency for greater reliance on family and friends to ‘get by’ in a context of austerity runs counter to this. By contrast, in countries with more generous benefit entitlements, such as in the Nordic welfare state model, the unemployed are likely to have low mobility rates.

Because post-compulsory education and training policy is typically directed at young adults, the funding arrangements associated with different types of provision and the spatial organisation of education and training establishments can have important implications for the mobility of young people and—given the relational nature of migration—for subsequent migration too. There are marked national differences in the organisation of, and participation in, vocational education and training at initial and advanced levels, but typically participation tends not to be associated with
internal migration. By contrast, as outlined in the earlier section on labour supply, there has been a general trend across countries for increased participation in higher education, but there are variations between countries in the extent to which this has been associated with moves away from the home area. These national differences are likely to have implications for variations in future migration propensities and spatial patterns of migration.

Concluding comments

It is clear from this chapter that understanding the impact on internal migration of recent, current and likely future trends in its drivers is a challenging task. At least five overarching trends can be seen to emerge from reviewing the literature on the various forms of internal migration and their links with the socio-demographic, economic, political-institutional and technological contexts in which address-changing takes place.

In the first place, there is a trend towards increasing heterogeneity within demographic and economic sub-groups. This is exemplified by the increasing diversity of older people in terms of income (in part depending on their work histories), health and family situations, and by the greater variability within the population qualified to at least degree level associated with the expansion of higher education. Furthermore, a polarisation in employment structures may fuel ever greater heterogeneity.

Secondly, increased fragmentation is evident in demographic and economic spheres. For instance, rising divorce rates and family break-up have led to fissuring in household structures. In terms of work organisation, trends such as short working-hours contracts in some service activities and the technology-enabled separation of economic activities across local areas and national boundaries are indicative of fragmentation. This impacts on how individuals organise their lives in time and space, and so has implications for internal migration.

Thirdly, the form and nature of networks is changing. Historically, the migration literature has highlighted the role of social networks in understanding migration decisions and patterns. Social networks remain important and the growth in access to technology has extended the reach and penetration of networks. A key issue in relation to the role of social networks in understanding internal migration relates to when and how electronic networks can substitute for physical networks. Also on the theme of networks, in economic terms businesses may be increasingly seen as ‘network orchestrators’, using technology to link to non-local resources to meet their objectives (Störmer et al., 2014).

Fourthly, the literature highlights the increasing complexity of migration decision-making. Alongside the economic considerations that have dominated neo-classical models of migration, there is increasing emphasis on both the range of motivations for migration and the role of non-economic factors. While these are not necessarily new considerations, arguably they have risen in prominence and so complexity is increasingly important in understanding migration.

Lastly, and with links to both the themes of networks and complexity, a strong emerging theme in the migration literature in recent years is the relational nature of movement, such that rather than
being a ‘one off’ event, individuals’ life courses and behaviours are linked to those around them (in their own households and beyond) in the broader time-space context of economic, social and cultural change (Findlay et al., 2015). Taken together, these trends suggest that understanding how drivers of internal migration play out in practice is far from simple. The aggregate picture of internal migration is the function of the interplay of short-term cyclical economic processes, medium-term restructuring and long-term shifts in socio-cultural and economic values.

Turning to the more detailed account of the nature of and recent developments in the key drivers of internal migration intensities provided in the preceding sections, Table 2.1 attempts to summarise their expected implications for long-distance migration, short-distance migration and circulation. No attempt has been made here to quantify the relative importance of different drivers and trends. It is evident that different drivers operate in different directions, with some expected to lead to a decrease in long-distance internal migration and others to an increase, and likewise for short-distance migration and circulation. It is also apparent that in several instances it is unclear whether the expectation is for an increase or decrease in mobility.

The attempt to separate out compositional factors from behavioural change in Table 2.1 indicates that, in some instances, expected changes operate in different directions. This is particularly evident in the case of occupational change where recent and projected trends would suggest increases in internal migration and circulation as a result of compositional effects. By contrast, behaviour change would indicate a decrease in internal migration. In part, this is linked to an increase in dual-earner/career households, and an associated tendency towards substitution of commuting for migration. This latter point about occupational and household change highlights the intersecting nature of the various drivers of mobility, which in turn means that the aggregate impacts on mobilities cannot readily be determined.

The challenges in understanding the drivers of internal migration are further compounded by the destandardisation of the life course, which has affected the timing, frequency and geography of moves and the relational nature of mobilities (Findlay et al., 2015). In turn, these trends emphasise the complexity of migration decision-making (Clark and Maas, 2015) and the importance of understanding not only what prompts mobility for movers but also the decisions (which are neither made unconsciously nor just once without renegotiation) surrounding immobility for stayers (Hjalm, 2014).

The assessment presented in this chapter supports the significance of factors such as population ageing, rising immigration, the increase in dual-earner/career households, greater geographical uniformity in the structure of employment and the growth in a desire for socio-spatial rootedness identified in Chapter 1 as explaining the decline in internal migration rates in the USA. Yet other factors—such as technological change—can enable both immobility and mobility, such that the aggregate outcome is less clear. Moreover, as outlined in the preceding section of this chapter, national level institutional and regulatory structures and policies may lead to national differences in the aggregate impact of the some of the drivers of internal migration. Hence, the value of the national empirical studies presented in the second part of this book.
References


**Table 2.1** Summary of the changing nature of the drivers of internal migration and their implications for three types of spatial mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key features and trends</th>
<th>Long-distance migration</th>
<th>Short-distance migration</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demography</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Ageing of population</td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greater diversity in ethnic composition of the population</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increase in international migration</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More single person households and more complex and fluid household structures</td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour</td>
<td>Young adults</td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change</td>
<td>Middle age adults</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older adults—younger third agers</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older adults—older third agers</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Not applicable/Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High skilled managed migrants</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free movers</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Host population</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single person households amongst younger adults</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single person households amongst oldest age groups</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fractured and complex households</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Macroeconomic and labour market factors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Sectoral shift from primary and manufacturing to services</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Unclear</th>
<th>Unclear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupational change</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing spatial opportunity structures—in aggregate:</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– to largest agglomerations</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– to other destinations</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in employment precarity for low-skilled</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in network organisations and lean management</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ageing of workforce</strong></td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing proportion of women in the workforce</td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in proportion of highly educated in workforce</td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in dual-career and dual-earner households</td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Behaviour change</strong></th>
<th><strong>Occupational change</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>Unclear</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highly educated workers</td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Technological change**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Composition</strong></th>
<th><strong>Easier and cheaper travel</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased use of internet and ICT</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Behaviour change</strong></th>
<th><strong>Fewer young people with driving licenses (in some countries)</strong></th>
<th><strong>INCREASE</strong></th>
<th><strong>INCREASE</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Societal and non-economic considerations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Composition</strong></th>
<th><strong>Increased concern about ‘green’ issues</strong></th>
<th><strong>Unclear</strong></th>
<th><strong>Unclear</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Behaviour change</strong></th>
<th><strong>Increased desire for spatial “rootedness”’</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>Unclear</strong></th>
<th><strong>INCREASE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Other markets, regulatory and institutional structures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Composition</strong></th>
<th><strong>Medium-term rise in owner-occupation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decrease</strong></th>
<th><strong>INCREASE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recent rise in proportion of private renters—and also decline in social renters</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in labour market regulation</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>INCREASE</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unclear</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in labour market regulation</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread of labour market activation policies to more sub-groups</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massification of higher education</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour change</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>INCREASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Compiled by the author.*