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Why Does Birthplace Matter So Much? Sorting, Learning and Geography

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Abstract

We consider the link between birthplace and wages. Using a unique panel dataset we estimate a raw elasticity of wage with respect to birthplace size of 4.6%, two thirds of the 6.8% raw elasticity with respect to city size. We consider a number of mechanisms through which this birthplace effect could arise. Our results suggest that inter-generational transmission (sorting) and the effect of birthplace on current location (geography) both play a role in explaining the effect of birthplace. We find no role for human capital formation at least in terms of educational outcomes (learning). Our results highlight the importance of intergenerational sorting in helping explain the persistence of spatial disparities.

Keywords: place of birth, spatial sorting, lifetime mobility JEL Classifications: J61; J62; R23; J31

1. Introduction

The question of links from birthplace to outcomes has long been a concern of the neighbourhood effects literature that looks at the impact of growing up in a disadvantaged neighbourhood on individual outcomes (see e.g. Oreopoulos, 2003; Durlauf, 2004; Topa and Zenou, 2014; Chetty et al., forthcoming). Our work asks a similar question, but at a larger spatial scale (the local labour market rather than the neighbourhood). It contributes to a small, but growing literature that considers the impact of 'initial conditions' in determining labour market outcomes (see e.g. Aslund and Rooth, 2007; Almond and Currie, 2011). Our emphasis on birthplace and intergenerational sorting means the paper is also related to recent works on the geography of intergenerational mobility (Chetty et al., 2014; Chetty and Hendren, 2015) and highlights, in a different manner and at a different spatial scale, that there is a geographic component to the inheritance of inequality.¹

We focus on the impact of birthplace size using a unique panel data set (the British Household Panel Survey) which provides information on wages, current location *and* birthplace for a sample of UK individuals and households questioned annually between 1991 and 2009.² We estimate a raw elasticity of wage with respect to birthplace size of 4.6%, two thirds of the 6.8% raw elasticity with respect to city size. The BHPS also provides information on individual characteristics and a limited set of parental characteristics which allows us to consider the mechanisms through which this effect occurs.

Why could birthplace size matter? One possibility is that individual characteristics vary with birthplace size because of the spatial sorting of parents and the intergenerational transmission of characteristics ('sorting'). A second possibility is that birthplace size affects the accumulation of human capital – for example because the quality of schools varies with city size ('learning'). A third possibility is that birthplace influences migration and choice of labour market – and, thus, that the effect of birthplace size captures differences in labour market opportunities that in turn depend on size of city of birth ('geography').³ Indeed, in the extreme case of no mobility, birthplace size directly determines labour market size and it makes little sense to try to distinguish between the effect of birthplace and current location. We consider all three of these possibilities in the paper. We also consider whether other city

¹ An idea that is mentioned, but not studied, by Bowles and Gintis, 2002.

 $^{^{2}}$ After cleaning, the panel provides information on a little over 7,000 workers. Given the size of the panel, we follow the agglomeration literature and focus on the link from city size – both birthplace and current location – to wages, rather than on fully characterising the set of area effects.

³ The terminology we use here – sorting, learning and geography - was introduced by Glaeser and Maré, 2001.

attributes – specifically current and birthplace unemployment – have an effect on wages in addition to the birthplace and current city size effects.

Our paper is closely related to the literature that considers the extent of spatial disparities and the role of agglomeration economies in explaining these disparities. In the urban economics literature it is increasingly recognised that sorting – the concentration of more productive workers in more productive locations – plays an important role in understanding disparities across space. For example, Combes et al. (2008) show that, for wages in France, the correlation between average individual fixed effects and area fixed effects is somewhere around 0.3. Mion and Naticchioni (2009) find qualitatively similar results for Italy. Such positive correlation can explain a large part of overall spatial disparities. For example, Gibbons et al. (2014) show that between 85% and 88% of area wage disparities in the UK are explained by individual characteristics (including individual fixed effects). Combes and Gobillon (2015) provide a recent survey and further discussion.

Because this literature uses individual level panel data to estimate area effects from movers across areas, there is a tendency to assume that the 'sorting' that explains the concentration of more productive workers in more productive locations is predominantly driven by the mobility decisions of workers. However, it is equally possible that the sorting that explains this concentration is predominantly the result of birthplace effects on individual characteristics combined with low levels of mobility. Indeed, both Mion and Naticchioni (2009) and Combes et al. (2012) show that selective migration accounts for little of the skill differences between dense and less dense areas, and suggest a role for 'sorting at birth'. These birthplace effects could occur directly (e.g. if birthplace size helps determine educational outcomes) or indirectly via the sorting of parents (e.g. if parental characteristics help determine educational outcomes and parental characteristics are correlated with city size). In this scenario, more productive areas tend to generate more productive workers and the sorting of adult workers simply serves to reinforce this concentration. This paper attempts to distinguish between these possibilities by looking at the role of sorting, learning and geography in explaining the birthplace effect.

As in the neighbourhood effects and agglomeration literatures, in the absence of random allocation of families and individuals across locations, our estimates of birthplace effects need careful interpretation. In particular, it is difficult to separate out the causal effect of birthplace from the effects of family characteristics when families with different characteristics are

spatially concentrated in different areas. Our data allows us to make some progress in this regard by controlling for a narrow set of parental characteristics that are available for a proportion (75%) of the panel. Exploiting the panel dimension of the data, we are also able to consider the extent to which mobility helps explain the role of birthplace.

Our results suggest that inter-generational transmission (sorting) and the effect of birthplace on current location (geography) both play a role in explaining the effect of birthplace. We find no role for human capital formation, at least in terms of educational outcomes, but we find some cumulative effect of geography through accumulated experience in big cities (i.e. adult rather than childhood learning). This highlights the importance of intergenerational sorting in helping explain the persistence of spatial disparities. Low lifetime mobility reinforces the link between the location decisions of generations, which suggests that there is a geographic component of inequality at birth in addition to intergenerational transmission through parental characteristics. We provide descriptive evidence on lifetime mobility that suggests this is an important consideration in the UK: in our data around 43.7% of individuals only ever work while living in the same area as they were born.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. The next section outlines our data and provides basic summary statistics. Section 3 presents the econometric strategy while Section 4 describes our main findings. Section 5 explores possible mechanisms in more depth. Finally, Section 6 concludes.

2. Data and descriptive statistics

We use the British Households Panel Survey (BHPS) which is a non-balanced panel of households/individuals questioned in 18 waves from 1991 to 2009. The BHPS is based on a nationally representative sample of households recruited in 1991. Panel members comprise all individuals resident at sampled addresses at the first wave of the survey. Subsequent surveys re-interview these individuals annually, following any individuals who split-off from original households (e.g. because of family break-up or because a child enters adulthood and leaves home). All adult members of new households are interviewed, as are new members joining sample households. Children are interviewed once they reach the age of 16. The panel has a number of advantages. In addition to being representative, it also provides both labour market

and geographical information (including birthplace) at a fine level of detail for individuals observed over a relatively long period of time.⁴

The full sample consists of 32,380 individuals observed on average 7.4 times for a total of 238,996 observations. Available variables cover a variety of topics including education, labour market outcomes, income, health, personal values, labour and life conditions (e.g. workplace characteristics, union membership, family commitments, relationship status, wellbeing), etc. In terms of outcome variable, we focus on total gross pay constructed from self-reported data on 'usual gross pay per month in current job'. Basic control variables gender and age - are available for all individuals. For parental characteristics we use a measure of social class based on self-reported parental occupations ranging from unskilled to professional occupation with the parents' highest social class constructed as the maximum rank of mother and father.⁵ For individual educational outcomes we construct a measure of qualification based on reported highest educational and academic qualifications. We end up with seven educational dummies: no qualifications; apprenticeship; GCSE; A-level; HNC, HND, or teaching qualifications; 1st degree and higher degree.⁶ These are mapped to years of education based on the modal education leaving age for each category. We also have information on the individual's current occupation classified according to one-digit SOC (standard occupational classification, see Appendix C for details).

In addition to information on these family and individual characteristics, the data set also provides information on both place of residence and birth. For place of residence we have very precise geographical coordinates (eastings and northings), while place of birth is recorded at the Local Authority level. To study spatial sorting across cities we follow much of the existing literature, and map these two geographies to local labour markets.⁷ Given sample sizes, and because providing birthplace coefficients for 142 local labour markets would not be particularly informative, we focus on the effect of birthplace and current city sizes.⁸ One

⁴ More details on the BHPS can be found here: https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/bhps.

⁵ From the lowest to the highest social class the categories of occupation are as follows: unskilled, partly skilled, skilled manual, armed forces, skilled non-manual, managerial and technical, and professional occupations.

⁶ GCSEs are usually taken at the end of compulsory schooling (age 16). They replaced O-levels and CSE (we count these all as one category); A-levels are usually taken at the end of schooling (age 18). HNC is a Higher National Certificate, usually involving one year's study post-18 while HND is a Higher National Diploma usually involving two years study post-18. Most UK 1st degrees involve three years post-18 study.

⁷ Local labour markets have been merged from Travel-to-work areas; see Gibbons et al. (2014) for details.

⁸ Birthplace and current city sizes, defined as the number of people in employment, as well as unemployment rates are matched from the closest census year (1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011), see Appendix B for local labour market size and unemployment rates at these dates. Results available on request show that all results in the paper are robust to matching to specific years with linear interpolations between census years.

disadvantage of the data is that we only have information on where people live, rather than where they work. This is unfortunate, because the existing agglomeration literature is mainly concerned with the link from work place size to wages. In practice, this is not a major problem because Travel to Work Areas, our underlying geography, are constructed to maximise the percentage of individuals who both live and work in the same area. Consistent with this, as we report below, we get estimates of the elasticity of wages with respect to current city size that are broadly in line with the existing literature.

Given small sample sizes, we drop individuals who were born outside of Great Britain (including those born, or currently located, in Northern Ireland). As our main focus is on wage disparities, we also drop observations corresponding to years in which the individual is studying, unemployed or retired. Concerns over self-reported hours lead us to focus on the total wage for full-time workers.⁹ To allow us to include a reasonable set of observable characteristics, we drop individuals with missing occupation, education and parents' highest social class.¹⁰ This leaves us with 57,101 observations for 9,153 individuals. Finally, when using the panel dimension of the data (with individual fixed effects), we keep only workers observed at least twice. This leaves us with 55,357 observations for 7,500 individuals. This is our minimum sample size although, as will become clear below, we can use larger samples in some of our estimations when the full set of restrictions need not apply.

Descriptive statistics are provided in Table 1. Column (1) presents descriptive statistics for the sample of full-time workers restricted on the basis of country of birth (dropping those born outside Great Britain, including in Northern Ireland) and dropping individuals who are studying, unemployed or retired. The focus on full time workers leads to women being slightly under-represented in the total sample. Gross (monthly) pay figures deflated to 2005 base year look broadly in line with those reported from the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (and before that from the New Earnings Survey). Average city size is larger for birthplace than for current residence – explained by our focus on natives/individuals born in Great Britain (immigrants tend to live in larger cities: in the BHPS, 3.1% of individuals living in rural areas are born abroad against 7.1% for individuals living in urban areas and 20% for individuals living in London). Column (2) shows what happens when we drop individuals with missing education, column (3) additionally drops those with missing occupation and

⁹ Results available on request show that our findings are robust to considering all workers (including part time). ¹⁰ For observations with missing data for these variables, we extrapolate or interpolate from existing data where appropriate.

column (4) those with missing parent's highest social class. Finally, column (5) keeps only full-time workers observed at least twice – the sample that we use when including fixed effects to exploit the panel dimension of the data. As is to be expected, these restrictions slightly skew the sample towards those with higher incomes and occupations associated with higher education levels – particularly when dropping individuals with missing highest parent social class and individuals observed only once. But none of the changes are particularly large. In short, to the extent the initial sample is representative, restricting on observable characteristics does not significantly affect the representativeness of our final sample.

| Table 1. Descriptive statistics | ioi iun-tii | ne worker | 15 | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| Variable | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Women (%) | 46.0 | 46.1 | 46.1 | 45.9 | 44.7 |
| Age | 34.9 | 34.7 | 34.7 | 37.5 | 38.2 |
| Gross pay | 1,487 | 1,490 | 1,490 | 1,586 | 1,649 |
| Occupation (%) | | | | | |
| Managers / Senior Officials | 14.1 | 14.1 | 14.1 | 15.3 | 16.1 |
| Professional Occupations | 9.7 | 9.9 | 9.9 | 10.9 | 11.5 |
| Professional & Technical | 11.6 | 11.6 | 11.6 | 12.3 | 12.7 |
| Admin & Secretarial | 17.8 | 17.9 | 17.9 | 17.5 | 17.1 |
| Skilled Trades | 11.7 | 11.7 | 11.7 | 11.2 | 11.3 |
| Personal Service | 11.3 | 11.2 | 11.2 | 10.3 | 9.7 |
| Sales and Customer Service | 6.6 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 5.7 | 5.4 |
| Machine Operatives | 10.5 | 10.3 | 10.3 | 10.6 | 10.4 |
| Elementary | 6.7 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 5.7 |
| Location | | | | | |
| Resident city size | 504,919 | 507,543 | 507,732 | 488,439 | 475,579 |
| Live in city (%) | 70.6 | 70.6 | 70.7 | 69.6 | 69.6 |
| Live in London (%) | 7.8 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 7.5 | 7.1 |
| Birth city size | 587,010 | 585,844 | 585,404 | 596,331 | 603,166 |
| Born in city (%) | 75.0 | 74.9 | 74.9 | 74.2 | 74.4 |
| Born in London (%) | 9.4 | 9.4 | 9.4 | 9.5 | 9.7 |
| Number of observations | 72,565 | 70,026 | 70,006 | 57,101 | 55,357 |
| Number of individuals | 12,699 | 12,370 | 12,364 | 9,244 | 7,500 |

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for full-time workers

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Gross pay data are monthly and have been deflated using a consumer price index (base year = 2005). Occupations classified according to one-digit SOC.

3. Econometric strategy

We now outline the way in which we estimate the effect of both current location and birthplace on individual wages. Given sample sizes, our focus is on estimating the effect of city size, rather than the full set of birthplace and current city effects.¹¹

Denote (the log of) wage of individual *i* living in area *a* at date *t* as $w_{i(a)t}$. A simple 'one-step' method for assessing how outcomes vary with birthplace size is to regress

$$i(a)t = \gamma BP_i + \varepsilon_{i(a)t} \tag{1}$$

where BP_i is the (log of) birthplace size (calculated as described in Section 2) and γ captures the elasticity of wage with respect to birthplace size. As discussed in the introduction, the coefficient on BP_i captures both the direct impact of birthplace size and the effect of any family characteristics that are correlated with BP_i . Data on parental characteristics allows us to partially control for this second channel, as in the neighbourhood effects literature, by estimating:

$$_{i(a)t} = \gamma BP_i + \rho PX_i + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
⁽²⁾

where PX_i are parental characteristics and ρ is a vector of coefficients. Unfortunately, we have relatively limited data on parental characteristics – controlling for these reduces, but almost certainly does not fully eliminate, the effect of variation in family characteristics that is attributed to BP_i .

We can next add individual observed characteristics to see the extent to which any effect of BP_i works through these observed characteristics. That is, we can estimate:

$$_{i(a)t} = \gamma BP_i + \rho PX_i + \beta' X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
(3)

where X_{it} are time varying individual characteristics and β is a vector of coefficients. Given the link from birthplace to childhood conditions for most of the sample (which we document below), it is of particular interest to consider educational outcomes. For individual characteristics, this will be our main focus in what follows.

¹¹ The mean number of workers by area and year is 38.6 (with a standard deviation of 54.9). For full time workers the mean is 22.4 (s.d. 31.4) if we drop those missing education, occupation, Highest Parental Social Class and birthplace. As should be clear from comparing the mean and standard deviation we have quite a lot of locations with small numbers of observations on an annual basis.

So far, we have introduced controls for parental and individual characteristics, both of which may be correlated with birthplace size. Evidence of low childhood mobility justifies a focus on educational outcomes that may be influenced by childhood conditions. More generally, low lifetime mobility rates also suggest that birthplace can influence labour market outcomes to the extent that it determines place of work. To consider this possibility, we can add in a variable to capture the effect of the size of place of residence. That is, we can run the regression:

$$_{i(a)t} = \gamma BP_i + \rho' PX_i + \beta' X_{it} + \lambda RP_{i(a)t} + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
(4)

where $RP_{i(a)t}$ measures the (log of) size of the current place of residence and λ captures the elasticity of wage with respect to current city size.

While this 'one-step' estimator is intuitive, it leads to inconsistent estimates of γ , ρ , $\beta \lambda$, once we allow for the possibility that individual unobserved characteristics may be correlated with current city size. Even if these individual unobserved characteristics are uncorrelated with birthplace size (after conditioning on parental characteristics) any correlation between current city size and birthplace size will still render estimates of γ inconsistent. More formally, assume that the equation for wage $w_{i(a)t}$ is:

$$_{i(a)t} = \eta_i + \gamma BP_i + \rho' PX_i + \beta' X_{it} + \lambda RP_{i(a)t} + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
(5)

where η_i is some time invariant individual unobserved characteristics (e.g. ability) then even if $E[\eta_i|BP_i, PX_i, X_{it}] = 0$, so that BP_i and η_i are uncorrelated conditional on parental and individual characteristics, inference based on:

$$_{i(a)t} = \gamma BP_i + \rho' PX_i + \beta' X_{it} + \lambda RP_{i(a)t} + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
(6)

is biased because $E[RP_i|BP_i] \neq 0$ (due to low lifetime mobility) and $E[\eta_i|RP_i] \neq 0$ (due to spatial sorting on unobserved individual ability).

To overcome this problem, we adopt a two-step econometric strategy in the same spirit as Combes et al. (2008). In the first step, we regress wages of individual *i* living in area *a* at date *t* on an individual fixed effect θ_i , time-varying observable characteristics X_{it} , an area size effect $RP_{i(a)t}$, and a time fixed effect δ_t :

$$_{i(a)t} = \theta_i + \beta' X_{it} + \lambda R P_{i(a)t} + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
(7)

In the second step, we then regress the estimated individual fixed effects on time-invariant characteristics including birthplace:

$$\hat{\theta}_i = \gamma B P_i + \alpha' Z_i + \eta_i \tag{8}$$

where Z_i includes gender, education and parental characteristics, and α is the corresponding vector of coefficients.

Following the literature, assuming that time variant unobserved shocks are uncorrelated with $RP_{i(a)t}$, we can use the panel dimension of our data to estimate (7) to provide a consistent estimate of the coefficient on $RP_{i(a)t}$. If we also assume that $E[\eta_i|BP_i, PX_i, X_{it}] = 0$ then this two-step procedure also provides us with consistent estimates of the effects of birthplace and parental characteristics.

It is important to note, however, that if we were interested in identify the overall *causal* effect of birthplace size, education and parents' social class may be considered bad controls if they are correlated with birthplace size. In particular, if birthplace size has an effect through individual education or occupation, controlling for education or occupation will lead us to underestimate the total effect of birthplace size. In contrast, spatial sorting of parents based on unobservable characteristics might lead us to put too much weight on birthplace. Fortunately, our ambitions are more modest – we are interested in understanding the link between wages and birthplace size and the possible mechanisms that might explain this, but we do not claim to estimate a causal effect of birthplace size. Nevertheless, when we consider the results below we will always be interested in the coefficients on birthplace size both with and without the control covariates.

In a recent paper, De la Roca and Puga (2014) suggest that we should be careful to distinguish between static and dynamic agglomeration economies when estimating wage equations of the kind we use in our first step (i.e. equation (7)). If adult learning is important, De la Roca and Puga show that we should control for the whole labour market history when assessing the impact of current city size. In their estimation, they consider a full set of area effects so allowing for the effect of adult learning involves the introduction of city-specific experience variables in their estimated equation. In our specification with only city size on the right hand side, this equates to including a variable that captures accumulated city size (up to and including the period before the current observation) in the first-step estimation. That is, we can estimate:

$$_{i(a)t} = \theta_i + \beta' X_{it} + \lambda RP_{i(a)t} + \theta \sum_{t=t_0}^{t-1} RP_{i(a)t} + \varepsilon_{i(a)t}$$
(7a)

where the summation captures accumulated city size from the time that the individual entered the labour market (t_0) until the period before the current observation. Following De-la-Roca and Puga, we restrict the summation to periods where the individual is working so that it has the interpretation of accumulated experience.¹²

We present results using both the static and dynamic first-step specifications in what follows. As we discuss further below, once we recognise that birthplace size can be important, and that mobility rates are low, this further increases the difficulty of separately identifying the effect of current city size from accumulated experience.

4. Results

We start with the more intuitive one-step specification which provides some preliminary evidence on the effect of birthplace size. Results from regressions of wages on birthplace size (plus controls) are reported in Table 2.¹³ As both wages and birthplace size are in logs, the coefficients have the standard interpretation as elasticities of wage with respect to birthplace size. Results in column (1) with basic controls for gender, age and age squared suggest that a doubling of birthplace size leads to a 3.8% increase in wages (for those working full time). Adding controls for parental social class (column 2) reduces the coefficient on birthplace size. But conditional on parental social class, controlling for education (column 3) has no impact on the birthplace size elasticity. Finally, controlling for occupation (column 4) further reduces the coefficient on birthplace size (by similar orders of magnitude to the change when introducing parental social class). As discussed above, if we think that education and occupation are in fact determined by birthplace size then these constitute bad controls and we should prefer the estimates in column (1) that control only for gender and age. This suggests that the elasticity of wages with respect to birthplace ranges from around 2.6% to 3.8%. As we will see below, the two-step estimates which correct for the sorting by adults across labour markets show that these one-step coefficients are downward biased.

¹² Results available on request show that our main findings are robust to considering all the time spent by an individual in a city whether working or not.

¹³ Results available on request show that these findings are robust to considering all workers, only estimating on lifetime movers, trimming top and bottom 1% of wages, only estimating on workers born 1966 onwards (to allow for the fact that our city size and unemployment data begin in 1971 and that we match workers to the nearest census year) or with linear interpolation between census years. Estimations using birthplace fixed effects yield slightly higher R-squared.

| on inplace size and controls (fun time workers only) | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | | | | | |
| (log) Birthplace size | 0.038*** | 0.032*** | 0.031*** | 0.026*** | | | | | |
| | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | | | | | |
| Time FE | Х | Х | Х | Х | | | | | |
| Gender, Age, Age2 | Х | Х | Х | Х | | | | | |
| HPSC | | Х | Х | Х | | | | | |
| Education | | | Х | Х | | | | | |
| Occupation | | | | Х | | | | | |
| Observations | 57,101 | 57,101 | 57,101 | 57,101 | | | | | |
| R-squared | 0.271 | 0.312 | 0.422 | 0.495 | | | | | |
| Within time-R2 | 0.164 | 0.212 | 0.337 | 0.421 | | | | | |

 Table 2: One-step regressions of (log) gross total wage on

 birthplace size and controls (full time workers only)

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Education is defined using seven educational dummies, while occupation uses nine dummies based on one-digit standard occupational classification. HSPC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details.

Before turning to the two-step results for the effect of birthplace size, Table 3 reports results for standard agglomeration regressions where we regress wages on residence, rather than birthplace, size.¹⁴ These results are interesting in two regards. First, because they provide an estimate of the elasticity of wages with respect to city size based on our BHPS data. Second, because they constitute the first-stage estimates that we use in our two-step analysis.

The estimate of the elasticity of wages with respect to city size is around 6.8% when we control only for gender and age, falling to 4.5% as we add individual level controls for, education (column 2) and occupation (column 3). Results reported in column (4) show that this coefficient is roughly halved once we use the panel dimension of our data and include individual fixed effects. Both the point estimates, and the changes in coefficients as we include observable and unobservable characteristics, are broadly in line with the findings from the existing agglomeration literature.¹⁵

Column (5) shows what happens when we follow de la Roca and Puga (2014) and distinguish between static and dynamic agglomeration economies, by including variables to capture

¹⁴ Results available on request show that these findings are robust to considering all workers, the reduction of the sample to lifetime movers, when dropping London, trimming top and bottom 1% of wages, only estimating on workers born 1966 onwards (to allow for the fact that our city size and unemployment data begin in 1971 and that we match workers to the nearest census year), with linear interpolation between census year and to the reduction of the sample to individuals for whom we observe birthplace.

¹⁵ This is reassuring given that our measure of city size is constructed on the basis of place of residence rather than employment. See section 2 for further discussion.

accumulated experience.^{16,17} We hold off on a comparison of the elasticities with respect to birthplace and city size until we have more consistent estimates of the former.

| (Iun unic workers of | my) | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| (log) City size | 0.068*** | 0.048*** | 0.045*** | 0.026*** | 0.007** |
| | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Learning | | | | | 0.064*** |
| - | | | | | (0.003) |
| Time FE | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Gender, Age, Age ² | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Education | | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Occupation | | | Х | Х | Х |
| Individual FE | | | | Х | Х |
| Observations | 77,403 | 77,403 | 77,403 | 77,403 | 65,311 |
| R-squared | 0.324 | 0.447 | 0.513 | 0.855 | 0.859 |
| Number of ind. | 13,725 | 13,725 | 13,725 | 13,725 | 10,936 |

 Table 3: First-stage regressions of (log) gross total wage on city size and controls (full time workers only)

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Learning is (log) accumulated city size as explained in the text. Education is defined using seven educational dummies, while occupation uses nine dummies based on one-digit standard occupational classification (SOC). See Section 2 for further details. For specifications in columns (4) and (5) gender, age and education are time invariant and absorbed by the individual fixed effect.

To obtain these, we switch to two-step estimation. As explained in Section 3, while the onestep results are easy to interpret, estimates of the birthplace city size effect are biased if unobserved ability is correlated with birthplace city size either as a result of low lifetime mobility or because individuals sort on unobserved ability. Switching to two-step estimation allows us to (partially) address this concern subject to the caveats discussed in Section 3.

As a reminder, in the first step, we regress wages on individual fixed effects and a number of time-varying individual observable characteristics that may be correlated with current place of residence. In the second step, we then regress these estimated individual fixed effects on birthplace size – as well as on other time-invariant family and individual characteristics that

¹⁶ We get very similar results when estimating the specification in column (5) using an alternative definition of learning constructed as accumulated city size, whether or not the individual is working. Using this alternative definition, with 68,085 observations on 11,619 individuals we get a coefficient on city size of 0.015 (s.e. 0.003) and on learning of 0.050 (s.e. 0.004). The R-squared is essentially unchanged at 0.856.

¹⁷ The number of individuals is smaller because learning is accumulated city size until t-1, so (with individual fixed effects) we need to observe individuals at least 3 times for them to be included in the sample used to estimate the specification in column (5). We also lose the first observation for these individuals as, by definition, learning is not defined in the first period in which the individual is observed. Results available on request show that columns (1) to (4) are robust to the restriction of the sample to observations for which learning is observed.

may be correlated with birthplace size.¹⁸ Results for the first-stage regressions have already been reported in Table 3, whilst results for the second-stage are reported in Table 4.¹⁹ Comparing column (4) in Table 4, with columns (4) in Table 2 shows that we underestimate the impact of birthplace size if we ignore the correlation between unobserved ability and current city size.

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|--------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| (log) Birthplace size | 0.046*** | 0.040*** | 0.039*** | 0.038*** | 0.028*** | 0.024*** | 0.009* |
| | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| 1 st -step controls | | | | | | | |
| Time FE | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Occupation | | | | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| (log) City size | | | | | Х | Х | Х |
| Learning | | | | | | | Х |
| 2 nd -step controls | | | | | | | |
| Gender, Age | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| HPSC | | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Education | | | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Observations | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 4,393 | 3,839 |
| R-squared | 0.140 | 0.193 | 0.325 | 0.308 | 0.305 | 0.297 | 0.300 |

Table 4: Second-stage regressions for gross total wage; individual fixed effects on birthplace and controls (full time workers only)

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. City size is current city size; learning is (log) accumulated city size as explained in the text. Age is average age (see footnote 16). Education is defined using seven educational dummies, while occupation uses nine dummies based on one-digit standard occupational classification (SOC). HSPC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details. For these second stage estimates the number of observations corresponds to the number of individuals because the dependent variable is the individual fixed effects estimated in the first stage.

Results in Table 4 also allow us to consider how different mechanisms explain the correlation between birthplace size to wages. We start by including controls for parental social class -a

¹⁸ We put time varying variables – time fixed effects, occupation, current and accumulated city size (learning) in the first stage. Time invariant variables – gender, highest parent social class (HSPC) and education go in the second stage. We also control for average age in the second stage because the effect of age cannot be identified with individual and time fixed effects in the first stage (for simplicity we also drop terms in age squared). Average age in the second stage captures both a cohort effect and the fact that more experienced individuals earn higher wages on average. Both effects are not separately identifiable because we observe age and not experience in our data.

¹⁹ Results in Appendix Table A1 show that these findings are robust to only estimating on lifetime movers. Results available on request show that these findings are robust to considering all workers, dropping London, only estimating on workers born 1966 onwards (to allow for the fact that our city size and unemployment data begin in 1971 and that we match workers to the nearest census year), with linear interpolation between census year, to the order of introduction of control variables and using WLS with inverse of individual fixed effects' variance as weights. They are also robust to using an alternative definition of learning constructed as accumulated city size, whether or not the individual is working (see also footnote 18). Estimations using birthplace fixed effects yield slightly higher R-squared. Results available on request show that columns (1) to (6) are robust to the restriction of the sample to individuals for whom learning is observed in the first stage.

family characteristic that is clearly pre-determined for individuals in the sample used for estimation. Results are reported in column (2) and show that the effect of birthplace size is reduced by around 20%, reflecting the fact that some of the correlation between birthplace size and wages is explained by the sorting of *parents* across places of different sizes.²⁰ Column (3) shows what happens once we introduce individual education as an additional control. The coefficient on birthplace size is almost unchanged, suggesting that the correlation between birthplace city size to wages does not work through own educational outcome (once we control for parental characteristics). Controlling for own occupation (column 4) similarly has little effect.²¹ In contrast, controlling for current city size (column 5) has a substantial impact on the birthplace effect reducing it further from 3.8% to 2.8%.

Results so far suggest that the link from birthplace size to wages is partly the result of two mechanisms. First, parental sorting means that educational outcomes differ with birthplace size. Second, birthplace size determines current city size and, as is well known, current city size increases wages as a result of agglomeration economies.

In the last two columns of Table 4 we allow for adult learning by introducing cumulated experience. We focus on 'lifetime movers' (i.e. workers who move at least once during the sample period), because for workers who do not move from their original birthplace it is impossible to separate out the effect of birthplace from the cumulated effect of city size.²² Column (6) demonstrates that results for the specification reported in column (5) are similar when we only estimate using lifetime movers.²³ As is clear from results in column (5) of Table 3, allowing for learning makes a big difference in terms of the estimated effect of birthplace size, as shown in the second-stage results reported in the last column of Table 4. This suggests a third mechanism through which birthplace size operates: specifically, it determines the amount of time spent in large cities which increases wages via the effect of adult learning in big cities.

 $^{^{20}}$ A Wald test suggests that the change in coefficient from 0.040 (0.004) to 0.046 (0.004) is statistically significant.

²¹ As with current city size, occupation can be time-varying because some individuals switch occupations, which is why we include the corresponding dummy variables in the first-stage estimation.

²² For individuals who have never moved from their birthplace, cumulative city size equals age times birthplace size. The only thing that prevents this from being perfectly correlated with age is time series variation in city size which is itself too low to allow identification.

²³ Results available on request show that for this sub-sample of lifetime movers, estimates of the agglomeration elasticity of wages are very similar to those that we obtain with the full sample as reported in Table 3. In this sense, at least, the sub-sample of movers is representative of the broader sample.

To summarise, results so far suggest an elasticity of wages with respect to birthplace size of around 4.6%. The sorting of *parents* across places of different sizes explains some of this correlation. Once we control for this parental sorting, own educational outcome does not play much of a role in explaining the effect of birthplace, and neither does occupation. In contrast, the fact that birthplace size determines current city size plays an important role via the effect of static and dynamic agglomeration economies on wages. We now consider a number of these mechanisms in more detail.

5. Mechanisms

5.1. Parental sorting

We start with the role of parental sorting. As we saw in Table 4, adding controls for parental social class reduces estimates of the elasticity of wages with respect to birthplace size from 4.6% to 4.0%. Given what we know about intergenerational transmission (see, e.g., Black and Devereux, 2011 for a review), this suggests that parental social class must be positively correlated with city size. Table 5 shows a number of descriptive statistics that suggest that this is indeed the case. The first two columns show the percentage of our sample born in a city²⁴ or in London for workers disaggregated by highest parental social class (HPSC), while the third column shows the average birthplace size similarly disaggregated. Comparing the first and final rows of the table we see that 79.3% of those with professional occupation as the HPSC were born in a city, as opposed to 71.7% for those with unskilled parents. The same figures for London are 12.4% and 6.5%, respectively. In line with this, there are very marked differences for birthplace size. The average birthplace size for a person born to parents with a professional occupation is around 705,000 nearly 50% larger than the average birthplace size for a person born to unskilled parents. The table shows that these differences are much less marked within the three higher social classes (professional, managerial and skilled nonmanual) and the four remaining social classes. The differences between those two groupings are, however, pretty marked and underpin the effect of social class on HSPC that we documented above.

²⁴ We use the same urban/rural classification as Gibbons et al. (2014).

| | Born in city | Born in London | Birthplace | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| HPSC | (%) | (%) | size | | | | |
| Professional occupation | 79.3 | 12.4 | 705,427 | | | | |
| Managerial & technical | 74.0 | 10.7 | 643,377 | | | | |
| Skilled non-manual | 79.4 | 12.0 | 700,114 | | | | |
| Armed forces | 71.4 | 10.7 | 605,948 | | | | |
| Skilled manual | 72.6 | 8.6 | 565,199 | | | | |
| Partly skilled occupation | 69.0 | 7.2 | 503,401 | | | | |
| Unskilled | 71.7 | 6.5 | 476,750 | | | | |
| Total | 74.0 | 9.7 | 604.608 | | | | |

Table 5: Descriptive statistics of birthplace by HPSC

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Sample: is non-Northern Ireland, non-students, non-retired for whom we observe both birthplace and HPSC (13,734 individuals). HPSC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details.

5.2. Education

We next look in more detail at the role of individual education. So far, we have implicitly assumed that birthplace is also the place in which individuals receive their schooling. Table 8 (in the next section) shows that this is a reasonable assumption for more than half our sample. The figures show that at the end of compulsory schooling (16 years old) roughly 60% of individuals live in the same places as they were born. This falls slightly to a little under 56% by the end of schooling (18 years old). These percentages are quite large, but the fact that individuals move during childhood urges some caution in interpreting the link between birthplace size and education as accurately estimating the link between childhood city size and education. Childhood mobility means that birthplace size is not a precise measure of the size of the city in which individuals grow up and this measurement error will tend to attenuate estimates of the effect of birthplace size at ages 16 or 18 is very high (even for movers) which suggests that our estimates of birthplace effects are likely reasonable estimates for childhood city size.²⁵

To consider this mechanism further we look directly at the link between education and birthplace size using a measure of years of education (constructed from highest educational and academic qualifications described in Section 2). Table 6 shows results from regressions of

²⁵ The correlation coefficients between birthplace size and city size at ages 16 and 18 are 0.97 and 0.96, respectively.

this measure of years of education on birthplace size plus controls.²⁶ Controlling for gender and the year of birth, results in the first column show that there is a positive significant effect of birthplace size on years of education. As we know that years of education are positively correlated with wages (see, e.g, Card, 1999; Harmon et al., 2003 for reviews), this provides one mechanism through which birthplace affects wages.

Note, however, that just as with the neighbourhoods effect literature, the effect of birthplace on education could be picking up either a direct effect of area on education, or an indirect effect of area working through the sorting of families, documented above. Results in columns (2) and (3) of Table 4 already suggested that the effect works through sorting of families. Results in the second column of Table 6 confirm this finding. Once we control for parental social class (in column 2) birthplace size has no effect on years of education. At least for educational outcomes, parental characteristics, rather than birthplace size, explains the positive effect of birthplace size.

| | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|---------|
| (log) Birthplace size | 0.070*** | 0.023 |
| | (0.018) | (0.017) |
| Gender | Х | Х |
| Year of birth | Х | Х |
| HPSC | | Х |
| Observations | 13,354 | 13,354 |
| R-squared | 0.070 | 0.172 |

Table 6: Regressions of years of education onbirthplace and controls

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Sample is non-Northern Ireland, non-students, non-retired for whow we observe birthplace, HPSC and education, a little bit smaller than Table 5 then. Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. HPSC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details.

5.3. Geography and lifetime mobility patterns

The results in Table 4 make clear that the most substantial reduction in the coefficient on birthplace size occurs when we control for current and accumulated city size. Consistent with the agglomeration literature, we know from the estimates reported in Table 3 that current and accumulated city sizes both have a positive effect on wages. That suggests that the reduction

²⁶ Results available on request show that these findings are robust to the reduction of the sample to all workers, to full-time workers only and to lifetime movers and to using the age of leaving education as an alternative measure for education.

in the coefficient on birthplace size occurs because of a positive correlation between birthplace size and the size of cities where individuals work as adults.

In this sub-section we consider this further by providing evidence on lifetime mobility patterns and on the correlation between birthplace and city size. Low lifetime mobility means that, by construction, current and accumulated city size will tend to be strongly correlated with birthplace size. Thus low mobility provides one mechanism through which birthplace size, via its effect on current and accumulated city size, can affect wages.²⁷ Indeed, as mentioned in the introduction, in the extreme case of complete immobility, birthplace fully determines place of residence and (given relatively small time series variation in city sizes) it makes little sense to try to distinguish between the effect of birthplace and current and accumulated city size.

Because the BHPS provides information on both current location and place of birth, we can use it to assess the extent of lifetime mobility in Britain. We ignore mobility for non-work related reasons – such as study or retirement – and focus on the share of workers who have only ever worked while living in the same place as they were born. The first row in Table 7 shows the overall figures and then broken down by qualification. As the table shows, over 40% of workers have only ever worked in the place where they were born. The breakdown by qualification shows that these figures are decreasing with education level - consistent with the wider literature on the relationship between education and mobility.²⁸

The next 4 rows show the figures broken down by the type of area in which the individual was born.²⁹ The figures provide evidence that mobility also varies with birthplace size – although the major difference is observed in the larger lifetime mobility away from rural areas. The pattern with respect to qualifications is repeated across area types. The final two rows consider similar figures but now focus on whether someone was born in the same place of birth as their parents (these figures are calculated for a sub-set of the 5,361 individuals for whom we observe both parent and individual birthplace). These figures are higher than for the percentage of individuals who have always worked where they were born. This is partly

²⁷ This assumes that current and accumulated city size are positively correlated with wages consistent with our findings reported in Table 3 and the findings of the wider agglomeration literature.

²⁸ For example, Diamond (forthcoming) documents that 67% of US citizens live in their birth state, the figure being only 50% for college graduates.

²⁹ Areas are classified either as rural or urban with urban further divided in to large cities (employment greater than 260,000), medium cities (employment 130,000-260,000) and small cities (employment smaller than 130,000). See Appendix A1 for further details.

explained by the fact that lifetime mobility is increasing with age (and that people tend to have children when they are younger). But the degree of intergenerational persistence in place of birth is still striking.

| area where they were born, by skins (an workers) | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|--|--|--|--|
| % always worked where born | Total | No quals. | GCSE eq. | A-level eq. | Degree | | | | |
| Total | 43.7 | 51.8 | 48.7 | 45.8 | 30.5 | | | | |
| Born in | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 33.2 | 40.7 | 37.9 | 32.9 | 21.5 | | | | |
| Small city | 46.5 | 52.0 | 53.5 | 51.7 | 29.2 | | | | |
| Medium city | 45.1 | 57.1 | 49.4 | 48.6 | 28.9 | | | | |
| Large city | 48.8 | 57.2 | 53.8 | 50.3 | 37.2 | | | | |
| % born same place as (all indiv | iduals): | | | | | | | | |
| Mother born | 53.8 | 63.1 | 56.2 | 50.5 | 49.9 | | | | |
| Father born | 52.8 | 56.7 | 56.7 | 50.1 | 48.8 | | | | |

Table 7: Lifetime mobility: Share of individuals who have always worked in the same area where they were born, by skills (all workers)

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Areas correspond to Local Labour Market Areas – see Appendix B1 for details. Education is classified based on the confrontation of the highest educational and academic qualifications variables. GCSE qualification includes those with O-level and CSE; A-level includes those with HND, HNC or teaching qualifications; Degree includes both 1st and higher degree.

Consistent with this, Table 8 shows that the aggregate lifetime mobility figures hide substantial heterogeneity with respect to age. The table shows overall lifetime mobility at four particular cut-offs – age 16 (compulsory schooling age), age 18 (end of schooling), age 21 (the age at which most university graduates complete their course) and age 65 (retirement).³⁰ The figures show that nearly 61% of 16 years olds live in the same places as they were born, 55.5% of 18 year olds and 46% of 21 year olds. The full set of figures (available on request) show a gradual decline until age 56, with figures increasing slightly afterwards, suggesting some return migration for retirement.

Table 8: Lifetime mobility across the UK: Share of (all) individuals who live in the same area where they were born, by skills, by age

| % live in area where born | Total | No quals. | GCSE eq. | A-level eq. | Degree | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|--|--|--|--|
| At age: | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | 60.8 | 59.3 | 60.4 | 65.3 | 70.6 | | | | |
| 18 | 55.6 | 59.5 | 59.1 | 50.5 | 62.1 | | | | |
| 21 | 46.0 | 59.3 | 53.2 | 41.5 | 37.1 | | | | |
| 65 | 44.4 | 53.4 | 40.8 | 41.6 | 28.1 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: See Table 7.

³⁰ Note that these figures are calculated for all individuals, rather than focusing on mobility for work (which would make no sense for many 16-21 year olds who are still in education and thus outside the labour force).

As discussed above, in addition to being of substantive interest, these figures also help with the interpretation of the regressions including birthplace. In particular, they tell us that for around 60% of our sample birthplace also identifies the area where the individual grew up.³¹ For many more, we would expect birthplace to identify the area in which they spent the majority of their childhood (assuming that the gradual increase in mobility with respect to age, as evidenced in Table 8 and in more detailed results available on request, can be extrapolated in to childhood).

| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Full sample | | | |
| (log) Birthplace size | 0.375*** | 0.374*** | 0.373*** |
| | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.011) |
| Observations | 109,842 | 109,842 | 109,842 |
| R-squared | 0.211 | 0.212 | 0.220 |
| Movers only | | | |
| (log) Birthplace size | 0.039*** | 0.032*** | 0.032*** |
| | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Observations | 63,479 | 63,479 | 63,479 |
| R-squared | 0.009 | 0.021 | 0.051 |
| Time FE | Х | Х | Х |
| Gender, Age, Age2 | Х | Х | Х |
| HPSC | | Х | Х |
| Education | | | Х |

| Table 9: Regressions o | f current | city log | g size | on |
|------------------------|-----------|----------|--------|----|
| birthplace and control | S | | | |

Sample: non-Northern Ireland, non-students, non-retired for whow we observe birthplace, HPSC and education. Standard errors clustered at the individual level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Education is defined using seven educational dummies, while HPSC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details.

We now turn to the correlation between birthplace and current city size, which helps explain the reduction in the birthplace effect once we include controls for current and accumulated city size. As expected, there is a strong positive relationship between current city size and birthplace size as shown in the first panel of Table 9 – which report estimates from regressions of current city size on birthplace size.³² Column (1) reports results from the

³¹ It is possible that some families move away from birthplace, returning before their children are aged 16 or older. We expect this to affect only a small number of families.

³² Results available on request show that these findings are robust to considering all workers, to considering full-time workers, only estimating on individuals born 1966 onwards (to allow for the fact that our city size and unemployment data begin in 1971 and that we match individuals to the nearest census year) and with linear interpolation between census year

regression controlling for individual characteristics, while columns (2) and (3) show that controlling for parental characteristics and for own education make no difference – with the coefficient on birthplace size and the R-squared of the regressions remarkably stable across specifications. This finding of a strong correlation between current and birthplace size raises the obvious question of whether the results for birthplace size simply reflect the effect of birthplace inertia – i.e. the fact that mobility is low – so that those born in large places end up working in large places. Remember, however, that results in the column (6) of Table 4 show that this is not the case – the positive effect of birthplace size is similar even when we focus only on lifetime movers. For this sample of lifetime movers, results in Appendix A also show the same pattern in terms of changes to the coefficient on birthplace as we sequentially introduce controls in the two-step regression.

Consistent with this, results reported in the second panel of Table 9 show that for movers the correlation between current city size and birthplace size is still positive, albeit weaker than for the full sample.³³ This helps explain why the reduction of the birthplace effect when adding current city size is weaker for movers than for the full sample.³⁴ While the strong positive correlation reported in Table 9 for the sample as a whole is driven mostly by inertia (i.e. non-movers), location decision of movers also play a role in helping explain the link from birthplace size to current city size. Including learning effects places a much stronger weight on the full set of adult local labour market decisions and reduces estimates of birthplace effect. The correlation of current and birth city size for movers becomes more important once we allow for accumulated city size. This highlights the difficulties of separately estimating dynamic (i.e. learning) and static agglomeration economies in situations where a relatively large proportion of workers are immobile. See D'Costa and Overman (2014) for further discussion.

5.4 Local unemployment

So far, we have considered how wages are affected by birthplace size. In this subsection we consider whether there is a role for local unemployment in addition to birthplace size. To do this, we include additional controls for birthplace unemployment. Results are reported in

³³ See footnote 32 for robustness checks.

³⁴ Remember, we can only estimate the specification including accumulated city size for movers. See Section 4 for further discussion.

Table 10.³⁵ Higher local unemployment at birth has a negative effect on wages. Comparison, to the same columns in Table 4, shows that the coefficient on birthplace is essentially unchanged, consistent with the fact that birthplace size and unemployment are very weakly correlated (the correlation coefficient is -0.099 at the individual level). There are at least three possible explanations for this effect of birthplace unemployment. First, it could be acting as an additional control for parental characteristics, although the fact that the coefficient does not change when introducing HPSC (column 3) suggests that this is perhaps unlikely. Second, it could be capturing a direct effect of growing up in area with high local unemployment through, e.g., the influences of role models and other mechanisms that have been suggested in the neighbourhood effect literature. Third, it could be capturing the effect of current city unemployment, given the low mobility we have documented and the high time series persistence of local unemployment. Results in column (6) consider this possibility by introducing additional controls for current city unemployment rate. We see that the coefficient on birthplace unemployment is essentially unchanged providing suggestive evidence of a direct effect. Note, however, that once we allow for the possibility of learning - captured once again by accumulated city size - the effects of both birthplace size and unemployment are substantially reduced.³⁶ Once again, including learning effects places a much stronger weight on the full set of adult local labour market decisions and reduces estimates of birthplace effect.

³⁵ Results available on request show that these results are robust to considering all workers, the restriction of the sample to workers born 1966 onwards, to adding local unemployment rate at age 16, to adding other local variables at birth and using WLS with inverse of individual fixed effects' variance as weights.

³⁶ As before, we estimate the specification with accumulated city size for lifetime movers only. See Section 4 for further discussion. As for Table 4, results are essentially unchanged when estimating the specification in column (6) only for movers. With 4,393 observations we get a coefficient on birthplace size of 0.019 (s.e. 0.005) and on birthplace unemployment of -0.022 (s.e. 0.003). The R-squared falls slightly to 0.306.

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Birthplace | | | | | | | |
| (log) Size | 0.042*** | 0.036*** | 0.035*** | 0.034*** | 0.024*** | 0.023*** | 0.007 |
| | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.005) |
| Unemp. | -0.028*** | -0.027*** | -0.030*** | -0.028*** | -0.028*** | -0.026*** | -0.005* |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) |
| 1 st -step | | | | | | | |
| Time FE | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Occ. | | | | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| City size | | | | | Х | Х | Х |
| Unemp. | | | | | | Х | Х |
| Learning | | | | | | | Х |
| 2 nd -step | | | | | | | |
| Gen, Age | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| HPSC | | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Education | | | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х |
| Obs | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 7,500 | 3,839 |
| R-squared | 0.155 | 0.207 | 0.342 | 0.325 | 0.322 | 0.320 | 0.300 |

Table 10: 2nd step regressions of individual fixed effects (gross total wage) on birthplace, unemployment at birth and controls (full time workers only)

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. City size is current city size; learning is (log) accumulated city size as explained in the text. Age is average age (see footnote 16). Education is defined using seven educational dummies, while occupation uses nine dummies based on one-digit standard occupational classification (SOC). HSPC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details.

6. Conclusions

This paper considers the link between birthplace size and wages. We show that there is a positive effect of birthplace size on wages and that the magnitude of this effect is similar to that of current city size. A number of mechanisms appear to explain (most of) this effect of birthplace size. First, birthplace size is linked to parental social class so that the sorting of parents explains some of the effect of birthplace size. Once we control for parental social class, there appears to be no additional role for education in explaining the birth size effect. Second, current city size is correlated with birthplace size creating a link from birthplace to current location. As current city size influences wages (as a result of agglomeration economies) the effect of birthplace on current city size is the second mechanism through with the effect operates.³⁷ Third, because adult learning matters, the effect on current location provides an additional mechanism because it determines the amount of time spent in large cities which increases wages via the effect of adult learning in big cities. Inertia explains some

³⁷ As an aside, it is interesting to note that the inertia we document here induces correlation in the sorting patterns across generations raising questions about the use of historical instruments that are often used to help identify the causal effect of agglomeration economies.

of these findings: around 40% of workers only ever work while living in the area that they were born. For at least 60% of individuals, place of birth also identifies the area in which a person grows up. But birthplace also plays a role in determining the future location of movers and our results are not fully explained by inertia.

Further work remains to be done on understanding the mechanisms that explain the birthplace size effect and the implications for our understanding of spatial disparities. But, whereas the existing literature has focussed on the role of sorting in adulthood, our results point to the importance of considering other kinds of sorting if we want to fully understand the causes and consequences of spatial disparities.

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Appendix A: Results for movers

As discussed in section 5.3, our main results are robust to restricting the sample to lifetime movers and to an alternative definition of learning defined using accumulated city size whether working or not (footnote 13, p. 11; footnote 19, p.14). Table A1 reports estimates of the birthplace size elasticity for lifetime movers and using the alternative definition of learning (column 7).³⁸ Results should be compared to those reported in Table 4 of the main text (note that column (7) in Table 4, should be compared to column (6) in Table A1; column (6) in Table 4 showed the result when restricting to lifetime movers – which is reported in column (5) of table A1).

Table A1: 2nd step regressions of individual fixed effects (gross total wage) on birthplace and controls (full time workers only, lifetime movers)

| and controls (full time workers only, meetine movers) | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|---------|--|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | |
| Birth city log size | 0.034*** | 0.026*** | 0.028*** | 0.026*** | 0.024*** | 0.009* | 0.011** | |
| | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | |
| 1 st -step controls | | | | | | | | |
| Time FE | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | |
| Occupation | | | | Х | Х | Х | Х | |
| (log) City size | | | | | Х | Х | Х | |
| Learning | | | | | | Х | Х | |
| 2 nd -step controls | | | | | | | | |
| Gender, Av. age | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | |
| HPSC | | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | |
| Education | | | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | |
| Observations | 4,393 | 4,393 | 4,393 | 4,393 | 4,393 | 3,839 | 3,912 | |
| R-squared | 0.131 | 0.179 | 0.315 | 0.297 | 0.297 | 0.300 | 0.287 | |

Source: Authors own calculation based on BHPS. Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. City size is current city size; learning is (log) accumulated city size as explained in the text. Age is average age (see footnote 16). Education is defined using seven educational dummies, while occupation uses nine dummies based on one-digit standard occupational classification (SOC). HSPC is Highest Parental Social Class. See Section 2 for further details.

³⁸ Results available on request show that these findings are robust to the reduction of the sample to lifetime movers for whom we observe learning.

Appendix B: Descriptive statistics for cities.

| Table B1. Lists of cities and | their size (in t | erms of nun | nber of peop | ole in emplo | yment) by c | ity size | categor | y and co | ensus ye | ars | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------|----------|----------|------|--|
| | | | Employment | t | | Unemployment rate (%) | | | | | |
| Area | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | |
| Large cities | | | | | | | | | | | |
| London | 4,084,810 | 3,573,686 | 3,444,313 | 4,015,102 | 4,389,388 | 3.5 | 7.5 | 10.9 | 6.0 | 7.4 | |
| Manchester | 882,333 | 788,166 | 747,492 | 814,821 | 847,164 | 4.1 | 10.1 | 10.6 | 5.1 | 7.2 | |
| Birmingham | 759,722 | 677,912 | 658,353 | 695,386 | 696,677 | 4.0 | 12.2 | 11.6 | 7.4 | 9.8 | |
| Glasgow | 600,884 | 521,019 | 456,748 | 450,094 | 503,452 | 7.2 | 13.7 | 14.4 | 7.8 | 9.0 | |
| Newcastle & Durham | 489,370 | 458,518 | 433,490 | 475,448 | 483,359 | 6.1 | 12.4 | 12.3 | 6.9 | 7.8 | |
| Liverpool | 493,218 | 422,646 | 360,626 | 388,334 | 402,108 | 7.4 | 16.1 | 17.1 | 8.8 | 9.8 | |
| Bristol | 342,148 | 352,524 | 381,860 | 447,536 | 454,164 | 3.4 | 7.3 | 7.9 | 3.6 | 5.2 | |
| Leeds | 382,294 | 353,946 | 353,798 | 402,252 | 397,465 | 4.1 | 9.4 | 9.2 | 5.1 | 7.4 | |
| Sheffield & Rotherham | 368,003 | 346,445 | 328,401 | 366,811 | 359,556 | 3.6 | 9.9 | 11.8 | 6.3 | 7.8 | |
| Leicester | 317,828 | 322,569 | 337,264 | 381,127 | 387,501 | 2.8 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 4.8 | 6.5 | |
| Nottingham | 331,595 | 321,857 | 327,558 | 359,969 | 358,025 | 3.7 | 8.3 | 9.7 | 5.6 | 7.7 | |
| Warrington & Wigan | 314,163 | 317,167 | 321,516 | 358,610 | 363,006 | 3.8 | 10.1 | 10.4 | 5.4 | 7.1 | |
| Guildford & Aldershot | 270,224 | 299,846 | 329,374 | 385,903 | 371,961 | 2.3 | 3.9 | 5.0 | 2.3 | 4.0 | |
| Luton & Watford | 266,697 | 279,504 | 294,604 | 334,886 | 332,695 | 2.5 | 6.1 | 7.1 | 3.7 | 5.9 | |
| Cardiff | 275,285 | 264,353 | 263,504 | 302,727 | 320,941 | 4.8 | 11.0 | 11.4 | 5.5 | 7.4 | |
| Edinburgh | 273,489 | 270,230 | 267,347 | 281,312 | 304,993 | 4.9 | 7.5 | 8.3 | 4.4 | 6.2 | |
| Medium-size cities | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Southampton | 216,737 | 234,870 | 260,955 | 320,639 | 316,531 | 3.7 | 6.2 | 7.3 | 3.0 | 4.8 | |
| Portsmouth | 223,055 | 236,063 | 250,722 | 294,728 | 285,171 | 3.6 | 7.0 | 7.9 | 3.6 | 5.5 | |
| Wycombe & Slough | 227,602 | 240,538 | 248,622 | 281,631 | 278,922 | 2.5 | 4.8 | 6.2 | 3.2 | 5.1 | |
| Southend & Brentwood | 218,765 | 235,300 | 247,615 | 281,366 | 276,221 | 3.2 | 6.7 | 7.9 | 4.2 | 6.1 | |
| Maidstone & North Kent | 203,618 | 221,065 | 244,775 | 280,510 | 284,596 | 4.1 | 7.3 | 7.9 | 4.3 | 6.2 | |
| Coventry | 246,992 | 223,601 | 225,820 | 252,537 | 244,689 | 3.9 | 12.0 | 9.7 | 5.1 | 7.4 | |
| Reading & Bracknell | 184,363 | 209,266 | 240,627 | 284,075 | 274,658 | 2.4 | 4.7 | 5.5 | 2.7 | 4.7 | |
| Crawley | 188,483 | 208,533 | 229,753 | 279,156 | 276,567 | 2.1 | 4.1 | 5.6 | 2.4 | 4.2 | |
| Stoke-on-Trent | 241,117 | 228,873 | 228,138 | 240,986 | 232,462 | 3.1 | 8.8 | 8.0 | 5.0 | 6.6 | |
| Dudley & Sandwell | 231,392 | 202,563 | 206,292 | 219,709 | 210,275 | 2.7 | 11.7 | 10.9 | 6.8 | 9.4 | |
| Bradford | 213,109 | 196,874 | 198,941 | 213,754 | 221,256 | 4.6 | 11.3 | 11.0 | 6.7 | 9.3 | |
| Oxford | 167,578 | 176,453 | 200,500 | 244,579 | 243,534 | 3.1 | 6.1 | 5.8 | 2.6 | 4.0 | |

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| Swindon | 151,937 | 168,298 | 203,577 | 247,937 | 253,641 | 2.7 | 6.9 | 6.1 | 2.9 | 4.8 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----|------|------|-----|------|
| Hull | 192,116 | 187,415 | 192,671 | 214,135 | 216,733 | 5.1 | 11.2 | 11.0 | 7.1 | 8.9 |
| Lanarkshire | 191,471 | 196,484 | 186,888 | 189,085 | 216,101 | 6.4 | 13.4 | 12.9 | 7.3 | 8.7 |
| Middlesbrough & Stockton | 193,488 | 189,864 | 183,960 | 197,146 | 196,925 | 5.8 | 15.2 | 13.2 | 8.7 | 10.3 |
| Rochdale & Oldham | 204,937 | 188,463 | 179,714 | 194,889 | 185,128 | 3.4 | 10.7 | 11.1 | 5.8 | 8.9 |
| Swansea Bay | 193,180 | 178,371 | 168,710 | 187,672 | 195,605 | 4.0 | 11.8 | 10.8 | 6.5 | 7.0 |
| Northampton & | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wellingborough | 136,169 | 152,624 | 182,247 | 218,758 | 221,559 | 2.5 | 7.1 | 6.8 | 3.9 | 5.9 |
| Preston | 155,418 | 161,239 | 174,494 | 197,488 | 197,707 | 3.6 | 7.8 | 7.0 | 3.8 | 5.1 |
| Norwich | 138,886 | 151,938 | 172,217 | 204,900 | 202,637 | 3.8 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 4.1 | 5.2 |
| Wirral & Ellesmere Port | 178,064 | 170,215 | 165,228 | 177,006 | 173,225 | 4.9 | 12.0 | 11.4 | 6.4 | 7.7 |
| Brighton | 152,568 | 145,470 | 158,231 | 197,315 | 201,431 | 3.9 | 7.2 | 8.9 | 4.5 | 5.3 |
| Cambridge | 123,654 | 140,423 | 163,401 | 201,933 | 214,848 | 2.5 | 5.0 | 5.3 | 3.0 | 4.0 |
| Wolverhampton | 179,077 | 161,538 | 161,748 | 173,397 | 166,736 | 3.7 | 13.3 | 12.1 | 7.1 | 10.7 |
| Derby | 149,490 | 151,787 | 159,345 | 177,617 | 183,189 | 3.8 | 6.9 | 8.0 | 4.9 | 6.5 |
| Milton Keynes & Aylesbury | 86,350 | 123,650 | 167,676 | 213,068 | 226,570 | 2.1 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 3.4 | 5.6 |
| Ipswich | 130,926 | 141,231 | 160,665 | 190,343 | 192,889 | 3.7 | 5.8 | 6.2 | 3.7 | 5.3 |
| Aberdeen | 122,240 | 144,124 | 166,598 | 171,443 | 199,351 | 3.7 | 4.9 | 4.2 | 3.8 | 3.9 |
| Walsall & Cannock | 153,450 | 148,422 | 155,971 | 170,102 | 165,124 | 3.5 | 10.8 | 9.9 | 5.4 | 8.3 |
| Stevenage | 133,789 | 144,330 | 151,637 | 175,924 | 178,975 | 2.3 | 6.3 | 7.1 | 3.1 | 5.3 |
| Chelmsford & Braintree | 114,872 | 133,812 | 155,187 | 186,382 | 185,960 | 2.5 | 4.7 | 6.2 | 3.1 | 4.9 |
| Sunderland | 158,293 | 155,537 | 145,032 | 156,960 | 155,836 | 6.5 | 13.8 | 14.2 | 7.9 | 9.2 |
| Plymouth | 123,449 | 133,586 | 144,712 | 167,564 | 164,224 | 4.0 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 4.5 | 6.0 |
| Wakefield & Castleford | 130,747 | 136,828 | 136,209 | 151,417 | 152,589 | 4.0 | 7.7 | 9.9 | 5.5 | 7.3 |
| Newport & Cwmbran | 129,499 | 127,389 | 131,857 | 149,040 | 150,890 | 4.6 | 11.5 | 9.9 | 5.5 | 7.4 |
| Blackburn | 140,354 | 130,162 | 128,561 | 139,314 | 138,470 | 3.5 | 9.7 | 8.8 | 5.2 | 7.2 |
| Small cities | | | | | | | | | | |
| York | 103,966 | 114,696 | 129,250 | 157,059 | 158,805 | 3.4 | 5.4 | 5.5 | 3.4 | 4.5 |
| Exeter & Newton Abbot | 97,576 | 105,946 | 123,999 | 156,219 | 153,840 | 4.2 | 6.7 | 6.5 | 3.6 | 4.3 |
| Peterborough | 86,623 | 103,824 | 123,923 | 152,259 | 158,558 | 3.2 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 3.8 | 5.9 |
| Mansfield | 116,008 | 121,451 | 118,690 | 130,338 | 136,296 | 3.6 | 6.8 | 10.1 | 6.6 | 6.9 |
| Bournemouth | 99,287 | 99,262 | 113,805 | 150,591 | 150,030 | 4.4 | 8.5 | 8.7 | 3.9 | 5.1 |
| Tunbridge Wells | 103,149 | 108,746 | 120,170 | 138,983 | 139,485 | 2.6 | 4.4 | 5.4 | 2.6 | 3.9 |
| Doncaster | 115,294 | 117,017 | 111,128 | 127,304 | 130,918 | 5.1 | 10.9 | 13.1 | 6.8 | 8.9 |
| Blackpool | 115,137 | 113,324 | 117,726 | 131,376 | 120,926 | 4.9 | 9.1 | 8.6 | 5.3 | 7.5 |

| Bolton | 116,505 | 110,527 | 109,274 | 121,746 | 119,195 | 3.6 | 10.3 | 10.3 | 5.3 | 7.7 |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----|------|------|-----|------|
| Clacton and Colchester | 87,571 | 97,577 | 112,054 | 141,457 | 135,489 | 3.9 | 7.0 | 8.2 | 4.1 | 6.3 |
| Worcester & Malvern | 91,221 | 95,285 | 108,801 | 134,565 | 128,173 | 2.8 | 7.7 | 6.3 | 3.4 | 5.3 |
| Huddersfield | 100,217 | 94,531 | 100,691 | 112,968 | 113,691 | 2.6 | 9.1 | 7.9 | 4.7 | 6.7 |
| Cheltenham & Evesham | 83,594 | 90,245 | 100,784 | 123,134 | 120,264 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 6.0 | 3.3 | 4.4 |
| Barnsley | 97,543 | 96,636 | 90,214 | 100,330 | 105,686 | 4.9 | 9.0 | 12.9 | 6.5 | 8.0 |
| Dundee | 98,864 | 92,604 | 87,188 | 81,570 | 88,692 | 6.9 | 12.6 | 11.9 | 8.4 | 8.6 |
| Calderdale | 90,729 | 82,235 | 85,782 | 95,134 | 94,009 | 3.0 | 9.2 | 8.6 | 5.5 | 7.3 |
| Telford & Bridgnorth | 61,912 | 70,426 | 88,870 | 107,625 | 105,618 | 3.7 | 11.9 | 8.0 | 4.4 | 6.5 |
| Poole | 64,419 | 72,389 | 85,381 | 103,352 | 98,702 | 3.6 | 6.4 | 7.2 | 3.1 | 4.4 |
| Grimsby | 77,417 | 81,358 | 80,748 | 89,306 | 87,251 | 5.1 | 9.9 | 11.1 | 7.7 | 9.0 |
| Bedford | 67,716 | 74,237 | 79,091 | 95,619 | 94,428 | 3.0 | 5.9 | 6.9 | 4.0 | 5.9 |
| Burnley, Nelson & Colne | 85,226 | 78,220 | 75,764 | 82,855 | 77,175 | 4.1 | 9.4 | 8.5 | 5.2 | 7.7 |
| Gloucester | 63,560 | 69,465 | 76,955 | 91,268 | 93,544 | 3.5 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 4.0 | 5.1 |
| Worthing | 60,223 | 66,020 | 75,303 | 96,002 | 91,181 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 6.1 | 3.0 | 4.8 |
| Hastings | 50,397 | 51,113 | 59,634 | 75,213 | 73,025 | 4.1 | 7.9 | 8.9 | 5.3 | 7.1 |
| Darlington | 44,572 | 44,006 | 44,736 | 49,839 | 50,767 | 3.8 | 9.2 | 10.0 | 5.9 | 7.5 |
| Hartlepool | 46,094 | 42,274 | 38,720 | 41,347 | 42,449 | 7.4 | 15.6 | 14.8 | 8.9 | 11.9 |
| Rural areas | | | | | | | | | | |
| East Lincolnshire | 127,467 | 134,761 | 146,319 | 179,445 | 187,165 | 4.3 | 8.2 | 8.2 | 4.7 | 5.8 |
| Harlow | 118,144 | 130,939 | 139,211 | 164,905 | 165,048 | 2.3 | 5.3 | 6.5 | 3.0 | 4.7 |
| Crewe | 99,632 | 104,421 | 114,109 | 136,927 | 135,809 | 3.1 | 7.6 | 6.9 | 4.0 | 5.5 |
| Chester | 93,733 | 94,863 | 106,428 | 123,083 | 120,697 | 3.4 | 11.4 | 7.3 | 4.1 | 5.4 |
| Warwick | 81,194 | 85,374 | 94,999 | 114,539 | 113,870 | 3.0 | 6.3 | 5.6 | 3.2 | 4.1 |
| Mid. North East | 93,509 | 92,059 | 93,409 | 104,017 | 101,914 | 4.6 | 10.7 | 9.5 | 6.1 | 6.8 |
| Ayr | 98,190 | 94,217 | 94,844 | 92,942 | 99,740 | 4.5 | 11.9 | 11.3 | 8.1 | 8.6 |
| W. Cornwall | 75,541 | 75,482 | 89,128 | 111,394 | 113,268 | 5.0 | 11.8 | 10.5 | 5.7 | 5.0 |
| Irvine | 93,524 | 92,697 | 90,416 | 88,323 | 93,558 | 6.4 | 14.7 | 13.4 | 8.9 | 9.9 |
| E. Anglia Coast | 75,958 | 78,817 | 90,600 | 105,762 | 100,519 | 6.0 | 9.3 | 9.1 | 6.7 | 7.9 |
| E. Kent | 76,272 | 80,111 | 85,421 | 100,071 | 97,372 | 5.7 | 8.8 | 9.9 | 6.2 | 8.2 |
| Salsbury | 68,170 | 71,682 | 82,721 | 108,349 | 105,552 | 3.1 | 5.4 | 5.2 | 2.6 | 3.7 |
| S.W. Wales | 73,436 | 78,243 | 83,837 | 96,483 | 101,252 | 4.7 | 8.5 | 9.3 | 5.8 | 5.6 |
| N. Forth | 81,885 | 80,489 | 86,455 | 86,364 | 91,776 | 5.5 | 9.7 | 9.6 | 7.7 | 8.4 |
| W. Kent | 65,348 | 70,731 | 81,449 | 101,185 | 104,986 | 4.2 | 7.5 | 8.1 | 4.2 | 6.1 |
| Bath | 74,034 | 73,701 | 81,531 | 97,716 | 92,428 | 2.5 | 6.3 | 7.2 | 3.1 | 4.4 |

| Chichester | 64,296 | 70,563 | 80,382 | 103,487 | 98,524 | 3.9 | 6.4 | 6.3 | 3.3 | 4.9 |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|
| N. Norfolk | 65,942 | 69,244 | 81,405 | 100,380 | 95,863 | 4.9 | 8.8 | 7.7 | 4.2 | 5.6 |
| E. Anglia West | 56,413 | 69,975 | 82,258 | 101,400 | 101,704 | 3.6 | 6.3 | 5.9 | 3.1 | 4.3 |
| S. Wales Border | 74,271 | 72,940 | 77,797 | 88,614 | 86,895 | 4.7 | 11.1 | 9.3 | 5.8 | 7.5 |
| Dorset Coast | 62,523 | 65,479 | 76,946 | 97,707 | 94,377 | 4.3 | 6.6 | 6.9 | 3.5 | 4.4 |
| Mid. Wales | 58,871 | 62,474 | 73,520 | 90,882 | 91,419 | 3.9 | 7.5 | 7.0 | 4.4 | 4.8 |
| N. Wales Coast | 61,319 | 62,440 | 72,510 | 88,579 | 85,182 | 4.8 | 9.6 | 8.7 | 5.8 | 6.6 |
| Chesterford | 69,642 | 68,379 | 70,117 | 78,280 | 77,663 | 4.2 | 8.0 | 10.1 | 6.7 | 6.9 |
| S. Devon | 59,300 | 59,132 | 68,025 | 88,823 | 82,563 | 6.4 | 10.2 | 9.6 | 5.7 | 6.0 |
| S. Moray | 56,290 | 65,269 | 73,470 | 75,984 | 86,612 | 4.9 | 7.4 | 6.3 | 5.0 | 5.3 |
| Morpeth | 65,354 | 67,990 | 67,398 | 76,111 | 75,962 | 5.7 | 8.3 | 10.5 | 7.2 | 8.4 |
| W. Highlands | 65,540 | 65,603 | 72,550 | 72,592 | 75,127 | 5.8 | 11.4 | 9.4 | 6.7 | 6.8 |
| E Somerset | 55,134 | 58,522 | 68,079 | 84,772 | 84,879 | 2.9 | 6.5 | 7.3 | 4.0 | 4.8 |
| W. Lincolnshire | 57,483 | 59,787 | 67,195 | 83,693 | 82,768 | 5.2 | 9.1 | 9.0 | 4.9 | 6.6 |
| Canterbury | 57,398 | 61,419 | 68,430 | 82,282 | 81,174 | 4.8 | 7.1 | 8.0 | 4.3 | 5.4 |
| Yeovil | 52,895 | 60,272 | 68,065 | 85,148 | 82,834 | 2.5 | 4.9 | 6.3 | 3.1 | 4.0 |
| Burton-on-Trent | 57,988 | 61,012 | 65,908 | 79,256 | 82,706 | 3.0 | 6.8 | 7.3 | 4.2 | 5.5 |
| Huntingdon | 41,996 | 53,931 | 69,489 | 86,159 | 86,533 | 2.7 | 6.0 | 5.8 | 2.8 | 4.4 |
| E. Cornwall | 49,061 | 53,328 | 65,471 | 83,718 | 84,138 | 5.0 | 9.5 | 9.3 | 4.9 | 5.5 |
| S. Cumbria | 64,500 | 66,393 | 68,357 | 68,049 | 67,863 | 4.4 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 7.0 | 6.5 |
| Livingston | 48,471 | 58,834 | 68,093 | 75,015 | 83,711 | 6.3 | 11.8 | 9.2 | 5.3 | 7.3 |
| Kettering | 56,148 | 52,810 | 64,918 | 77,528 | 81,805 | 3.3 | 14.4 | 8.2 | 4.3 | 6.0 |
| Falkirk | 60,090 | 62,975 | 63,315 | 66,195 | 76,113 | 5.6 | 10.9 | 10.4 | 5.8 | 7.4 |
| Brecon | 65,197 | 62,303 | 60,684 | 68,487 | 70,402 | 5.2 | 10.3 | 11.4 | 6.1 | 7.5 |
| Trowbridge | 49,356 | 55,242 | 63,823 | 78,074 | 80,542 | 2.4 | 5.6 | 6.0 | 3.2 | 4.6 |
| Basing | 41,461 | 55,825 | 69,097 | 79,011 | 81,070 | 2.6 | 4.7 | 5.6 | 2.6 | 4.5 |
| Mid. Wales Border | 56,326 | 56,464 | 64,916 | 76,428 | 71,518 | 3.0 | 8.8 | 7.4 | 4.0 | 5.5 |
| N. Devon | 49,781 | 53,840 | 63,440 | 79,000 | 79,111 | 3.8 | 6.9 | 7.3 | 4.6 | 4.4 |
| Hereford | 52,189 | 54,131 | 61,266 | 76,572 | 76,012 | 3.3 | 6.9 | 6.7 | 4.0 | 4.8 |
| Wrexham | 55,285 | 55,006 | 61,747 | 73,941 | 74,186 | 4.7 | 11.6 | 8.4 | 4.9 | 6.1 |
| Eastbourne | 48,663 | 51,381 | 60,112 | 80,356 | 79,330 | 3.3 | 5.6 | 7.0 | 3.7 | 5.3 |
| N.W. Wales | 54,428 | 56,600 | 62,788 | 71,392 | 72,931 | 7.6 | 11.9 | 11.2 | 7.4 | 6.6 |
| Scottish Borders | 57,154 | 56,750 | 63,600 | 65,269 | 70,607 | 3.4 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 4.9 | 5.9 |
| N. Scotland | 48,639 | 59,037 | 64,460 | 64,963 | 74,789 | 7.0 | 8.4 | 9.0 | 6.6 | 5.4 |
| Fens | 50,070 | 50,040 | 58,456 | 72,417 | 76,513 | 4.3 | 8.7 | 7.3 | 4.0 | 6.3 |

| Harrogate | 47,933 | 53,647 | 59,157 | 74,040 | 71,444 | 2.7 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 2.7 | 3.7 |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|
| Bridgend | 53,641 | 57,632 | 59,029 | 66,661 | 69,219 | 4.3 | 10.4 | 10.3 | 5.3 | 7.1 |
| Carlisle | 56,539 | 56,191 | 60,797 | 65,431 | 67,107 | 3.1 | 7.7 | 6.6 | 5.1 | 4.9 |
| Scunthorpe | 54,993 | 52,618 | 58,370 | 66,042 | 68,249 | 3.8 | 13.7 | 9.2 | 5.4 | 7.1 |
| N. Solway | 54,997 | 55,727 | 60,564 | 58,157 | 63,650 | 4.2 | 8.9 | 7.9 | 6.8 | 6.5 |
| W.N. Yorkshire | 46,168 | 48,872 | 58,300 | 70,791 | 68,151 | 3.6 | 6.7 | 4.9 | 3.3 | 4.0 |
| Stafford | 50,885 | 52,422 | 56,651 | 63,309 | 62,514 | 3.9 | 6.4 | 5.5 | 3.8 | 4.6 |
| Scarborough | 46,207 | 49,628 | 57,897 | 67,387 | 64,574 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 8.3 | 6.3 | 7.4 |
| N. Cumbria | 51,273 | 50,355 | 55,949 | 63,012 | 62,655 | 3.5 | 8.7 | 7.1 | 5.0 | 4.8 |
| Shrewsbury | 46,367 | 48,275 | 54,777 | 65,302 | 65,756 | 3.1 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 3.3 | 4.6 |
| Dunfermline | 46,906 | 52,063 | 54,155 | 56,930 | 63,551 | 4.7 | 8.1 | 9.1 | 6.4 | 7.9 |
| Stirling | 49,696 | 51,485 | 52,313 | 54,799 | 60,731 | 4.1 | 9.0 | 9.3 | 5.6 | 7.2 |
| Newbury | 38,298 | 44,286 | 54,467 | 65,587 | 65,409 | 2.8 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 2.4 | 4.0 |
| W. Peak District | 48,024 | 48,982 | 52,758 | 60,876 | 57,028 | 2.4 | 4.9 | 5.1 | 3.3 | 4.2 |
| Lancashire | 47,988 | 47,600 | 51,229 | 59,247 | 58,849 | 5.2 | 9.1 | 8.0 | 5.8 | 5.4 |
| Banbury | 35,716 | 42,707 | 49,498 | 63,986 | 62,313 | 3.5 | 5.5 | 6.5 | 2.5 | 3.8 |
| Isle of Wight | 41,139 | 42,879 | 48,354 | 61,557 | 58,051 | 5.3 | 9.1 | 9.7 | 5.9 | 7.1 |
| Perth | 44,313 | 43,504 | 50,003 | 53,140 | 60,727 | 4.1 | 7.1 | 5.7 | 4.3 | 5.0 |
| Taunton | 39,793 | 40,983 | 45,524 | 57,930 | 58,004 | 2.5 | 5.7 | 6.7 | 3.5 | 3.9 |
| Worksop | 43,717 | 44,907 | 46,582 | 51,216 | 53,625 | 4.4 | 7.9 | 9.6 | 6.5 | 6.2 |
| N.W. Devon | 34,429 | 36,383 | 44,922 | 57,604 | 60,199 | 3.5 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| E.N. Yorkshire | 37,568 | 37,435 | 40,626 | 51,646 | 51,735 | 2.7 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 3.1 | 3.8 |
| Inverness | 29,777 | 35,566 | 42,356 | 46,685 | 58,126 | 5.6 | 7.5 | 7.3 | 5.8 | 5.3 |
| E. Highlands | 34,837 | 35,413 | 40,075 | 40,279 | 45,248 | 4.1 | 8.4 | 6.9 | 5.3 | 5.7 |
| Rugby | 32,473 | 34,124 | 36,762 | 41,838 | 44,723 | 3.0 | 6.5 | 6.4 | 4.0 | 5.2 |
| Kendal | 30,517 | 30,981 | 36,752 | 43,484 | 41,138 | 2.6 | 4.6 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 2.7 |
| Andover | 26,204 | 28,851 | 33,115 | 41,623 | 42,856 | 2.8 | 4.9 | 5.3 | 2.3 | 3.9 |

Source: Authors aggregation at the local labour market level of TTWA level data built from the UK censuses by Amior and Manning (2016).

Appendix C: Standard Occupational Classification

Table C.1. List of the job categories represented by the one-digit SOC classification:

| Code | Description |
|------|--|
| 1 | Managers and Senior Officials |
| 2 | Professional Occupations |
| 3 | Professional and Technical Occupations |
| 4 | Administrative and Secretarial Occupations |
| 5 | Skilled Trades Occupations |
| 6 | Personal Service Occupations |
| 7 | Sales and Customer Service Occupations |
| 8 | Process, Plant and Machine Operatives |
| 9 | Elementary Occupations |



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