

## How migration motives change over migration distance: evidence on variation across socioeconomic and demographic groups

Niedomysl, Thomas

Postprint / Postprint

Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Zur Verfügung gestellt in Kooperation mit / provided in cooperation with:

[www.peerproject.eu](http://www.peerproject.eu)

### Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Niedomysl, T. (2010). How migration motives change over migration distance: evidence on variation across socioeconomic and demographic groups. *Regional Studies*, 1-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343401003614266>

### Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter dem "PEER Licence Agreement zur Verfügung" gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zum PEER-Projekt finden Sie hier: <http://www.peerproject.eu> Gewährt wird ein nicht exklusives, nicht übertragbares, persönliches und beschränktes Recht auf Nutzung dieses Dokuments. Dieses Dokument ist ausschließlich für den persönlichen, nicht-kommerziellen Gebrauch bestimmt. Auf sämtlichen Kopien dieses Dokuments müssen alle Urheberrechtshinweise und sonstigen Hinweise auf gesetzlichen Schutz beibehalten werden. Sie dürfen dieses Dokument nicht in irgendeiner Weise abändern, noch dürfen Sie dieses Dokument für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, aufführen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Mit der Verwendung dieses Dokuments erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen an.

**gesis**  
Leibniz-Institut  
für Sozialwissenschaften

### Terms of use:

This document is made available under the "PEER Licence Agreement". For more information regarding the PEER-project see: <http://www.peerproject.eu> This document is solely intended for your personal, non-commercial use. All of the copies of this documents must retain all copyright information and other information regarding legal protection. You are not allowed to alter this document in any way, to copy it for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the document in public, to perform, distribute or otherwise use the document in public.

By using this particular document, you accept the above-stated conditions of use.

Mitglied der  
  
Leibniz-Gemeinschaft



**How migration motives change over migration distance:  
evidence on variation across socioeconomic and  
demographic groups**

Journal:	<i>Regional Studies</i>
Manuscript ID:	CRES-2008-0238.R2
Manuscript Type:	Main Section
JEL codes:	O15 - Human Resources Income Distribution Migration < O1 - Economic Development < O - Economic Development, Technological Change, and Growth, O18 - Regional, Urban, and Rural Analyses < O1 - Economic Development < O - Economic Development, Technological Change, and Growth, R11 - Regional Economic Activity: Growth, Development, and Changes < R1 - General Regional Economics < R - Urban, Rural, and Regional Economics, R23 - Regional Migration Regional Labor Markets Population < R2 - Household Analysis < R - Urban, Rural, and Regional Economics
Keywords:	Migration, Motives, Distance, Survey data, Sweden



1  
2  
3 How Migration Motives Change over Migration Distance: Evidence on  
4  
5  
6 Variation across Socioeconomic and Demographic Groups  
7  
8  
9

10  
11 Thomas Niedomysl

12  
13 Institute for Futures Studies, Drottninggatan 33, Box 591, 101 31 Stockholm, Sweden. Phone  
14  
15 +46 (0)8 4021208, Fax +46 (0)8 245014, E-mail: thomas.niedomysl@framtidstudier.se  
16  
17

18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23 (Received September 2008; in revised form December 2009)  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## How Migration Motives Change over Migration Distance: Evidence on Variation across Socioeconomic and Demographic Groups

### Abstract

Migration researchers have long known that motives for changing place of residence vary over migration distance. Typically, short-distance moves are regarded as motivated by housing considerations and longer-distance moves primarily by employment considerations. Using a large-scale survey on migration motives, this paper explores how migration motives change over migration distance. Particular attention is paid to variations across socioeconomic and demographic groups. The results show that the housing- versus employment-driven migration dichotomy, over short and long distances, respectively, is still somewhat valid, though the present findings give a much more nuanced interpretation. The paper reveals considerable variation in migration motives, not only over migration distance, but particularly in relation to migrant socioeconomic and demographic characteristics.

Keywords: Migration, Motives, Distance, Survey data, Sweden

JEL codes: O15, O18, R11, R23

## INTRODUCTION

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6 It is commonly believed that peoples' motives for changing their place of residence vary over  
7  
8 migration distance. Typically, short-distance moves are regarded as motivated by housing  
9  
10 considerations and longer-distance moves primarily by employment considerations (e.g.,  
11  
12 GORDON and LAMONT, 1982; GORDON and MOLHO, 1998; CLARK and HUANG,  
13  
14 2003). While this notion forms an important basis for the existing understanding of migration,  
15  
16 it rests on surprisingly little empirical research.  
17  
18

19  
20 Two factors help explain why the relationship between migration motives and migration  
21  
22 distance has been inadequately researched. First, data limitations have forced most studies to  
23  
24 use movement across or within administrative boundaries when defining migration as either  
25  
26 short or long distance (WHITE and MEUSER, 1988). However, migration usually varies  
27  
28 greatly in terms of distance and geographical context, simply because different regions vary in  
29  
30 size, shape, and settlement pattern. In the extreme, an individual may move a short distance to  
31  
32 a neighbouring house and still be considered a long-distance migrant if he or she crosses an  
33  
34 administrative boundary. Second, the standard procedure for collecting data on migrant  
35  
36 motives has been to use surveys with fixed response alternatives. It has recently been  
37  
38 suggested that such approaches may be more problematic than previously assumed  
39  
40 (NIEDOMYSL and MALMBERG, 2009). Not only can bias arise from suggesting response  
41  
42 alternatives to respondents, it is also difficult to know what alternatives to include, how to  
43  
44 phrase them, and whether all alternatives are equally suitable for the migrant groups of  
45  
46 interest.  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51

52  
53 The overarching aim of this paper is to determine how migration motives change over  
54  
55 migration distance, paying particular attention to variations across socioeconomic and  
56  
57 demographic groups. The data employed not only contain detailed information on migrant  
58  
59 characteristics and migration distance, but, more importantly, draw on a recent large-scale  
60

1  
2  
3 survey in which migrants describe, in their own words, their reasons for migration. Taken  
4  
5 together, this enables exploration, in greater detail than previously possible, of the  
6  
7 relationship between migration motives and migration distance. The paper is well positioned  
8  
9 to contribute significantly to the migration literature.  
10  
11

## 12 13 14 15 RESEARCH CONTEXT

16  
17 Migration is a significant event in most people's lives: it is not something undertaken lightly,  
18  
19 without seriously considering its consequences (LEE, 1966; FIELDING, 1992). However,  
20  
21 there are key differences between different types of moves, and distance moved is obviously  
22  
23 important in most cases. People who only move a short distance can usually continue living  
24  
25 the same way as before the move, but people who move a longer distance are likely to  
26  
27 experience a more dramatic change. This was discussed some time ago by ROSEMAN  
28  
29 (1971), who made a very useful pedagogical distinction in separating migration into two  
30  
31 categories based on the daily/weekly reciprocal movement patterns of a migrant. His two  
32  
33 categories, 'total' and 'partial' displacement migrations, are determined by whether a migrant  
34  
35 changes all (total displacement) or only some (partial displacement) of the significant places  
36  
37 (e.g., school, workplace, and grocery store) visited on a daily/weekly basis. Roseman's two  
38  
39 categories arguably highlight the differences in general importance between short- and long-  
40  
41 distance migration and why it is valuable, though problematic, to distinguish between them.  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

48 From a theoretical perspective, the importance of distance for migration is often framed  
49  
50 within a human capital approach (e.g., SJAASTAD, 1962), where migration is seen as an  
51  
52 investment undertaken only if the expected returns exceed the benefits of remaining in the  
53  
54 same place. Migrants are accordingly assumed to seek out places offering the greatest  
55  
56 expected net return of benefits (SHIELDS and SHIELDS, 1989). Migration distance is  
57  
58 considered to have a deterrent effect, primarily due to lack of information about potential  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 destinations, the costs of moving, and the loss of location-specific capital at the place of  
4  
5 origin (DAVANZO and MORRISON, 1981). However, as far as the author is aware, little has  
6  
7 been said about how various migration motives might fit into that framework, assuming that  
8  
9 motives vary over migration distance.  
10  
11

12 In a well-known study, GLEAVE and CORDEY-HAYES (1977) were likely the first to  
13  
14 explicitly examine the relationship between migration distance and migration motives. Using  
15  
16 survey data from 1970 on the migration motives of British homebuyers, they were able to  
17  
18 demonstrate a substantial increase in the prevalence of employment-related motives over  
19  
20 migration distance. While only approximately 2% of those moving up to 8 km reported  
21  
22 employment as the main motive for migration, the proportion citing this motive rose to  
23  
24 approximately one third of respondents moving 40–80 km and to 70% for those moving  
25  
26 distances exceeding 160 km. The converse was found for migration motives related to  
27  
28 housing and marriage: some 40% of respondents cited housing reasons when moving up to 8  
29  
30 km and 36% cited marriage, but for migration distances greater than 160 km, these categories  
31  
32 only made up 3% and 3%, respectively.  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37

38 A quite unusual study is that of KÜHNEL (1978), who drew on data from the Czech  
39  
40 Socialist Republic, where migrants registered their main reason for migration when  
41  
42 registering for permanent residence in a new location. Migration distances were inferred  
43  
44 indirectly by referring to movement across boundaries at different scales (i.e., communities,  
45  
46 districts, and regions), and data are provided for each year from 1966 to 1973, making it a  
47  
48 unique source of information. Interestingly, most migrants, regardless of migration distance,  
49  
50 cited housing reasons for moving. According to KÜHNEL (1978, p. 4), this is the result of  
51  
52 specific Czechoslovak conditions, including poor housing conditions and policies to level out  
53  
54 economic differences between regions. Short-distance migration (i.e., between communities  
55  
56 within districts) was strongly dominated by housing reasons, cited by over 50% of  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 respondents. However, even when it comes to long-distance migration (i.e., between regions),  
4  
5 housing constitutes the most common reason, cited by 35% of migrants in 1966 and 38% in  
6  
7  
8 1973. Labour market migration motives vary quite significantly with time and migration  
9  
10 distance: in 1966, this motive accounted for 23% of short-distance moves (14% in 1973) and  
11  
12 40% of long-distance moves (30% in 1973).  
13

14  
15 OWEN and GREEN (1992) analysed data similar to those used by GLEAVE and  
16  
17 CORDEY-HAYES (1977), from a survey carried out in Britain in 1981, also of house  
18  
19 purchasers with mortgages from a particular company. Their findings indicated that housing  
20  
21 (mainly that current accommodations were too small) and life cycle factors (mainly getting  
22  
23 married) were clearly the main motives for short-distance moves (up to 16 km). Very few  
24  
25 respondents reported housing-related reasons for long-distance moves. Work-related reasons  
26  
27 displayed an opposite pattern, increasing dramatically in importance with increasing  
28  
29 migration distance. While only 3% of respondents cited work-related reasons for moving up  
30  
31 to 8 km, this proportion rose to 25% for those who moved 16–40 km and then more than  
32  
33 doubled to 53% for those who moved 40–80 km. Employment-related migration accounted  
34  
35 for nearly 80% of moves of distances exceeding 160 km.  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40

41  
42 CLARK and HUANG (2004) also used British survey data (the British Household  
43  
44 Panel Sample) covering the 1990s, but employed a cruder definition of short- and long-  
45  
46 distance migration, i.e., more or less than 50 km. They found that the largest single motive for  
47  
48 long-distance migration was employment (cited by 36%), followed by family change (23%)  
49  
50 and housing-related motives (22%). The most important motives for short-distance moves, on  
51  
52 the other hand, were clearly housing related, being cited by 45% of respondents, followed by  
53  
54 family change (19%) and employment-related motives (7%).  
55  
56

57  
58 More recently, CLARK and DAVIES-WITHERS (2007) used data covering 1970–1992  
59  
60 from the U.S. Panel Study of Income Dynamics and found that employment was the most



1  
2  
3 common reason for long-distance migration (defined as moving across county boundaries),  
4  
5 cited by slightly over a third of respondents, followed by housing, cited by 27%. Housing was  
6  
7 a much more common reason for short-distance migration, being cited by 58% of  
8  
9 respondents, while employment was cited by only 9%. The data, however, are not easily  
10  
11 interpreted, since one category of migration motive was ‘unintended’ – somewhat ambiguous  
12  
13 compared with the other categories.  
14  
15

16  
17 The U.S. Census Bureau regularly collects information on migration motives in their  
18  
19 Current Population Survey (SCHACHTER, 2001). This large-scale survey asks migrants  
20  
21 about their main reason for moving, and the data allow for detailed analyses of motives and  
22  
23 individual characteristics. Using county boundaries to define long- and short-distance  
24  
25 migration, the results indicate that the most common motive for short-distance migration is  
26  
27 housing (cited by 65% of respondents) followed by family-related (26%) and work-related  
28  
29 motives (6%). While family reasons are equally important motives for *long-distance*  
30  
31 migration, cited by 27% of respondents, work-related reasons increase in importance, being  
32  
33 cited by 31%; housing is less important, but is still the single most important motive, being  
34  
35 cited by 32% of long-distance migrants.  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40

41 The studies referred to above have clearly improved our knowledge by demonstrating  
42  
43 that migration motives vary with migration distance; however, it should be noted that these  
44  
45 studies are somewhat limited. For example, while GLEAVE and CORDEY-HAYES (1977)  
46  
47 and OWEN and GREEN (1992) contain excellent information on migration distance, they are  
48  
49 limited to a specific group of migrants (house buyers). In contrast, CLARK and HUANG  
50  
51 (2004), CLARK and DAVIES-WITHERS (2007), and the U.S. Census Bureau  
52  
53 (SCHACHTER, 2001) use a cruder definition of short- and long-distance migration but use  
54  
55 more recent data. These differences, along with differences in questionnaire design, make  
56  
57 comparisons between the studies problematic. Nonetheless, all these studies indicate –  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 although with less strength over time – that housing considerations are still central motives for  
4 short-distance migration, while long-distance migration seems primarily driven by  
5 employment considerations.  
6  
7  
8  
9

10 In Sweden, on which the present research focuses, studies using material other than  
11 survey data on migration motives emphasize the influence of labour market factors on  
12 migration, when it comes to analysing both aggregate migration flows (e.g., FREDRIKSSON,  
13 1999; NAKOSTEEN and WESTERLUND, 2004; ELIASSON and WESTERLUND, 2008)  
14 and the residential preferences of potential migrants (NIEDOMYSL, 2008).  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21

22 Simple as this may seem, the notion that there is a straightforward distinction between  
23 short-distance housing-related migration and long-distance employment-related migration has  
24 been increasingly questioned (HALFACREE, 2004; CLARK and DAVIES-WITHERS,  
25 2007). While some claims refer directly to a lack of empirical research, arguments have been  
26 made linking this issue to more general societal changes, citing the decline in the importance  
27 of employment considerations in determining migrants' destination choices (e.g.,  
28 FOTHERINGHAM *et al.*, 2000). For example, the ageing of western societies means that an  
29 increasing share of the population will no longer have to live near the workplace. Moreover,  
30 ever faster commuting and new information and communication technologies will likely  
31 mean less dependence on living close to the workplace. If it is at all true that 'migration  
32 begins where commuting ends' (LONG *et al.*, 1988), such changes will very likely affect  
33 migration. In addition, much employment nowadays requires higher education. University  
34 towns not only attract business and industry, but they conveniently also attract students, so  
35 that the workforce may already be in place when the students finish their education. In this  
36 case, however, the migration that brought the students near their employers is no longer easily  
37 categorized as employment related. For these reasons, it can be speculated that the factors  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 determining migration may have changed. Obviously, such claims – if valid – will likely vary  
4  
5 between migrant groups, an issue that calls for empirical testing.  
6  
7  
8  
9

## 10 RESEARCH DESIGN

### 15 Survey data

16  
17 This paper uses data from Sweden, a country where high-quality, detailed data are available  
18  
19 for migration research. Survey data were collected in collaboration with Statistics Sweden in  
20  
21 spring 2007 using a postal questionnaire sent to a stratified sample of 10,000 migrants from  
22  
23 the total population of 244,704 migrants who had moved at least 20 kilometres in 2006. This  
24  
25 group was stratified by migrant sex, age (four age groups in a total range of 18–74 years), and  
26  
27 migration distance (four groups). The questionnaire contained 40 questions covering various  
28  
29 aspects of the migration and the migrants' individual characteristics. After two reminders,  
30  
31 4909 migrants had returned useful responses. In addition, data from the official registers were  
32  
33 added by Statistics Sweden, including variables such as migration distance, income, and a  
34  
35 calibration variable assigning a weight for each respondent according to his/her share of the  
36  
37 total migrant population. The calibration variable also reduced skewness originating from  
38  
39 non-responses, making it possible to draw conclusions about the whole migrant population.  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

### 48 Method

49  
50 The first part of the analysis uses descriptive measures to explore how migration motives vary  
51  
52 over migration distance for different socioeconomic and demographic groups. In the second  
53  
54 part of the analysis, binary and multinomial logistic regression modelling is used to  
55  
56 statistically determine the influence of migrant characteristics on migration motives. Logistic  
57  
58 regression is an appropriate method to use when the key dependent variables are categorical,  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 as is the case with migration motives (a similar approach was previously employed in a study  
4 of migration motives by VON REICHERT, 2001). First, binary logistic regressions are run to  
5 indicate whether there are significant differences between particular migration motives and  
6 the motives cited by other migrants. One regression model is run for each of the six dependent  
7 variables (i.e., migration motives), and the models estimate the effect of the independent  
8 variables (i.e., migrant characteristics and migration distance) on the probability of migrating  
9 for a specific motive. Second, since the results indicate significant differences, and since the  
10 binary model, as it is specified, does not allow comparisons across the specific groups (e.g.,  
11 employment versus education), use of a multinomial logit model is justified. The reference  
12 category in the multinomial model constitutes those migrants who cited employment, since  
13 this was the most frequently mentioned migration motive (see Table 1 below).  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30

### 31 Variables

32  
33  
34 *Dependent variables.* The dependent variables, six different categories of migration motives  
35 shown in Table 1, were derived from the survey where the respondents had been asked to  
36 state the main motive for their most recent migration. This open-ended question offered no  
37 response alternatives and let respondents respond in their own words, in order to avoid the  
38 bias that may arise from suggesting specific alternatives. These responses were transcribed  
39 and roughly sorted according to their wording, then coded into 23 initial categories before  
40 being sorted into six final categories. The 23 initial categories were quite detailed, and in the  
41 vast majority of cases there was little uncertainty as to the category to which a specific  
42 response belonged. Housing, for example, one of the six final categories, consisted of five  
43 initial categories: 'smaller/more easily maintained dwelling', 'larger/spacious dwelling',  
44 'housing economics/leases', 'neighbours', and 'other dwelling-related' (the 23 initial  
45 categories are provided in NIEDOMYSL and MALMBERG, 2009).  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 It should be noted that while the responses were given by individuals, the open-ended  
4 approach allowed for coding the responses at the household level when appropriate. For  
5  
6 example, in cases where a respondent referred to his/her spouse getting a new job as the main  
7  
8 reason for migration, such responses were coded as employment related to take into account  
9  
10 the fact that migration decisions are usually made jointly amongst household members (see  
11  
12 e.g., BAILEY *et al.*, 2004; BUSHIN, 2009; COOKE, 2008). These cases were relatively few,  
13  
14 except in the employment category where 13% of *all* employment-related motives were coded  
15  
16 in this way.  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24

25 --- TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE ---  
26  
27  
28

29 Although response coding is central to data reliability, potential problems associated  
30  
31 with coding process should not be exaggerated. For example, 97 respondents had simply  
32  
33 written the word 'work' (*arbete*) and 17 respondents had written 'a job' (*arbetet*), leaving  
34  
35 little room for misunderstanding. Nonetheless, since not all responses were as simple as this, a  
36  
37 more sophisticated test was carried out whereby five coders independently coded 500  
38  
39 randomly selected responses to test the level of agreement between the coders. Krippendorff's  
40  
41 alpha (a standard measure in content analysis expressing the extent to which the observed  
42  
43 amount of agreement among coders exceeds a completely random coding) was used and  
44  
45 yielded an alpha value of 0.82, establishing the reliability of the open-ended questions  
46  
47 approach. Furthermore, the test indicated that it was relatively more common for the coders to  
48  
49 disagree on responses that, according to most coders, belonged to the 'other reasons'  
50  
51 category. The 'housing' and 'living environment' categories also displayed somewhat higher  
52  
53 rates of inter-coder discrepancy. Further details of the motive categories and the reliability test  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 as well as a more general discussion of the use of open-ended questions when researching  
4  
5 migration motives is provided in NIEDOMYSL and MALMBERG (2009).  
6  
7

8 The use of migration motives as dependent variables, instead of migration distance,  
9  
10 warrants a brief discussion. Though the migration decision making process that leads to the  
11  
12 decision to move for a specific motive is not known, people are more likely to first come up  
13  
14 with the idea of moving (for whatever reason), and then consider the pros and cons of moving  
15  
16 versus staying in place (where distance may clearly be influential). This motivates the  
17  
18 inclusion of distance as an independent variable, but it is still not possible to say that there is a  
19  
20 straightforward causality running from distance to motive, since only the outcome is known  
21  
22 (i.e. an individual moved for a specific motive over a certain distance). Nothing is known  
23  
24 about those who may have considered moving, but decided not to do so, nor about the role  
25  
26 distance may have played for that decision. However, this is not considered a problem since  
27  
28 the main purpose of this paper is not to determine causality, but rather to examine how these  
29  
30 two variables interact.  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38

39 *Independent variables.* A summary of the independent variables is provided in Table 2 and  
40  
41 briefly explained in the following. Two variables that describe the respondents' demographic  
42  
43 characteristics are included: *gender* and *age*. The four age groups are intended to correspond  
44  
45 broadly to different life phases. Four variables that describe the respondents' socioeconomic  
46  
47 characteristics are included: *civil status*, *education*, *income*, and *occupation*. Information on  
48  
49 *civil status* is drawn from register data and, although the categories are self-explanatory, it  
50  
51 should be noted that people registered as single, divorced, or widowed may still be living in a  
52  
53 relationship (only marriages are included in the official registers). *Education* is divided into  
54  
55 four categories. Compulsory schooling in Sweden lasts nine years and upper-secondary  
56  
57 school adds three more, after which it is possible to embark on a university education. The  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 last group was split into those with a university degree requiring three years or less of study  
4  
5 and those with a degree requiring over three years, i.e., with 15 or more years of education.  
6  
7  
8  
9

10 --- TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE ---  
11  
12  
13  
14

15 Three *income* groups were calculated using the lower and upper quartiles of the Swedish  
16  
17 population's annual disposable income (the amount left after tax) as cut-off points. The low-  
18  
19 income group thus consists of people with disposable income of under SEK 120 thousand per  
20  
21 year while the high-income group consists of people with disposable income exceeding SEK  
22  
23 210 thousand. Information on the respondents' *occupation* before migration was drawn from  
24  
25 the survey and divided into four groups: *employed* (including the self-employed),  
26  
27 *unemployed*, *students*, and *retirees*. Very few respondents, mainly those on sick leave for over  
28  
29 three months or who categorized themselves as maintaining the household, were excluded.  
30  
31  
32 Finally, *migration distance* was divided into five categories. Note that the (non-weighted)  
33  
34 sample size for migration of 101–150 km is relatively small, so caution should be exercised in  
35  
36 the any analyses of results for this distance.  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42

## 43 RESULTS 44 45 46 47

### 48 Descriptive results 49

50 The results presented in Fig. 1 clearly indicate that migration motives vary over migration  
51  
52 distance. Motives that refer to housing, employment, and education all display significant  
53  
54 variation. Housing-related motives dominate the shortest migration distance, being cited by  
55  
56 35% of migrants, but drop considerably in importance with longer distances where they are  
57  
58 cited by only a small proportion of migrants. Almost the opposite pattern is found for  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 education- and employment-related migration. Migration to begin higher education is  
4  
5 negligible over short distances, but its share steadily increases and peaks at 34% of migrants  
6  
7 having moved 101–150 km, before decreasing to 23% over the longest distances.  
8  
9

10 Employment-related migration displays a similar pattern and is the most often mentioned  
11  
12 motive of long-distance migration. Taken together, these last two motive categories account  
13  
14 for 50–60% of migration of distances exceeding 100 km.  
15  
16

17  
18  
19  
20 --- FIG. 1 ABOUT HERE ---  
21  
22  
23

24  
25 However, not all categories of migration motives exhibit such dramatic changes. Social  
26  
27 motives, motives referring to the living environment, and the ‘other reasons’ category vary  
28  
29 only slightly over migration distance (although to a lesser extent as regards living  
30  
31 environment, which appears to be more important over shorter distances). Nonetheless, social  
32  
33 reasons are very prominent over all distances, making up approximately one quarter of the  
34  
35 cited migration motives. Closer inspection of the open-ended responses turned out to be  
36  
37 particularly valuable for as regards social motives. It was revealed that short-distance movers  
38  
39 more often had responded that they had moved in with someone or separated, whereas long-  
40  
41 distance movers more frequently reported moving in order to come close to family and  
42  
43 friends. Also notable is the proportion of migrants citing living environment, which, together  
44  
45 with the arguably closely related housing motive, account for over 50% of migrations of 20–  
46  
47 35 km.  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52

53 The finding that most migrants cited reasons other than employment, even for migration  
54  
55 over longer distances, warrants further clarification. It should not be taken to imply that  
56  
57 employment has lost its importance for migration. In fact, the situation looks quite different  
58  
59 when comparing those who cited employment as their main migration motive with those who,  
60



1  
2  
3 in response to another question, stated that they changed their workplace when migrating (see  
4  
5 Fig. 2 below). While only 15% of all short-distance migrants said that they changed their  
6  
7 workplace and 16% cited employment as their most important migration motive, that  
8  
9 relationship changes quite significantly over increased migration distance. Approximately  
10  
11 60% of those who migrated a distance exceeding 100 km reported changing their workplace,  
12  
13 but only 30% cited employment as their main migration motive. Even greater differences are  
14  
15 registered for those who migrated 150 km or more. Hence, it is obvious that a migrant may  
16  
17 cite a factor other than employment as most important migration motive, but still change his  
18  
19 or her workplace. Employment is thus likely to constitute a precondition for migration in  
20  
21 some cases and a driving force in others. Over shorter distances, people may choose to  
22  
23 commute instead of migrate (ELIASSON *et al.*, 2003).  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31

32 --- FIG. 2 ABOUT HERE ---  
33  
34  
35

36 While it is beyond the scope of this paper to give a full descriptive review of the relationship  
37  
38 between migrant characteristics, migration motives, and migration distance, a summary is  
39  
40 provided in Fig. 3 (note that only two distance categories, 20–35 km and >150 km, are shown  
41  
42 in the figure). Starting with gender differences (3.1), men are more likely to cite employment-  
43  
44 related motives than are women, who more often cite education and social reasons. Migration  
45  
46 distance does not appear to change these relationships between the sexes to any great extent.  
47  
48  
49

50 Looking at age differences (3.2), it is not surprising to find that young people frequently  
51  
52 cite education as a motive for long-distance migration (though 45% of migrants is still notably  
53  
54 large), nor is it surprising that employment reasons are prominent for migrants 26–59 years  
55  
56 old. Since employment and education are not concerns of the oldest age group, more of them  
57  
58 are likely to move for housing, living environment, and social reasons (the last only in the  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 case of long-distance migration, however). It should also be noted that the oldest age group  
4  
5 provided a much larger share of responses belonging to the 'other reasons' category. This  
6  
7 suggests that the coding procedure of the open-ended questions may not have been ideal for  
8  
9 this group of migrants.  
10  
11

12  
13  
14  
15 --- FIG. 3 ABOUT HERE ---  
16  
17

18  
19  
20 One finding as regards income differences (3.3) is a slight tendency for people with low  
21  
22 incomes to move more often over short distances for employment reasons, while the opposite  
23  
24 is found for people with high incomes, who tend to move more often over long distances for  
25  
26 employment. The latter group also tends to move more often over longer distances for social  
27  
28 reasons.  
29  
30

31  
32 The most conspicuous differences between the different educational groups (3.4) appear  
33  
34 over long-distance migration. Having a university degree (requiring more than three years of  
35  
36 study) considerably increases the likelihood of employment-related migration. Migrants with  
37  
38 only the nine years of compulsory education are far more likely to cite social reasons as the  
39  
40 most important motive for migration. The two intermediate educational groups set themselves  
41  
42 apart by having a much larger share of education-related migration.  
43  
44

45  
46 Occupation before migration (3.5) is an individual characteristic that varies  
47  
48 considerably in relation to migration motive and distance. Most findings were quite expected,  
49  
50 such as the finding that students migrate more often for education reasons and that 47% of  
51  
52 unemployed respondents cite employment-related reasons as the main reason for migration.  
53  
54 Other results may appear somewhat more unexpected, such as the result that a notable  
55  
56 proportion of retired migrants cited social reasons (48%) and housing (20%) as their main  
57  
58 motives for long-distance migration.  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Finally, the four civil status categories (3.6) vary considerably between both short- and  
4 long-distance migration. Married and widowed respondents very often cited housing reasons  
5 for moving short distances. Those categorized as separated frequently cited social reasons  
6 for moving short distances. Those categorized as separated frequently cited social reasons for  
7 migration, though this was partly an effect of the motive categorization where separation and  
8 divorce were considered social reasons. However, widowed respondents were even more  
9 likely to cite social reasons for long-distance migration.  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19

### 20 Regression results

21  
22 The descriptive statistics presented above, while interesting in various ways, only show one  
23 individual characteristic at a time and hence can only hint at how different characteristics  
24 interact. Table 3 presents the results of the binary logistic regressions that take into account  
25 how migrant characteristics influence the likelihood of moving for a specific reason (only  
26 statistically significant variables are reported in the table).  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32

33  
34 People moving for education are likely to be women, very young (18–25 years old),  
35 single, students, and long-distance migrants.  
36  
37

38  
39 Employment-driven migrants are more likely to be male, married or single, highly  
40 educated, unemployed, and move long distances. Somewhat unexpectedly, high-income  
41 migrants are much less likely to move for employment reasons (people with middle incomes  
42 are the most likely to move for this reason). This could presumably be explained by the  
43 expectation that people with high incomes are likely to have reached a career phase in which  
44 employment is no longer a key driver.  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51

52  
53 There is a positive relationship between increasing age and the probability of citing  
54 living environment as the main reason for migration. Compared with singles, married  
55 migrants are more likely to emphasize living environment; widowed migrants, in contrast, are  
56 less likely to do so. People with middle and high incomes, as well as retired people, are more  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 inclined to cite living environment, and there is a clear distance decay in the probability of  
4  
5 stating this motive.  
6  
7  
8  
9

10 --- TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE ---  
11  
12  
13  
14

15 Older people are more likely to move for housing reasons, as are married and widowed  
16  
17 migrants. Migrants with more education are also more likely to cite housing, although less so  
18  
19 than are retired migrants. There is a negative relationship between migration distance and the  
20  
21 probability of moving for environmental reasons.  
22  
23

24 Presumably reflecting traditional gender roles in society, women are found to have a  
25  
26 higher probability of moving for social reasons. However, the social reasons category is  
27  
28 somewhat ambiguous, as it includes respondents who stated that they had, for example,  
29  
30 moved in with someone, separated, or moved to be closer to family and friends. In terms of  
31  
32 age differences, the 26–37 year olds set themselves apart in having a notably higher  
33  
34 probability of moving for social reasons, and the same is true of divorced and widowed  
35  
36 migrants. However, some caution should be exercised regarding the respondents' civil status  
37  
38 and the social reasons category, since a social reason could in fact relate to civil status (e.g.,  
39  
40 moving due to divorce).  
41  
42  
43  
44

45 Table 4 presents the results of the multinomial logistic regression where migrants who  
46  
47 cited employment reasons constitute the reference category. Overall, and as expected, the  
48  
49 conclusions of the multinomial logistic regression are very similar to those drawn from the  
50  
51 binary logistic regressions. However, it can now be firmly concluded that there are significant  
52  
53 differences between the groups. For example, men are more likely to have moved for  
54  
55 employment reasons whereas women have significantly higher odds of moving for any of the  
56  
57 other categories of motives. In particular, women are almost twice as likely to have cited a  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 social reason for moving. In terms of age differences, the oldest age group stands out. It is  
4  
5 hardly surprising that older migrants are unlikely to have moved for employment reasons, but  
6  
7 the findings presented here may contribute to an improved understanding of other research.  
8  
9 For example, NIVALAINEN (2004) assumed, in agreement with most economic literature,  
10  
11 that long-distance migration is mainly driven by employment considerations but found,  
12  
13 against expectations, that older migrants in Finland were more likely to move over longer  
14  
15 distances compared to younger migrants. The results presented here illustrates that when older  
16  
17 migrants move, they are driven by a variety of non-economic factors (see also Fig. 3.2), but it  
18  
19 should of course be kept in mind that in absolute numbers, older migrants only account for a  
20  
21 minority of long-distance migrants.  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

29 --- TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE ---  
30  
31  
32  
33

34 Lastly, note the confirmation that long-distance migrants are more likely to move for  
35  
36 education reasons compared to employment reasons. Though this is clearly an interesting  
37  
38 finding, considering the hegemonic role usually ascribed to employment for explaining long-  
39  
40 distance migration. However, it should presumably not be taken to imply that the importance  
41  
42 of employment for long-distance migration has been overthrown, but – recalling Fig. 2 – is  
43  
44 more likely to reflect the role of employment as a precondition for migration in most cases.  
45  
46 Arguably, migration for educational purposes is less likely to be obscured by other reasons for  
47  
48 moving.  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54

## 55 CONCLUSIONS

56  
57 The departure point of this paper was the notion that people's migration motives vary over  
58  
59 migration distance, short-distance migration traditionally being regarded as housing related  
60

1  
2  
3 and long-distance migration as driven by employment considerations. The present findings  
4 confirm that, while there is still some validity to such claims, they are highly general notions  
5 whose relevance varies considerably depending on the migrant group. This paper  
6 demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the diversity of migrants in terms of their  
7 socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. While migration researchers have known of  
8 this for quite some time, mainly from qualitative studies or studies focussing on migration to  
9 specific environments, it has previously only been demonstrated in quite specialized studies  
10 restricted to specific migrant groups. The present paper has demonstrated, more  
11 comprehensively than previous research has, how migration motives vary over migration  
12 distance and with a range of individual migrant characteristics. However, it should be recalled  
13 that moves of under 20 km were not examined in this study, which restricts the conclusions  
14 that can be drawn about why people move across the entire spectrum of migration distances.  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31

32 While the broad scope of the paper precludes highly detailed discussion of the results, it  
33 should be noted that *all but one* of the individual migrant characteristics (i.e., age, civil status,  
34 education, income, occupation, and migration distance) displayed varying degrees of  
35 statistically significant influence on the probabilities of moving for different migration  
36 reasons (i.e., education, employment, living environment, housing, social, and other reasons).  
37 The only exception was gender: men and women were found to have the same probability of  
38 citing living environment and other reasons as their main migration motive, though they did  
39 have different probabilities of citing the other four migration reasons.  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49

50 The fact that motives varied considerably between different groups has clear  
51 implications, not only for understanding migration more generally, but arguably also for how  
52 migration could be more successfully researched using other methodological approaches. For  
53 example, macro approaches to migration that focus on aggregate migration flows usually treat  
54 migration flows from one region to another rather crudely; for example, gross or net  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 migration between regions is explained by aggregate measures of regional unemployment. If  
4  
5 such approaches paid more attention to migration distance and the characteristics of the  
6  
7 migrants that constitute these flows, it would likely be rewarding. For example, this paper has  
8  
9 demonstrated that while long-distance migrants may cite reasons other than employment  
10  
11 (though largely depending on the migrants' characteristics), most of them do change their  
12  
13 workplace when migrating. In a clear majority of cases, therefore, employment is likely a  
14  
15 prerequisite for migration that enables people to move for whatever cited reason. This  
16  
17 explains why studies of aggregate migration flows have found that labour market factors have  
18  
19 positive effects, despite the fact that studies of migration motives using survey data tend to  
20  
21 suggest that the proportion of employment-related migration may be diminishing.  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26

27 The findings presented here are expected to be relevant in other developed countries as  
28  
29 well, though two aspects warrant attention: migration for educational purposes and the size  
30  
31 and shape of Sweden. First, education was found to be a key driver of long-distance migration  
32  
33 in Sweden, for younger migrants in particular (in terms of migration volume, this is by far the  
34  
35 most important migrant group). The Swedish higher education system has expanded greatly  
36  
37 over the last few decades, and such migration is presumably replacing part of what was earlier  
38  
39 employment-related migration. However, in some other countries, education-driven migration  
40  
41 may not be as prominent as in Sweden. In the U.S.A., for example, where students who live in  
42  
43 dorms during the semester are registered as inhabitants elsewhere (presumably as living with  
44  
45 their parents), education-related migration is not detectable (SCHACHTER, 2001). In other  
46  
47 countries, such as the U.K., where changes introduced in the latest census now consider  
48  
49 students as resident at their school-term address (SIMPSON and BROWN, 2008), education-  
50  
51 related migration is likely to suddenly emerge as a 'new' and important phenomenon.  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56

57 Second, since all countries vary in size, shape, settlement pattern, transportation  
58  
59 infrastructure, etc., it follows that the present findings may not be directly transferable to  
60





- 1  
2  
3 DAVANZO J. S. and MORRISON P. A. (1981) Return and Other Sequences of Migration in  
4  
5 the United States, *Demography* 18, 85-101.  
6  
7  
8 ELIASSON K. LINDGREN U. and WESTERLUND O. (2003) Geographical Labour  
9  
10 Mobility: Migration or Commuting?, *Regional Studies* 37, 827-837.  
11  
12  
13 ELIASSON K. and WESTERLUND O. (2008) Geographical mobility in Sweden - does the  
14  
15 influence of labour market related factors diminish over time?, *Working paper, Umeå*  
16  
17 *University, Department of Economics*  
18  
19  
20 FIELDING T. (1992) Migration and culture, in Champion T. and Fielding T. (Eds) *Migration*  
21  
22 *Processes and Patterns volume 1: Research Progress and Prospects*, pp. 201-212.  
23  
24 Belhaven Press, London.  
25  
26  
27 FOTHERINGHAM A. S. CHAMPION T. WYMER C. and COOMBES M. (2000) Measuring  
28  
29 Destination Attractivity: A Migration Example, *International Journal of Population*  
30  
31 *Geography* 6, 391-421.  
32  
33  
34 FREDRIKSSON P. (1999) The dynamics of regional labor markets and active labor market  
35  
36 policy: Swedish evidence, *Oxford Economic Papers* 51, 623-648.  
37  
38  
39 GLEAVE D. and CORDEY-HAYES M. (1977) Migration dynamics and labour market  
40  
41 turnover, *Progress in Planning* 8, 1-95.  
42  
43  
44 GORDON I. and LAMONT D. (1982) A model of labour-market interdependencies in the  
45  
46 London region, *Environment and Planning A* 14, 237-264.  
47  
48  
49 GORDON I. and MOLHO I. (1998) A multi-stream analysis of the changing pattern of  
50  
51 interregional migration in Great Britain, 1960-1991, *Regional Studies* 32, 309-323.  
52  
53  
54 HALFACREE K. (2004) A Utopian Imagination in Migration's Terra Incognita?  
55  
56 Acknowledging the Non-Economic Worlds of Migration Decision-Making, *Population,*  
57  
58 *Space and Place* 10, 239-253.  
59  
60  
61 KÜHNEL K. (1978) Selected aspects of migration motivation in the Czech Socialist Republic,

- 1  
2  
3 *Acta universitatis Carolinae, Geographica* 13, 3-11.
- 4  
5  
6 LEE E. S. (1966) A Theory of Migration, *Demography* 3, 47-57.
- 7  
8 LONG L. TUCKER C. J. and URTON W. L. (1988) Migration Distances: An International  
9  
10 Comparison, *Demography* 25, 633-640.
- 11  
12 NAKOSTEEN R. A. and WESTERLUND O. (2004) The effects of regional migration on  
13  
14 gross income of labour in Sweden, *Papers in Regional Science* 83, 581-595.
- 15  
16  
17 NIEDOMYSL T. (2008) Residential preferences for interregional migration in Sweden –  
18  
19 demographic, socio-economic and geographical determinants, *Environment and*  
20  
21 *Planning A* 40, 1109-1131.
- 22  
23  
24 NIEDOMYSL T. and MALMBERG B. (2009) Do open-ended survey questions on migration  
25  
26 motives create coder variability problems?, *Population, Space and Place* 15, 79-87.
- 27  
28  
29 NIVALAINEN S. (2004) Determinants of family migration: short moves vs. long moves,  
30  
31 *Journal of Population Economics* 17, 157-175.
- 32  
33  
34 OWEN D. and GREEN A. (1992) Migration Patterns and Trends, in Champion T. and Fielding  
35  
36 T. (Eds) *Migration Processes and Patterns volume 1: Research Progress and Prospects*,  
37  
38 pp. 17-38. Belhaven Press, London.
- 39  
40  
41 ROSEMAN C. C. (1971) Migration as a spatial and temporal process, *Annals of the*  
42  
43 *Association of American Geographers* 61, 589-598.
- 44  
45  
46 SCHACHTER J. P. (2001) *Why People Move: Exploring the March 2000 Current Population*  
47  
48 *Survey*. Current Population Reports, P23-204, U.S. Census Bureau.
- 49  
50  
51 SHIELDS G. and SHIELDS M. (1989) The emergence of migration theory and a suggested  
52  
53 new direction, *Journal of Economic Surveys* 3, 277-304.
- 54  
55  
56 SIMPSON L. and BROWN M. (2008) Census fieldwork in the UK: the bedrock for a decade  
57  
58 of social analysis, *Environment and Planning A* 40, 2132-2148.
- 59  
60 SJAASTAD L. A. (1962) The Costs and Returns of Human Migration, *The Journal of*

1  
2  
3 *Political Economy* 70, 80-93.  
4

5 WHITE M. J. and MUESER P. R. (1988) Implications of Boundary Choice for the  
6  
7  
8 Measurement of Residential Mobility, *Demography* 25, 443-459.  
9

10 VON REICHERT C. (2001) Returning and new Montana migrants: socio-economic and  
11  
12  
13 motivational differences, *Growth and Change* 32, 447-465.  
14

15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

For Peer Review Only

Table 1. Dependent variables.

	Number (not weighted)	Number (weighted)	Per cent (weighted)
Migration motives			
Education	383	41007	17%
Employment	982	61410	26%
Living environment	761	28226	12%
Housing	1193	38421	16%
Social reasons	1262	57656	24%
Other reasons	328	12825	5%
Total	4909	239545	100%

Table 2. Independent variables.

	Number (not weighted)	Number (weighted)	Per cent (weighted)
Gender			
Male	2177	100016	42%
Female	2732	139529	58%
Age (years)			
18 – 25	1013	95345	40%
26 – 37	1143	79705	33%
38 – 59	1145	47656	20%
60 – 74	1608	16839	7%
Civil status			
Married	1674	49690	21%
Single	2194	165856	69%
Divorced	816	21003	9%
Widowed	225	2994	1%
Education			
Compulsory	1094	23806	10%
Upper-secondary	1626	97677	41%
University < 3 years	698	36298	15%
University >= 3 years	1443	79866	34%
Income			
Low	1714	111757	47%
Middle	2009	88285	37%
High	1186	3905	17%
Occupation			
Employed	2623	128560	58%
Unemployed	251	16302	7%
Student	722	63044	29%
Retired	921	12379	6%
Migration distance (km)			
20 – 35	1215	56743	24%
36 – 50	915	22576	9%
51 – 100	1618	41646	17%
101 – 150	206	21900	9%
150 +	955	96679	40%

Table 3. Binary logistic regression results.

Category	Variable	Education		Employment		Living environment		Housing		Social reasons		Other reasons	
		Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.
Gender (ref = male)	Female	1.05**	1.02-1.08	0.61**	0.60-0.62			0.97*	0.94-0.99	1.55**	1.52-1.59		
Age (years) (ref = 18-25)	26 – 37	0.39**	0.38-0.40	1.38**	1.34-1.42	1.15**	1.10-1.20	0.94*	0.91-0.98	1.66**	1.61-1.70	1.24**	1.17-1.32
	38 – 59	0.09**	0.07-0.10	1.83**	1.76-1.90	1.50**	1.42-1.58	0.90**	0.85-0.94	1.22**	1.18-1.27	2.02**	1.87-2.19
	60 – 74			0.48**	0.44-0.52	1.76**	1.64-1.90	1.68**	1.57-1.80	1.15**	1.08-1.23	2.79**	2.51-3.11
Civil status (ref = single)	Married	0.11**	0.09-0.12			1.45**	1.39-1.50	1.86**	1.80-1.93	0.53**	0.53-0.57	1.35**	1.26-1.43
	Divorced	0.57**	0.48-0.67	0.80**	0.76-0.84	0.92*	0.88-0.97	0.72**	0.68-0.76	1.89**	1.81-1.96		
	Widowed			0.34**	0.28-0.41	0.68**	0.61-0.77	1.40**	1.27-1.54	1.45**	1.33-1.59		
Education (ref = compulsory)	Upper-secondary	5.76**	5.23-6.33	0.89**	0.85-0.93	1.31**	1.24-1.37	1.12**	1.08-1.18	0.66**	0.64-0.69	0.55**	0.51-0.59
	University < 3 years	7.47**	6.77-8.25	0.95*	0.90-1.00	1.07*	1.02-1.13	1.05**	1.00-1.10	0.57**	0.55-0.60	0.67**	0.62-0.72
	University >= 3 years			2.91**	2.78-3.05	0.77**	0.73-0.81	1.39**	1.33-1.46	0.50**	0.48-0.52	0.61**	0.57-0.65
Income (ref = low)	Middle	0.59**	0.53-0.62	1.22**	1.19-1.26	1.31**	1.26-1.35	1.11**	1.07-1.15	1.03*	1.01-1.06	0.77**	0.73-0.81
	High	0.23**	0.21-0.25	0.79**	0.76-0.81	1.36**	1.30-1.42			1.56**	1.51-1.62	0.75**	0.70-0.80
Occupation (ref = employed)	Unemployed			1.70**	1.64-1.77	1.11**	1.05-1.17	1.08*	1.03-1.14	0.66**	0.64-0.69	0.27**	0.23-0.31
	Student	1.98**	1.92-2.04			0.61**	0.58-0.64	0.73**	0.70-0.76	0.64**	0.62-0.66	1.89**	1.78-1.99
	Retired			0.17**	0.15-0.19	1.28**	1.20-1.36	1.79**	1.69-1.89	0.91*	0.86-0.96	1.18**	1.08-1.28
Migration distance (km) (ref = 20-35)	36 – 50	1.90**	1.77-2.04	1.61**	1.54-1.68	0.85**	0.81-0.89	0.55**	0.53-0.57	1.23**	1.18-1.27		
	51 – 100	4.01**	3.80-4.23	1.96**	1.89-2.03	0.64**	0.61-0.67	0.34**	0.33-0.35	1.27**	1.23-1.31	1.14**	1.06-1.21
	101 – 150	7.93**	7.50-8.40	1.98**	1.90-2.06	0.54**	0.51-0.57	0.15**	0.14-0.16	0.94*	0.90-0.98	1.61**	1.49-1.74
	150 +	5.78**	5.52-6.06	2.13**	2.07-2.19	0.62**	0.60-0.64	0.11**	0.11-0.12	1.37**	1.33-1.40	1.57**	1.49-1.66
Constant		0.027**		0.139**		0.116**		0.394**		0.294**		0.042**	
N		38783		55777		25036		35314		53468		10930	
-2 Log-likelihood		129953.0		220663.3		147551.2		164404.6		231919.2		83212.7	

\* = p &lt; 0.05, \*\* = p &lt; 0.01.

Table 4. Multinomial logistic regression results (employment motives constitute the reference category).

Category	Variable	<u>Education</u>		<u>Living environment</u>		<u>Housing</u>		<u>Social reasons</u>		<u>Other reasons</u>	
		Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.	Odds ratio	95% C.I.
Gender (ref = male)											
	Female	1.47**	1.42-1.52	1.47**	1.42-1.52	1.40**	1.36-1.44	1.99**	1.94-2.04	1.39**	1.33-1.45
Age (years) (ref = 18-25)											
	26 – 37	0.40**	0.38-0.41	0.91**	0.86-0.95	0.82**	0.78-0.85	1.16**	1.12-1.20	0.94*	0.89-1.00
	38 – 59	0.07**	0.06-0.08	0.92*	0.87-0.98	0.65**	0.62-0.69	0.75**	0.72-0.79	1.22**	1.12-1.32
	60 – 74			3.28**	2.96-3.63	3.19**	2.90-3.51	2.24**	2.04-2.45	4.96**	4.37-5.62
Civil status (ref = single)											
	Married	0.11**	0.09-0.12	1.40**	1.34-1.47	1.67**	1.60-1.74	0.64**	0.62-0.67	1.30**	1.22-1.39
	Divorced	0.71**	0.60-0.83	1.07*	1.00-1.14	0.89**	0.83-0.95	1.72**	1.64-1.82	1.11*	1.01-1.22
	Widowed			1.98**	1.60-2.45	3.48**	2.85-4.25	3.39**	2.81-4.10	2.61**	2.06-3.31
Education (ref = compulsory)											
	Upper-secondary	5.10**	4.61-5.65	1.21**	1.14-1.28	1.07*	1.00-1.13	0.77**	0.73-0.81	0.59**	0.55-0.64
	University < 3 years	6.06**	5.45-6.74			0.92*	0.87-0.99	0.65**	0.62-0.69	0.69**	0.63-0.75
	University >= 3 years	0.53**	0.48-0.59	0.36**	0.34-0.39	0.58**	0.55-0.62	0.28**	0.26-0.29	0.28**	0.25-0.30
Income (ref = low)											
	Middle	0.56**	0.54-0.58	1.10**	1.06-1.15			0.88**	0.85-0.91	0.67**	0.64-0.71
	High	0.29**	0.26-0.32	1.55**	1.47-1.64	1.25**	1.19-1.32	1.61**	1.54-1.68	0.91*	0.85-0.98
Occupation (ref = employed)											
	Unemployed	0.73**	0.69-0.78	0.76**	0.72-0.81	0.75**	0.71-0.80	0.51**	0.49-0.54	0.19**	0.17-0.22
	Student	1.73**	1.66-1.79	0.65**	0.62-0.68	0.74**	0.71-0.78	0.74**	0.71-0.76	1.90**	1.80-2.02
	Retired			6.53**	5.75-7.42	8.10**	7.15-9.19	4.77**	4.22-5.40	6.17*	5.36-7.10
Migration distance (km) (ref = 20-35)											
	36 – 50	1.29**	1.20-1.39	0.60**	0.56-0.63	0.45**	0.43-0.48	0.81**	0.77-0.85	0.70**	0.64-0.76
	51 – 100	2.21**	2.08-2.34	0.39**	0.37-0.41	0.26**	0.25-0.28	0.72**	0.69-0.75	0.67**	0.62-0.72
	101 – 150	3.77**	3.53-4.02	0.33**	0.31-0.36	0.13**	0.12-0.14	0.58**	0.55-0.61		
	150 +	2.89**	2.74-3.04	0.36**	0.34-0.37	0.09**	0.09-0.10	0.73**	0.70-0.75	0.86**	0.81-0.91
N		38783		25036		35314		53486		10930	

\*= p<0.05, \*\*= p<0.01. -2 Log-likelihood Final = 232074.7.

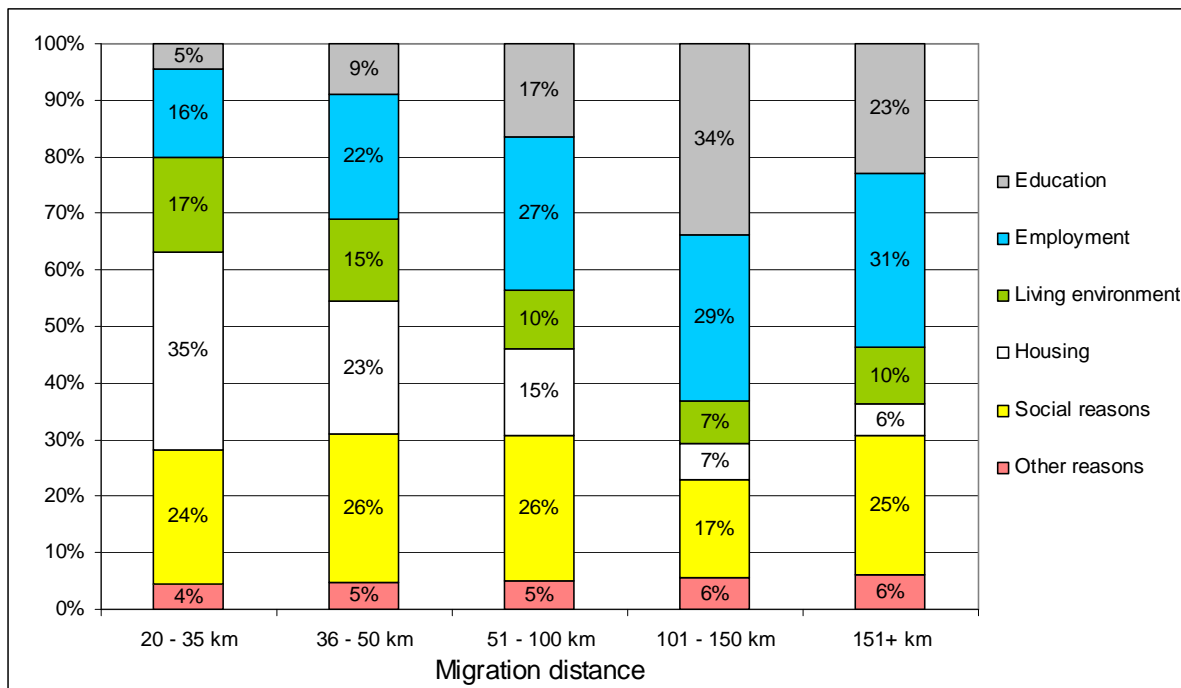


Fig. 1. How migration motives vary over distance (all migrants, weighted data)



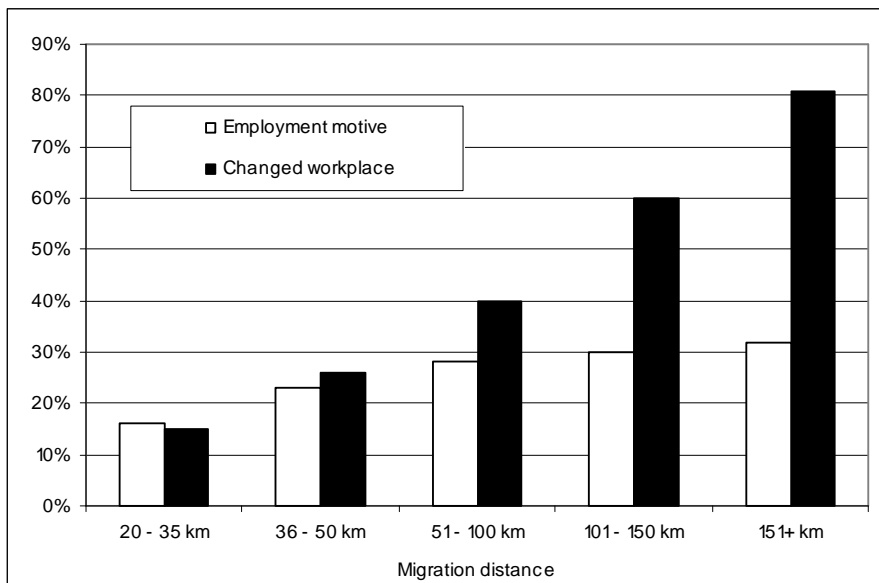


Fig. 2. Comparison between respondents stating employment as their main migration motive and respondents that changed their workplace when migrating, not mutually exclusive (all migrants aged 18-65 year, weighted data)

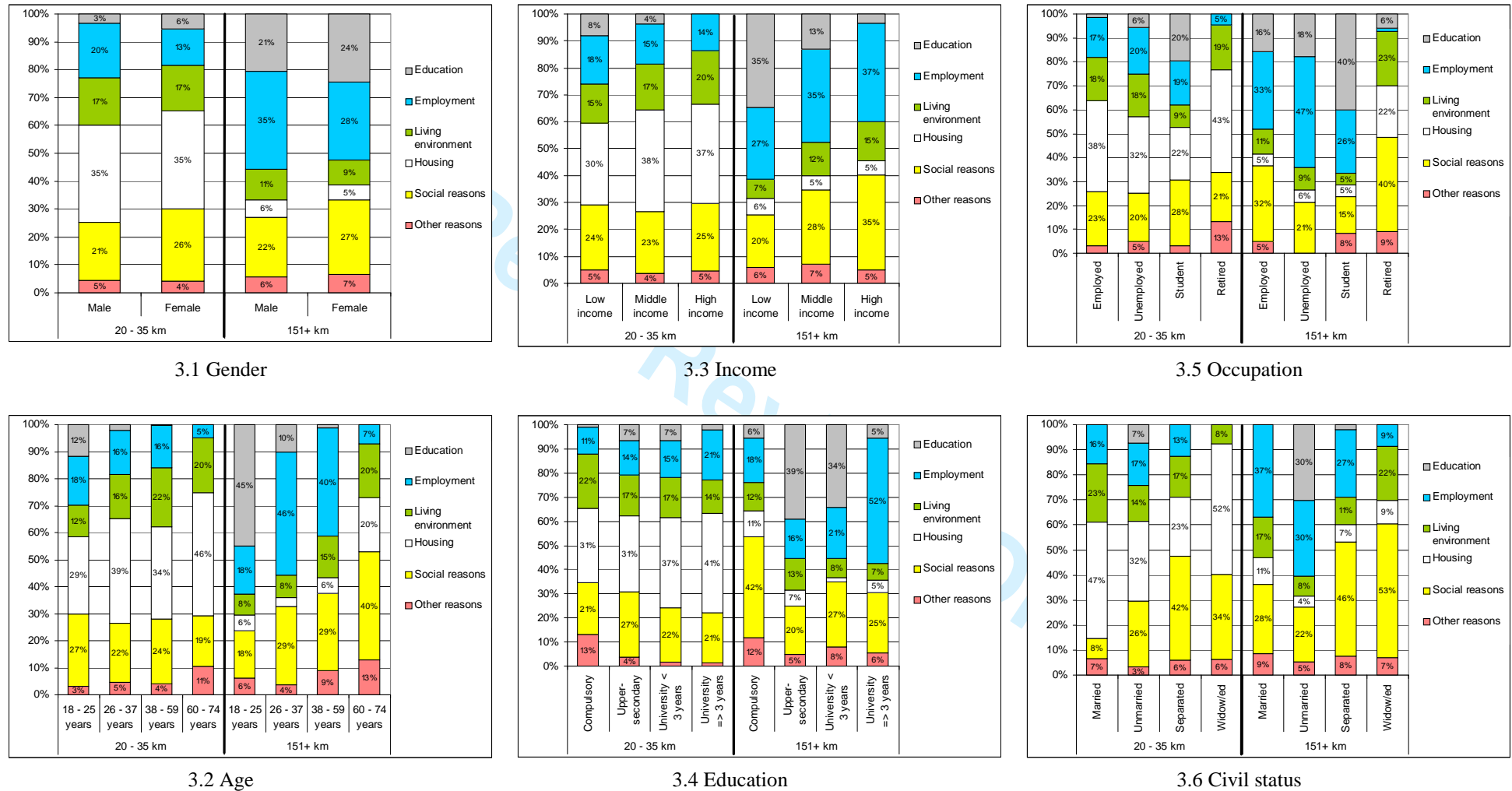


Fig. 3. How motives vary over distance for different migrant characteristics (weighted data)

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

For Peer Review Only