

BRAIN GAIN: THE ROLE OF HOMES AND PLACE MAKING IN ATTRACTING GRADUATES TO THE NORTH OF ENGLAND





About WPI Economics

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About this report

This report summarises the findings and conclusions from a significant piece of quantitative and qualitative research conducted by WPI Economics and Homes for the North. A wealth of additional data and analysis can be found in an accompanying presentation.

About Homes for the North

Homes for the North (H4N) is an alliance of 19 large developing housing associations who want to deliver more homes across the north of England. Collectively we already provide homes for around one million people in the north.

We have come together to provide new practical ideas to increase the supply of good quality homes in the north and to help people meet their aspirations, including those who want to own their own homes. We believe that good quality homes are the bedrock of a strong economy and thriving communities. To achieve our aims we commission research, hold events and share our expertise and best practice to inform policymakers at national and regional levels.

Data in this report

This report and accompanying slide deck makes extensive use of data from the Labour Force Survey and the HESA destinations of leavers survey.^{i,ii} Where other data sources are used, they are referenced as such.

The report also makes use of primary research conducted by ComRes on behalf of Homes for the north with people aged under 35 with a degree level qualification or above.^{iii,iv,v} In total, over 2,000 people were interviewed online between 7th and 14th September 2016. A total of four focus groups were held with graduates aged 20-35, with two held in Leeds and another two in London. Alongside this, interviews were conducted with participants of the GEM Programme and a number of northern businesses and business representatives.

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Summary

This report finds that the north of England has a significant qualifications deficit compared to London. This leads businesses to complain about skills gaps in the workforce and, ultimately limits the growth potential of the north of England.^{vi} With the Government committed both to a more regionally balanced model of economic growth and to ensuring that the economy works for everyone, tackling these deficits and boosting qualifications and skills should be a key part of the Northern Powerhouse initiative.

The Northern Brain Drain

Doing so will require action to ensure that the Northern Brain Drain, where highly qualified individuals move from homes and universities in the north of England to the south, is stemmed and more graduates actively choose to move to the north of England. There are two key groups for ensuring that this happens: recent graduates (aged 20-24) and early career graduates (aged 25-34). These two groups account for around two thirds of the cross-regional geographic mobility of those with degree-level qualifications. New evidence in this report shows that, over the last 10 years, the number of people in these groups leaving the area covered by the Northern Powerhouse initiative has been greater than the numbers entering. In total, this has led to a net outflow of 75,500 highly qualified British resident individuals. While this out-flow has been masked by significant inflows of highly qualified immigrants from outside of the UK, it is not clear that this can be relied upon to continue to bolster the Northern Powerhouse’s talent pool in the future.

75,500 highly qualified British resident individuals have been lost from the Northern Powerhouse workforce in the last 10 years. Source: WPI Economics, ONS.

Factors driving graduates’ location decisions

To understand how the north of England can become a more attractive location for graduates of all ages to live and work, this report commissioned a significant piece of quantitative and qualitative research to understand the drivers of location decisions. Unsurprisingly, the main driving factors of location decisions are the availability of graduate level jobs and future career prospects.

However, they are not the only factors. Research in this report highlights that the decisions that graduates make on location are also driven by the cost and quality of housing; the identity, feel and social scene of a city; the proximity of green spaces; opportunities for home ownership; and the overall quality of life. The role that housing and place making plays in these decisions is particularly clear.

On a scale of 0-10, where 0 = not at all important and 10 = very important, how important or otherwise are each of the following aspects of housing to you when considering where to live?	All	Recent graduates	Early career movers
	% saying factor is important		
Quality of housing	80	77	83
Availability of housing in well-maintained neighbourhoods	75	72	79
Availability of housing close to your workplace	71	72	71
The opportunity to own/part own your own flat/house in the area in the future	69	65	73
The quality of green spaces and local amenities (e.g. parks, libraries, leisure centres) nearby	64	59	68
Affordability of rental accommodation	62	69	55

Source: ComRes for Homes for the North. A subset of response options is displayed.

Brain Gain: an agenda for attracting more graduates

A range of non-work factors are clearly important for graduate location decisions and research in this report shows that London does not perform well in meeting graduates' preferences in many of these areas. This opens a door to other locations that do provide these factors. To make the most of this opportunity, regions across the UK should develop Jobs Plus strategies that combine strong employment and career prospects with other aspects attractive to graduates, including a high quality housing offer; outstanding local amenities; and programmes to offer access to affordable home ownership. To ensure that these strategies sit at the heart of the Government's new Industrial Strategy, it should emphasise the importance of these strategies to local growth and explore ways in which it could incentivise the creation of them. For example, it could make their creation part of new devolution deals or link future regional redevelopment funds to the creation of the strategies.

I think some of it comes down to identity... People know about London. They know about Shoreditch or Clapham or whatever but they don't know, to the same degree, about northern cities and the identities that they have.

(London, 25-35)

However, a key challenge to ensuring that this is successful will be that, despite the reality, many places within the Northern Powerhouse are perceived to perform poorly in these areas. This leaves many graduates regarding themselves as having little option other than to move to London.

Tackling this will require northern regions to communicate their strategies effectively. The Northern Powerhouse initiative has shown that this might be best achieved by creating a pan-regional approach that sits above regional strategies

Beneath this pan-regional approach to coordination and communication, each region will need to develop its own strategy, through a collaboration of local government, housing providers, business groups, local businesses and skills providers. Quantitative and qualitative research in this report demonstrates the need to focus on housing quality and affordability and the opportunities to buy a home. While individual approaches and innovation should be welcomed, each of the strategies should consider developing offers around:

- **A step on the ladder:** the prospect of home ownership in the north of England is one of the major advantages it has over London and the south east, but that does not mean that more should not be done to open this up as a realistic option for more graduates. As part of their contribution to the Jobs Plus strategy, housing providers should develop innovative products that deliver affordable rent and home ownership options for graduates choosing to work and live in the north of England. The Government should ensure that current schemes for affordable rent and the Help to Buy programme align with these new products and meet the needs of graduates. Within existing budgets, central government, the Homes and Communities Agency and local policy makers should create pilots to test new models of sub-market rental products targeted at attracting graduates to the north of England.

- **Homes for growth:** the quality and affordability of northern homes should be at the heart of businesses' employment packages for prospective employees. To ensure this is the case, housing providers should work with firms to develop innovative ways to use this housing offer to attract more suitably qualified employees to the north of England. These should build on approaches already taken by some firms to provide housing offers as part of employment packages for both highly qualified workers looking to re-locate to a northern region and those wanting a "home from home" during the week. Housing providers and businesses could also work together to support employees' home ownership ambitions, for example, by creating workplace savings schemes that support shared-ownership programmes run by housing providers.
- **Northern opportunity:** given the lack of knowledge and anecdote-heavy views of the north of England, helping more graduates to get a taste of work and life in the northern regions could boost the likelihood of graduates moving there. To facilitate this, northern employers and housing providers should work together to offer a tailored employment placement and housing scheme for students choosing to take a placement year in a business in the north of England. The Government should also introduce a requirement that all graduates on its Fast Stream programme undertake at least one of their initial placements in the north of England.

Conclusion

The Government is beginning to formulate a plan to boost the economic performance of the Northern Powerhouse. An essential part of this will be to increase the attractiveness of the north of England as a location for graduates to live and work. Working with business, housing providers and universities to adopt and communicate a Job Plus approach could contribute to the Northern Powerhouse having tens of thousands more degree-qualified individuals within it, higher productivity, stronger growth and a steady flow of more highly qualified individuals.

An agenda for action

Achieving change across the north of England will take time. This box sets out immediate priority action areas for the range of parties that will need to support the creation of a Jobs Plus approach.

National policy makers

National policy makers need to drive action forward by setting out a framework within which Jobs Plus strategies can be used to increase the attractiveness of the north of England to graduates.

Who	What
Central Government	As part of its new industrial strategy, the Government should emphasise the importance of the creation of Jobs Plus strategies across the UK. These should bring together local government, LEPs, regional businesses, housing providers and others to develop coherent packages of employment, housing and training that can attract graduates. The Government should consider how it could incentivise this, for instance by making it a requirement in new devolution deals or by linking future regional redevelopment funds to the creation of the strategies.
Central Government	Should require all new Civil Servants on the Fast Stream programme to spend at least one year in a placement in northern England.

Regional and local policy makers in the north of England

Who	What
City Regions, Combined Authorities and Local Authorities	Should develop Jobs Plus strategies that show how, working with others, they intend to make the north of England a more attractive location for graduates. Strategies must include details on partnerships and programmes on jobs, housing and place making.

Housing providers in the north of England

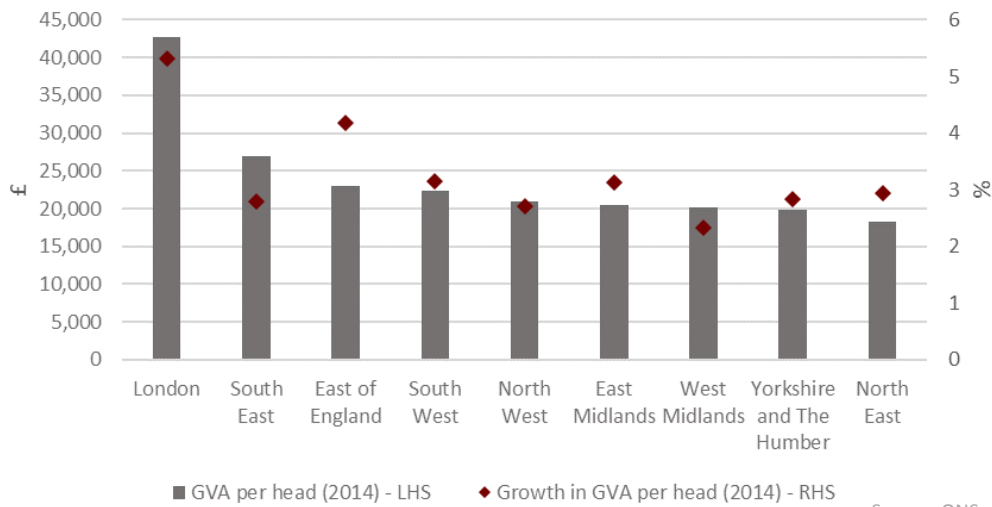
In partnership with local employers and policy makers, housing providers have a clear role to play in ensuring that the housing offer in the north of England is attractive to graduates. Organisations like Homes for the North can also play a role in marketing this northern housing offer nationally.

Who	What
Housing providers	Should develop innovative new products that provide a clear and affordable route to home ownership for graduates. These should build on shared ownership and rent to buy options already available and need to be tailored to the specific location and age of graduate that they are targeting.
Housing providers	Should work with the Central Government and the Homes and Communities Agency to develop pilots that test new sub-market rent products to attract graduates to the north of England. These should work within existing budgets and form part of Jobs Plus strategies.
Housing providers	Should actively develop partnerships with local employers and business groups (e.g. LEPs and Chambers) to design innovative housing offers that can be part of employee benefit packages.

Introduction

The UK's new Prime Minister has highlighted that her government will push for economic and social reforms to try to ensure that the economy works for everyone. This is a significant challenge. GVA per head (a measure of economic output or broad living standards) is significantly higher in London than in every other region of the UK and over twice the level of any of the regions in the north of England. Growth in GVA per head in London was 5.3% in 2014 compared to less than 3% in each of the regions of northern England, meaning that London is pulling away. Ultimately, this means that making the economy work for everyone will mean that all of the regions outside of the capital will need to increase their economic performance significantly over the coming years.

Economic output per head (2014), levels and growth



This theme was the main driver behind the creation of the previous Chancellor's Northern Powerhouse agenda. This argued that, by building on agglomeration effects and the power of connected cities, the regions of the north of England could deliver economic performance greater than the sum of their parts. Over the past five years, the Northern Powerhouse initiative has taken important steps in both the devolution of policy making and planning powers and in delivering vital transport infrastructure to better connect cities in the north of England. The business response has been positive. However, growth, regeneration and global competitiveness is not just about transport and businesses and, on their own, these steps will not be enough to drive the growth needed.

A growing economy requires a highly skilled workforce that is attracted to live and work in the area, but previous research has shown that this is a significant problem for the north of England.

The qualifications deficit in northern England

The scale of this issue is clear to see in the data. Just under one in two working age adults in London have a degree level qualification or above. Across the regions of the Northern Powerhouse, the equivalent figure is just one in four. However, even this figure masks the scale of the issue as, while qualifications levels overall have risen across the country, the deficit between qualification levels in northern regions and London have widened slightly over the last 10 years. These deficits are also significantly greater for some age groups.

25% of the working age population in regions within the Northern Powerhouse regions have a degree level qualification or above.

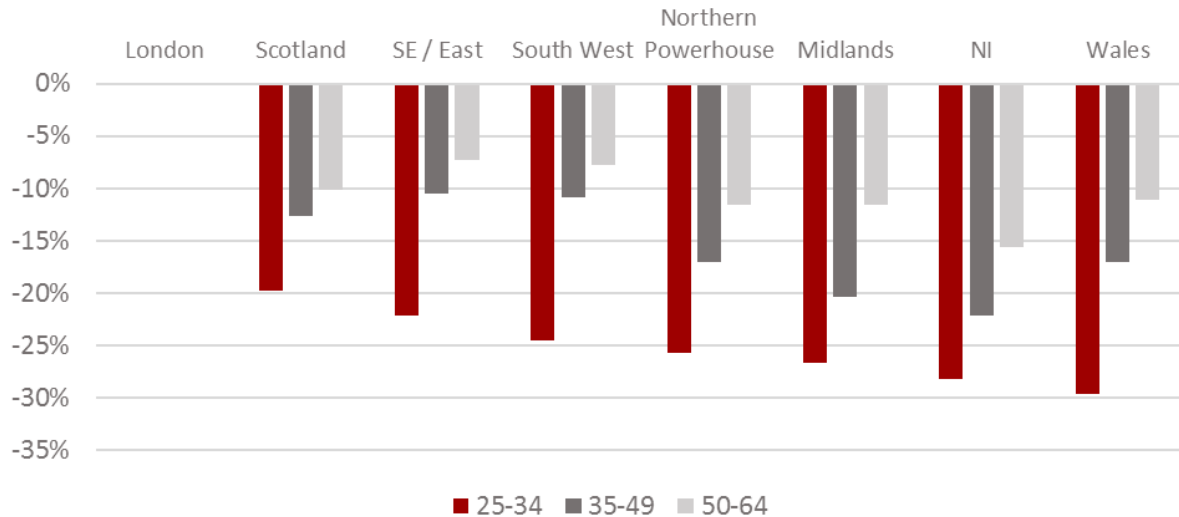
In London the figure is

44%

Source: WPI Economics, ONS.

For example, the proportion of 25-34 year olds with a degree-level qualification in the regions covered by the Northern Powerhouse initiative is just over 25% lower than the rate in London.

Degree-level qualifications deficit between UK regions and London



Source: WPI Economics, ONS.

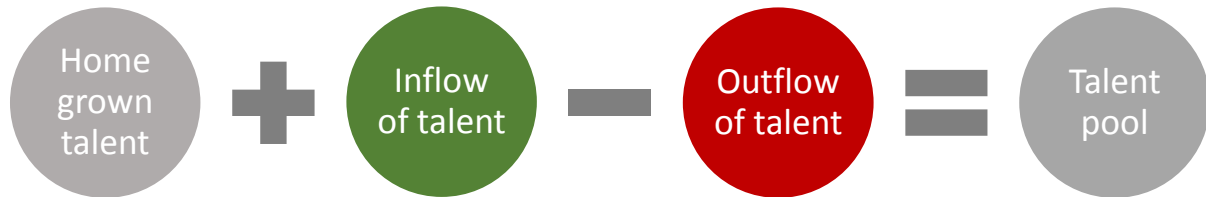
A Northern Brain Drain?

Recent research and media coverage has highlighted one of the potential reasons for these qualifications deficits. They have suggested that large proportions of the graduate workforce move from homes and universities in the north of England to the south, leading to a significant “Brain Drain” of highly qualified and productive individuals.^{vii} If this were the case it would represent a significant barrier for the growth potential of the north of England and the potential success of the Northern Powerhouse agenda.^{viii} This would be true both now and in the future, as people tend to be attracted to where other highly educated and skilled people are, creating a cycle where “...cities who begin with low graduate stocks will find it very difficult to change their relative position and add to their small stocks of talent.”^{ix}

This report assesses the evidence of a Northern Brain Drain in the UK. It produces original evidence of the scale and nature of the flows of individuals with graduate level qualifications between the regions of the UK. It combines this with new primary research that gives insights into how and why graduates make the location choices they do and the role that housing and place-making play in these decisions. Together these insights show how local and central government, housing providers and businesses can work together to ensure that the regions in the north of England have the skilled workforce needed to get the Northern Powerhouse firing.

Understanding the qualifications deficit

With the potential for a large qualifications deficit to limit business growth and damage regional prosperity, it is essential to understand what is driving it. Ultimately, the overall talent pool of highly qualified individuals in a given area is driven by three things: the number of people gaining their qualifications in that area (home grown talent), how many of them subsequently leave the area (the outflow) and the number of highly qualified people from elsewhere that choose to move to the area (the inflow).










This means that a deficit can develop through education inequalities across the country. For example, recent research has demonstrated a gulf in outcomes between UK regions, with over 70% of pupils in London achieving five good GCSE's, compared to just 63% in Yorkshire and the Humber. The research also demonstrated that these inequalities have been in place for many decades.^x

The other driver of a deficit is the extent to which some areas are better able to attract more highly qualified individuals, while others lose more of their talent. This report focuses on this concept of the in and outflows of highly qualified individuals and considers the extent to which the qualifications deficit in the north of England can be explained by the flows of highly qualified individuals between different UK regions.

Are highly qualified individuals likely to move region?

The first question is whether there is evidence that highly qualified individuals are geographically mobile. The simple answer from previous studies is yes; graduates with higher levels of human capital are more likely to have higher levels of mobility and, in turn, are more likely to move. In general, there is a higher chance of being mobile if an individual is older at age of graduation, has a higher classification of degree, has a postgraduate degree, has studied science subjects, went to non-ex-polytechnic universities and has previously migrated between regions.^{xi,xii}

-  Previous Migratory Behaviour
-  Age and Maturity at time of graduation
-  Higher Levels of Human Capital
-  Lower Receipt and Dependence on Transfer Payments
-  Gender (Male)
-  Availability of job opportunities/surplus
-  Education

These trends make intuitive sense. Each of the characteristics identified has a positive association with human capital and, in turn, the likely compensation individuals might receive in the workplace. This means that more highly qualified people have higher potential returns from moving, which in turn makes them more incentivised to move from place to place, and follow job opportunities.^{xiii} In the context of an economy that is disproportionately dominated by London and the job opportunities located there, this plays an obvious part in explaining who is moving, as well as what might motivate their movements.

The net result is that more people are moving to London overall, and that those who are moving there are in general more likely to be highly-skilled, both by definition (e.g. degree plus), but also within their cohorts (e.g. higher grades, more selective universities). This means that "...cities with net inflows benefit not only through the quantitative growth of their labour supply, but also in qualitative terms."^{xiv}

The focus of this report

These conclusions are also supported by analysis of the Labour Force Survey. This shows that, 46% of all people who moved their region of residence between 2006 and 2015 had a degree level qualification or above. Of this group of highly qualified individuals moving between regions of the UK, two thirds were aged below 35.^{xv} For this reason, the main focus of this report is on "recent graduates" aged between 18 and 24 and "early career movers" aged between 25 and 34. Where the term "graduates" is used, it refers to both of these groups.

The following sections consider the location decisions of each of these groups, before turning to assess what is driving the decisions they make.

Recent graduates

are aged **18-24** and have a degree level qualification or above. They account for **20%** of all intra-region mobility of highly qualified individuals in the UK.

Early career graduates

are aged **25-34** and have a degree level qualification or above. They account for **46%** of all intra-region mobility of highly qualified individuals in the UK.

Source: WPI Economics analysis of LFS 2006-2015

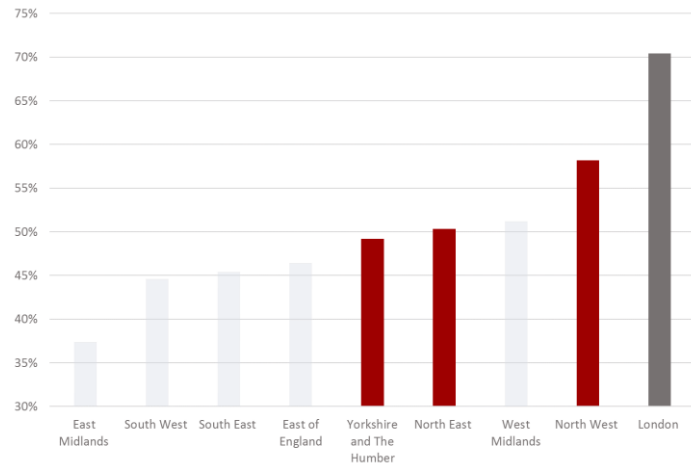
Geographic mobility of recent graduates

Turning first to the location decisions of recent graduates we see that, a large proportion remain in the region in which they went to university. Seven in 10 of those graduating from London-based universities are still resident in London three years following graduation. The northern regions do worse than this, but perform relatively well compared to other non-London regions. Northern regions also perform well in terms of retaining graduates who were resident there before they went to university. Just under 70% of young adults from Northern Powerhouse regions who gain graduate level qualifications are resident in Northern Powerhouse regions three years after graduation.

Overall, what this shows is that many recent graduates choose either to stay in the region where they were resident before university or, where this is different, to remain in the region in which they studied.

However, it also shows that a significant proportion of recent graduates do choose to move regions. To understand these movements in more detail, we can look at maps of the destinations of graduates who choose to leave the region in which they studied. In general, the rule for a given region is that the main external destination will be London and then a broad distribution across the rest of the nearby regions, with a focus on nearby cities. Two examples are shown below, with the full set of maps available in the accompanying presentation.

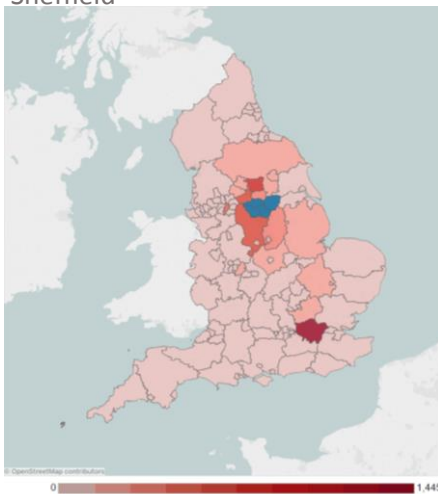
Proportion of employed students still resident in the region they gained HE qualification, three years following graduation



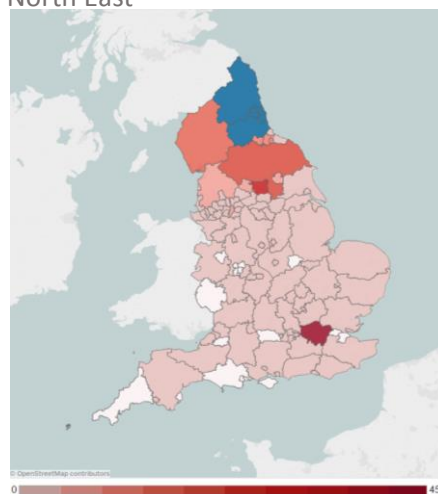
Source: WPI Economics analysis of HESA DLHE data, 2014

Destinations of graduates following graduation from universities in Sheffield and the North East.

Sheffield



North East



Blue areas in these maps indicate 'home' regions.

Darker shades of red and pink indicate a greater concentration of graduates moving to these regions.

Source: HEFCE Student Mobility Briefing, based on HESA Student Record and the Data Service Individualise

This pattern holds regardless of where the university or higher education institution is based. This means that “...while levels of graduate creation are similar across urban areas” “...in the competition for the first destination of young graduates, the UK shows a large number of loser regions...and dominant winner region (London).”^{xvi, xvii} This finding is of particular importance as, once recent graduates make their initial location decision, around eight in 10 will remain there for the at least the next three years.^{xviii}

What this means in practice is that, with close to a 30% share, London receives a disproportionate number of the graduates who choose to move region following university. Of course, part of this can be explained by the relative size of London that means that, all else being equal, it is likely to attract a large number of recent graduates who choose to move region. However, even after accounting for size of the workforce in each of the regions, large deficits in the shares heading to each of the non-London regions can be seen. For example, based on the size of its working age population, Yorkshire and the Humber should receive 1.5 percentage points greater share of the recent graduates than is actually the case.

Based on the size of its working age population, the Northern Powerhouse regions should be the location of choice of 1,200 more recent graduates each year.

Source: WPI Economics analysis of HESA DLHE data, 2014

If, instead, these deficits did not exist, regions in the Northern Powerhouse would be the location choice of an extra 1,200 recent graduates each year. While these yearly numbers might appear small, over time, they would make an important contribution towards tackling the growth in the inequalities in the qualifications profile that is observed between London and other UK regions, including the Northern Powerhouse regions.

However, given the size of the qualifications deficit, it is clear both that the location decision of recent graduates cannot be the only factor driving it and that removing the imbalance in graduate flows will not be enough to reduce it. Instead, the north of England must attract a net inflow of graduates.

Deficit of share of graduate movers (compared to expected based on working age population of region)



Source: WPI Economics analysis of HESA DLHE data, 2014

The mobility of recent graduates and early career graduates

Of course, recent graduates are only one of the groups of individuals with degree level qualifications that make choices about where they locate. As outlined above, early career movers and mid-career movers account for around three quarters of all highly qualified movers. This means that, to understand the overall flows of highly qualified individuals in and out of different regions in the UK, and the potential for a Northern Brain Drain, these groups must also be considered.

The Labour Force Survey can be used to assess this as it allows the user to see when respondents have moved regions and where they have moved to and from. Looking back over the last ten years, we can then assess how outflows and inflows of highly qualified individuals compare and arrive at a figure of net “accumulation” for each region.

Results show a significant flow of British resident individuals with degree level qualifications from the north of England to the south. These intra-regional movements have meant that, over the last 10 years, an average of 31,000 highly qualified people have moved out of the area covered by the Northern Powerhouse initiative each year, whereas only 23,500 have moved into the area. Overall this means that, over the last 10 years, the Northern Powerhouse area has lost a total 75,500 highly qualified individuals because of a disparity in intra-regional flows.

75,500 highly qualified British resident individuals with have been lost from the Northern Powerhouse workforce in the last 10 years.

Source: WPI Economics, ONS.

There are two other clear conclusions here. First that, there are differences across different areas within the Northern Powerhouse. While the north east has fared badly (a net outflow of 4.74%), Greater Manchester has seen a small net inflow of graduates (inflow of 0.24%). Secondly, across all northern regions, the inflow of highly qualified immigrants from outside of the UK has significantly bolstered the talent pool in each region. When these individuals are considered, the majority of northern regions have seen a net inflow of degree-qualified individuals over the last 10 years.

Flows of degree-level qualified individuals in and out of Northern Powerhouse regions, 2006-2015.

	Intra-regional			Immigration in-flow	All
	Moved out %	Moved in %	Net flow %	Gross in-flow %	Moved in %
Rest of North east	8.12%	3.38%	-4.74%	1.09%	-3.66%
Rest of Yorkshire & the Humber	8.70%	5.45%	-3.24%	1.92%	-1.32%
Rest of North West	6.69%	5.37%	-1.31%	0.85%	-0.46%
Merseyside	5.20%	4.46%	-0.74%	1.25%	0.51%
Tyne & Wear	6.36%	5.88%	-0.49%	2.95%	2.46%
West Yorkshire	5.86%	5.67%	-0.19%	2.04%	1.85%
Greater Manchester	4.98%	5.22%	0.24%	1.51%	1.75%
south Yorkshire	5.78%	6.67%	0.89%	2.78%	3.68%

Notes: base for %'s is working age degree-level qualified population in the corresponding region.

Source: WPI Economics, ONS.

Why this matters

The north has a significant qualifications deficit when compared to areas such as London or the south east and significant numbers of highly qualified individuals are moving out of the region each year, but does this matter? The answer is yes; skills matter because without the right mix, different forms of economic activity becomes less viable, an area becomes less attractive to invest in and there are fewer jobs. The flow of talent from north to south matters because a skilled population drives growth and the qualifications deficit makes it harder for the north to catch up.

The reason that this is the case is the strong two-way relationship between qualification levels and economic growth, specifically that “...the presence of well-educated, skilled, talented and enterprising people tends to increase a city’s growth rate and its productivity, and a growing city will tend to attract more of those very same types of labour.”^{xix}

The simplest explanation for this relationship is that without the ability to attract and retain skilled labour, businesses in an area are less able to function. This is because it will be more expensive for them to recruit the right workers, either due to the extra training to upskill employees to the necessary level, or because of the higher premium that they have to pay to encourage employees to work in an area that is less desirable to them. The result is that costs increase relative to other options, and areas become less attractive for businesses to invest in.

A high skills base is needed to encourage investment, but without jobs available skilled people won’t stay in an area for long.

In short, growing an area’s economy cannot be done by just increasing investment. For it to be sustained, something must also be done to ensure the area has a good population of highly skilled labour.

This creates a challenging policy problem; a high skills base is needed to encourage investment, but without jobs available skilled people will not stay in an area for long. This issue was reflected in discussions with businesses in the north of England as part of this research. Many mentioned that they had experienced a difficulty in recruiting STEM graduates for engineering positions, and outlined the impact that alternative careers in fields like finance and the “draw” of London had on the attractiveness of the north of England as a location.

Overall larger firms suggested that this had led them to focus primarily on developing homegrown talent, but recognised that this was not a viable option for all firms and, in particular, SMEs. More

93% of businesses

surveyed said that a hard-to-fill vacancy has led to a detrimental impact on their business

Source: WPI Economics analysis of UK Employer Skills Survey England and Local Toolkit, 2015

generally, the results of this situation can be seen in the UK Employer Skills Survey, where some 93% of businesses reported that having hard-to-fill vacancies would have implications that could constrain their business and growth in some way.

Aside from constraining immediate economic growth, there are also wider reasons why the longer-term prospects for a city diminish if a lower proportion of highly-skilled individuals live there. In particular, there is a significant body of literature that suggests that clusters of high-skill individuals encourage productivity and innovation. This means that “...firms and workers

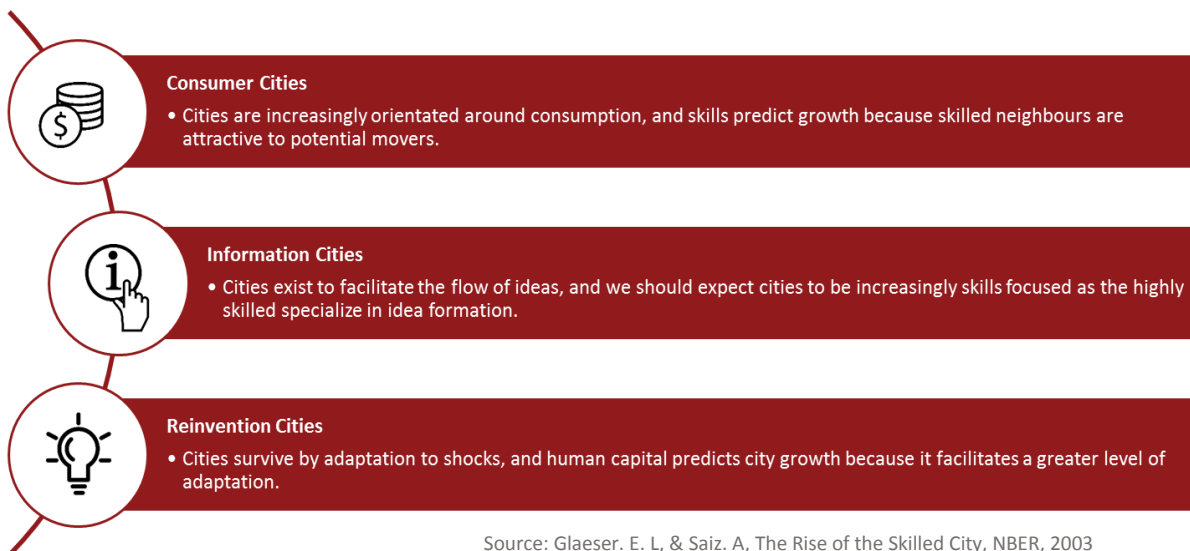
are much more productive in large and dense urban environments than in other locations,” and that “...it is also in large cities where the vast majority of substantial innovations emerge.”^{xx}

Quite why cities become increasingly attractive and innovative as the proportion of the population that is highly skilled increases can be explained in a number of different ways. Broadly speaking, skilled cities have a more flexible and robust set of tools to respond to different shocks, and to take advantage of different opportunities. In particular, cities and the concentration they bring may allow a better flow of ideas between citizens, and allow cities to adapt to new technologies more effectively.^{xxi} This in turn makes cities more prosperous, more able to adapt, and more able to grow. Skills inequalities matter because they limit growth and prosperity in regions in very real ways.

Overall, it is clear that qualifications and skills really matter. This is not just the case for growth in the immediate term, but also for the longer-term future of cities. If skills inequalities grow, so too may the inequalities between cities, in turn exacerbating the very push and pull factors that cause graduates to move in the first place.

This suggests that the qualifications deficit in the north of England highlighted above could be a significant drag on business success and economic growth both now and in the future. Unless something is done to tackle these qualifications deficits, it seems likely that, at best, inequalities in economic performance will continue and, at worst, they could increase as the gravitational pull of the clusters of highly qualified individuals in London and the south east becomes greater and greater.

Three possible explanations of the causation between skill levels and the growth of cities:



Source: Glaeser. E. L, & Saiz. A, The Rise of the Skilled City, NBER, 2003

Why are graduates moving?

With such large potential impacts, it is apparent that reversing the flow of highly qualified individuals out of the regions within the Northern Powerhouse should form a key part of the Government’s approach to delivering an economy that works for everyone. The possibility of reduced immigration as a result of the EU Referendum also increases the urgency of this agenda.

As highlighted above, stemming this flow would allow businesses to grow now, boost regional productivity and lead to agglomeration effects that would attract more highly qualified individuals and form a virtuous circle.

To understand how this might be achieved, it is essential to assess how and why graduates are making the choices that they do and the factors that drive their decisions. This is true both for their decisions immediately after graduation and for location decisions later in life. To provide insights into this, we turned to an established literature and conducted primary research with over 2,000 graduates aged between 20 and 35.^{xxii}

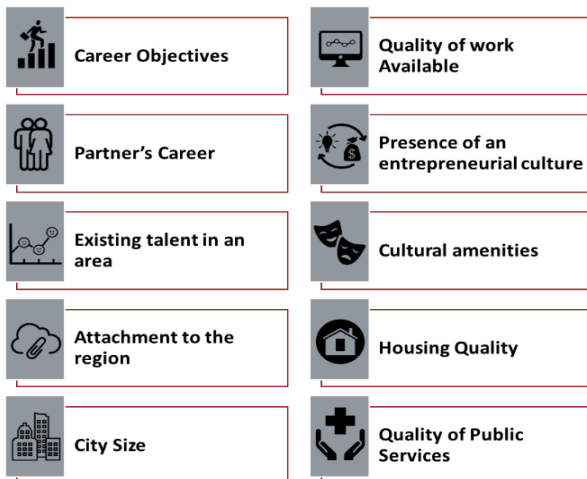
“You have this idea, whether you’re willing to admit it or not, that people who haven’t been to London are socially impoverished.”
(London, 25-35 year olds)”

“...it’s [about] being around like-minded people, and I’ve found this through coming to London and spending five years here and speaking to people that think the way that I think about anything.”
(London, recent graduate)

Location decisions following graduation

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the literature suggests that the main driving factor of location decisions is the type of work and job that a graduate can expect to find. Studies of mobility, including in countries such

Factors that contribute to graduate location decisions:



as Canada, have suggested that quality of work is “...the most relevant [criteria] to understanding the mobility of students in science and technology once they have graduated.”^{xxiii} In the UK, a study of the 2000 University of Edinburgh cohort suggested that two of the three main factors for moving were the [job] opportunities perceived to exist in different areas.^{xxiv} These results were confirmed with the polling for this research. When asked about the importance of various factors in deciding where to live when they left university, “time it takes to commute” and “availability of graduate level jobs” were the top two responses, with two thirds of respondents feeling that they were important.

However, other factors were also very important. In particular, familiarity with an area is important as many individuals choose to stay in the town that they studied, even if it is not their home location.^{xxv} The effect can be large, with a 2010 study finding that “...almost all regions consistently show greater rates of recruiting students with prior familiarity through home or study, and particular both.”^{xxvi}

In polling for this research, the quality and cost of housing and proximity to friends and family each ranked in the top five importance factors driving location choice immediately after graduates left university. This was particularly true of those graduates living in the north of England. Interviewing a subset of graduates working in locations such as Leeds and Manchester, it was clear that two key factors informing their decisions were the minimum baseline of having a job opportunity that suited them, and then subsequently a desire to be close to their family and other contacts.

For those living in London, there was a “gravitational pull” following their graduation from university. For some this was about the quality of the jobs and kudos of working in the capital. However, more generally the group discussed the importance of the “identity” of an area and the social and cultural opportunities that are available. This chimes with existing research that shows that cultural amenities are attractive to graduates and that the existing level of ‘talent’ in a city made it significantly more appealing to other talented individuals.^{xxvii}

6 in 10 graduates

say the cost and quality of housing is important to them in choosing where they live after graduation

Source: ComRes for Homes for the North

Why do graduates live where they do now?

After asking respondents to consider the factors that drove their choice of where to live immediately after university, they were also asked about the reasons why they now live in the region in which they do. Here, there were distinct differences between responses between those currently living in the north of England and those living in London and the south east. For example, those living in the north of England were far more likely to highlight motivations around housing and home ownership. Housing affordability (ranked third) and home ownership prospects (ranked fifth) were particularly important reasons why those living in the north had chosen to do so. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the cost of housing in London, these factors were ranked 11th and 10th respectively for those currently living in the capital.

Top five reasons given for why respondents live where they do now...

Respondent lives in the North of England

- 1** To be close to friends & family
- 2** I have always lived here
- 3** Housing was more affordable than elsewhere
- 4** The job I wanted to do was here
- 5** There were better prospects of owning my own home

Respondent lives in London or South East

- 1** The job I wanted to do was based here
- 2** To be close to friends & family
- 3** I could get paid a higher salary
- 4** I wanted to live in or near London
- 5** I have always lived here

Source: ComRes for Homes for the North

Why do those in the south not live in the north?

As well as asking the reasons for their locational choice, the research also asked those not living in the north of England what the most significant reasons for not choosing the north of England were. The top two responses were that respondents were happy where they currently lived, and that moving to the north would mean that they were too far away from their family and friends. These views were particularly strongly held by female respondents, with 58% being happy where they are and 54% feeling it would mean that friends and family were too far away (compared to 46% and 38% respectively for male respondents).

Other popular reasons were that either there were no jobs (28% of respondents) or lower pay (29% of respondents) in the north of England. One in five respondents said that the weather in the north of England was a significant reason for why they do not live in the north of England.

If graduates had to move – what would drive the decisions?

Understanding the reasons for graduates choosing their current location is only part of the story.

With large numbers of early and mid-career graduates moving between regions, there is also scope to attract highly qualified individuals to an area after they have made their initial location decisions. When asked about what would drive their decisions if they were to move from where they currently lived, respondents to the polling for this research placed a strong emphasis on the quality of jobs, overall cost of living and the cost of housing.

However, more detailed responses in the focus groups highlighted a broader range of factors that could influence the decisions whether and where to move. Many participants focused on the importance of family and quality life or referred to the idea of having a better work-life balance in the north.

Affordability of housing and the prospects of home ownership also featured. This was particularly true in the London focus group where participants focused on the high cost of housing in central London and the need to move in order to be able to make housing affordable. However, many of the responses focused on moves to the outskirts of London, rather than the option to move to a different region.

If they were moving from current area and choosing where to live...



55% put the **quality of jobs** in top three most important factors



52% put the **overall cost of living** in top three most important factors



50% put the **cost of housing** in top three most important factors

The role of housing and place

Overall this research has shown that concerns around jobs, pay and the proximity of friends and family are the largest drivers of location decisions both when graduates leave university and also as they consider moving in the future.

However, it is clear that they are not the only reasons. Housing and the identity of an area also play a strong role, not necessarily being a deciding factor, but contributing to perceptions of quality of life, stability, and comfort. Existing studies find that “...housing and public provision of goods and services have become more important for attracting talent” and businesses in the north of England suggest that this is a key selling point when recruiting talent into their companies, with some offering ‘trial periods’ in rented housing, or included housing and school’s brochures to try and attract recruits, especially in mid-to-senior positions.^{xxviii}

Overall, six in 10 graduates say that the cost and quality of housing were important when they made decisions about where to live after university, however views were mixed. Some recent graduates seemed to gravitate to London for the social and “kudos” factors highlighted above and were willing to compromise on quality of housing in order to be able to move to London. Others, however, were put off by the fact that to enjoy these aspects of life in London they would be forced into low quality housing.

Once post-university location decisions had been made, aspects of housing again featured highly both in the reasons for why those already in the north had located themselves there and in the considerations graduates would make if they moved in future. To unpick these responses, more detailed questions on housing and place were also asked.

Overall, well over half of all graduates felt that each of the elements of housing considered were important to them in deciding where to live. The quality of housing and the availability of housing in well-maintained neighbourhoods were the top two factors that respondents felt were important.

Interestingly here, while the majority of all graduates felt that each aspect of housing considered was important, there were sizable differences in responses between the recent graduates and early career movers in the strength of their responses. Early career movers placed a stronger level of importance on all but one of the factors (on average 8% more respondents felt that each factor was important). This shows that, for them, housing is a more important consideration. The only factor that recent graduates supported more strongly as being important was the affordability of rental accommodation (69% felt it was important, compared to 55% of early career movers).

The cost of housing drives decisions for many graduates:

“...the starting salary in Leeds was £18,500 and £21,000 [in London]. The rent in Leeds was half the price, so it doesn’t take a genius to work out the maths. You are going to have a lot more disposable income if you stay put.”

(Leeds, recent graduates)

Some are willing to compromise on quality to move to London:

“Condition and size of house is barely even a factor in my head, to be honest.”

(London, recent graduates)

But some are not:

“If it just looks like a box with a cooker and a fridge then that’s not something I think you really want.”

(Leeds, recent graduate)

On a scale of 0-10, where 0 = not at all important and 10 = very important, how important or otherwise are each of the following aspects of housing to you when considering where to live?	All	Recent graduates	Early career movers
	% saying factor is important		
Quality of housing	80	77	83
Availability of housing in well-maintained neighbourhoods	75	72	79
How much space the house or flat has	73	68	79
Affordability of housing to buy	73	69	78
Availability of housing close to your workplace	71	72	71
The opportunity to own/part own your own flat/house in the area in the future	69	65	73
The opportunity to own/part own your own flat/house in the area now	66	61	72
The quality of green spaces and local amenities (e.g. parks, libraries, leisure centres) nearby	64	59	68
Affordability of rental accommodation	62	69	55
Availability of housing suitable for families	51	46	56

Source: ComRes for Homes for the North

The importance of many of these aspects of housing and place were also highlighted during the focus groups. Participants in both London and Leeds outlined the value that they placed on the quality of housing stock, both in terms of how it is built and also how well maintained the housing and neighbourhoods are.

Focus groups in London also focused on the role that the perception of the safety of an area played. This was particularly true of recent graduates who were moving to areas that they did not know very well.

The quality of housing and neighbourhoods are important to graduates:

“Outside of the actual city centre, I saw so many derelict buildings and so many buildings that just nothing was going on...that put me off.”

(London, 25-35)

“The way it looks is important to me as well, like old buildings instead of a concrete jungle.”

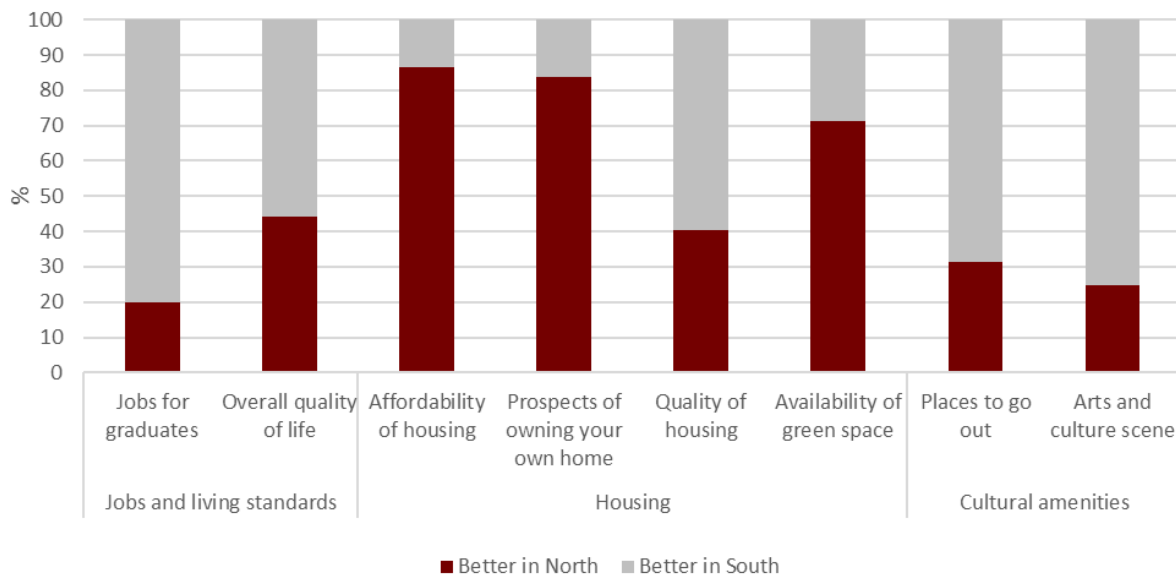
(Leeds, recent graduates)

“Standard of housing is a big thing as well, like, I think part of me would move back to Huddersfield in a heartbeat, just because I can get a nicer house there.”

(Leeds, recent graduates)

What do people think about the north of England?

This research has shown that a range of factors are important to graduates when they are making decisions on where to live, both when they leave university and later in life. How each of these will influence decisions that people make about whether to live in the north or south of England will depend on the perceptions people hold about different parts of the country. To understand this, we asked respondents whether a range of employment, housing and cultural factors were better in the north or south of England.



Source: ComRes for Homes for the North. Sample: Adults aged 20-35 with a degree - excludes those who think situation is the same in North and South

In general, the results show that more people think the prospects for graduate jobs and the overall quality of life are better in the south of England than in the north. Respondents also rated the south much more favourably in terms of cultural amenities. However, the north of England outperformed the south in terms of the availability of green space and the cost of housing. On quality of housing, however, the north of England again performed worse than the south.

Unsurprisingly, results from the polling and focus groups both show that views over the relative merits of the north and south of England vary depending on where in the country participants live. In particular while, overall, more people felt that quality of housing and the overall quality of life are better in the south, when considering those who live in the north, the view switched to favour the north of England. To some extent this will reflect the different priorities of graduates in different parts of the country. However, it could also suggest that many graduates hold misconceptions of the north of England.

This latter hypothesis was supported by participants in the focus groups. For example, participants in London, referred to commonly-heard stereotypes of the north of England, whilst acknowledging that these may be precisely that – stereotypes, rather than reality. They also maintained these views whilst simultaneously talking about the investment the North has received over the last decade, as well as referring to the fact that there are ‘lots of things going on’, and that ‘it’s changing really quickly’.

“I think there are really bad perceptions of the north, the kind of stereotypes that I don’t think have ever really moved on, even though life has moved on.”

(Leeds, recent graduates)

A similar theme emerged from the Leeds focus groups. Participants argued that many in the south held views that were not consistent with the reality that they experience themselves. For example, the fact that it is often seen as a rural area, when it has several large and busy cities and, more generally, that there a large range of jobs and cultural activities available in the city. One argued that “...you can literally get anything at any time...there's always something going on”, but thought that those in the south did not see that to be the case. Suggestions for the reason for this disparity between perceptions and reality highlighted a lack of knowledge about the north of England that might be compounded by the fact that the north is often advertised as a tourist destination, drawing attention to countryside and coastline, rather than as a hub for business and career opportunities.

I think some of it comes down to identity... People know about London. They know about Shoreditch or Clapham or whatever but they don't know, to the same degree, about northern cities and the identities that they have.

(London, 25-35 London)

Participants also highlighted some distinct positive features of the north of England. Participants in the Leeds groups, as well as several northerners in the London groups, referred to the sense of community and friendliness in the north, which is contrasted to the anonymity and size of London. In a similar vein, participants in both groups refer to the idea of having a better work-life balance in the north, noting specifically commuting in London as being stressful and long, in contrast to a shorter and more serene experience in the north.

However, that is not to say that all perceptions of the north were positive. Words and phrases such as ‘grim’, ‘less to do’, and ‘not got quite the same buzz and atmosphere’ came up, even from northerners who had moved south. Similarly, in both age groups there was a feeling that London has ‘the best’ of everything – and several questioned how people could be incentivised to move away, when London seems to offer a ‘better’ version of what is available elsewhere.

Would people move to the north of England?

Given the mixed views of the relative merits of the north and south of England, we asked respondents not currently living in the north of England whether they would consider moving there if they were offered a job with an equivalent salary to the one they currently earn.^{xxix} Around half of graduates currently living outside of the north of England said they would consider it.

However, views varied significantly both across different groups of graduates and when we asked about different specific parts of the north of England. It is clear that urban centres were more attractive to many people. For example, Manchester was the best performing city, with over half of all graduates saying that they would consider moving there, whereas less than one in four graduates would consider moving to Hull. There are also differences between different groups. Highly qualified women are, on average, eight percentage points less likely to consider moving to the north of England than men. Those in the older (25-34) year old group are six percentage points less likely to be willing to consider moving than recent graduates. Conversely, those with post graduate qualifications are five percentage points more likely to be willing to consider moving. These results also reflect findings in previous research that shows that these groups are, on average, more likely to be geographically mobile.

The proportion who would consider moving to the north of England for a job with the same salary:

54% of recent graduates

49% of graduates aged 25-35

Source: ComRes for Homes for the North

Area	% that would consider moving here
Manchester	56
Liverpool	45
Cumbria	42
Leeds	42
Newcastle	42
Durham	41
Sheffield	41
Middlesbrough	28
Preston	26
Hull	23

Source: ComRes for Homes for the North

This spread of views was also apparent in the focus groups. Participants in the recent graduate group were most likely to consider moving region, with some saying that they would actively consider and research it in future. Those who would consider moving focused on the potential to increase living standards by moving to the north of England, enjoying a less frenetic lifestyle, with cheaper housing and easier access to green spaces, whilst still enjoying city living, "...just on a far smaller scale". A number of participants also highlighted that recent investment in cities including Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool had increased the likelihood of them considering moving

there. However, this view was not held by everyone. Many participants would not consider leaving family and friends in London, or felt that quality of life (in particular social life) in London was better. Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants were particularly unlikely to consider moving to places where they had not been or knew little about.

Interestingly, when the focus groups in Leeds were asked whether they would consider moving to London, the majority of both groups (recent and early career graduates) said that they would not consider it because of the increased cost of living and distance from friends and family.

"You can live outside the town, 10 minutes' drive to work, in a detached house, so that concept's just amazing when you're here [in London]."

(London, recent graduates)

Brain Gain: an agenda for attracting more graduates

Overall, the results from this research show that a significant Northern Brain Drain exists in the UK. In the last 10 years, this has been at least partially offset by the inflow of highly qualified immigrants to northern regions. However, even these inflows have been unable to reduce the overall qualifications deficit of the north of England and it is unclear, post-Brexit, whether immigration can be relied upon in future. This means that action will need to be taken if the Government is serious about delivering an economy that works for everyone and ensuring stronger growth in regions outside of London.

To turn this Brain Drain into a Brain Gain, research in this report has shown that there are clear areas where local and central government, business and others can work together to attract more highly qualified individuals to work and live in the north of England.

One of the clearest findings from the research is the strong gravitational pull of London for recent graduates. Ultimately, international evidence and the primary research in this report show that graduates will always be attracted to places like London.

However, that does not mean that all graduates are attracted to, or happy living in, London. This report has shown that while the availability of jobs and career prospects are a constant, as well as these considerations, graduates hold a range of different views and priorities in life and that these change as their circumstances change (particularly with reference to their partners and family). As well as jobs, graduates are attracted by:

- The identity of the cities, towns and neighbourhoods;
- Cost and quality of housing;
- An active cultural scene;
- Ease of commuting and the availability of green spaces;
- Opportunities to own their own home; and
- Overall quality of life.

When making choices about location, graduates need to balance their experiences of the availability of jobs with their perceptions of how these wider factors vary between London and other parts of the country. For many, London does not perform well in meeting their preferences in these areas. This presents a real opportunity to other locations that provide many of these factors.

Developing and leading a Jobs Plus strategies

To make the most of this, a Jobs Plus approach should become central to the local economic strategies of city regions and local authorities. This would lead to strategies that combine strong employment and career prospects alongside the range of other factors that attract graduates. For example, these Jobs Plus strategies must place an emphasis on high quality housing offers, outstanding local amenities and programmes to offer access to affordable home ownership. Achieving this will be key to the Government's ambition to create an economy that works for everyone, so it should take action to ensure that all areas are developing these strategies. To do this:

- **Recommendation:** As part of its new industrial strategy, the Government should emphasise the importance of the creation of Jobs Plus strategies across the UK. These should bring together local government, LEPs, regional businesses, housing providers and others to develop coherent packages of employment, housing and training that can attract graduates. The Government should consider how it could incentivise this, for instance by making it a requirement in new devolution deals or by linking future regional redevelopment funds to the creation of the strategies.

Regions in the north of England have significant advantages in many of the areas that will form these Jobs Plus strategies. The Northern Powerhouse initiative has also shown the benefits of coordinating local initiatives pan-regionally and the fact that, by working together, economies across the north of England can deliver more than by working alone. This suggests that regional Jobs Plus strategies should be closely aligned across the Northern Powerhouse regions so that a unified northern offer can be created.

The details of the approach that each of the regions adopt should be developed between the various regional bodies and businesses involved. However, schemes that should form part of the development of each of these Jobs Plus strategies are highlighted below.

A step on the ladder

A major draw of regions within the Northern Powerhouse is the relative affordability and availability of housing. However, there are challenges to this. For example, some parts of the north are seen as expensive and all parts of the UK face a challenge with adequately increasing the supply of new homes to meet demand. This makes the Government's commitments to new homes an important part of its wider industrial strategy.^{xxx}

Improved housing supply will go some way to improving the affordability of homes to buy and rent. However, more can still be done to ensure that home ownership becomes both a viable option for more workers in regions covered by the Northern Powerhouse initiative and a key part of making the north of England more attractive to graduates. More too needs to be done to improve the supply of affordable homes for rent which are tailored to the needs of graduates with high levels of mobility. Here, housing providers can play a key role in ensuring that regional Jobs Plus strategies have a strong offer for graduates looking to take their first steps onto the housing ladder.

- **Recommendation:** Housing providers should:
 - Develop innovative products to provide affordable routes to home ownership that are targeted at recent graduates and young professionals. These should build on shared ownership and rent to buy options already available and need to be tailored to the specific location and age of graduate that they are targeting; and
 - Work with central and local policy makers to ensure that part of the budget already allocated to affordable housing is used to develop sub-market rent products that increase the incentive for graduates to live and work in the north of England. In practice, this approach will need piloting to understand the impact it could have. This could be achieved by the Homes and Communities Agency working with housing providers, employers and universities to develop pilot programmes as part of Jobs Plus strategies.

Homes for growth

As the cost of doing business in London continues to rise and as the Northern Powerhouse and wider devolution agenda continue, more and more firms are likely to follow the example of HSBC, the BBC, Channel 4 and a host of other businesses that have moved at least part of their operations further north in recent years.^{xxx} However, current experience has demonstrated that existing staff may not always be willing to move and that, with existing skills shortages in the north of England, firms may also struggle to recruit the right workforce for their needs.^{xxxii} To tackle this:

- **Recommendation:** Housing providers should work with employers' groups and individual employers in the north of England to develop innovative ways in which housing offers could become an integral part of the employment offer in the north of England. Details should be developed by individual providers, but could include:
 - Working with employers who are struggling to fill vacancies to develop housing offers for skilled workers as part of their employment package. This could be both for skilled workers looking to re-locate and to provide a "home from home" for those who live elsewhere, but who would be based in the north through the week for their jobs; and
 - Helping employers to support their employees' home ownership ambitions, by developing a workplace savings scheme that supports shared-ownership programmes run by housing providers. This might allow graduates to build up a deposit and / or buy further equity in their properties. Behavioural economics studies have shown that, schemes that automatically allocate a proportion of earnings to a savings account as part of the payroll process are effective in increasing savings habits.

Northern opportunity

The evidence above shows that, once a location decision has been made, it is often relatively permanent. This means that the first location decision that graduates make when they leave university is an extremely important one. If regions within the Northern Powerhouse could attract more of these initial graduate location decisions, they stand a good chance of retaining these workers.

However, research above has shown both that people are less likely to move to areas that they have not previously experienced and that knowledge of the north of England amongst the graduate population is potentially quite low. Consequently, even if northern regions perform well on a range of areas that might attract graduates, they will not be an attractive location unless more graduates in the south of England can experience it for themselves.

Tackling this and giving more people more structured opportunities to experience work and living in the north of England could improve knowledge and attract more graduates to locate in the north. To do this, current university students could be given a taste of the north through a year out in northern industry:

- **Recommendation:** Many universities will facilitate or encourage students to undertake a four-year course with a year out in industry in the third year. As part of their contribution to Jobs Plus strategies, northern employers and housing providers should work together to offer a tailored employment placement and housing scheme for these students.

The Government could also play a role here. With much of the core policy making functions of the Civil Service located in and around Whitehall, it is essential that policy makers located there have an experience of the north of England. This will both improve policy making and help to spread understanding and knowledge of the north of England. To facilitate this:

- **Recommendation:** The Government should ensure that, as part of its Fast Stream graduate training programme, all fast streamers are required to spend at least one of their placements in a posting in a northern city. The Government should work with housing providers to ensure quality housing forms part of this package.

Building on this, the Government should work with businesses in the north of England to create a new secondment scheme that opens up year-long placements for Fast Stream civil servants to work in industry in the north of England.

Conclusion

If the Government's ambition for an economy that works for everyone is to be a success, the north of England needs to significantly boost its economic performance. Doing so will require the Northern Powerhouse regions to stem the Northern Brain Drain and attract more highly qualified individuals to live and work there. This report has outlined that, hand-in-hand with economic development, housing and place building can play a vital role in making the north of England more attractive to graduates. A Jobs Plus strategy is essential for delivering this. Adopting this approach could mean the Northern Powerhouse regions having tens of thousands more degree-qualified individuals within them and would boost productivity, drive growth and attract more highly qualified individuals to the north of England.

An agenda for action

Achieving change across the north of England will take time. This box sets out immediate priority action areas for the range of parties that will need to support the creation of a Jobs Plus approach.

National policy makers

National policy makers need to drive action forward by setting out a framework within which Jobs Plus strategies can be used to increase the attractiveness of the north of England to graduates.

Who	What
Central Government	As part of its new industrial strategy, the Government should emphasise the importance of the creation of Jobs Plus strategies across the UK. These should bring together local government, LEPs, regional businesses, housing providers and others to develop coherent packages of employment, housing and training that can attract graduates. The Government should consider how it could incentivise this, for instance by making it a requirement in new devolution deals or by linking future regional redevelopment funds to the creation of the strategies.
Central Government	Should require all new Civil Servants on the Fast Stream programme to spend at least one year in a placement in northern England.

Regional and local policy makers in the north of England

Who	What
City Regions, Combined Authorities and Local Authorities	Should develop Jobs Plus strategies that show how, working with others, they intend to make the north of England a more attractive location for graduates. Strategies must include details on partnerships and programmes on jobs, housing and place making.

Housing providers in the north of England

In partnership with local employers and policy makers, housing providers have a clear role to play in ensuring that the housing offer in the north of England is attractive to graduates. Organisations like Homes for the North can also play a role in marketing this northern housing offer nationally.

Who	What
Housing providers	Should develop innovative new products that provide a clear and affordable route to home ownership for graduates. These should build on shared ownership and rent to buy options already available and need to be tailored to the specific location and age of graduate that they are targeting.
Housing providers	Should work with the central government and the Homes and Communities Agency to develop pilots that test new sub-market rent products to attract graduates to the north of England. These should work within existing budgets and form part of Jobs Plus strategies.
Housing providers	Should actively develop partnerships with local employers and business groups (e.g. LEPs and Chambers) to design innovative housing offers that can be part of employee benefit packages.

- ⁱ Office for National Statistics. Social Survey Division, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. Central Survey Unit. (2016). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey, January - March, 2016*. [data collection]. 2nd Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 7985, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7985-2>
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- ⁱⁱ See <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/lt/dlhe/> - accessed 27/09/16.
- ⁱⁱⁱ ComRes interviewed 1,016 British adults with university degrees who had graduated between 2012-2016 ("recent graduates") online between 7th and 14th September 2016. Data were weighted by gender, current region, university region, subject studied and type of university attended to be representative of the audience as a whole. ComRes is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules.
- ^{iv} ComRes interviewed 1,018 25-35 year old British adults with university degrees ("25-35 year old graduates") online between 7th and 14th September 2016. Data were weighted by gender, current region and subject studied to be representative of the audience as a whole. ComRes is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules.
- ^v ComRes was commissioned by Homes for the North to undertake a piece of qualitative research to understand the reasons behind why graduates in the UK gravitate towards London and the south east, rather than the north of England. ComRes conducted two sets of focus groups, in London and in Leeds. In both locations, we conducted a group comprising 'recent graduates' (British adults who graduated in 2012 and more recently), as well as '25-35 year old graduates' (British adults aged 25-35 with university degrees).
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