

**The *Going-North* strategy for social mobility. Family resources and internal migration among young Italian students.**

*PRELIMINARY DRAFT*

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**Abstract**

Migration process from the southern to the northern regions still is a crucial aspect of the Italian society. Territorial mobility may provide opportunities to use education as a means of access for the more prestigious jobs, given the relevant differences in the labour market and returns on educational investments in different areas. However, student migration has additional costs and the family background may play a key role in this sense. The aim of this paper is threefold. Firstly, looking at the effect of parental resources on the decision to move to northern regions, we want to test if the territorial mobility may be seen as part of a strategy of social mobility among children of lower classes. Secondly, we evaluate the relevance of the recent changes in the tertiary system in Italy (decentralization, increased autonomy, 3+2 reform) in the propensity to move in general and in the scheme of relation between territorial mobility and family resources. Third, we check whether the recent economic crisis has strengthened the relevance of family resources relating the South-North student mobility. The research strategy consists in the application of logistic regression models to the ISTAT surveys on educational and professional paths of upper secondary school graduates (years 2001-2011). Our main results highlight an increased mobility for tertiary education between southern and northern regions over time and an increasing effect of parental resources. Thus, on the one hand, mobility for study is an additional tool for an upward social mobility only among higher, i.e. those with a higher trust in education and with more economic resources, on the other hand, changes in the university system emphasized the relevance of family resources.

## 1. Introduction

Migration process from the southern to the central and northern regions still is a relevant aspect of the Italian society. After reaching a peak in the early Sixties, inter-regional migration flows reduced substantially in the following three decades. Starting from mid-Nineties they have risen again and then stabilize during the last decades. Although not showing the intensity reported during Sixties and Seventies, the phenomenon is far from being negligible. More than 2.5 million people have left southern regions since 1990, i.e. more than 100 thousand migrations every year. Among them, 9 out of 10 have established in the Centre-North and 1 in ten abroad (Svimez 2010). The dimension would be even greater if we take into account those who formally reside in a region of the South but work and live most of the time in a Centre-Northern region. Data from the Labour Force Survey suggests that in the 2012 more than 140 thousand southern workers were occupied in the North (Svimez 2013).

There are several factors of discontinuity between the new South-North flows and those occurred during the so-called “economic miracle” but the most important concerns the higher proportion of younger and more educated individuals (Berti and Zanotelli 2008; Ciriaci 2005; Pezzulli 2004; Svimez 2009; Viesti 2005). The composition of the migration flows started to change in the mid-seventies (Pugliese 2000) even though the trend has become more distinct in the recent years. In the last two decades the renewed internal flows have coincided with a significant increase of human capital (Svimez 2009, 2010). Thanks to the growth in the enrolment rates in the upper secondary education, universities have begun to play an important role in fostering the internal mobility because very frequently new migrants move during their studies (Capuano 2012, Ciriaci 2005; Impicciatore and Tuorto 2011, Panichella 2013). At the basis of this process there is substantial student mobility between different areas. Recent data from MIUR<sup>1</sup> show that more than 20 thousand southerners students enrolled in a university in the northern regions in the academic year 2012-13. This peculiar pattern represents a persistent phenomenon despite the increased number of universities in Italy in the last year. South-North flow mirrors the disparities between the two areas in terms of economic opportunities and labour market characteristics and student migration may represent a strategy to face difficulties in local labour market and increase the possibilities of social mobility. We can call this choice as “Going-North strategy” underlying the strict relation between territorial and social mobility. As already stated in previous studies (DaVanzo 1976 and 1983, Ciriaci 2009), in Italy the choice of where to study strongly influences the place of living after the end of education. ISTAT data show that the majority of those who choose to enrol in a university in

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<sup>1</sup> Ministero dell’Istruzione, Università e Ricerca (MIUR): [http://statistica.miur.it/scripts/IU/vIU0\\_bis.asp](http://statistica.miur.it/scripts/IU/vIU0_bis.asp)

another region do not come back to the region of origin after graduating. After the end of education, only 44% of southerners graduated in the North go back in the region of origin whereas 40% remains in the same region of the university and 16% move to a third destination (Brait et al 2010). This paper focuses on the South-North mobility of young students in order to achieve a tertiary level of education, a phenomenon that have attracted only recently the attention of scholars and that is still largely unknown. The aim is threefold. Firstly, looking at the effect of parental resources on the decision to move to center-northern regions, we want to test if the territorial mobility may be seen as part of a strategy of social mobility. Secondly, we evaluate the relevance of the recent changes in the tertiary system in Italy (decentralization, increased autonomy, 3+2 reform) in the propensity to move and in the scheme of relation between territorial mobility and family background. Third, we check if student mobility and the impact of family background have changed during the recent economic crisis.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In Section 2 we present some peculiar traits of the recent university reform occurred in Italy and some differences between South and North areas in Italy mainly focusing on labour market and returns on education. In section 3, we present the theoretical background and the research question the paper focuses on. Section 4 contains the presentation of data and methods used. In section 5 we present some preliminary results. Elements for discussion are included in section 6.

## **2. The context: University system and labour market duality in Italy**

In Italy, students who have successfully completed the upper secondary level have free access to almost all studies at tertiary level even though some courses have an admission test, in particular in the medical field. The territorial distribution of universities in Italy is quite homogeneous (see figure 1). Each macro-area has several universities and a high availability of degree courses. This is one of the effects of the profound transformation occurred in the last two decades in the Italian university system. New public funding was granted to expand higher education infrastructures in the South with the aim to provide a geographical rebalancing of universities. The expansion in the supply, with the opening of several campuses, strongly influenced the organization and structure of courses as well as student mobility. In the period 1990-2010 the number of towns with a campus increased from 104 to 211, with a peak of 244 during 2006. The increasing number of sites produces a potential cost-reduction effect with the possibility of enrolling at university without

moving to a different region (Bratti et al 2008; Del Bianco et al 2010). Thus, the territorial decentralization of university could, in principle, reduce mobility over different areas.

[FIGURE 1]

However, this has been not the case. The attractiveness of the northern universities on the southern students have not reduced in the last fifteen years in absolute terms (Impicciatore and Tuorto 2011; Miur 2011) and have increased in relative terms. Figure 2 shows the percentage of tertiary students moved to a different area according to the area of origin.

The propensity to move among southerner student increased over time reaching a peak among in 2007 when almost 14% of southerners students lived in a northern region. The percentage slightly declines during the economic crisis. Mobility from other areas are quite stable over the whole period considered.

The preferred destination of students who move from the South to the North is Lazio (33% among students graduated in 2007) given the strong attractiveness of Rome, followed by universities in Emilia Romagna (21%), Lombardy (14%) and Tuscany (12%) (Brait et al 2010).

[FIGURE 2]

The persistent attractiveness of the northern universities can be explained mainly by two reasons. Firstly, labour market characteristics and returns on education continue to be radically different between the two macro-areas and no real signs of convergence have emerged recently. It has been shown an increasing gap between South and North for the unemployment rate (Mocetti and Porello 2010) and average wages (Basile and Causi 2007; Etzo 2007). According to the Bank of Italy (2009), wages in the manufacturing sector are 15% higher in the North than in the South for blue-collar workers, while they are 22% higher for white-collar workers and middle management. This implies that the productivity of human capital is lower in the South, and giving consequently incentives to migrate (Fratesi and Percoco 2009). In the South, together with the increase in the quality of labour supply, the demand for skilled workers is decreasing (Delzìo 2012). Moreover, in this area the job search is more linked to family connections and patronage than to knowledge and skills acquired during the educational process (Checchi and Peragine, 2005; Mariani 2006) and the intergenerational transmission of resources and the inheritance of professional position is more intense (Barone, 2012; Pellizzari et al 2011). As a consequence, in the Southern regions the occupational return on education is lower than the rest of the country both in terms of employment

and wages (Almalaurea 2011). Attending a university in the North increases the probability to find a job in the short run (Svimez 2009) and who gets a degree at a university in the North area has more job opportunities and higher wages (Svimez 2009; Bagues et al 2008; Pozzoli 2009, Brunello and Cappellari 2005).

Secondly, persistent flows of southerners students to the northern universities are related to the higher prestige owned by the major universities in the latter area. Data from 2007 ISTAT survey on labour outcomes of graduates (see table 1) shows that 63% of southerners studying in the North (South-North students) declare that the decision to move was based on the prestige or the quality of services and facilities. The same percentage among southerners studying in a University in the South (South-South students) is 22% and for northerners studying in the North (North-North students) is 28%. In the more recent survey held in 2011, percentages increases respectively to 69%, 24% and 29%, suggesting an increasing relevance of the importance of prestige and quality in particular among southerners students. In the same table we can read that the lower availability of degree courses in the southern regions is not important in the decision to move. Indeed, the percentage of those who declare that the choice was motivated by the fact that the course is not active elsewhere is quite similar among the three groups of students and generally decreases between 2007 and 2011.

[TABLE 1]

### **3. Theoretical background and hypotheses**

Determinants of student mobility have been investigated in the socio-economic literature following two distinct approaches. One is based on aggregated data at regional level or university by identifying the institutional and contextual conditions able to explain the mobility of students (Baryla and Dotterweich, 2001; Caruso and de Wit 213; Mixon and Hsing, 1994; Van Bouwel and Veugelers 2013). Within this approach, a widespread strategy consists in the application of gravity model highlighting the distance as one of the main determinant in the choice of the university (Dal Bianco et al 2010; Denzler and Wolter 2011; Frenette 2011; Sá, Florax and Rietveld, 2011). Another approach focuses on individual data aiming to highlight the on the one hand the role of the student abilities and motivation and on the other hand the impact of family background. In our analysis we follow this latter micro-approach. The underlying idea is that migrants are positively selected group of population in terms of skills and motivations (Borjas 1987; Chiswick, 2000; Kwok e Leland, 1982). Moreover, there is a link between the skills of migrants and the specific

destination. Areas where the return on skills is higher tend to attract workers with higher competencies (Ambrosini et al 2011). Educated migrants have preference to live where other educated workers live. This is true in country like US (Berry and Glaeser 2005) as well as in Italy (Fratesi and Percoco 2009).

This positive selection can be particularly strong within the context of student mobility. The decision to continue education after the secondary degree and the choice of the place where to study depends on the anticipation that future returns outweigh the additional costs of extended schooling. Several studies suggested that in Italy the most talented students in terms of skills and competencies show the highest propensity to migrate from the South to the North of the country (Ciriaci 2010; Gorla and Ichino, 2004; Jahnke 2001; Nifo et al 2011).

According to this point of view, territorial mobility may be seen as an additional way for upward social mobility giving more opportunities to use education as a means of access for the more prestigious jobs (see, for example, Scarlato, 2007). Geographical mobility along the direction south-north in Italy is the fastest way to balance the various components of the labour market at the local level. Mobility of students and the University system also contributes to this purpose. Leaving the southern regions can be interpreted on the one hand as an escape of those who have fewer employment opportunities (Panichella 2009, Ciriaci 2005), resulting in a drain of human capital, on the other hand allow southerners to extend significantly the chances of a social upward mobility through mechanism based on competition and merit.

A different explanation considers that the demand for education can also be a current consumption choice (Duchesne, Nonnemann, 1998) in the sense that students may attend universities because they like student lifestyle. In other words, mobility for tertiary education is not properly an investment good, as the human capital perspective suggests, but people move for non-pecuniary reasons taking into account the context in which they will study and, in particular, the quality of university life, the cultural atmosphere and a favourable environment to interpersonal relationships (Chatterton 2000).

In any case, higher education varies positively with student's family income (see among others, Checchi 2000; Duchesne, Nonnemann, 1998; Hartog and Serrano 2002), given that the vast majority of students are not economically independent. Besides, supporting their children in another region implies additional costs for student's families. Among Italian southerners students, only more affluent families may afford these additional costs (D'antonio and Scarlato 2007; Panichella 2009). Faini et al (1997) show that poorer families are unable to finance migration costs, resulting in a positive association between family income and geographical mobility proneness. Housing costs are the main source of expenses (Cannari et al 1997) in particular when the individual move to

the North to continue to tertiary education. Indeed, university attendance makes it more difficult to have a stable job and, without scholarships and financing, housing costs are added to the university fees (Panichella 2013).

Briefly, family resources may be crucial in the choice of the university site and we expect that they have a positive effect on student mobility because family with less economic resources are unable to finance migration costs. However, the impact of family background is not merely economic. More educated parents give a greater importance to the education of children (see for example, Checchi 2006) and they will be more willing to support the higher costs of a child residing in a different region. Moreover, more educated parents have more information in order to lead their children towards appropriate choices during their tertiary education.

Our hypotheses are the following:

**H<sub>p</sub> 1 *Positive selection.*** Mobility is higher among best students (regardless of parental background).

In this case, following the human capital perspective we can say that the decision to move to the North in order to invest in tertiary education is made if the expected returns outweigh the additional costs.

**H<sub>p</sub> 2 *Class selection.*** Additional costs prevail and mobility is higher among students with higher family resources.

A similar set of hypotheses has been already addressed in previous research showing both a positive selection among southerners students (Nifo et al 2011, Ciriaci 2010) as well as a strong effect of parental background (D'antonio and Scarlato 2007; Panichella 2013). However, this analyses lack of a comparison over time, since they refer to a specific calendar year. In this paper we want to extend the analysis of the impact of family resources on the decision to move to a Northern region for tertiary education, by adopting a diachronic perspective. In detail, we want to evaluate our system of hypotheses taking into account the crucial changes in the University system occurred in the last 15 years as well as the effect of the recent economic crisis.

#### **4. Data and methods**

The analysis is based on data coming from ISTAT survey on the upper secondary school graduates' transition to university and labour market. The diachronic perspective is ensured by looking at all

the four waves<sup>2</sup> held in 2001, 2004, 2008 and 2011. In each wave, a single cohort of students has been interviewed about three years after graduation. Mobility has been defined using the area of the upper secondary school and the place of living at the interview<sup>3</sup>.

The research strategy consists in two steps. In the first, we develop multinomial logistic models applied to Italian southern student and considering the probability to enrol in the same region, in another southern region or in North of the country. However, focusing on student mobility, we consider mobility only among those who effectively enrolled in university. This may leads to biased results if we do not take into account the selection underlying this process. In other words, not all the young southerners decide to enrol in tertiary education and family resources have a relevant impact on this decision. This leads us to the second step in which we take into account this source of selectivity by developing a Heckman probit models consisting of two probit equations: one main equation considering the probability to enrol in the North among southerners ever enrolled in university and one selection equation considering the probability to enrol at university. The scheme of possible transitions is drawn in figure 3.

Family background have been implemented considering parent's level of education (*high*: at least one parent with tertiary, *medium*: at least one with upper secondary; *low*: both with primary or lower level) or, alternatively as parent's occupational status (*lower*: manual worker and farm laborers; *middle*: employees, teachers, craftsmen, dealers and traders; *upper*: professionals, managers, entrepreneurs). Individual skills have been operationalized through the high school final grade. Other control factors included in the model are the following: gender, type of secondary school, year of birth, ever been rejected (only in the selection model).

[FIGURE 3]

## 5. Results

Table 2 shows the estimates of the Multinomial Logit model considering the propensity for southerners students to enrol in the North or in another southern region instead of in the region of origin (here considered as reference). Parents' education has always been a relevant aspect in shaping the decision to move to the North. However, over the ten years considered the impact of

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<sup>2</sup> The first wave of the ISTAT survey on the upper secondary school graduates' transition to university and labour market, held in 1998, cannot be used in our analysis because the information on the place of secondary school is not available. Therefore, student mobility from school to university cannot be detected.

<sup>3</sup> In this paper we refer as South to the following regions: Sicily, Calabria, Sardinia, Puglia, Basilicata, Campania, Molise, Abruzzi. All the remaining regions (usually defined as Center-North regions) are defined as North.



higher educated parents increased. This result emerge more clearly when we consider the (marginal) probability to enrol in a university in the North of Italy (Figure 4). This probability rises for children of graduated parents, whereas for the rest of the sample we see a peak in 2007 and then a decrease. As a result of this different trend, the gap among classes increases especially in 2011. Similar result emerge by considering parents' professional status instead of parents' education (results here not shown but available on request). Going back to table 2, we can see that parental status is not as important in the decision to enrol in another southern region as it is in the Going-North decision. Individual skills, here considered as the high school final grade, are positively associated with an higher propensity to move to a northern region<sup>4</sup>. However, it is interesting to underline that parallel with the increasing impact of family background, individual skills tends to be less important in more recent years. Looking at the effect on the propensity to move given by the interaction between high school final grade and parent's education (table 3), we note that among best students, only those with middle or higher educated parents show a higher propensity to move to the North. In other words, in order to apply the going-North strategy both elements must be at work: a good performance at school and higher educated parents.

[TABLE 2]

[FIGURE 4]

In the second step of our analysis we have developed Heckman selection model taking into account the decision to enrol at the university among all southerners who obtain a higher secondary level. This step mainly constitutes a robustness check for our previous results. Generally speaking, estimates in Table 3 show that students with higher educated parents and with higher school outcomes are more prone to continue to the university. Therefore, a selection process is at work since only more a selected group of young southerners decide to enrol at university after school graduation. Nevertheless, the selection process do not significantly biases our previous result, i.e. in models applied to the students ever enrolled at the university. Indeed, Heckman probit models fully confirm not only that parents' education is a crucial factor in predicting the decision to move to the North but also that parents' education is increasingly important in the decision to move to the North over the period 2001-2011.

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<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, students with a lower final grade at school have an higher propensity to move to another southern region at least among those interviewed in 2011 (which have finished school in 2008) (see table 2).

[TABLE 3]

[TABLE 4]

## 6. Discussion

Within the framework of internal migrations, the Italian case is particularly interesting because of the peculiar pattern of disparities among area and the perpetuation of internal migration flows from the poorest southern regions to the richest region in the North part of the country. The renewed flows in the last two decades are selective involving highly educated people. Even though student mobility between South and North of the country is a relevant component of this phenomenon, it is still largely unexplored having attracted only recently the attention of scholars. In this paper we focused on determinants of South-North student mobility. In particular, we aimed to evaluate the relevance of parental background on the decision to move to center-northern regions. By extending our analysis over a decade, we can also test if the recent changes in the university system in Italy have modified the propensity to move and the role of family resources.

Our results show crucial difference over time in the propensity to adopt the going-North strategy among southerners students. In particular, we found an increasing relevance of family background,

This change occurred together with the application of the university reform (the so-called Bologna reform) in which there has been the opening of new campuses. On the one hand, the decision to decentralize would have reduced the cost of investing in tertiary education allowing lower classes families to enrol their children in closer universities, at least in a first stage. Indeed, after few years, i.e. at mid-2000s, number of enrolments reduces substantially, especially among lower classes and in the southern regions (MIUR, 2011). On the other hand, children of more educated and affluent families have the resources to give their children the opportunity to move to the North of the country in order to enrol in campuses perceived On the other hand, children of more educated and affluent families have the resources to give their children the opportunity to move to the North in order to enrol in campuses perceived as better than those in the South of the country.

Going back to our research hypotheses, we have that Hp1 (positive selection) is roughly confirmed: our results shows that school grade has a positive effect on the propensity to move but only among middle and upper classes. . As far as Hp2 (class selection) is concerned, we have clear signs that this mechanism has been strengthened in the last years in concomitance with the reform. Besides, the reducing relevance of student skills together with the increasing importance of parental background suggests that opportunities of mobility, as well as opportunity of access to tertiary education, are not equally distributed among the southern population mainly because of the high

economic costs of migration. In a labour market characterized by a lower social mobility, fewer possibilities of stable employment, family networking plays a crucial role in finding a job, territorial mobility may represent a strategy for social mobility. Having a tertiary education still is a crucial point in this sense and the choice of universities in the North may increase substantially the probability to have a first job.

Generally speaking, the “going-North strategy” continues to be perceived as an efficient strategy of upward social mobility but its costs increasing over time and this makes this option more and more difficult to follow for the less affluent classes. Also for other countries, like Switzerland, it has been underlined that the student coming from higher socio- economic groups are not subject to distance restrictions with respect to their study decision (Denzler Wolter 2011). We agree with Panichella (2013) which claims that the difficulties in facing the costs related to migration might represent a new a new aspect of social discrimination for graduates belonging to lower social classes in the process of transition into the labour market.

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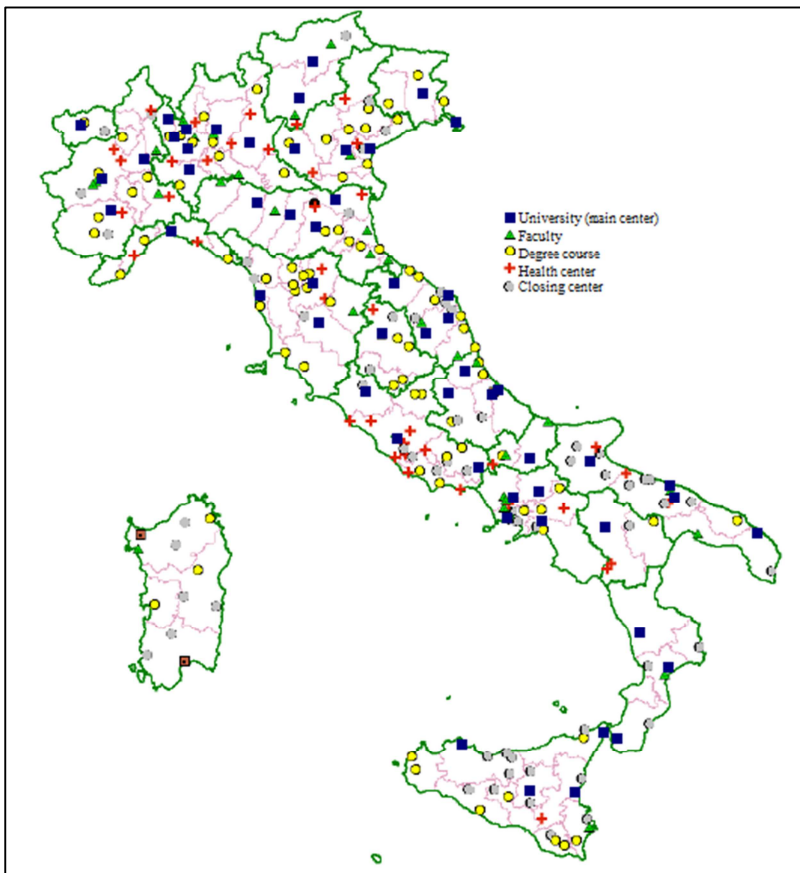
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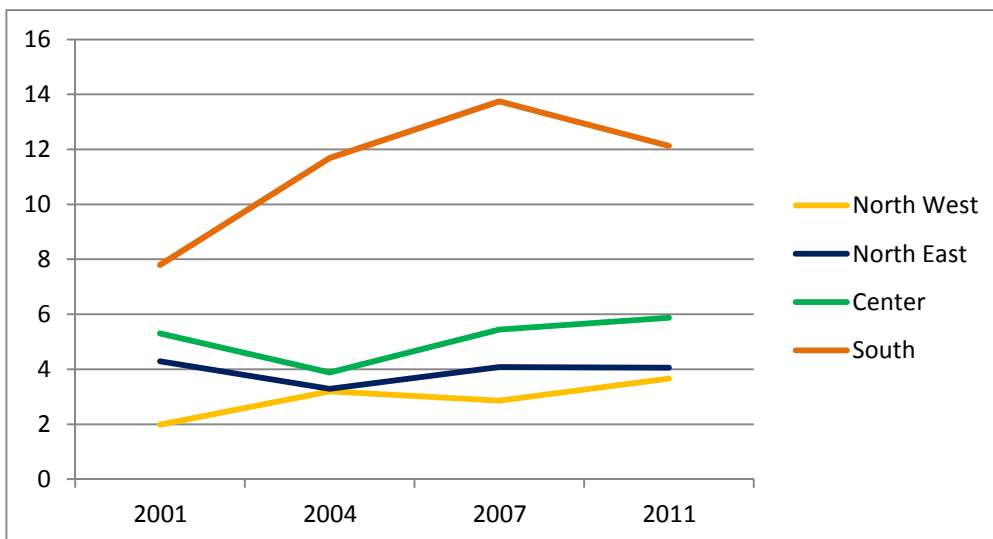
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Figure 1. Territorial distribution of university centres in Italy. Academic year 2009/10.



Source: MIUR 2001, page 47

Figure 2. Student mobility from school to the place of living at the interview (3 years after school graduation) among ever enrolled in university (% among each area of origin).



Source: own elaboration based on ISTAT survey on the upper secondary school graduates' transition to university and labour market.



Figure 3. Research strategy. Scheme of transitions.

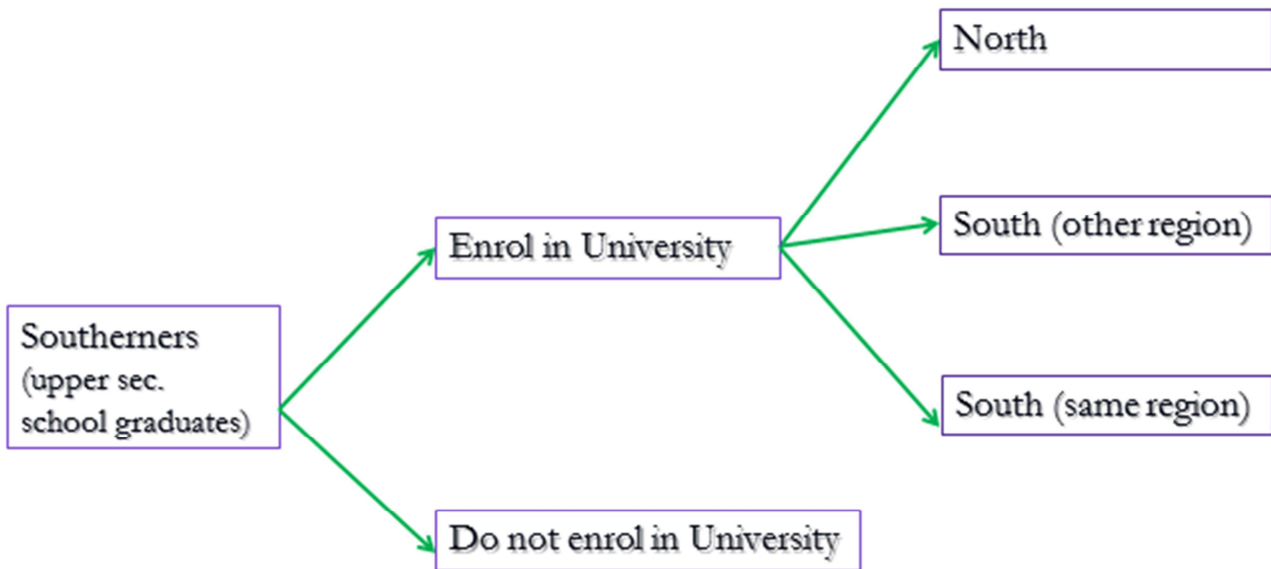
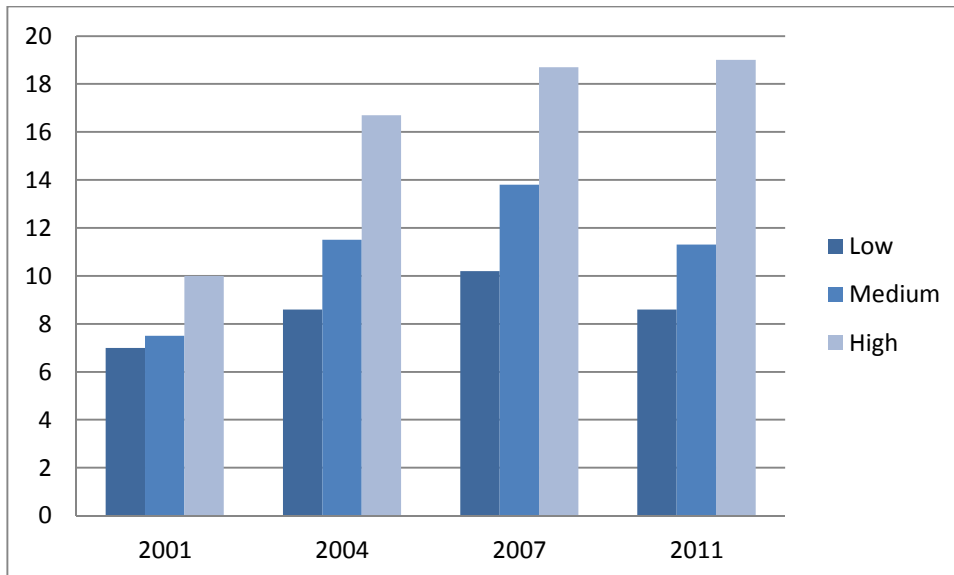


Figure 4. Probability to enrol in a university in the North of Italy according to parents' education. Multinomial Logit regression.



Other variables included: high school final grade, gender, type of high school, year of birth. Number of cases: 2001 (4019); 2004(3494); 2007 (5359); 2011 (9669).

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question “Can you tell me why did you choose this university?” by student mobility trajectories.

	South-South		South-North		North-North	
	2007	2011	2007	2011	2007	2011
Prestige / quality of services	21.6	24.3	63.2	68.7	28.4	29.3
Too expensive to study elsewhere	1.1	1.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.9
Convenience and proximity	61.1	62.7	14.9	12.6	50.0	53.3
Course not active elsewhere	15.6	9.6	16.4	10.1	19.8	14.1
Other or missing	0.6	1.8	4.8	8.0	1.1	2.3
tot	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	4322.0	3397.0	1034.0	777.0	9841.0	7930.0

Source: ISTAT survey on the upper secondary school graduates’ transition to university and labour market (years 2007 and 2011).

Table 2. Multinomial Logit regression. Probability to enrol in the same region (reference), in another southern region, in the North. Estimates and significance.

	2001	2004	2007	2011
<b>Going North</b>				
Parents' level of education (ref lower)				
upper secondary	0.07	0.32**	0.35***	0.29***
tertiary	0.40**	0.78***	0.72***	0.93***
High school final grade (ref. <80(48))				
80-89 (48-53)	0.44***	0.09	0.23**	0.04
90-100 (54-60)	0.70***	0.43***	0.38***	0.35***
<b>Going South (other region)</b>				
Parents' level of education (ref lower)				
upper secondary	-0.27	-0.19	-0.03	-0.23
tertiary	0.00	0.16	0.00	-0.09
High school final grade (ref. <80(48))				
80-89 (48-53)	0.16	-0.78*	-0.06	-0.47**
90-100 (54-60)	0.08	-0.39	-0.22	-0.37**

Other covariates included in the model: sex, school type, year of birth.

N: 1998 (3790); 2001 (4019); 2004(3494); 2007 (5359); 2011 (9669). \*\* p<0.1; \* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01”

Table 3. Interaction school grade-parent's education. Multinomial Logit regression. Probability to enrol in the North among southerners student. Estimates and significance.

<b>2001</b>	<b>lower</b>	<b>middle</b>	<b>higher</b>
<b>-79 (-47)</b>	0	0	0
<b>80-89 (48-53)</b>	0.19	0.60**	0.62*
<b>90-100 (54-60)</b>	0.31	1.02***	0.79***

<b>2004</b>	<b>lower</b>	<b>middle</b>	<b>higher</b>
<b>-79 (-47)</b>	0	0	0
<b>80-89 (48-53)</b>	0.04	0.14	0.11
<b>90-100 (54-60)</b>	0.24	0.36*	0.70***

<b>2007</b>	<b>lower</b>	<b>middle</b>	<b>higher</b>
<b>-79 (-47)</b>	0	0	0
<b>80-89 (48-53)</b>	0.17	0.26	0.25
<b>90-100 (54-60)</b>	-0.05	0.57***	0.38**

<b>2011</b>	<b>lower</b>	<b>middle</b>	<b>higher</b>
<b>-79 (-47)</b>	0	0	0
<b>80-89 (48-53)</b>	-0.19	-0.1	0.41*
<b>90-100 (54-60)</b>	0.29	0.22	0.62***

Other covariates included in the model: sex, school type, year of birth.

N: 1998 (3790); 2001 (4019); 2004(3494); 2007 (5359). "\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01"

Table 4. Heckman Probit regression. Probability to enrol in the North. Estimates and significance.

	2001	2004	2007	2011
<b>Going North</b>				
<b>Parents' level of education (ref lower)</b>				
upper secondary	-0.01	0.22***	0.23***	0.24***
tertiary	0.14	0.50***	0.47***	0.62***
<b>High school final grade (ref. &lt;80(48))</b>				
80-89 (48-53)	0.16*	0.14	0.18***	0.12**
90-100 (54-60)	0.26**	0.34***	0.28***	0.36***
<b>Tertiary</b>				
<b>Parents' level of education (ref lower)</b>				
upper secondary	0.30***	0.31***	0.33***	0.31***
tertiary	0.81***	0.80***	0.72***	0.62***
<b>Social class (ref. manual workers)</b>				
middle, employees	0.30***	0.21***	0.23***	0.35***
Middle, self-employed	0.23***	0.07	0.02	0.02
Upper, employees	0.46***	0.19	0.17	0.30***
Upper, self-employed	0.30***	0.38***	0.22***	0.31***
<b>High school final grade (ref. &lt;80(48))</b>				
80-89 (48-53)	0.46***	0.60***	0.49***	0.46***
90-100 (54-60)	0.93***	0.98***	0.84***	0.99***
rho	-0.17	0.36	0.33	0.66**
N	9958	7002	9259	

\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Other covariates included in the model: Main equation: sex, school type, year of birth. Selection equation: sex, ever rejected, year of birth. "\*\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01"