Department for Education

Risk factors for becoming NEET: a statistical analysis using linked data

Research report

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Executive summary

This report investigates the risk factors associated with becoming NEET (not in education, employment, or training) for six months or more at ages 17 to 19 and ages 20 to 24.

NEET risk is complex. A range of familial, educational, and behavioural factors are linked with NEET status at ages 17 to 19 and ages 20 to 24, with broadly similar risk factors observed at both stages. However, three factors stand out as particularly important. Having an Education and Health Care Plan (EHCP) and being persistently absent from school during KS4 (missing 10% or more of possible sessions) are the factors with the strongest link to being NEET. Low GCSE attainment (not attaining five good GCSEs including English and Maths) is more widespread, with a more moderate, but still meaningful, link to NEET status.

Other factors are also important, such as lack of participation in leisure activities, parents having no qualifications, and low engagement in school. Moreover, NEET risk is shown to increase linearly with the number of risk factors an individual has. In other words, those at highest risk of becoming NEET will have multiple risk factors, requiring a holistic approach to prevention.

NEET rates are higher for men, those who were eligible for free school meals (FSM) at age 16, and those with special educational needs (SEN). For FSM-eligible pupils, this is explained by the fact that they have a greater number of risk factors. In contrast, the prevalence of risk factors does not explain the difference in NEET risk between men and women. Instead, men appear more sensitive to the risk factors included in our model (i.e., risk factors are more strongly linked to NEET status amongst men than women) or have higher prevalence of factors that we have not been able to account for. For young people with SEN, both of these explanations play a role.

These results do not imply causality. Although the statistical methods applied are robust and build on previous analysis, they remain correlations and do not enable us to say that a given risk factor causes NEET status. As a result, the interpretations in this report are in terms of “links” and “associations”. Nevertheless, this analysis helps us to understand, using rich and up-to-date survey data li40nked to administrative records, the factors and mechanisms at play in determining whether a young person is NEET.

Introduction

The proportion of young people who are NEET (not in education, employment, or training) between the ages of 16 and 24 has been on an upward trend since 2019, leading to renewed focus on what has long been an important area of policy.[1] This report investigates the risk factors associated with becoming NEET in two age brackets: 17 to 19 and 20 to 24.

There is a wealth of existing evidence on the determinants of becoming NEET and its short- and long-term effects. This report focuses on the former, the risk factors for a young person becoming NEET. Recent analysis on this topic includes Crowley et al (2023), who explore the determinants of being NEET using an earlier version of the dataset used in this report (where the sample is almost a decade older than ours). Their work draws out a number of the same findings including the fact that risk factors are widespread and factors such as not attaining level 2 qualifications have stronger links to being NEET. On a similar theme, Warburton et al. (2024) explore the link between being school ready and being NEET at older ages, showing that those who are not school ready at the age of 4/5 are more likely to be NEET at ages 16/17. Evans et al (2026) look at school characteristics instead by using administrative data to show that student achievement and suspension rates, among other factors, are linked to NEET status at older ages.

This analysis builds on previous research and analysis in two key ways.

- Firstly, it uses rich and up-to-date data on young people from the Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England: Cohort 2 (LSYPE2) dataset. This cohort includes pupils who were in year 9 (aged 13 or 14) when the study began in 2013 and who turned 24 between September 2022 and August 2023. Other studies have either used administrative data or focused on the previous LSYPE dataset which followed young people almost a decade older and relates to a period in time when NEET rates were falling rather than rising.
- Secondly, we are able to link LSYPE2 survey respondents to the Department for Education's (DfE) administrative records in the Longitudinal Education Outcomes (LEO) dataset, which includes data on educational achievement and labour market outcomes. This allows us to combine detailed survey responses with large-scale administrative data to track key risk factors, such as low engagement and school absences, respectively.

Our analytical approach follows three steps.

First, we examine factors associated with an increased risk of NEET individually. We then combine all risk factors together in a single statistical model. Because most young people have three or more overlapping "risk factors", analysing these factors simultaneously in a

[1] See DWP statistics here https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/neet-statistics-annual-brief/2025.

regression enables us to explore the relative impacts of each factor after controlling for others. Finally, we use a decomposition technique to examine whether certain groups who experience higher rates of being NEET because they (a) have more risk factors, or (b) are more sensitive to risk factors in the model (i.e., risk factors are more strongly linked to NEET status) or are more influenced by factors that couldn't be accounted for in our model.

Data and methods

The data used for analysis in this report is from DfE's Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England 2 (LSYPE2), often referred to as Our Futures. Beginning in 2013, the survey followed a sample of young people through the final years of compulsory education and into further/higher education and employment beyond. It was designed to capture a comprehensive view of young people's lives and the role that education plays within them and, as such, collected a rich array of information with variables covering health, risky behaviours, family background, future ambitions, and leisure activities.[2]

Respondents were in year 9 (aged 13 or 14) at the beginning of the study and were surveyed each year for nine years up to the ages of 20 or 21. A further 10-minute interview was carried out when the participants were aged 24 or 25. Although the study started with 13,100 individuals, the number of respondents decreased over time as individuals chose not to take part in the new waves of the survey. This analysis utilises the waves in which respondents were aged 13 to 19 and only includes the 4,417 individuals who both participated in all relevant waves and consented to their responses being linked to administrative data.

We use data from the National Pupil Database (NPD), which includes academic attainment, school attendance, and detailed information on Education and Health Care Plans (EHCPs). We also use Longitudinal Educational Outcomes (LEO) data and the Young Person's Matched Administrative Dataset (YPMAD) to capture young people's education or employment activity, which we utilise to define participation and NEET status.

In this analysis, an individual is defined as NEET if they are not recorded as being in an educational or training course or in employment for a period of six months or more at any point within a given age bracket (e.g. 17 to 19 or 20 to 24). This definition differs to that used in official statistics which measure the share of young people of a given age who are NEET at a given point in time. Our approach is appropriate for this context, as the data enable us to follow the same cohort from ages 13/14 through to 23/24. This analysis explores whether certain risk factors are linked to being NEET at any point in time rather than at a particular time point as in official statistics. In other words, we are interested in "what factors link to being NEET at any point in a young person's life" instead of "how many 20-24 year olds were NEET in March 2025".

In our analysis of individual risk factors and NEET risk, we compare the NEET rate amongst people with a risk factor to those without that risk factor. Statistical significance is calculated at the 5% level using the Fisher exact test for non-random associations between categorical variables. To draw out the link between risk factors and NEET status after accounting for other factors, we report the correlation coefficients of a multiple regression containing all risk factors and several demographic controls. Specifically, we

[2] For an overview of the data and the young people in it see Arnot et al (2026).

use design-based generalised linear regression (using the survey weights, strata, and primary sampling units) to account for LSYPE2's complex sampling procedure.

To analyse the drivers of differences in NEET rates between genders, by SEN status, and by FSM eligibility we apply a Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition[3]. This method allows us to quantify how much of the gap is driven by differences in the prevalence of risk factors we observe versus differences in the sensitivity to those factors (i.e., how much more strongly a specific factor is linked with NEET status in one group compared to the other) or a greater role for characteristics that we cannot observe in our data. A "residual" component arises from our use of survey-weighted Generalised Linear Model (GLM) rather than Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) but does not provide any meaningful information for interpretation.

The analysis comes with a number of caveats. Firstly, these results do not imply causality. Although the statistical methods applied are robust and build on previous analysis, they remain correlations enabling us to say that a given risk factor causes NEET status. As a result, the interpretations in this report are in terms of "links" and "associations".

Secondly, there is a degree of measurement error in the calculations of NEET status as well as survey responses (e.g., parental disability) – which are self-reported and may be subjective and may not align perfectly with official statistics. We define NEET status between fixed dates which roughly correspond to the birthdays of the median pupil in the cohort, which means that the age brackets are not precise. In the example of the 17 to 19 age bracket, some individuals will still be aged 16 at the beginning of the observation period and others will reach age 20 before the period ends.

Finally, our data may not be representative of current or future cohorts of young people. In particular, the cohort we use for analysis was in school prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Since then, the way in which risk factors link to later labour market outcomes could have changed. Additionally, as most risk factors were measured before age 16, their prevalence may have shifted since this cohort was in their teenage years. Additionally, survey respondents who left the study before wave 6 or refused to have their data linked to LEO were dropped, which could mean our sample does not perfectly represent the population of pupils.

Despite these caveats, this analysis provides a useful description of a recent cohort which has experienced elevated rates of NEET and the risk factors that may have contributed to that outcome.

[3] The technique is generally attributed to both Blinder (1973) and Oaxaca (1973).

Analysis of individual risk factors and NEET risk

Several risk factors are associated with NEET status. Initially, we examine each factor's correlation with being NEET one at a time, similar to previous analyses of NEET risk.[4] This means that other factors are not accounted for and the focus is only on the correlation between a given risk factor and NEET status.

Figure 1 presents univariate predictors of NEET status at age 17 to 19 in order of the difference between the NEET rate amongst people with that risk factor (yellow circle) and those without (blue square). The size of the points relates to the percentage of respondents recorded as having each risk factor. Figure 2 presents the same analysis but for NEET status at age 20 to 24 and includes additional post-16 factors such as social renting at age 19.

Average NEET rates of 12% and 29% are represented by the dashed lines on their respective graphs. The higher NEET rate at ages 20 to 24 is primarily due to our definition of NEET spanning a longer period. In both plots, only factors that are statistically significantly associated with NEET status at the 5% level and with a prevalence level above 1% are included. For example, 85% of young people who were recorded as having a child at age 18/19 (in wave 6) were NEET at ages 20 to 24, but this risk factor is not shown because it only applied to 41 individuals (less than 1% of the sample).

The risk factors shown in Figure 1 are: whether a child has an EHCP; moved school during their KS4 year; was persistently absent in KS3 or KS4 (separately); has SEN; did not achieve 5 good GCSEs (including English and Maths); has experience of the care system; has low engagement in school (defined as whether they agree that school is a waste of time); have had contact with social services; have been excluded/suspended from school; their parents have no educational qualification; live in social-rented accommodation at age 16; are eligible for FSM; do not take part in leisure activities; have experience of smoking by age 16; have had contact with the police; report poor physical health by age 16; parents self-identified as having a disability; parents earned less than £15600 when the individual was 16; are male; live in an area that is in the most 30% most income deprived areas according to the IDACI; have a single parent; report being bullied at school; and have used cannabis by age 16.

Figure 2 adds some additional risk factors. These are: the young person was in social rented accommodation at age 19; did not take A levels; being a young carer; reports having no support network; reports poor physical health by age 19; self-reports of having depression at age 16 and reports having depression or anxiety by age 19 as diagnosed by a doctor. Figure 2 also does not contain two variables, due to them no longer being

[4] See, for example, Crowley et al (2023)

significant at the 5% level. These are having experience of the care system and having used cannabis by age 16.

Figure 1: Univariate predictors of NEET at age 17 to 19

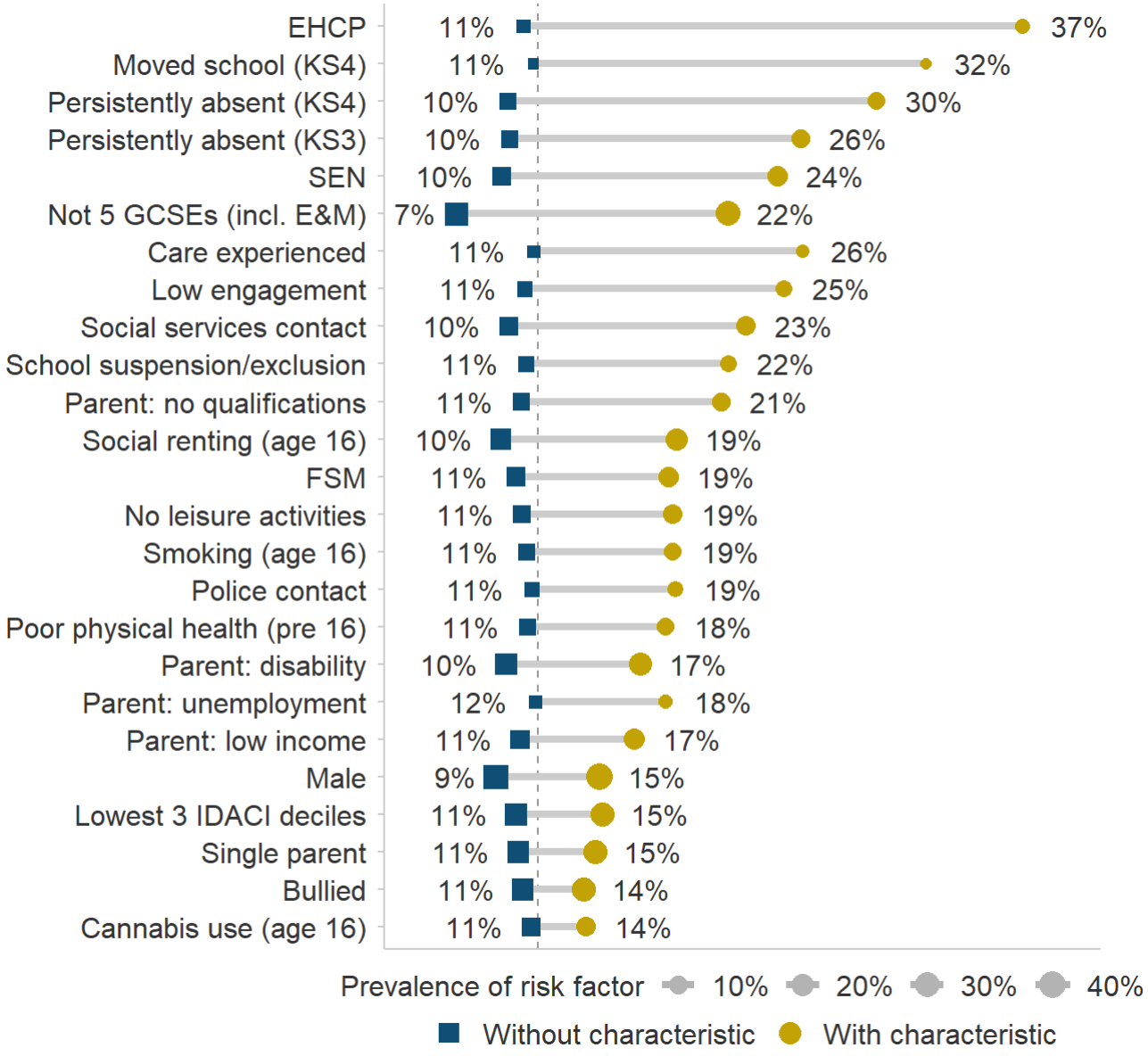
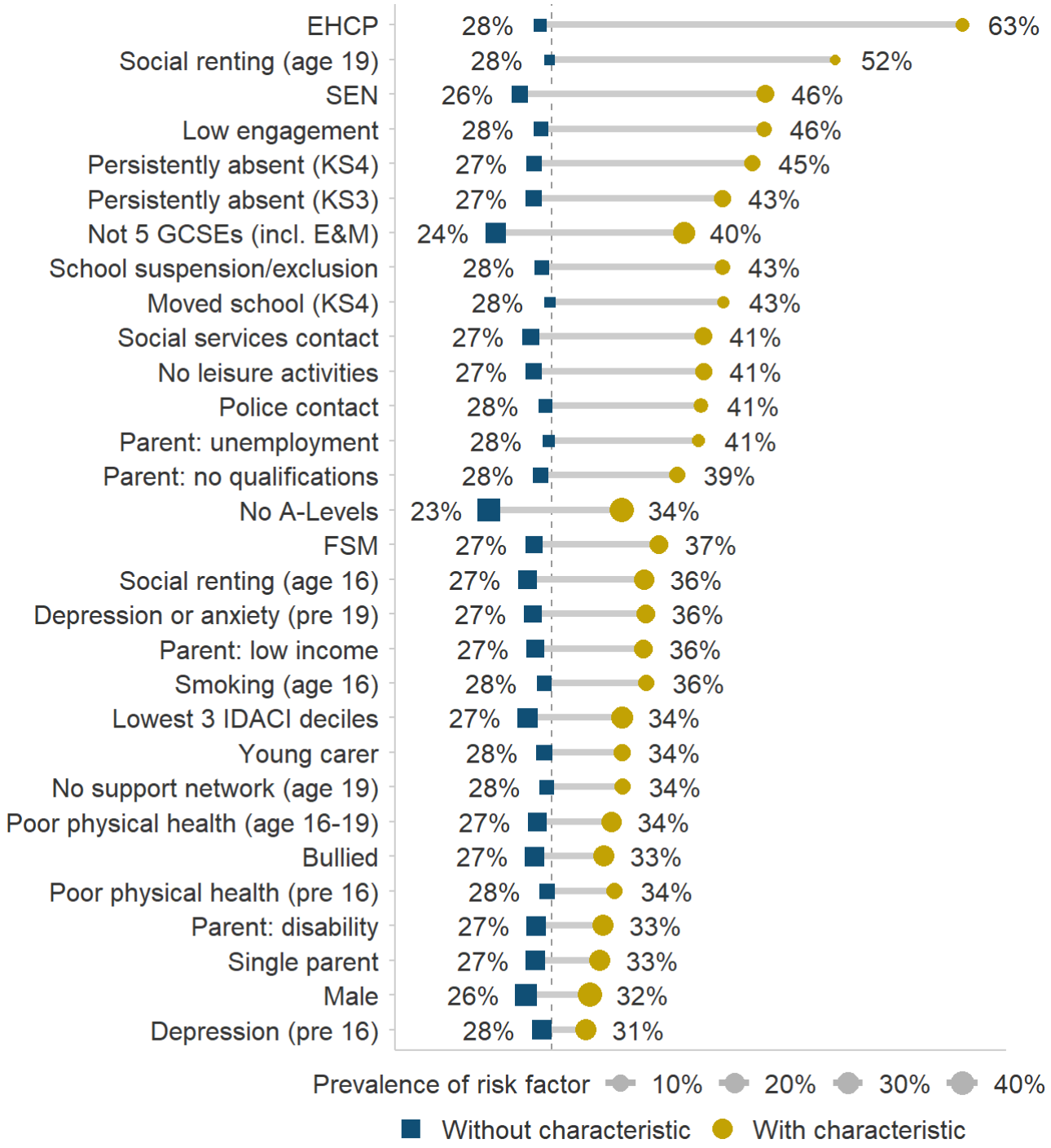


Figure 2: Univariate predictors of NEET at age 20 to 24



Having an EHCP at age 16 is the single most predictive factor of NEET status at ages 17 to 19 and ages 20 to 24. 37% of individuals who had an EHCP were NEET at some point between the ages of 17 to 19, compared to 11% of those without an EHCP. For ages 20 to 24, this gap widens to 63% versus 28% respectively.

Persistent absence at KS3 and KS4, defined throughout as missing 10% of sessions in a school year, is also strongly associated with being NEET. 30% of individuals who were persistently absent at KS4 and 26% of individuals who were persistently absent at KS3 were NEET at age 17 to 19. Another important factor, linked to but distinct from

attendance, is low school engagement – measured as those who considered school a waste of time.

Despite being less predictive of NEET status at ages 17 to 19 than attendance, low engagement becomes more important at ages 20 to 24. This suggests a meaningful difference in what the two factors measure. For example, attendance could be more closely associated with the “quantity” of education received, while engagement may reflect differences in effort or focus when in attendance. Extending this further, attendance could be more linked to external factors such as parental involvement, whereas engagement may be more indicative of the motivations and ambitions of the pupil.

Low GCSE attainment stands out as both highly correlated with NEET status and highly prevalent. Notably, low GCSE attainment is a greater predictor of NEET at age 20 to 24 than having no A-levels.

Other important factors include social renting at age 19, school suspension or exclusion, and social services contact. These factors suggest an important role for family background, institutional support, and behaviour patterns. However, these predictors are likely highly correlated with other important factors, such as GCSE attainment.

Several factors appear which might indicate significant disadvantage or barriers to participation in education or the labour market, such as police contact, poor physical health, and residing in an area that is in the 3 most income deprived areas (measured using the Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index). These are associated with being NEET but to a lesser extent than GCSE attainment, persistent absences during KS4, and having an EHCP at age 16.

Figure 3 and Figure 4 present NEET rates by number of risk factors a young person has (blue) alongside the percentage of respondents who have that many risk factors (yellow) for age groups 17 to 19 and 20 to 24. These charts refer to the same list of predictors as presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2 respectively – meaning Figure 4 includes several post-16 factors (e.g., social renting at age 19).

Figure 3: NEET rate at ages 17 to 19 by number of risk factors

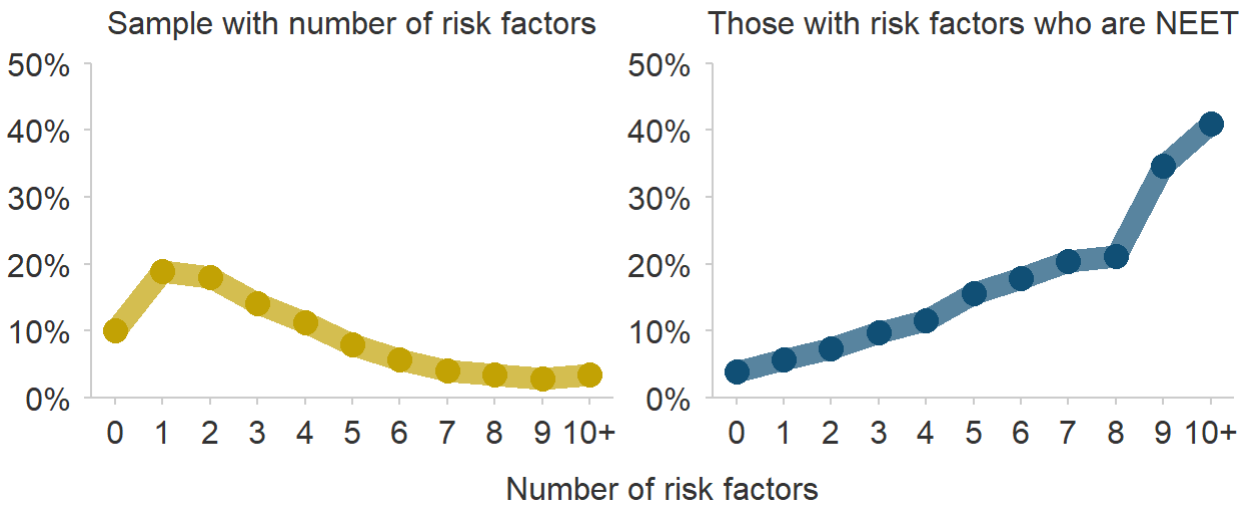
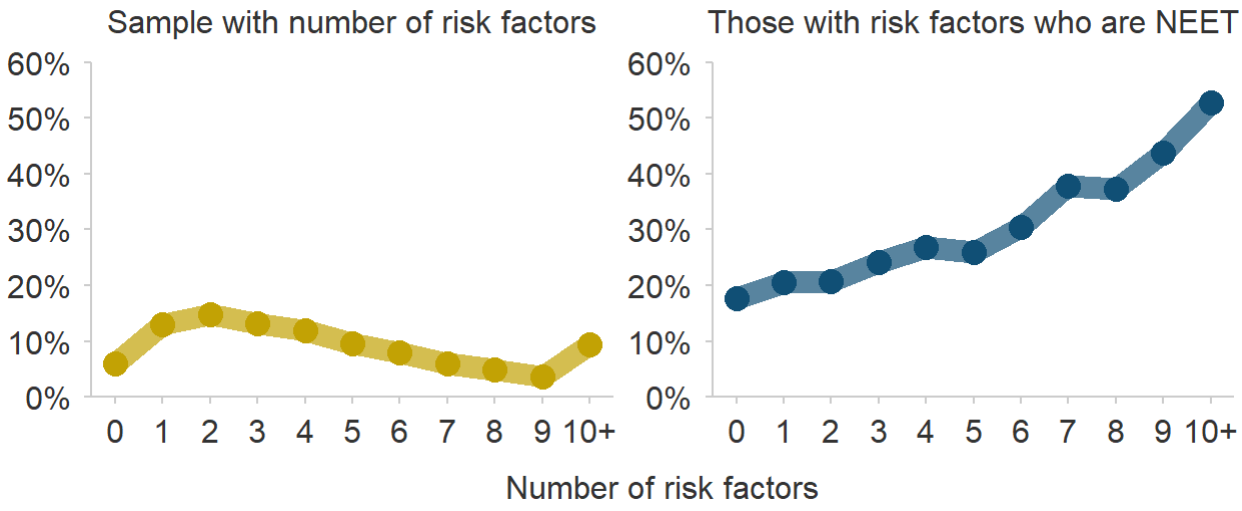


Figure 4: NEET rate at ages 20 to 24 by number of risk factors



We observe a positive linear relationship between the number of risk factors a young person has and the proportion of those individuals who are NEET. In other words, those at highest risk of becoming NEET will have multiple risk factors, requiring a holistic approach to prevention. Specifically, 34% of young people in the study had fewer than 3 risk factors linked to NEET status at age 20 to 24. Whereas 9% had 10 or more – 53% of which became NEET, compared to 20% of those with fewer than 3 risk factors.

Analysis of NEET accounting for all risk factors together

Given the finding in Figure 3 and Figure 4 that more than half of young people have at least three NEET risk factors, it follows that we should do more than look at the link between individual risk factors and NEET status. When we look at risk factors in isolation, we risk attributing the impact of one factor to other factors which are correlated. Multiple regression analysis allows us to explore the relationships of factors independently, while holding all others constant, to attempt to isolate the link between a given risk factor and NEET status. When we consider all risk factors in a single model, a much smaller list of statistically significant factors emerges.

Figures 5 and 6 plot the relationship between the percentage difference in NEET rate between those with and without each factor, holding all others constant, against the prevalence of each factor. This helps to rank importance by categorising risk factors as (a) both strongly linked to NEET status and highly prevalent (top right quadrant), (b) strongly linked to NEET status but less prevalent (bottom right quadrant), (c) highly prevalent but only weakly linked to NEET status (top left quadrant), and (d) weakly linked to NEET status and less prevalent (bottom left quadrant). In both plots, only factors that are statistically significantly linked to NEET status at the 5% level and with a prevalence level above 1% are included. For example, having a child in wave 6 (age 18/19) is associated with a 41 percentage point increase in risk of NEET at ages 20 to 24, but this risk factor is not shown because it only applied to 41 individuals.

Figure 5: Risk factors for becoming NEET at ages 17 to 19

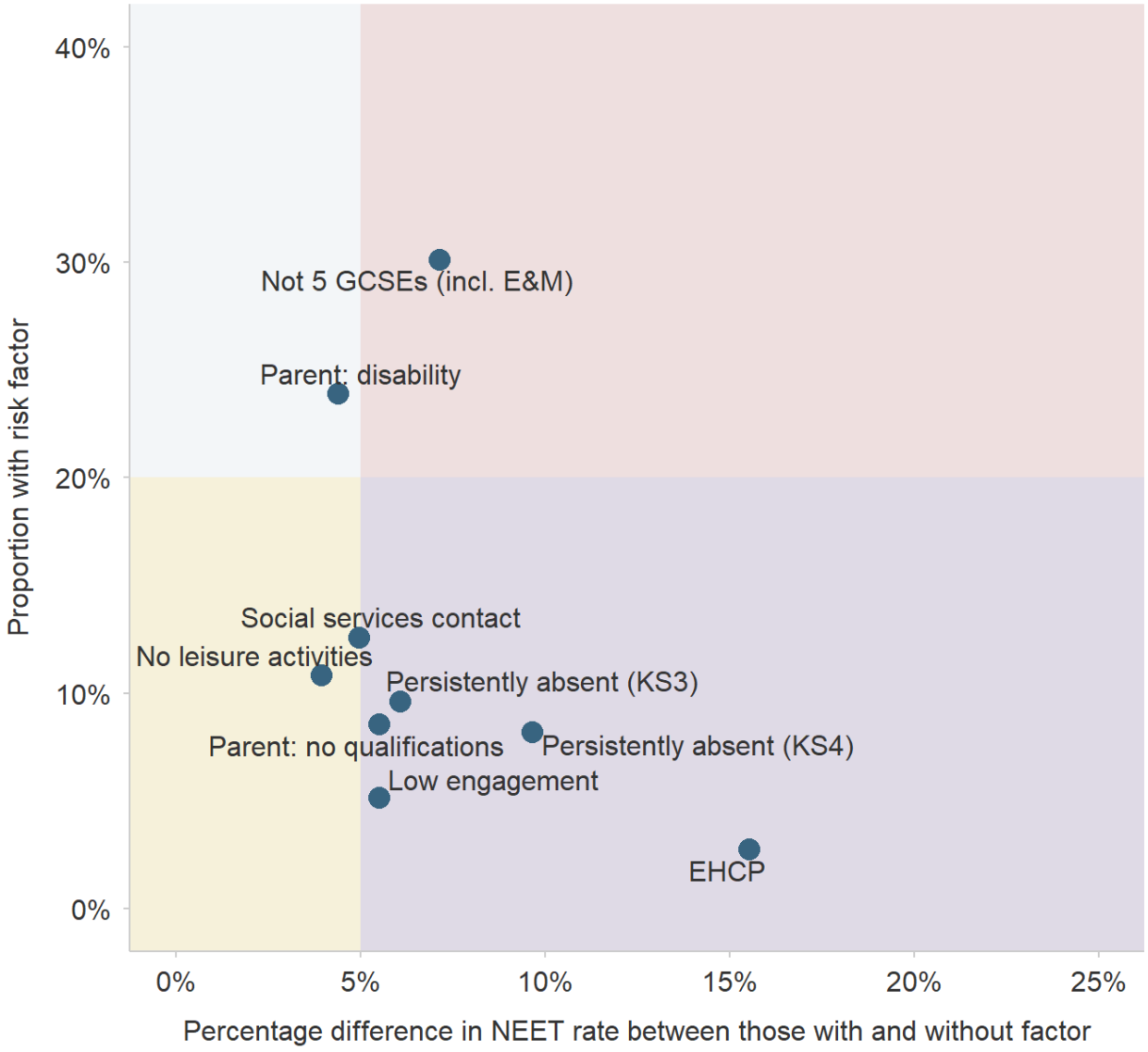
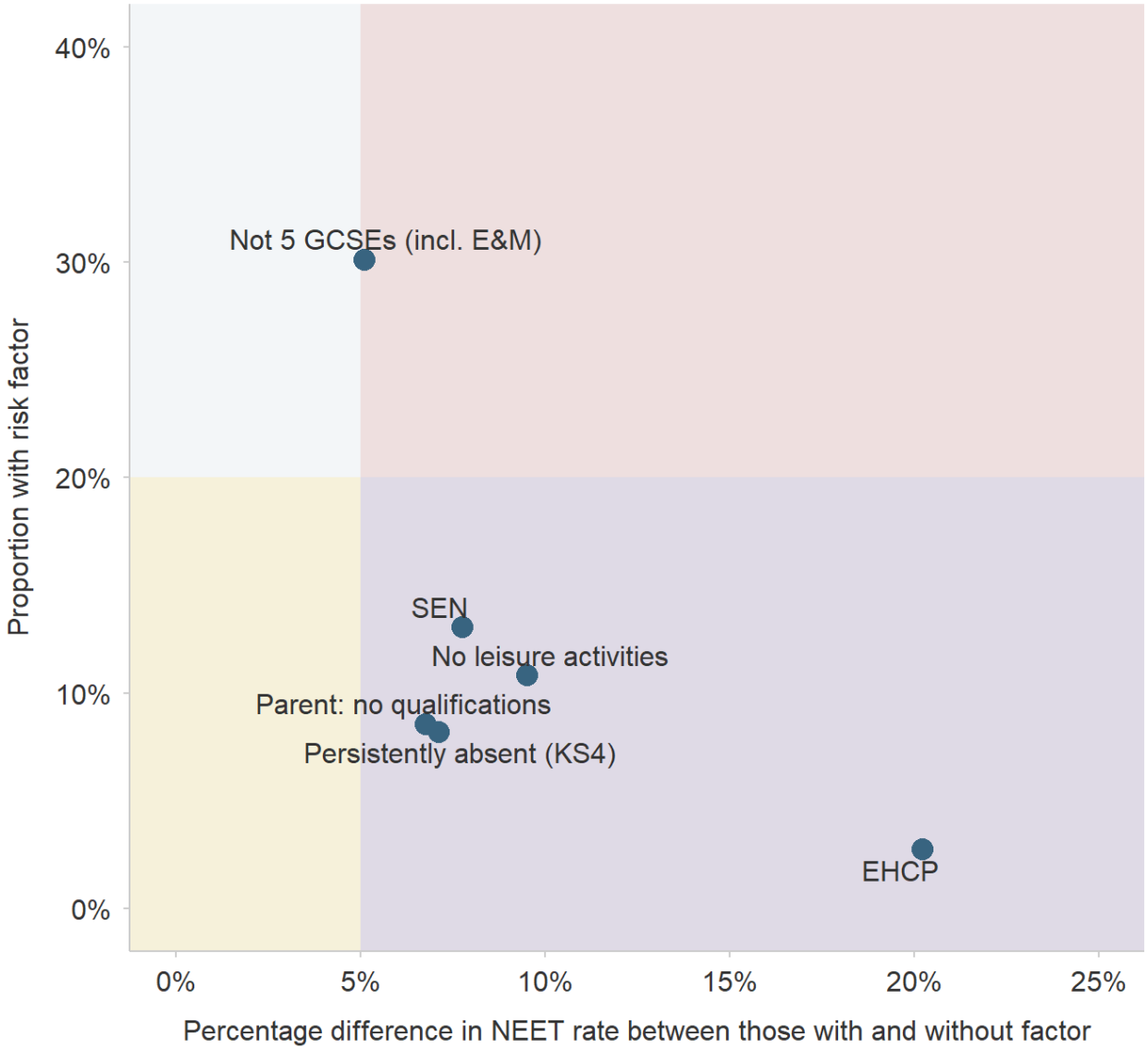


Figure 6: Risk factors for becoming NEET at ages 20 to 24



Having an EHCP remains the factor most strongly associated with NEET status. Controlling for other risk factors, having an EHCP is associated with a 16 percentage point increase in risk of NEET at age 17 to 19, and a 20 percentage point increase at age 20 to 24. It is also a factor with low prevalence in our sample, with only 3% of the sample having an EHCP at the age of 15/16 in KS4 in 2015. In more cohorts the share of young people who have an EHCP has risen to 5.3%.[5]

Persistent absence at KS4 is strongly linked to NEET status, especially at ages 17 to 19. After controlling for other risk factors, those persistently absent during KS4 are 10 percentage points more likely to be NEET at age 17 to 19, and 7 percentage point increase NEET risk at age 20 to 24. Interestingly, this result occurs even though we are

[5] See official statistics here: https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/special-educational-needs-in-england/2024-25

controlling for low GCSE attainment, which may suggest that KS4 attendance has benefits beyond achieving higher grades.

Persistent absence at KS4 is a rising concern due to its increasing in prevalence amongst more recent cohorts. While 8% of pupils in our sample (2014/15 KS4 cohort) were persistently absent across KS4, in 2024/25, 26% of year 10 pupils and 27% of year 11 pupils were persistently absent.[6]

Low GCSE attainment (defined here as failure to achieve five GCSEs passes including English and maths) is the most prevalent risk factor strongly linked with NEET risk. Controlling for other risk factors, low GCSE attainment is associated with a 7 percentage point increase in risk of NEET at ages 17 to 19 and a 5 percentage point increase at ages 20 to 24. Low GCSE attainment may translate into higher risk of NEET due to lower employability, or lower returns to education, or by discouraging or preventing the young person from entering further or higher education.

Not participating in leisure activities is the risk factor with the largest increase in association with NEET status between ages 17 to 19 and 20 to 24. After controlling for other risk factors, not participating in leisure/social activities (e.g., taking part in any kind of sport, playing a music instrument, or attending a youth club such as scouts) is associated with a 4 percentage point rise in NEET risk at age 17 to 19. This increases to 10 percentage points at age 20 to 24. Not attending these leisure/social activities could impact NEET risk in several ways. Firstly, constructive activities such as sport and youth groups could develop or be associated with valuable attributes such as work-ethic, teamwork, leadership, and confidence. Secondly, avoiding social activities could indicate social exclusion and/or loneliness that present a barrier to finding or obtaining employment or education at age 20 to 24.

An individual's parents having no qualifications is the remaining variable that remains important at both ages 17 to 19 and 20 to 24 after controlling for other factors. This factor retains significance, but parental unemployment and low parental income do not – suggesting that this variable captures family circumstances beyond narrow economic activity.

Finally, there are several risk factors with significant links to NEET status at age 17 to 19 but not at age 20 to 24. After controlling for other factors, parental disability, social services contact, persistent absence at KS3, and low school engagement are all associated with an increase in NEET risk at age 17 to 19 of between 4 and 6 percentage points. However, these are not statistically significant when looking at NEET risk at age 20 to 24.

[6] See DfE statistics on pupil absence in schools

Analysis of the drivers of differences in NEET rates between groups

As well as looking at an individual level and asking which risk factors are linked to NEET risk, this analysis also examines the broad patterns which explain why some groups have higher NEET rates than others. The charts below explore the drivers of higher risk for three groups: men, those who are FSM-eligible, and those with SEN.

Figures 7 and 8 show the results of a Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition that quantifies the how much of the gap in NEET rates between groups can be attributed to differences in prevalence of risk factors we observe versus differences in sensitivity to those factors or prevalence of unobserved characteristics. A key interpretation of this is that differences in NEET rates driven purely by higher prevalence of risk factors would disappear if groups instead had the same prevalence of risk factors. However, if groups are affected differently by these factors, or are more strongly impacted by risk factors we do not observe, then differences in NEET rates would persist even if groups had the same risk factors. The residual difference (shown in green) arises due to adjustments for sampling procedure when running the multivariate regression and does not provide additional information.

Figure 7: Differences in NEET rate at age 17 to 19 by group

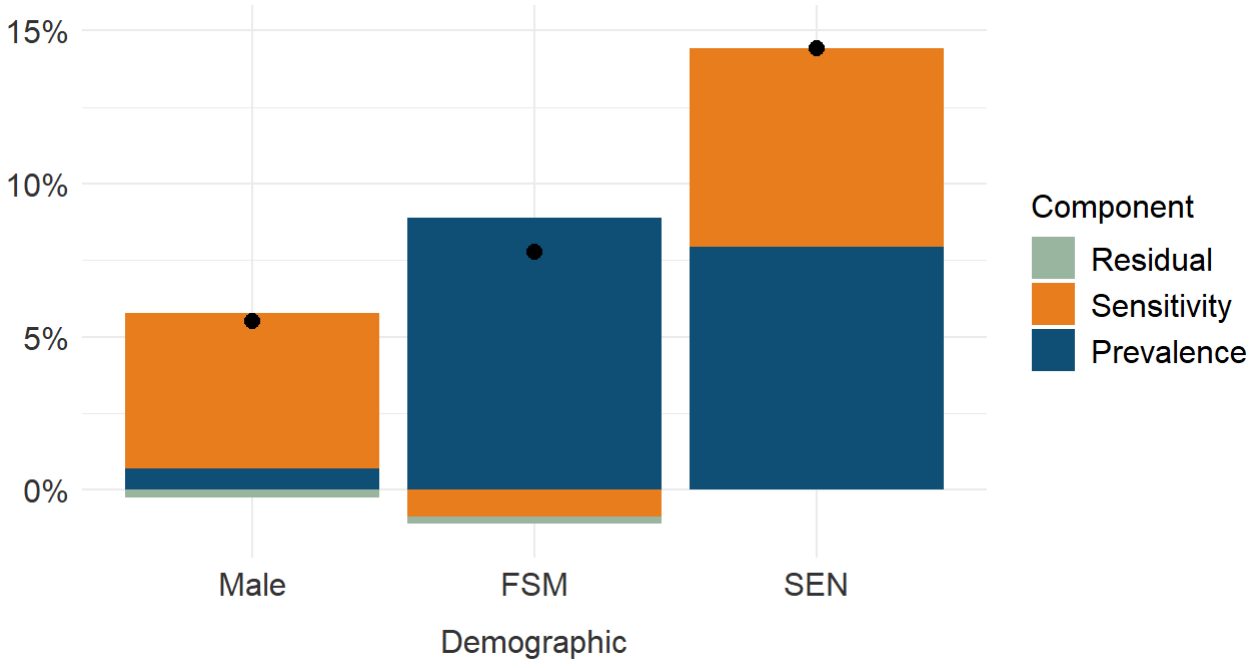
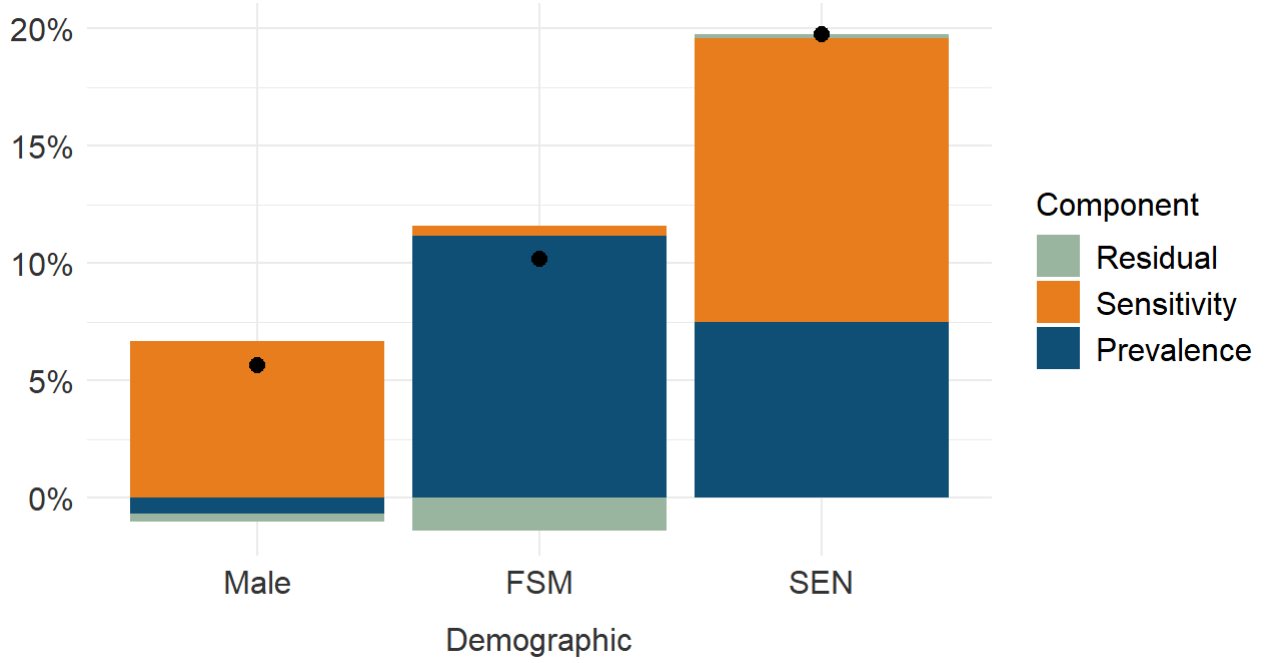


Figure 8: Differences in NEET rate at age 20 to 24 by group



Men, those who were eligible for FSM-at age 16 and those with SEN experience higher rates of NEET both at ages 17 to 19 and ages 20 to 24. Specifically, at age 17 to 19, men are 6 percentage points more likely to be NEET than women, those were FSM-eligible are 8 percentage points more likely to be NEET than those who were ineligible, and those with SEN are 14 percentage points more likely to be NEET than those without SEN.

For FSM-eligible young people, this difference can be attributed to higher prevalence of risk factors. In other words, FSM-eligible young people are more likely to be NEET because they are more likely to have the risk factors that are associated with being NEET. For example, within our sample, 54% of FSM-eligible young people had low GCSE attainment, compared to 26% of those not eligible. In terms of engagement, 19% were persistently absent during KS4, while only 6% of their peers were. This gap continues into social participation; 20% of the FSM-eligible group did not take part in any leisure activities, compared to 6% of those without FSM eligibility.

For men, little to none of the difference in NEET rates can be attributed to higher prevalence of risk factors included in our model. This suggests that men are either more sensitive to those risk factors, or there are risk factors omitted from our analysis that are more prevalent among men than women. An example would be if men had more serious police interactions than women, they would appear more sensitive to the model's police contact factor, though our data does not allow us to measure this specifically.

For young people with SEN, 55% of the difference in NEET risk at ages 17 to 19 can be attributed to higher prevalence of risk factors, decreasing to 38% at ages 20 to 24. This implies that those with SEN become more sensitive to risk factors at age 20 to 24 than at age 17 to 19. This could indicate a reduction in support for young people with SEN as they

age or that the labour market is less accommodating of those with SEN than educational institutions.

Conclusion

This report examines the risk factors that have the strongest link to being NEET. At each age group, and when controlling for overlapping risk factors, three factors stand out: persistent absence from school during KS4, having an EHCP, and not attaining 5 good GCSEs including English and maths.

The rich cohort study data that the analysis uses means that both administrative data and survey responses can be examined together. This allows us to identify factors that are important for understanding risk of NEET that are not measured in schools' administrative data, such as engagement in school, participation in leisure activities, and parental education level.

The analysis also shows that the reasons for being NEET vary by group. The high NEET rate of FSM-eligible young people is driven by their greater prevalence of risk factors. Men have higher NEET rates than women, but this appears to be driven by a greater sensitivity to risk factors rather than having a higher prevalence of risk factors. For young people with SEN, both mechanisms play a role.

The results outlined above support the ambitions of the Every child achieving and thriving white paper by identifying key groups with higher NEET rates, and the potential drivers and causes of inactivity.

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Annex

Table 1: Risk factors from LSYPE2

Label	Description
Parent: no qualifications	Highest qualification of Main Parent (MP) and Second Parent (SP) is "no qualifications"
Parent: disability	MP has long standing illness, disability, or infirmity in wave 1
Parent: unemployment	MP's current activity in wave 3 is unemployed and seeking work
Parent: low income	Parents' combined income < £15,600
Parent: low involvement in education	MP feels "not very involved" or "not at all involved" in Young Person's (YP's) school life in wave 3
Single parent	Single parent family in wave 3
Care experienced	Ever been in care up to and including wave 1
Young carer	YP provided care to someone they lived with at any time between waves 1-3
Social services contact	MP has been in touch with educational welfare services, social services, or similar because of YP's behaviour in waves 1-3
Police contact	MP or SP have been contacted by police about YP at least once before (and including) wave 3
School suspension/exclusion	YP has been suspended or excluded at least once before (and including) wave 3
No leisure activities	In wave 3, YP did not do any of a list of activities which included sports and social activities such as "hung around"
Bullied	In wave 3, YP did not say they hadn't been bullied at all. I.e., bullied or "did not want to answer" or "don't know"
Low engagement	In wave 3, YP said they agree/strongly agree that school is a waste of time
Social renting (age 16)	Rented from a "council or New Town" or "housing association" in wave 3
Substance use (age 16)	In wave 3, YP smoked cannabis or cigarettes, or "got really drunk"
Smoking (age 16)	In wave 3, YP smoked cigarettes
Cannabis use (age 16)	In wave 3, YP smoked cannabis
Binge drinking (age 16)	In wave 3, YP "got really drunk" at least once

Poor physical health (pre 16)	In any of waves 2-3, YP's quality of health in last 12-months was "not very good" or "not very good at all"
Depression (pre 16)	YP had been feeling unhappy or depressed in wave 2
Social renting (age 19)	Renting from a council or local authority in wave 6
Has child (age 19)	YP has own children in wave 6
Hard drugs (age 19)	YP has taken cocaine, LSD, ecstasy, heroin etc at some point up to wave 6
Binge drinking (age 19)	In wave 6, YP gets “really drunk” weekly or daily
Poor physical health (age 16 – 19)	In any of waves 4-6, YP's quality of health in last 12-months "not very good" or "not very good at all"
Depression or anxiety (pre 19)	Whether a doctor has ever diagnosed YP with depression or serious anxiety up to wave 6
No support network (age 19)	YP has no one they can talk to if they're feeling unhappy or angry

Table 2: Risk factors from LEO

Label	Description
Persistently absent (KS3)	Percentage of sessions Young Person (YP) missed in KS3 > 10%
Persistently absent (KS4)	Percentage of sessions YP missed in KS4 > 10%
Severely absent (KS3)	Percentage of sessions YP missed in KS3 > 50%
Severely absent (KS4)	Percentage of sessions YP missed in KS4 > 50%
Moved school (KS3)	Moved school in KS3
Moved school (KS4)	Moved school in KS4
Moved school more than once (KS3)	Moved school more than once in KS3
Moved school more than once (KS4)	Moved school more than once in KS4
Moved home (KS3)	Moved home in KS3
Moved home (KS4)	Moved home in KS4
Moved home more than once (KS3)	Moved home more than once in KS3
Moved home more than once (KS4)	Moved home more than once in KS4

Not 5 GCSEs (incl. E&M)	Did not achieve 5 A* - C GCSEs including English and Maths
No A-Levels	Did not achieve any A-Levels before 2018/19 academic year
Lowest 3 IDACI deciles	Resides in an area in the lowest 3 IDACI deciles
FSM	Free school meals eligible
SEN	Has special educational needs
EHCP	Has an education, health and care plan

Table 3: Control variables from LEO

Label	Description
Male	Male
Region: East Midlands	Resides in East Midlands
Region: East of England	Resides in East of England
Region: London	Resides in London
Region: North East	Resides in North East
Region: North West	Resides in North West
Region: South East	Resides in South East
Region: South West	Resides in South West
Region: West Midlands	Resides in West Midlands
Region: Yorkshire and The Humber	Resides in the Yorkshire and The Humber
Summer born	Born in Summer
Spring born	Born in Spring
Autumn born	Born in Autumn
Ethnicity: Asian	Asian (excl. Chinese)
Ethnicity: Black	Black
Ethnicity: Chinese	Chinese
Ethnicity: Mixed	Mixed ethnicity
Ethnicity: White	White

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