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Interpreting migration through the prism of reasons for moves: what can we learn about the economic returns to migration from survey data?

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Abstract

In the classic model of migration, flows across labor markets occur in response to higher real wages - households move to improve their returns to labor. This paper provides evidence that this conceptualization, while still useful, is an oversimplification of the migration process as a whole. Those who change labor markets and report that they moved for a job do make modestly greater returns than those who cite other reasons for moving. There is a hierarchy of returns with the greatest gains for those who move between the labor markets of the largest cities in Australia. That those who cite reasons other than jobs for their moves also make gains and often gains which are not markedly less than labor market migrants, suggests that any wage growth premium from migration may be ancillary rather than central. The paper argues that because life style, family, housing and community are increasingly the reason for migration, jobs are essentially the context within which migration takes place rather than a way of increasing human capital per se.

JEL Classification: J61, J62, R23

1.0 Introduction

The cornerstone of research on labor market migration has been the human capital model - that people and households move to increase their human capital and the decision involves a trade-off between the immediate costs of moving and the expected future benefits from gaining a job or finding a better job. In this conceptualization, migration is a response to differences across labor markets where higher wages attract workers from regions where wages are lower (Greenwood, 1975; Shields and Shields, 1989). The research on individual moves by Bartel (1979) and Bartel and Borjas (1981) provided support for the notion that we "move to improve" and recent studies of internal migration in Britain have confirmed the role of wages in migration for employed men (Boheim and Taylor, 2007).

At the same time there are questions about just how applicable this human capital model is for our global world. Research on international migration challenged the notion of moving for imply for employment (Boyd, 1989, Castles and Miller, 1993) as it became increasingly clear the migration often continued across international boundaries even in times of economic slowdowns. Some studies of the unemployed, a group we would expect to move for jobs, suggest that wage gains are relatively modest (Pekkala and Tervo , 2002). The most

careful recent studies which account for selection effects suggest that the gains to migration may be driven as much by the characteristics of the migrants as by the migration itself (Pekkala and Tervo, 2002; Bill and Mitchell, 2006).

But it is the survey evidence on mobility motivations which raises the most serious questions about the role of jobs in mobility behavior. In cases where the moves are motivated by a whole raft on non-employment reasons there are gains which are not that different from the gains for those who actually moved for a job (Morrison and Clark, 2011). How do we square the seemingly different findings about the role of job mobility?

Until now it has been difficult to examine mobility, motivation and wage outcomes. The British Household Panel Data provided one test of the return to migration for job seekers and in this study panel data from the Housing, Income and Labor Dynamics study in Australia provide a context for further testing of the overlap of motivations and outcomes in mobility and migration. Thus, given that there are differing views of the role of employment and recognizing the growing complexity of the migration process with two-workers and changing labor market attachment this paper re-examines the returns to migration within the context of responses to why individuals moved.

The research asks three questions – (1) what are the economic gains from migration (2) how do the gains vary by job motivations and non-job motivations and (3) how do those economic gains vary by labor market contexts? These questions are taken up in the empirical section of the paper after a contextualization which sets the study in the broad context of previous research.

Previous Research

Migration as an adjustment process which at the macro level brings labor markets into equilibrium has been the accepted wisdom about migration and migration outcomes. Beginning with Sjaastad (1962) there is a substantial literature, initially surveyed by Greenwood (1975) which documents how migration both adjusts workers to job markets and creates gains for the workers who move to new jobs and labor markets. Macro studies of inter-regional flows focused on the way in which variations in employment and wage rates predict the size of inter-regional flows (Greenwood, 1985). That a difference in wages plays a role in labor movement has received support from studies of international migration (Hatton and Williamson, 1998) and there is considerable work in the neo-classical context that supports the proposition that immigration is tied to international differences in wage rates (Taylor 1987).

Studies of outcomes for migrants as distinct from aggregate flows established that in general mobility brings gains. The work by Bartel (1979) and Bartel and Borjas (1981) decomposed the type of move and disentangled the outcomes for younger and mature workers, and for those who quit and migrated versus those who were laid off and migrated. In general they conclude that mobility pays and especially for younger migrants. Recent research has also supported the general understanding that employed men who migrated have significantly higher wage growth than non-migrant men (Boheim and Taylor, (2007). More important is the finding that it is the combination of job and residential change which brings the highest returns. Using the British Household Panel data and the selection of fulltime employed younger (21-49) men they show that migrants who moved and changed jobs had a wage increase of more than three times those who did not move. Yankow (2003) reports significant gains in wages for migrants in contrast to those who change jobs and do not move.

Some research has used the idea of an escalator hierarchy in which moves up the urban hierarchy bring greater returns to migration. Studies of migrants in Canada revealed significant gains for migrants into Toronto as compared with other destinations in the Canadian urban hierarchy (Newbold, 2011). Consistent with both escalator theory and wage growth theory, there is a premium for movers into Toronto. The income premium exceeds the gains by moving to other urban areas or by staying. Again, as in the Boheim and Taylor (2007) study, the analysis is of young employed migrants aged 20-29. It is the intent in this paper not just to replicate the analysis of prime working age men but to extend the analysis to the outcomes for both men and women.

When we turn to survey data we find both confirmation and questions about the role of employment in migration. In fact, the studies which have examined reasons for moving provide a compelling story about migration for reasons *other* than employment. Many moves are not job related. Indeed only about a third of moves (in the aggregate) are reported as related to job motivations, though the percentage is higher for long distance moves only. As a minority of moves are motivated by the desire to improve income, or job prospects more generally, we need to examine the outcome for moves which are not primarily job related and to build a more complete explanation of changing mobility and migration patterns. Such a study would further expand those studies of reasons for moves which argue that moves which are motivated by employment reasons are more likely to make a greater contribution to labor market adjustment whether by filling a vacancy (as noted above, to escape unemployment) or by matching skills to jobs (Dixon, 2003).

There is a basis for expecting that non-job movers could experience wage increases even though they were not motivated specifically by employment reasons. The research on international migration has emphasized social capital and access to family networks as part of the migration process and how migrants make decisions to move and then invest in the development of human capital. Duleep and Regrets (1996) show there are initially lower returns to earnings growth by non-occupation based migrants but that they have higher long term earnings growth. Other research, represented here by a reference to the Jasso and Rosenzweig work (1995) also suggests that there are significant earnings gains for those who move as part of family reunification. [1]

One attempt to disentangle how reasons and outcomes are related examined a detailed survey in New Zealand which suggested that much migration was related to maintaining a steady income stream so that the family or the individual could then realize other goals as opposed to moving specifically to raise the returns to migration (Morrison and Clark, 2011). Even those households who expressed a job related reason for the move had only modest economic gains. Few migrants showed evidence of having made any employment gains in the short run or saw themselves making such gains in the longer run. The reasons for moving support a view that that migrants were concerned as much about adjusting consumption and/or realigning social relationships than they were about making specific economic gains. On-going employment was simply a means, and therefore not a primary reason, for moving and the prospect of raising incomes or improving career prospects were confined to a small minority of migrants.

While long spells in employment are clearly relevant for professional workers, in fact, much of the mobility in and out of the labor force is not in the professional occupations and is frequent and unstable. Hence, a great deal of the instability in the labor market and in residential change is interconnected with behavior which is not labor market motivated. Women often drop out of the labor force and mobility and migration often intersects with family decisions about having children (Clark and Davies Withers, 2009). An evaluation of the relative strength of family and job related ties in the Netherlands suggested that human capital explanations for moving were highly sector dependent (Kronenberg and Carree, 2012). The dynamism of the job market is also relevant to mobility and Chen and Rosenthal (2008) conclude that when employment is plentiful, other reasons dominate the decision to move.

[1] There is an extremely large and sometimes contentious literature on the returns to international migration, especially to the US. It is not the aim of these suggestions to enter into the debate over the earnings returns but rather to draw attention to the possibility of earnings returns to non- occupation related mobility.

The discussion above suggest that in the present economic organization of society and with the changes in family structures that migration could be transitioning to be less about economic processes and more about social processes. The questions around which this paper is organized are questions about the role of adjusting consumption and their wider lifestyle and family foci. To reiterate though, it is not that economic factors do not underlie the migration outcomes, the unemployed often still move to improve their job prospects and professional and managerial workers move to enhance their career prospects, but in between there are a wide range of social outcomes which are inter- related with migration decisions. It is unpacking the whole range of mobility motivations and the intersection of those motivations with labor market outcomes which is at the heart of the empirical analysis in the present paper.

Data, problem and questions

The problem is to measure the amount of migration that is employment driven, how much economic gain there is from that process, and what are the outcomes for individuals and those who move in response to family, housing and non-employment motivations. The data which is the basis for this research is from the ten waves (2001-2010) of the Household, Income and Labor Dynamics in Australia survey (HILDA). We use a pooled analysis strategy to maximize sample size and examine continuously employed movers, those who reported wages at each pair of years in the survey (the small number of unemployed movers are not part of this analysis). We analyze moves using a categorization of less than and more than 30 kilometers. Such a move breaks local ties and represents a change in labor market. This distance or a similar distance has been used in other studies to reflect labor market change. Almost all moves (more than 99%) of more than 30k involve a job change in association with the move. We also examine moves between the five major metropolitan areas (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth).

The survey is a longitudinal survey of approximately 7,600 households with about 19,900 respondents each year. The survey is modeled on and is similar to surveys in the US (the Panel Study of Income Dynamics - PSID) and the British Households Panel Survey, now the “Understanding Society” study. In the present study the mobility measures and variables are drawn from the adult respondent file. It is a yearly survey begun in 2001 and is ongoing. The survey in Australia covers a wide array of economic and labor market measures but also has detailed data on household composition and migration. Unlike most other panel surveys the HILDA survey also collects data on perceived outcomes of residential location and satisfaction with a set of measures of employment and job satisfaction.

The analysis relies on the standard variables used in models of migration including age, marital status, family status (presence of children), a measure of mobility and distance-moved, tenure, income (hourly wages and yearly income) occupation and employment status. Reasons for moves are grouped into larger categories from about 30 specific items coded in the survey.

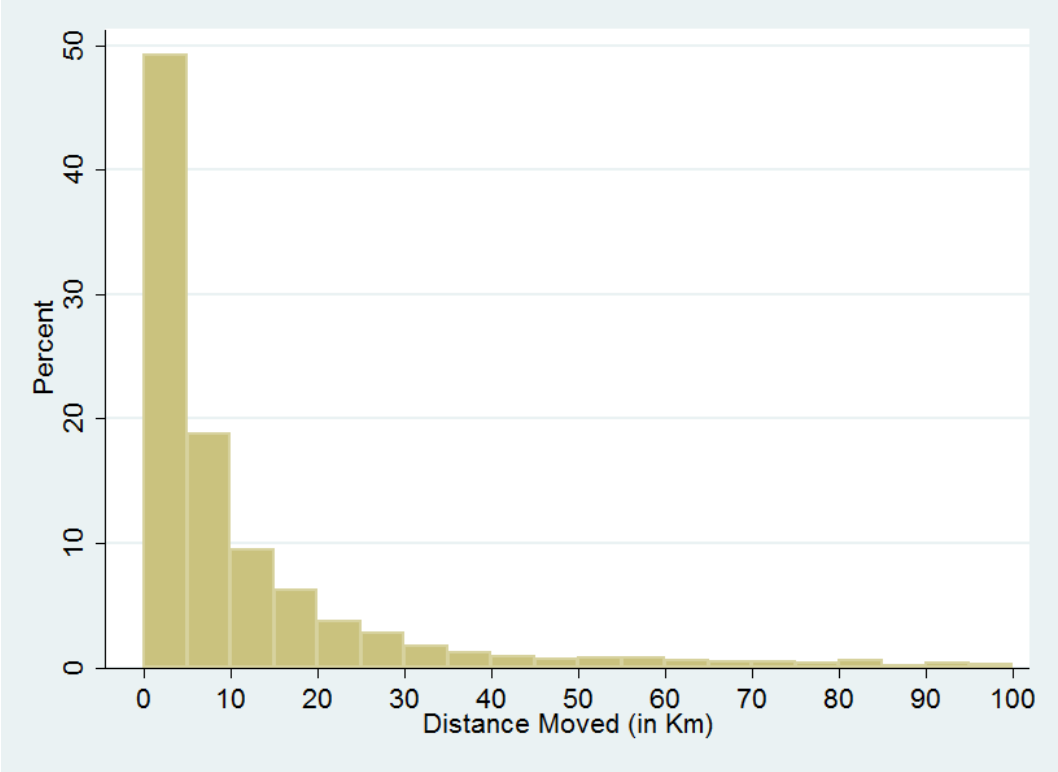

Figure 1: The distance distribution of moves less than 100k for moves between 2001-2010

In Australia, as in other countries, residential change is highly distance dependent. Most moves involve very short distances – nearly 70% of all moves are less than 10 kilometers, involving quite local changes (Figure 1). The mean distance moved for the 2005-2010 moves (constrained for presentation purposes only to moves less than 100k) was slightly more than 11 kilometers though with a fairly large standard deviation (16.8K). There are a significant number of moves of more than 30 kilometers, a distance which we categorize as a change in labor markets and it is these moves which are of special interest to the analysis in this paper.

As outlined in the introduction, we are concerned to (1) measure the economic gains from migration (2) to show how economic gains vary by job

motivations and non-job motivations and (3) how the gains vary by labor market context. We first analyze survey reasons for moves as a context for the more detailed analysis of wage gains but this discussion also outlines why the old dichotomy of short distance housing moves and long distance job moves requires rethinking.

Research Findings

(1) Reasons for moves

The underlying drive to change houses and relocate between cities is part of a strong desire that all individuals have to improve their position in the world. As the review indicates we have codified much of our work on residential mobility and migration in the context of the human capital model in which households seek the best location for occupational success, for raising a family, and improving their socioeconomic status more generally. We know of course that households do not *just* make an economic decision about where to live or where to move. Family structure itself, especially with the changing role of women in the household, has an important role to play in residential and migratory outcomes.

Three decades ago the general view was that households moved long distances for employment reasons and short distances to adjust their housing needs and both were linked to categories of the life cycle. Now with changing family structures, the increase in two worker households and the changing organization of labor markets, that dichotomy is less persuasive as a conceptual structure for understanding residential change. The division of mobility into short distance housing and long distance job drivers was enshrined in much of the early analyses of residential relocation. However, as the research on the life course developed and recognized evolving family structures, the increase in two worker households, and the changing organization of labor markets, it raised questions about the dichotomy. As the table shows the explanation for moving no longer reflects a simply dichotomy although residence and neighborhood dominate short distance moves. However, job motivations are no longer the best predictor of a long distance move (Table 1).

Of course there are often multiple reasons for moving and a primary family related move does not mean the respondents did not have an eye on the labor market. While residence and neighborhood and jobs play different roles for long and short distance moves it is clear that residence, neighborhood and lifestyle are also important explanations for changing labor markets. The table provides evidence that the old notion of short distance housing and long distance job reasons is an over simplification and it is time to shift away from the

paradigm of mobility as a process where people moved short distances to solve housing problems and long distances to deal with employment needs. It is the long distance moves which have become less hinged to jobs. Houses, neighborhoods (communities more broadly), lifestyle and family now account for more than half of all the reasons (57.6%) for moving more than 30k. This is consistent with our notion that jobs are important enablers of moves rather than the driving force envisaged by human capital explanations. They enable rather than motivate moves a suggestion that is reflected in the emphasis reported for neighborhood and lifestyle motivations.

Table 1: Reasons for moving by age (21-49) and distance

	All Moves		Moved <30k		Moved 30k+	
Reason	n	%	n	%	n	%
Job	1897	11.87	563	5.51	1089	29.85
Residence	5373	33.64	4456	43.58	401	11.00
Family	2731	17.10	1451	14.19	585	16.04
Neighborhood	1865	11.67	1062	10.39	609	16.69
Lifestyle	1146	7.17	511	5.00	506	13.87
Health	195	1.22	103	1.00	77	2.11
International	109	.68	38	.37	13	.36
Involuntary	1540	9.64	1343	13.13	91	2.49
Other	1088	6.81	682	6.67	269	7.37
Refused	31	.19	17	.17	8	.22

Source: Data from *'HILDA – Release 10'*, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne.

For those respondents who cite employment motivations, 90 percent cite a new job, job transfer or to be nearer the job (Table 2). Clearly, access and commuting distance matter in job access. People do not move to look for work, work is the context within which households relocate. Now that said 43 percent of job moves, nearly half report they moved for a new job. Clearly these moves are attentive to the potential gains from moving. But, at the same time recall that these movers make up only 12.8 percent of all movers who move more than 30k.

These results provide us with a context within which to examine how the motivations and earnings outcomes are intertwined. The analysis asks how

closely earnings gains are tied to labor market shifts and human capital motivations?

Table 2: Employment reasons for moving by age (16-64) and distance

	All Moves		Moved <30k		Moved 30k+	
Reason	n	%	n	%	N	%
New Job	606	31.95	71	12.61	468	42.98
Nearer Work	870	45.86	437	77.62	315	28.93
Work transfer	277	14.6	18	3.20	216	19.83
Start Business	76	4.01	27	4.80	42	3.86
Shift Business	36	1.90	17	3.02	17	1.56
Find Work	136	7.17	17	3.02	97	8.91
Follow spouse	32	1.69	5	.89	26	2.39

(2) Economic Gains by distance and reason for move

For men in the prime working age (21-49), migrants make greater gains than non-migrants and migrants who changed labor markets make higher gains than those who moved locally (Table 3). In response to the classic question do movers make gains - the answer is yes (Figure 2). Migrants who moved more than 30k earned about a dollar more an hour than non-migrants or local migrants. Migrants who moved between the large cities had higher hourly wages and made larger percentage gains from the move. The greatest returns come from metropolitan moves, some support for the Newbold (2011) position of migration up the hierarchy. Now we ask, what is the role of motivation?

Table 3: Gains to hourly wages (adjusted 2010 $) for men who moved

Move Type	Mean hourly wages ($) before	Mean hourly wages ($) after	Mean Change ($)	Percent Change
Non-migrant (15009)	28.57	29.57	1.00	3.5
Migrant <30k (3155)	27.37	28.31	.99	3.6
Migrant 30k> (907)	27.01	28.80	1.79	6.6
Job reason (459)	27.06	29.15	2.09	7.7
not job reason (448)	26.96	28.45	1.49	5.5
Migrant Inter-metro (196)	29.18	32.49	3.31	11.3
Job reason (78)	31.02	34.27	3.24	10.4
not job reason (118)	27.96	31.31	3.35	12.0

Source: Data from *'HILDA–Release 10'*, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne.

The question at the heart of this research is how are motivation and earnings linked? Do the movers who specifically identify job reasons for moving make greater gains than those who do not identify job motivations? Can we confirm the economic argument that moves are a reflection of returns to human capital from labor market adjustments?

Overall, with respect to labor market changes in general both job and non-job movers make gains but the returns to movers who cited other reasons for migrating are only about $.60 an hour less, about $100 a month. The data for metropolitan movers shows higher wage returns for these movers (often professionals and high income earners in general) but little difference in the return by motivation. In fact non-job motivations have a very small advantage (Figure2). These results are consistent with the general argument that jobs provide the context for a move and these long distance relocations reflect a complex response to jobs and family, community and life styles.

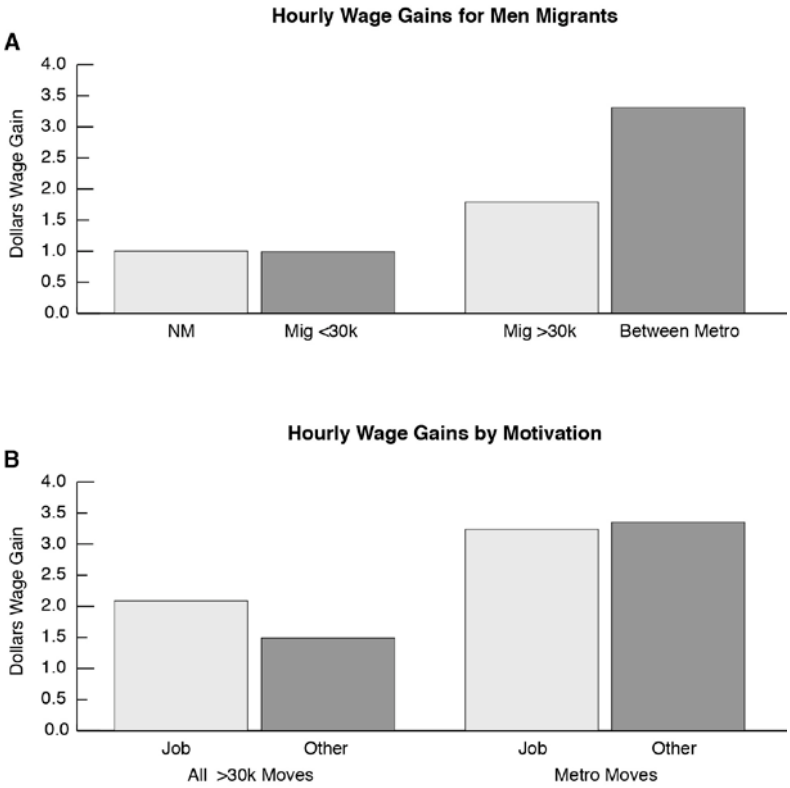

Figure 2: (a) Percent gains in hourly wages for men for non-migrants (NM) and for those who migrated less than and more than 30k and between the large cities and (b) Percent change by job and non-job motivations.

(3) Comparative economic gains by gender

Most studies of the returns to migration focus on men in their prime working age, Boheim and Taylor (2007) for example. But now women are nearly half of the work force and are significant players in the decision to move either on their own or in families. Their responses to the question of gains from migration are equally relevant to understanding migration outcomes and they, like men, are assumed to move to increase their human capital or the human capital of the family. However, we know from a substantial literature that married women are often disadvantaged, at least initially, by migration and may drop out of the labor market or receive lower incomes(see Cooke, 2003; Green, 1997; and LeClere and McLaughin, 1997 for a discussion). As a result we provide and analysis separately for married and unmarried women. At the same time we might expect those married women who are tied movers to have lower returns to migration and to move for non-job reasons.

Married women migrants both those who moved locally and long distance made greater gains than non-migrants. Long distance migrants improved earnings by nearly 10 percent. Those who moved long distances for a job actually lost ground – consistent with the tied mover hypothesis but there were significant gains for those who moved long distance for family, lifestyle, and non- job reasons. Clearly, there initial salaries were lower and they made very large dollar gains with migration. This results of course are consistent with an approach which emphasizes the availability of work and work as an enabler of migration (Table 4).

Table 4: Gains to hourly wages (adjusted $2010) for women
(a) Married women

Move Type	Mean hourly wages ($) before	Mean hourly wages ($) after	Mean Change ($)	Percent Change
Non-migrant (7932)	27.71	28.12	.42	1.5
Migrant <30k (885)	26.87	28.31	1.44	5.4
Migrant 30k> (203)	26.97	29.55	2.57	9.5
Job reason (65)	29.47	28.36	-1.11	-3.8
not job reason (138)	25.80	30.11	4.31	16.7

(Table 4 continued)

(b) Unmarried women

Move Type	Mean hourly wages ($) before	Mean hourly wages ($) after	Mean Change ($)	Percent Change
Non-migrant (5987)	24.08	24.80	.72	2.7
Migrant <30k (1845)	23.32	23.72	.40	1.7
Migrant 30k> (498)	23.57	25.54	1.97	8.4
Job reason (199)	23.93	26.76	2.82	11.8
not job reason (297)	23.32	24.73	1.41	6.0

Source: Data from *'HILDA–Release 10'*, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne.

For unmarried women the gains from migration are nearly $2.00 an hour and more than an 8 percent gain for a labor market change (Table 4). Consistent with a human capital paradigm those who move for jobs have two times the gain of those who move for a non-job reason. The mean wages for unmarried women were lower than those for married women, largely a response to the age differences in the two populations. However, the issue is not the relative returns by skill and age which is central here, it is the issue of the implications of different migration strategies and the returns to migration which are central.

The different outcomes for married and unmarried women are illustrated in Figure 3. Both married and unmarried women make greater gains than do non-migrants and local movers and so confirm the relatively greater gains from changing labor markets, a finding that is consistent with the role of job related mobility. But, the outcomes for the motivation measures are significantly different. Clearly, the intersection of jobs and migration is more clearly a function of human capital decisions for unmarried women than it is for married women.

Figure 3: (a) Percent gains in hourly wages for married and unmarried women for non-migrants (NM) and for those who migrated less than and more than 30k and (b) Percent change by job and non-job motivations (sample size was insufficient to analyze women's movements between the large metropolitan areas).

(4) Models of migration outcomes – what is the role of motivation?

There is evidence that long distance between labor market migration does increase wages modestly. At the same time only about one half of all long distance movers report a job motivation and the gain was variable across gender. To further explore the relationship between migration and motivation, we set the context with – (1) a logit model of the probability of moving, and then examine (2) a logit model of reason for move being job motivated versus non motivated for all moves and (3) a logit model of the reason for move job versus non job motivated for moves greater than 30k (labor market changes). The analysis is not directed to selection effects with respect to the migration earnings outcome, but rather is addressed specifically to how the decision to

move for jobs or other reasons is related to measures of age, family status, education and occupation and the nature of the labor market.

The model of the probability of move replicates well established findings about the role of age, gender, family status and education and occupation (Table 6). Age squared is negative and significant (a function of the truncated age distribution in the analysis). Women have lower probabilities of moving than men as do married migrants and those with children. Tenure is a powerful constraint on moving. More education increases the probability of moving as does being in either sales or professional occupations. Residence in Sydney and Melbourne strongly decreases the likelihood of moving and being native born as against foreign ethnicity increases mobility. The results are consistent with other studies of the probability of moving. It is the context within which we can examine variation across job/non job motivations.

To evaluate the impact of reason for moves we compute logit regressions of the move for job reasons and for non- job reasons following Dixon (2003). She did not find significant differences between the results for job and housing reasons and her results showed major differences between job and non-job explanations for moving. We use all non-employment reasons as we argue that the issue is, in the main, whether or not employment matters in the decision to move. In contrast to the Dixon study the analysis here finds that the same variables are significant for job and non-job reasons but the signs change. For all moves, being female, having children and owning, significantly lower the probability of moving for a job reason. The same is true for living in the five large cities. This is a confirmation of our, and Chen and Rosenthal's (2008) conjecture that in situations where jobs are plentiful the motivations are not primarily job related. At the same time both more education and professional skills are linked to job mobility. Again a finding that is consistent with the suggestion that it is a selected population who do move for job reasons (Table 7). In contrast, having a child, being female and owning are associated with non-job motivations for relocation. Table 9 provides a summary of the contrasting outcomes.

If job motivations are going to play a role in mobility and mobility outcomes then we would expect that there would be stronger associations with occupation and education for moves between labor markets – moves of more than 30k. And, indeed being a professional and being more educated are associated with job motivations as the marginal coefficients clearly demonstrate. Again, the association of job motivation and the large cities is negative – there are jobs and the motivations are familial and lifestyle. By and large, owners and women do not move for job reasons when they relocate. Clearly, we are picking up the differentiation of the social process of mobility decision making, job choices and moves constrained by the fabric of locality, family connections and

place. But for those who have social reasons to move, family, lifestyle, health, and their residence, the place and the house are not constraints on the choice and decision. Again, table 9 provides a comparison the variables and their signs

Table 6: Logit coefficients and marginal effects for the probability of moving

Moved (Yes/No)	**Coeff.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**P > |z|**	**Marginal Effect Coefficient**
Age	.0092	.0138	.67	.503	.0015
Age (squared)	-.0008	.0002	-4.04	.000	-.0001
Female	-.0849	.0256	-3.32	.001	-.0134
Family with children	-.2261	.0295	-7.65	.000	**-.0358**
Married	-.2407	.0297	-8.10	.000	**-.0381**
Divorced	.1401	.0565	2.48	.013	-.0222
Own home	-1.1892	.0609	-19.50	.000	**-. 1884**
Rent home	.2024	.0610	3.32	.001	.0321
Education – high school	-.0019	.0962	-0.02	.984	-.0003
Education – diploma	.1277	.0290	4.41	.000	.0205
Education – BA or more	.1646	.0336	4.90	.000	.0266
Occupation - sales workforce	.1232	.0364	3.39	.001	.0195
Occupation - service	.0873	.0434	2.01	.044	.0138
Occupation - technical/trade	.0326	.0395	.83	.408	.0052
Occupation - professional	.1525	.0354	4.31	.000	.0242
Brisbane/Perth/Adelaide	-.1452	.0301	-4.82	.000	-.0230
Sydney/Melbourne	-.3047	.0273	-11.15	.000	**-.0483**
Native born	.2233	.0413	5.40	.000	.0374
Constant	.2735	.2343	1.17	.243	

Pseudo R2 = 0.1394

Table 7: Logit coefficients and marginal effects for the probability of moving due to a job-related reason

Moved for Job-related Reason (Yes/No)	**Coeff.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**P > |z|**	**Marginal Effects**
Age	-.0156	.0310	-.50	.617	-.0020
Age (squared)	.0001	.0005	.26	.792	.0001
Female	-.3206	.0564	-5.68	.000	-.0414
Family with children	-.3557	.0688	-5.17	.000	-.0444
Married	.1475	.0668	2.21	.027	.0192
Divorced	-.0475	.1312	-.36	.717	-.0062
Own home	-1.0282	.1181	-8.71	.000	**-.1341**
Rent home	-.2195	.1114	-1.97	.049	-.0286
Education – high school	.2271	.2099	1.08	.280	.0319
Education – diploma	.1288	.0662	1.95	.051	.0171
Education – BA or more	.3424	.0737	4.64	.000	.0469
Occupation - sales workforce	.1053	.0948	1.11	.266	.0137
Occupation – service	.2493	.1058	2.36	.018	.0325
Occupation - technical/trade	.0405	.0988	.41	.682	.0053
Occupation – professional	.5058	.0892	5.67	.000	**.0660**
Brisbane/Perth/Adelaide	-.4307	.0665	-6.47	.000	**-.0562**
Sydney/Melbourne	-.6642	.0622	-10.69	.000	**-.0866**
Native born	-.0828	.0949	-.87	.383	-.0105
Constant	-.6604	.5087	-1.30	.194	

Pseudo R2 = 0.0492

Table 8: Logit coefficients and marginal effects for the probability of moving due to a job-related reason for moves more than 30k

Moved for Job-related Reason (Yes/No)	**Coeff.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**P > |z|**	**Marginal Effects**
Age	-.0038	.0549	-.07	.945	-.0009
Age (squared)	-.0002	.0008	-.22	.825	-.0001
Female	-.6410	.1013	-6.33	.000	**-.1579**
Family with children	-.0993	.1193	-.83	.405	-.0247
Married	.0923	.1174	.79	.432	.0230
Divorced	.1758	.2090	.84	.400	.0438
Own home	-.7794	.1872	-4.16	.000	**-.1941**
Rent home	.0199	.1764	.11	.910	.0050
Education – high school	.4261	.3813	1.12	.264	.1059
Education – diploma	.0560	.1168	.51	.608	.0149
Education – BA or more	.3368	.1291	2.61	.009	**.0839**
Occupation - sales workforce	-.0380	.1549	-.24	.807	-.0094
Occupation – service	.1747	.1719	1.02	.309	.0435
Occupation - technical/trade	-.0395	.1632	-.24	.809	-.0098
Occupation – professional	.5429	.1438	3.78	.000	**.1352**
Brisbane/Perth/Adelaide	-.3002	.1230	-2.44	.015	-.0740
Sydney/Melbourne	-.3221	.1177	-2.74	.006	-.0794
Native born	-.2653	.1723	-1.54	.124	-.0653
Constant	.4697	.9033	.52	.603	

Pseudo R2 = 0.0604

Table 9: Comparing job and non-job reasons for mobility, total and more than 30k

	All moves		Moves 30k+	
Variable	**Job movers**	**Non-job Movers**	**Job movers**	**Non-job Movers**
Age	0	0	0	0
Age (squared)	0	0	0	0
Female	-	+	-	+
Family with children	-	+	0	0
Married	+	-	0	0
Divorced	0	0	0	0
Own home	-	+	-	+
Rent home	-	+	0	0
Education – high school	0	0	0	0
Education – diploma, not graduate	0	0	0	0
Education - graduate	+	-	+	-
Occupation - sales workforce	+	-	0	0
Occupation – service	0	0	0	0
Occupation - technical/trade	0	0	0	0
Occupation – professional	+	-	+	-
Brisbane/Perth/Adelaide	-	+	-	+
Sydney/Melbourne	-	+	-	+
Native born	0	0	0	0

0= not significant, - negative, + positive

Observations and conclusions

Evaluating the outcomes of mobility with respect to the reasons for moves provides support for the proposition that households do move to improve, but their motivations are more complex than is suggested by the human capital model. In this sense the long term concern with gains for migration is relevant and useful but at the same time it is clear from this research that jobs per se are only part of the driving force in relocation choice. There is considerable variation in the proportional gains by motivation and across gender and both job movers, and non-job movers make gains. This is support for the notion of migration as an enabler of migration and that where jobs are likely to be more plentiful and diverse (large cities for example) that they are the context within which relocation occurs. The wage loss for married women who move for jobs compared to the wage gains for those who move for non-job reasons re-emphasizes the way in which social processes are as important as economic forces. Still, unmarried women make significant gains from migration which reflects their independent role (no ties) in the migration process. The results suggest quite strongly that gains across the migration outcomes are more complex than previously linked simply to human capital decisions

These results suggest that we might profitably direct our attention to migration as a consumption decision as well as an investment decision. It suggests that the focus on jobs and job creation in cities is only one element of providing the context for in-migration and economic growth. With the knowledge that over 50% of the study sample were motivated to move significant distances (over 30K) by reasons related to the character of the destination neighborhoods (Shields and Wooden, 2003), and the residences within and lifestyles provided by them, it would suggest greater policy emphasis on overall neighborhood design and renewal in addition to job creation when attempting to promote in-migration and city growth.

The Housing Income and Labor Dynamics Survey (HILDA) provide us with an opportunity to extend the models of residential mobility motivations, and to tease apart the particular reasons individuals move. This data set provides strong evidence that although job change and income gains are enablers of moves, they are not necessarily the definitive reasons why individuals choose to move. Neighborhood characteristics and life styles and the constraining results of ownership are significant forces in the migration process and are in *combination* with employment opportunities the underpinning of changing places. In the end, migrants move when they have the choice to enhance residential and neighborhood satisfaction and improve their overall lifestyle. Jobs might be better interpreted as move facilitators.

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