ESPON

SEMIGRA
Selective Migration and unbalanced Sex Ratio in Rural Regions

Targeted Analysis 2013/2/15

Interim Report | 30/September/2011

EUROPEAN UNION
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This report presents the interim results of a Targeted Analysis conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2013 Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

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Interim Report Annex

Please also consult this Annex which contains further information, clarifying and complementing the information given in the Interim Report.

1. Executive Summary

The present Interim Report further specifies the empirical approach elaborated in the Inception Report and proposes first results of the empirical surveys in the case study regions. SEMIGRA follows a multi-level and multi-method approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative research perspectives, including complementing approaches like statistical data analysis as well as in-depth interviews. The basic idea of qualitative research - to understand the complexity of one case in a certain social context - is shortly presented in chapter 2. In the frame of SEMIGRA this holistic approach refers to the particular region under consideration as well as to the migration decisions of individuals. In this context also the recommendations concerning the number of interviews given in the CU response to the Inception Report are reconsidered. Current results of the project are presented in section 3. The key results are summarized as follows:

With respect to the general analyse on EU level, we can conclude that regional sex ratio imbalances (or the lack thereof) are highly dependent on the national context both with regard to culture as well as with regard to institutions (e.g. labour market, education system). Thus we can say that an unbalanced sex ratio structure is a more meaningful indicator in the national context. In the national context this indicator is partly capable to mirror societal changes – especially with regard to the position of women in the respective society - and changes on the labour market that are connected to the transition to a post-industrial knowledge- and service based economy. One crucial task of this activity was to evaluate the explanatory power of unbalanced sex ratio structures as an indicator for territorial fragility. First results suggest that sex ratio imbalances may be connected to deficits in economic development in some countries, but that there are also important exceptions (e.g. Italy, Slovakia).

Beyond that, the analyses reveals that for understanding what is really behind unbalanced sex ratio structures a multi-method approach considering the social realities in different territorial context is crucial.

The results of activity 1 are presented in detail in the **report "Selective migration and unbalanced sex ratio structures – Annex 1"** which is supplementing the Interim Report.

The statistical analysis on regional level was carried out to explain the unbalanced sex ratio structures in the five case study regions referring to: (1) the position of the case study region with regard to the national context, and (2) structural differences within the case study regions. In this context inter alia intraregional disparities between (regional) urban

centers and very small rural municipalities have of course fundamental impacts on migration decisions.
The empirical surveys in the case study regions focus on the migration decision processes of young women and men living in rural areas in different age groups. Key stages in this regard are early adulthood (15-18 years), the phases of life that are related to first professional experiences (18-29 years) and the phase that covers often the reproductive years and family foundations (30-35 years).

A *questionnaire with pupils* was carried out to consider gender related differences in migration behaviour in the youngest age groups (15-18 years). Important issues are the perception of the home region, the way of life and the future plans and expectations of the pupils. Here the attitudes of the young people reveal a stronger interest of girls in social relations and social issues in all of the case study regions. In contrast, the boys value material security like earning lots of money or building a house. These findings are first indicators that policy recommendations targeting on female migration behaviour have to give particular attention to social networks and personal relations. Beyond that there are also hints that girls are more on the brink of leaving and the boys are more attached to living in the rural areas under investigation. However, this general tendency displays variations across the case study regions.

A further important result so far is the fact, that often the parents are advising young people to leave the home region. The culture of migration and the fact that the outmigration from the region is implicitly regarded to be a kind of social advancement is of particular importance in this regard. The transmission of the experiences and percipience of the generation of parents was highlighted in particular in Västernorrland and in Sachsen-Anhalt. On the other hand the schools do not seem to play a significant role in this respect in all of the case study regions. Hence concepts that are targeted on improving the perception of the home region should also be geared towards teachers and parents.

The perception of the home region also shows gender related differences: It was often highlighted in the surveys that girls are more critical in their evaluation of their home region and they suffer more from bad accessibility then the boys.

A crucial aim of the project is to incorporate the perspective of young women into regional planning strategies. Therefore *in-depth interviews with young women* aged 20 to 35 years (respective up to 40 years in Hungary) living in or originating from the case study regions were implemented. Here we consider social networks, lifestyle preferences and cultural aspects governing gender roles to explain gender-related migration patterns in the case study regions. Within the sample

inmigrating and remigrating women as well as women on the brick of leaving were addressed. The main research question in this context is which social realities are behind those various individual decision situations in the life of young women.

Frist results show also that surprisingly often the professional decision of the partner explains the migration decision of the young women, especially in the age-group 30 to 35 in Germany, Sweden and Hungary. In this stage of life the family formation often changes migration behaviour. Jobs, homeownership and children are then often obstacles for migratory movements. Sometimes the bonds to the old home region are reactivated because support from the grand-parents is welcome. Beyond that family formation is often also connected with falling back into more traditional gender roles. Even if employment and career opportunities are crucial for gender equality, women in this stage of life often follow the professional ambitions of their male partners and not the other way around. Therefore concepts to attract young women should create opportunities that support dual earner families and also take the job and career opportunities of men into consideration. Apart from this, it has also to be highlighted that return migration covers very different experiences and biographies, it is very often related to family affairs and sometimes to a job loss in the region of destination which cannot be considered as 'best practise'.

The *expert interviews* serve to explore regional knowledge about and awareness of gender-selective migration, existing concepts, and different perceptions and to raise the awareness of key persons for this problem. The interviews are also intended to better assess opportunities and threats of gender-related policy recommendations and to explore already existing ideas to deal with this problem.

One common result is that unbalanced sex ratio structures were hardly perceived in everyday life of the interviewees, experts as well as women - in contrast to the outmigration of young people in general. In all regions the lack of jobs and access to higher education are widely regarded as the most important reasons for the selective migration processes. While doing the research it even turned out, that the image and the desired life styles communicated via the mass media are very important explaining factors.

Beyond those first empirical results the interim report also elaborates how the results derived from a specific regional context can be transformed into policy advice and back to the European level. Further work steps are specified in section 4.

Based on the empirical analyses and with regard to factors that may influence the regional development the following areas of intervention are considered to be preliminary key tasks:

- Measures that are capable to improve the image of the regions under consideration and target in particular young women;
- Measures that focus on social infrastructure for young families;
- Measures that target the job situation for women as well as for men;
- Measures that aim at fully exploiting all possibilities that new communication technologies and the internet can offer.

Important external factors on the macro level are processes of depopulation and overaging, socio-economic polarization, narrowing of the public budgets and infrastructure cutbacks. These influencing impacts will be considered in the scenarios to better assess the possibilities and potential of policy strategies with regard to the question: "How will sex and age selective migration in rural regions further develop and how will this influence the rural development in Europe in the future?"

2. Heterogeneity of places and people: The quantitative-qualitative approach of SEMIGRA

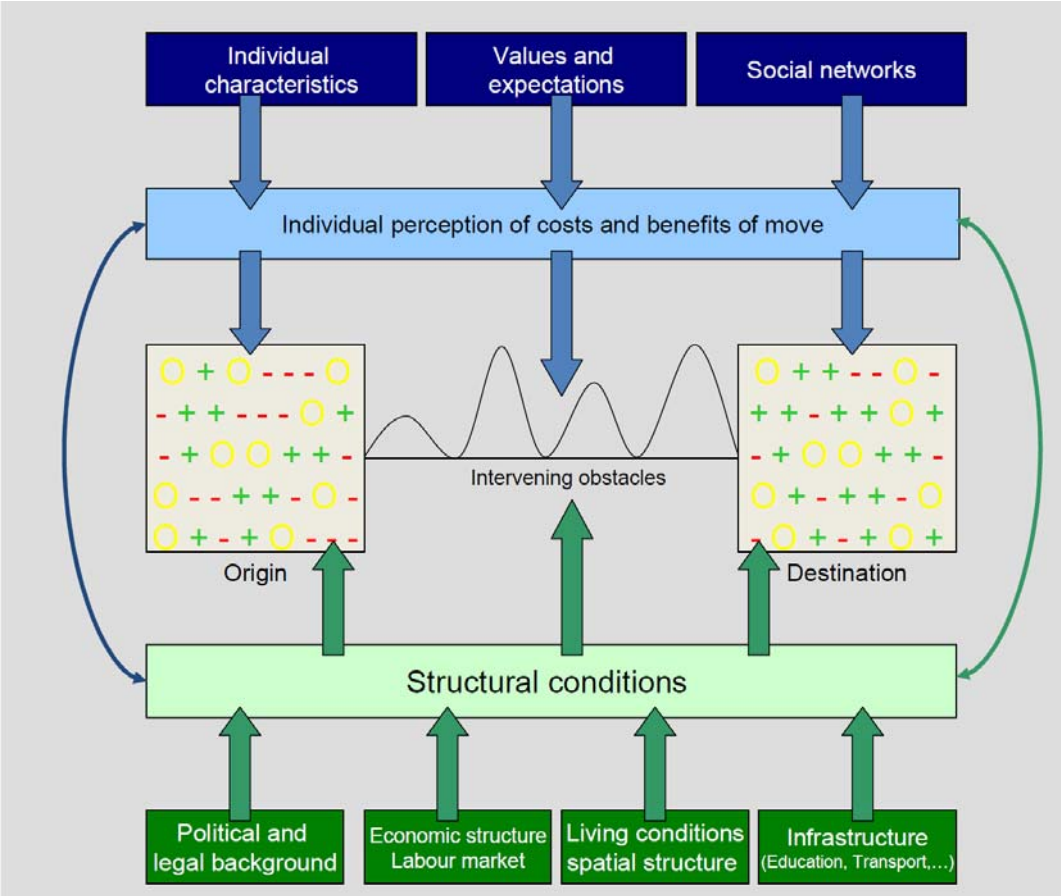
The research concept of SEMIGRA includes quantitative as well as qualitative research methods that complement each other. This approach is derived from the complexity of the research question dealing with the interrelations between regional development and migration decisions. The intention is to provide a more differentiated picture of sex-selective migration in European regions, trying to explain processes on different scales and from different angles. In that context, qualitative data is regarded as a precondition for a deeper understanding of the typologies and indicators provided by the statistical analyses on the European and the regional level. While the quantitative analyses are appropriate to point out the extent of demographic processes on the European, national, and regional levels as well as to describe the structural framework conditions (Activity 1), the qualitative research approach is most suitable to deal with individual pathways of regional development and the embeddedness of individual migration decisions (Activity 2).

Based on the push-pull model of migration, figure 1 illustrates the crucial interplay between two explanatory strands that are related to different methodological approaches to explain migration: the structural framework conditions like labour market, infrastructure, accessibility (generalising/quantitative) and the individual perception und interpretation of these structures (individualising/qualitative). In the frame of SEMIGRA, the main target of the qualitative research is to provide holistic explanations for unbalanced sex ratio structures and selective migration behaviour in the European Union with regard to:
- the territorial diversity of the European regions and the peculiarities of the case study regions as well as
- the complexity of decision situations young men and young women living in these regions have to face.

Qualitative research is an approach that is partly open, explorative and flexible. According to this paradigm the understanding of the complexity of human behaviour and actions rather than the generalizability of results is the main target of research. Therefore the qualitative approach seems appropriate to better understand the context in which migration decisions take place and the meanings people assign to living in rural areas. Against this backdrop, in-depth interviews with young women and expert interviews have been carried out that are central for the qualitative approach of SEMIGRA. According to the qualitative paradigm not the sample size is decisive, but the quality and richness of the individual case. The principles of theoretical sampling are crucial, which means that the

sample size has to fit to the research question, should be heterogynous and should include typical representatives. The aim of the interviews with young women is to learn more about the social reality in the regions under consideration as well as the experiences and shared knowledge of the people living in the regions that are related to migration decisions. A sample size between 10 and 20 interviews with young women in each case study region covering in-migrants, re-migrants, out-migrants as well as stayers was considered to be sufficient to reflect on female migration biographies and decision situations (see 3.2.1). The life-stories of the young women should illustrate how the living situation and the image of the region are negotiated and how this is influencing individual migration decisions. This in-depth knowledge on the local level is considered to be crucial to provide differentiated explanations for the facts and processes elaborated on statistical data and to develop promising political strategies.

Figure 1: Migration decision between objective structures and subjective perceptions. Own design based on Lee (1966)



3. Main Results

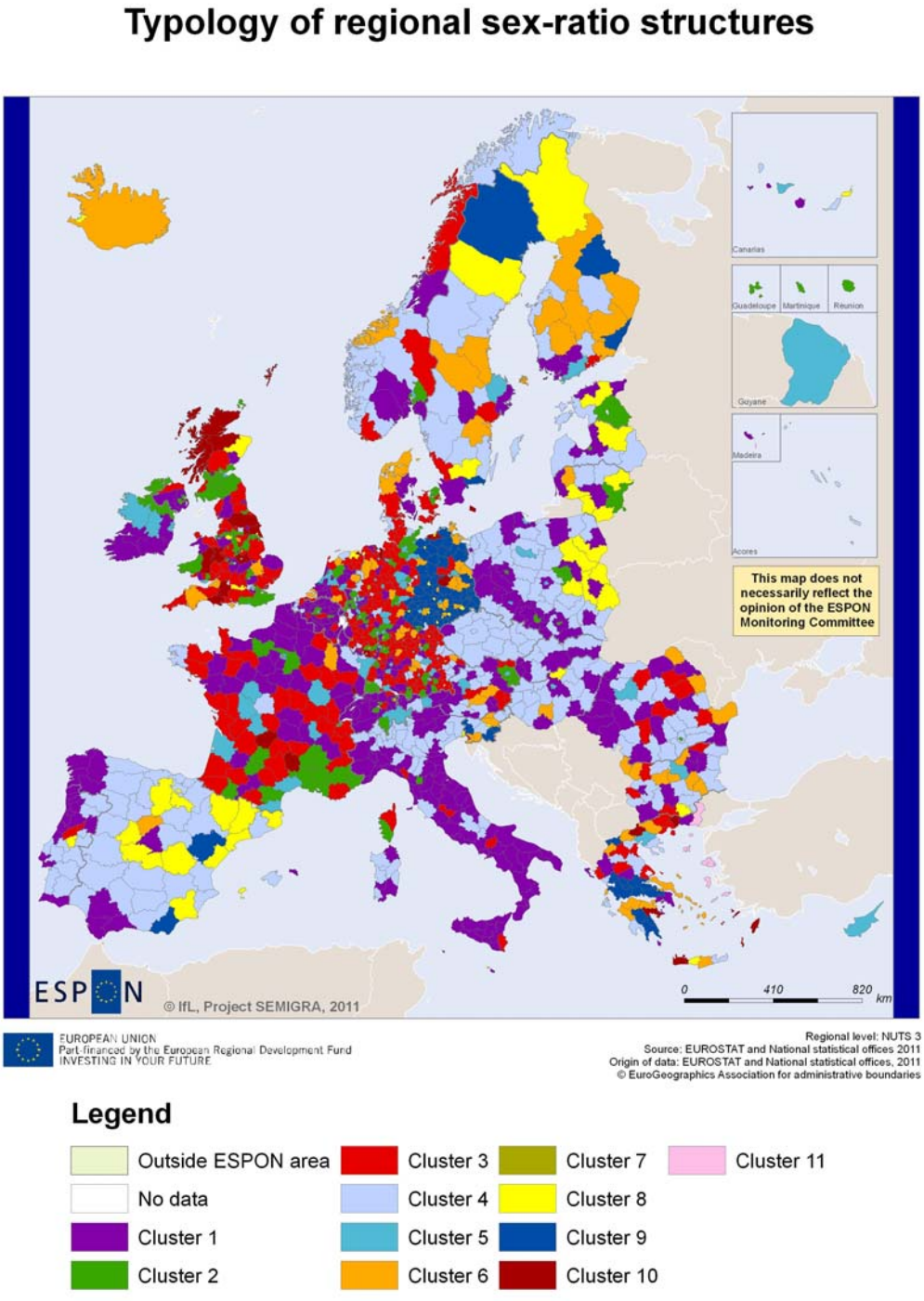
3.1 General Analyses on EU level

There are more or less pronounced differences in the spatial pattern of regional sex ratio imbalances in the analysed age-groups that are caused by both economic and non-economic influencing factors which are in turn highly dependent on the respective national and cultural context. Young adulthood is a very "dense" stage of the life course. At age 15, most young people still live in their childhood home and are economically dependent on their parents. Two decades later, they have moved through the educational system, gained a foothold in the labour market and frequently also become parents themselves. In an ideal typical model of the life course we can distinguish three stages: Getting an education and entering the labour market (age-group 20 to 24), getting a foothold at the labour market and forming a s

le romantic relationship (age-group 25 to 29), having children (age-group 30 to 34). Each of these stages is characterised by a specific pattern of spatial mobility for both young women and men. The life-course of young adults is, of course, usually not that clearly structured and straightforward, there is a great deal of variability both in cross-national comparison and between different regions of the same nation, but also between educational, occupational or ethnic groups to name just a few. A detailed overview of the mentioned determinants of spatial mobility including a series of maps and figures is given in Annex 1. We have developed a typology of regional sex ratio patterns at the NUTS3 level (Map 1) in order to make this complexity more comprehensible. The variables used for the calculation of the cluster analysis (Ward method with subsequent discriminant analysis) were the number of women per 100 men in the age-groups 20 to 24, 25 to 29, and 30 to 34.

According to the cluster analysis, there are 11 types of unbalanced regional sex ratio patterns in the ESPON area. In **cluster 1**, the number of women per 100 men is slightly above the 'natural' average in all age-groups. This is the largest group (n=358) and more or less evenly distributed across countries as well as spatial, accessibility and economic categories, although urban and intermediate regions are slightly overrepresented. Hajdú-Bihar county, which is part of the case-study region Észak-Alföld, is a representative of this type. **Cluster 2** (n=122) features a slightly below average sex ratio in the youngest age-group and a strong "surplus" of women in the older age-groups. This type is predominantly urban, but it is also well represented in intermediate regions with a diversified economy.

Map 1 Typology of regional sex ratio structures.



Own calculation; data source: EUROSTAT national statistical offices

Cluster 3 (n=250) is also characterised by a sex ratio that increases with age. In the age-group 20 to 24 there is a pronounced "surplus" of men, which turns into a "deficit" in the age-group 30 to 34. Cluster 3 is largely rural, accessible regions in the consumption countryside are overrepresented. The characteristics of **cluster 10** (n= 27) are similar. The main differences are that the "deficit" of women in their 20s is higher than in cluster 3 and that cluster 10 contains more remote regions. Clusters 3 and 10 are textbook examples of the 'ideal typical' life course described above: Women leave in their early 20s to get an education and enter the labour market and return later to found a family. The fact that both clusters combined account for only one fifth of the NUTS3 regions emphasises that age- and sex-selective migration processes in Europe are far too complex for such a simplistic explanation.

Table 1 Typology of regional sex ratio patterns: Cluster characteristics.

	Women per 100 men in the age-group			Number of regions
	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	
Cluster 1	97.3	98.2	99.0	358
Cluster 2	94.7	104.2	**107.4**	122
Cluster 3	90.5	96.0	101.5	250
Cluster 4	94.0	94.1	93.7	248
Cluster 5	**108.0**	103.5	98.8	88
Cluster 6	87.6	88.7	94.3	87
Cluster 7	**130.0**	**107.5**	97.6	12
Cluster 8	98.0	88.9	87.2	63
Cluster 9	**81.9**	**81.3**	**84.6**	90
Cluster 10	**78.4**	90.2	101.7	27
Cluster 11	**54.9**	**80.4**	96.2	4
Mean EEA 30	96.5	97.4	97.5	1349
	Sex ratio more than 10% below EEA 30 mean			
	Sex ratio 5.0 to 10.0% below EEA 30 mean			
	Sex ratio 2.5 to 5.0% below EEA 30 mean			
	Sex ratio 2.5 to 5.0% above EEA 30 mean			
	Sex ratio 5.0 to 10.0% above EEA 30 mean			
	Sex ratio more than 10% above EEA 30 mean			

Source: Own calculation.

Cluster 4 (n= 248) is characterised by a moderate "deficit" of women in all age-groups. Rural regions – both accessible and remote – are overrepresented as are agrarian and industrialised regions. This confirms our assumption that a 'male-oriented' economic structure is an important explanation for sex ratio imbalances. Cluster 4 is very common on the Iberian Peninsula, in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Västernorrland and four of the six counties of Észak-Alföld and Észak-Magyarország (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg) belong to cluster 4. **Cluster 5** (n= 88) and **cluster 7** (n= 12) are very attractive for women in their 20s, but not so much for women

between 30 and 34; in this age-group the sex ratio is only slightly above the 'natural' mean. Cluster 7 is entirely urban and is made up only by important German university towns. Cluster 5 is predominantly urban but also contains intermediate accessible regions in the consumption countryside or with a diversified economic structure with a strong service sector. **Cluster 6** (n= 87) is characterised by a strong "deficit" of women in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 which levels off somewhat in the age-group 30 to 34. The share of rural accessible and rural remote regions as well as agrarian and regions in the consumption countryside in this type is considerably higher than among all NUTS 3 regions. Cluster 6 is very common in Finland and also contains the urban district of Dessau-Roßlau in the case-study region Sachsen-Anhalt.

Table 2 Typology of regional sex ratio patterns: Regional sex ratios in the case study regions.

NUTS-Code	Case study region	Women per 100 men in the age-group			Cluster
		20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	
DEE01	Dessau-Roßlau	87.8	**82.6**	93.6	6
DEE02	Halle (Saale)	**116.3**	93.0	**86.3**	8
DEE03	Magdeburg	98.5	88.7	**87.3**	8
DEE04	Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	**76.6**	**80.0**	**86.0**	9
DEE05	Anhalt-Bitterfeld	**84.8**	**79.4**	**86.6**	9
DEE06	Jerichower Land	**82.9**	**80.9**	90.7	9
DEE07	Börde	**84.7**	**82.2**	**82.8**	9
DEE08	Burgenland	**84.5**	**84.0**	**86.3**	9
DEE09	Harz	**79.1**	**80.6**	**87.3**	9
DEE0a	Mansfeld-Südharz	**79.5**	**79.2**	**84.0**	9
DEE0b	Saalekreis	**84.0**	**82.7**	**86.0**	9
DEE0c	Salzland	**82.1**	**80.8**	87.8	9
DEE0d	Stendal	**80.5**	**77.8**	**87.0**	9
DEE0e	Wittenberg	**82.6**	**78.0**	**87.5**	9
FI134	Kainuu	**82.1**	**83.2**	88.3	9
HU311	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	93.9	89.4	91.0	4
HU312	Heves	97.2	94.1	92.6	4
HU313	Nógrád	94.6	**87.1**	**87.4**	8
HU321	Hajdú-Bihar	97.6	95.5	95.9	1
HU322	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	95.3	92.9	95.9	4
HU323	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	93.7	91.9	91.0	4
SE321	Västernorrlands län	91.7	92.4	94.6	4
Mean EEA 30		96.5	97.4	97.5	
	Sex ratio more than 10% below EEA 30 mean				
	Sex ratio 5.0 to 10.0% below EEA 30 mean				
	Sex ratio 2.5 to 5.0% below EEA 30 mean				
	Sex ratio 2.5 to 5.0% above EEA 30 mean				
	Sex ratio 5.0 to 10.0% above EEA 30 mean				
	Sex ratio more than 10% above EEA 30 mean				

Source: Own calculation; data source: national statistical offices.

In **cluster 8** (n= 63), the sex ratio deteriorates with advancing age. The number of women per 100 men is slightly above the 'natural' average in the age-group 20 to 24 and significantly below in the oldest age-group. This type is largely urban, but also contains an above average share of agrarian regions. Nógrád county in the North Hungarian case study region and the urban districts of Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg in Sachsen-Anhalt

belong to cluster 8. **Cluster 9** (n= 90) stands out with a massive "deficit" of women in all age-groups. 68 of the 90 regions are located in Eastern Germany. The concentration of regions with extremely unbalanced sex ratios in the New Federal States suggests that Eastern Germany is a special case and that the reasons for the strong "deficit" of young women are connected to the German Reunification. Apart from the pronounced economic gap between Western Germany and the former GDR e.g. regarding youth unemployment, GDP or income there are still large cultural differences e.g. regarding the labour force participation of mothers with small children. Cluster 9 is predominantly rural and consists largely of consumption countryside regions. The "surplus" of men in the urban regions belonging to this cluster that are located outside Eastern Germany can be attributed to specific local circumstances like the existence of important technical universities or naval bases. Of the SEMIGRA case study regions, all rural districts in Sachsen-Anhalt and Kainuu belong to this type. **Cluster 11** (n= 4) contains regions with extremely distorted sex ratios in Greece.

As a conclusion, it shall be highlighted that numerous factors related to education, the labour market, the regional economic situation, but also culture and gender roles influence age- and sex-selective migration processes. It has to be kept in mind that the migrants are human beings and that they sometimes act in an economically suboptimal way, that they are part of social networks that influence their decisions, that they are not fully informed about all possible options and that their behaviour is governed by values and norms. The national context also plays an important role. There are some pan-European trends in the regional pattern of sex ratio imbalances (see Annex 1), but that there are even more differences and national peculiarities. A mixed-method approach is indispensable to fully understand the migration patterns of young adults.

In a next step, we will carry out a regression analysis with a variety of economic indicators in order to look into our initial hypothesis that unbalanced sex ratios with a "surplus" of young men are an indicator for territorial fragility. So far, we can neither confirm nor reject this assumption. The relationship between the economic situation of a rural region and the migration behaviour of young women and men also depends on the respective national context which implies that it is not necessarily possible to answer this research question with a definite "yes" or "no".

3.2. Results of the Case study research

3.2.1 Methods and workflow – an overview

The empirical research in the five case study regions consists of a multi-method approach including questionnaire surveys, expert- and in-depth interviews. The implementation of these different work packages was discussed with the regional stakeholders and partly adopted to region-specific requirements. The surveys have more or less been finalized in the five case study regions (Table 3). The analysis of the empirical material is in progress.

Regional statistical analysis

As mentioned in the inception report, the regional data analysis aims at identifying sub-regional differences with regard to population development, migration streams, sex ratio, employment and educational structures as well as settlement structures and territorial conditions. Key tasks are

(1) to compile a comparable data base and to highlight specific conditions in the respective case study areas that may have an impact on migration patterns. Here also inner regional differences are important to consider local peculiarities and differences on a small scale.

(2) to describe the position of the studied areas in their national contexts to allow for an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the case study regions as preparatory work for SWOT analysis.

Given the different size of the regions under consideration and the differences in the national statistical data provision, it has been necessary to conceptualise the regional statistical analyses differently. However, the basic principle of two analyses (local level, case study region in national context) is crucial in order to create a coherent final report. While regions on the NUTS 2 level are considered in Germany and Hungary (Sachsen-Anhalt, Észak Alföld, Észak Magyarország), the case study regions in Sweden (Västernorrland) and Finland (Kainuu) are NUTS 3 regions. In the former, smaller spatial units (LAU 2 regions) were chosen for a detailed consideration and for the selection of respondents for the in-depth and expert interviews based on the results of the regional statistical analysis.

Migration decisions in the youngest age group: Online-questionnaire with pupils

The standardized questionnaire targets the youngest section of the population that potentially has to deal with migration decisions. The survey with pupils has been carried out in the case study regions Sachsen-Anhalt, Észak-Alföld and Ézsak-Magyarország by the end of July.

In Kainuu the survey had to be rescheduled to September due to the summer holidays. In the light of the small numbers of pupils a comprehensive survey is intended. In Västernorrland a questionnaire with pupils very similar to the SEMIGRA questionnaire has already been conducted in 2009/10 by the National Youth Board in Sweden by researchers from the University of Mid-Sweden. In addition to the report of Dahlin and Boustedt (2010), some of the unpublished material from this survey has been analysed according to the concept of SEMIGRA.

In all five case study regions the analysis of the questionnaire with pupils will first of all focus on *gender related differences* dealing with the following topics (see annex):

- The way of life of female and male pupils living in rural areas (Questions 2 to 11). An important issue in this regard was to find out to which extent the young people are prone to a more rooted lifestyle and attached to their hometown[1] or if they show a more cosmopolitan attitude[2].

- Their intentions to migrate and to come back to the region (Questions 23 and 24);

- Their future plans, needs and expectations (Questions 18 to 20 and 22);

- Their perception and evaluation of the local living situation (Questions 13 to 16) in order to find out more about territorial strengths and weaknesses from the point of view of young people.

The target population of the survey was students in graduating classes owing to their age and the upcoming decision situations regarding career choice and whether to migrate or not. Since graduating classes were often not available due to exams they had to be substituted by pre-graduating classes. The survey was implemented in lower and upper secondary schools (ISCED levels 2 and 3). The number and age of the interviewed pupils and the national term for the type of school they are attending are specified in table 3.

Expert Interviews

The expert interviews are intended to provide different perspectives on the situation of young women and men living in the case study regions. Even if the perspective of these experts is of course subjective, the

[1] Q10: statements “it would be very difficult for me to settle down elsewhere”, “living in the countryside fits perfect to my needs and hopes”
Q15: statements “this is my home! I will always feel attached to the place I live now even if I will live somewhere else”, “I feel very much at home here. It would be terrible if I had to move away from here.”

[2] Q10: Statements “I would very much like to experience new cultures and countries”, “I love to experience many new contacts”, “I would very much like to live in a big city”

interviews offer a differentiated picture of the local/regional situation and the evaluation of the problem. Beyond that, the interviews are intended to raise awareness for gender related issues of spatial mobility and may help to initiate a discussion on the regional level. The identification of experts was carried out in close collaboration with the stakeholders in the regions under investigation (see Annex Table 11–15).

According to different relevant topics different guidelines for different groups of experts have been developed. In all case study regions interviews with experts are implemented in order to explore the following issues:

- Labor market and training situation: The female labour market (e.g.: female entrepreneurs, chambers of commerce, job centres);
- Regional and local planning policy, image of the region: Challenges and consequences of the out-migration of young women (e.g. mayors, regional planning authorities);
- Social contexts: The consequences of out-migration for social networks and social infrastructure; gathering of information on voluntary engagement and social problems of rural women (e.g. directors of day-care facilities, representatives of social organisations);
- Perspectives of young people living in rural areas (e.g. school principals, youth workers, representatives of local clubs and associations);
- The interviews with experts were mostly carried out face-to-face. The only exception is Kainuu were the experts were consulted via a postal survey (Email).

The core target group: Narrative Interviews with young women

In all case study regions interviews with young women will be or have already been carried out (see Table 3). Due to the fact that young women in the age between 20 and 35 are a very heterogeneous group and may face very different migration decisions, representatives of the following groups were included in the sample:

- Women that have already in- or re-migrated to the case study regions,

- Women that have already left the case study regions or are planing to move away,

- Women living in the case study region without intentions to migrate.

Interviewees have been contacted via personal contacts in the case study regions, the help of local multiplicators and calls for participation in the

local press. Transcripts of the interviews are produced to allow an interpretation of the empirical material and to identify certain explanatory pattern and categories within the texts.

Table 3 Overview – Work progress in the case study regions (status: 30.09.2011)

PP	Regional stat. Analysis	Questionnaire pupils	Expert Interviews	Narrative Interviews
AIKOPA	NUTS3: Kainuu	Rescheduled in August 2011 **115 replies** upper secondary schools and vocational school Age: 16-19 years	19 Experts by on-line survey	Interviews with women in the age of 25-40 are in the process (3 stayer, 4 inmigrants, 3 remigrants)
KTH	NUTS3: Västernorrland	Analysis of a survey from 2010 **5512 replies** 8th grade primary school (2964 pupils) 2nd year secondary school (2548 pupils) Age: 14-17 years	12 Experts (3 declined participation, 9 participated)	Not started yet because of problems of identifying respondents. 10-12 interviews with women 25-40 foreseen.
CRS	NUTS2 Észak Alföld LAU2: Abádszalók, Hortobágy, Körösszegapáti Tiszaszentmárton	**740 replies** 6 schools Secondary and specialized grammar schools, technical schools Age: 17-18 years	14 Experts	18 Interviews with women in the age 25-40. (4 stayers, 6 re-migrants, 6 inmigrants, 1 multilocal, 1 outmigrant)
Uni Miskolc	NUTS2: Észak Magyarorszag LAU2: Miskolc, Mezőkövesd, Eger, Salgótarján	**514 replies** 5 schools (11-12 grade gimnázium és szakközépiskola Age: 17-19 years	Not started yet, foreseen for 11	Not started yet, 13-16 interviews foreseen for October/November Age 25–40 years
IFL	NUTS2: Sachsen-Anhalt NUTS3: Altmarkkreis Salzwedel, Anhalt-Bitterfeld, Harz, Mansfeld-Südharz, Stendal Wittenberg	**499 replies** 18 schools (10/11th grade Gymnasium and 9/10th grade Sekundarschule) Age: 15-18 years	18 foreseen (implemented: 12)	16 Interviews with women in the age 25-35. (4 stayers, 2 ready to migrate, 1 inmigrants, 4 outmigrants, 5 remigrants)

3.2.2. Case Study Region Sachsen-Anhalt

a) Results of the regional statistical analysis

Missing women - An East-German pathway?

The rural parts of Eastern Germany are among the regions in Europe with the strongest population decline (Map 4, annex). Depopulation is especially pronounced in peripheral, sparsely populated districts with low accessibility. An important reason for the strong population decline in Eastern Germany and in particular in Sachsen-Anhalt is the negative natural balance: the birth rate remains relatively low, although the total fertility rate is currently higher than in Western Germany[3], but also because of a relatively high crude death rate. The second reason for the negative population development is the strong out-migration of young adults. It has been estimated that 27% of the increase of the median age of the population of Sachsen-Anhalt between 1991 and 2004 are due to direct and indirect effects of age- and sex-selective out-migration (Mai 2006).

Women are much more likely to leave rural Eastern Germany in the age-group 18 to 25 while the out-migration of men is higher in the age-group 25 to 30 (Map 2, map 5, 6, annex). The migration patterns in the younger age-group are more or less similar in Eastern and Western Germany, the proportion of young women and men that leave their rural home district is, however, far higher in the East.

The likelihood to move to another district decreases after age 30. In this age-group, the migration balance of rural Eastern Germany is still negative – with the exception of suburban districts around Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Rostock. This development is mainly caused by the out-migration of married couples without children (Peukert & Smolny 2011). Eastern Germany is, on the other hand, very attractive for families with children due to the availability of places in crèches and kindergartens (Leibert 2009) and the good school systems.

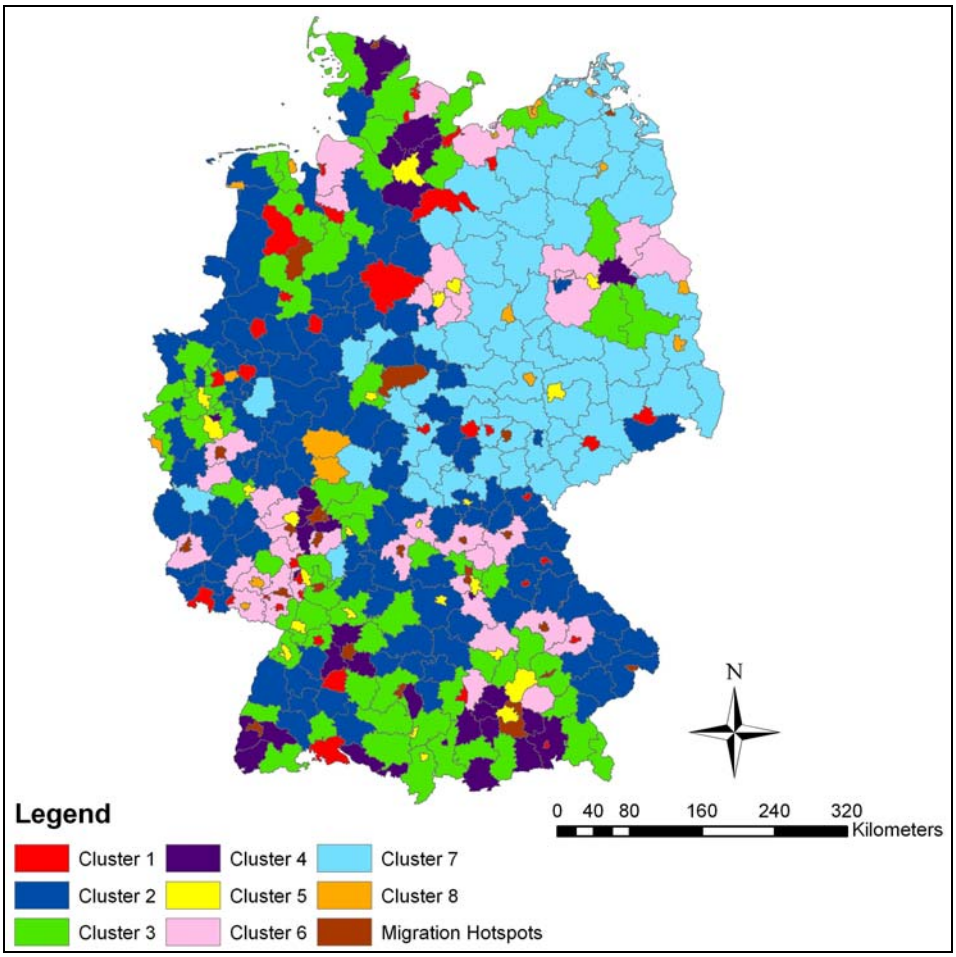
For an in-depth consideration of the demographic development in Sachsen-Anhalt, two separate analyses have been performed:

- Several typologies of German districts to set the situation in Sachsen-Anhalt in the German context, (e.g. map 2).

[3] The TFR throughout Germany was 1.393 in 2010; the hypothetic number of children per women was 1.385 in the West (without Berlin-West) and 1.459 in the East (without Berlin-East). The TFR has been higher in the new Länder since 2008 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011).

- A typology of rural municipalities (Tab. 7, annex) as basis for the SWOT analysis and the selection of communities where interviews with young women and local experts shall take place.

Map 2 Migration typology at the NUTS3 level 2008.



Own calculation; data source: BBSR (2010)

Table 4 Migration typology of German NUTS3-regions: Cluster characteristics.

Cluster	Internal migration balance of...					Migration balance of women	**Mobility rate of women**	Migration balance of men	Mobility rate of men	**Commuting balance**
	Women 18-25	Men 18-25	**Women 25-30**	Men 25-30	**Families**					
1	28.4	29.3	-14.0	1.1	-1.4	0.7	95.3	0.9	110.2	225.3
2	-25.8	-17.4	-10.6	-14.2	-0.5	-2.6	57.5	-3.2	65.6	-128.3
3	-24.6	-18.8	2.9	-3.7	3.8	0.3	70.3	-0.7	79.1	-245.4
4	-8.5	-8.2	16.5	11.4	5.9	2.7	86.6	1.4	97.1	-166.9
5	47.0	41.8	21.8	26.1	0.2	5.6	107.4	4.5	125.9	372.5
6	-33.9	-27.8	-3.6	-16.4	3.4	-0.7	73.8	-1.7	79.5	-749.6
7	-69.0	-45.1	-24.5	-33.0	-4.5	-8.8	53.7	-8.7	60.1	-239.2
8	28.4	33.4	-35.6	-28.5	-7.4	-1.9	90.1	-2.8	104.7	227.2
Unweighted mean	**-20.4**	**-12.5**	**-7.0**	**-10.3**	**0.2**	**-1.7**	**70.8**	**-2.3**	**80.3**	**-153.4**
Migration balance: all ages, internal and international migration										
Mobility rate: Sum of in- and out-migration rate; districts with mobility rate of women > 125 have been excluded from the calculation of the cluster analysis										
Indicators in bold letters have been used in the cluster analysis (Ward method with subsequent discriminant analysis)										

In order to facilitate the interpretation of the very complex patterns of spatial mobility in the different age-groups in contemporary Germany, a migration typology has been calculated (Map 2). All rural districts of Sachsen-Anhalt and the urban district of Dessau-Roßlau are in cluster 7 which is typical for East-Germany. This cluster characterised by a relatively low overall mobility but strong out-migration of young adults (Table 4). In the age-group 18 to 25, women are especially likely to leave while in the age-group 25 to 30 the out-migration rate of men is higher. This can be traced back to unfavourable career and earning opportunities while the out-migration of young women is caused by missing opportunities for vocational training and higher education in combination with a low accessibility which inhibits commuting to university or the place of work. The urban districts of Halle/ Saale and Magdeburg belong to Cluster 8 which is characterised by strong in-migration of young men and women between 18 and 25 and strong out-migration of occupational and family migrants. The regions in this cluster are mostly structurally weak urban districts or university towns with – compared to the number of students – limited career options.

With regard to **the economic structure**, we can conclude that there is no specific "Eastern" pattern regarding industry structure; hence it is unlikely that the strong out-migration of young women is caused by a dominance of male-dominated branches of trade.

A consistent economic feature of the new Länder is the well above unemployment rate in all age-groups. However, the new Länder were able to catch up economically with the Western states for the first time since reunification in the boom period between 2005 and 2008. This has had positive effects on the labour market, although youth unemployment is still much higher.[4] Nevertheless, the spatial patterns of unemployment are very different in Eastern and Western Germany. Unemployment rates are higher in the urban centres than in rural areas in the West, while the opposite is true in the East. The situation on the vocational training market is relatively good, even if 20% of the apprenticeship training positions are financed by the state (West: 5%) which means that entering the labour market after finishing vocational training is more difficult than for trainees whose position is financed by the company they are working for. In the past, 'blocked' labour markets had been characteristic for Eastern Germany. It was very difficult for young people, especially young women, to enter the labour market, because there were few vacancies due to early retirement schemes and the fact that the age-structure of the

[4] The youth unemployment rate in Sachsen-Anhalt was 10.9% in 2010 [DE: 6.8%]; compared to 2009, the proportion of unemployed people between 15 and 25 is down by 2.1% [DE: -1.0%] (Burdack 2011).

workforce of many companies and government agencies was relatively young in the early 1990s. Wages are still 22% lower in the new federal states despite strong gains in productivity (Blien et al. 2010; Bode and Burdack 2011; Burdack 2011; Ketzmerick 2009; Zarth 2011).

A striking feature of the Eastern states is the high proportion of school leavers both without school leaving certificates (mostly boys) and with higher education entrance qualification (mostly girls). Kröhnert (2009) suggests that this 'mismatch' between the high percentage of female school-leavers with upper secondary certificates and the above-average proportion of male early school leavers in Eastern Germany is an important explanation for the strong out-migration of young women from the New Federal States and their low likelihood to return once they have left. He finds that female migrants to Western Germany are more likely to enter a relationship than young men which significantly reduces the odds that they come back to Eastern Germany.

Inner regional differences

As a preparation for the in-depth empirical research six case study districts in Sachsen-Anhalt were selected according to the following principles: The case study districts have to be rural and entirely located outside the suburban areas Halle and Magdeburg. Of the remaining districts, we have chosen the following:

- Altmark Salzwedel, Stendal, Wittenberg: rural districts with low population density (settlement structure typology of BBSR, table 6).
- Anhalt-Bitterfeld: rural district with higher population density;
- Harz, Mansfeld-Südharz: rural districts in urbanised areas.

The latter two districts have been chosen because they represent different socio-economic basic conditions. The Harz district is most attractive tourist destination in Sachsen-Anhalt. We can, therefore assume that the regional labour market is relatively 'women friendly' because of the availability of service jobs in retail, catering and the hotel sector that are traditionally 'pink collar jobs'. Mansfeld-Südharz is, on the other hand, characterised by a very unfavourable economic and demographic development with high unemployment rates.

In a second step we have selected the case study municipalities based on the cluster analysis of the 130 LAU1 regions. This spatial level was chosen for reasons of data availability and because there was a high number of very small municipalities in Sachsen-Anhalt before the latest administrative reform (indicators see table 7, annex). Based on this typology, we have chosen the following LAU1 regions:

- Hettstedt (Mansfeld-Südharz district, Cluster 1);

- Annaburg-Prettin and Kurregion Elbe-Heideland (both Wittenberg district, Cluster 4);
- Wernigerode (Harz district, cluster 5);
- Elbe-Ehle-Nuthe (Anhalt-Bitterfeld district; Cluster 6) and
- Havelberg (Stendal district; Cluster 8).

a) Questionnaire with pupils – first results

The ratio of boys (51/%) and girls (49/%) participating in the online-survey was nearly balanced. The main aim of the following description is to point out some preliminary results to explain gender related differences in migration behaviour in a very early stage of the life course.

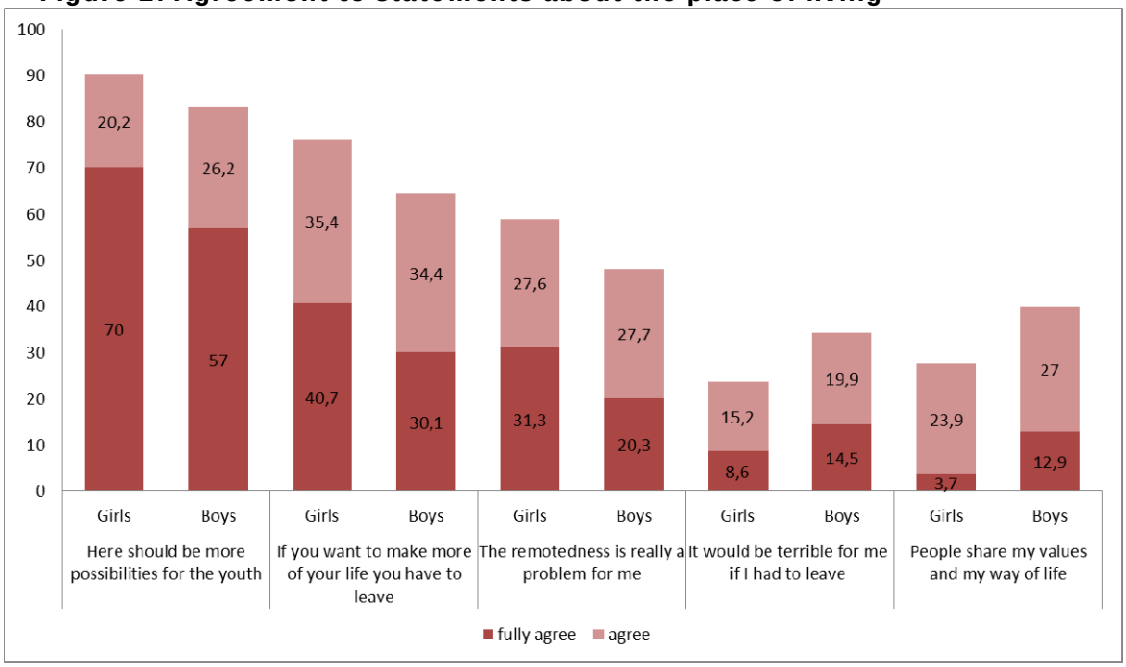
With regard to the ***future plans of pupils*** the question "what do you want to have achieved in 10 years?" shows some interesting differences between girls and boys: the orientation of the boys to material things (e.g. to earn lots of money or to build a house) is slightly more pronounced. The girls more often mention that they want to have founded a family, lived abroad, got to know lots of interesting people and helped other people when they are in their late 20s (annex fig. 4). The gender stereotype of a stronger social attitude of the girls was also confirmed in expert interviews with school principals and may explain some important peculiarities of the female migration behaviour which is more often influenced by social networks and personal relations - a finding that can be considered as one puzzle piece to explain the unbalanced sex ratio structures in Sachsen-Anhalt also in the higher age groups.

The **"*way of life*-questions"** *(e.g. Q10)* are intended to find out more about the rootedness (e.g. "it would be very difficult for me to settle down elsewhere") or openness (e.g. "I would very much like to experience new countries and cultures") of girls and boys and the characteristics of a type of person that is more disposed for outmigration. First results confirm here the more open-minded attitude of the girls. Regarding the attitude towards rural and urban lifestyles the results seem to be evenly divided: Nearly half of the pupils agreed to the statement "I would very much like to live in a big city". On the other hand 36% of the girls and half of the boys agreed that "living in the countryside fits perfect to my needs and hopes". There are young people that are attached to the rural way of life – but taking further indicators into account the rural life seems to fit more to the needs and objectives of the boys (e.g. fig 2).

With regard to the ***evaluation of the local living situation*** *(Q15)* it becomes clear, that girls tend to be more critical than boys when

evaluating their home region[5] and they seem to be more impaired by bad accessibility (fig 1).

Figure 2: Agreement to statements about the place of living



Apart from these gender-related differences the pupils mentioned frequently problems that are typical for young people living in rural areas. A first glance on the open question "Which is the most difficult thing at the place you are living for young people like you?" shows that young people are missing infrastructure, leisure facilities and meeting places for young people. Beyond that the aging of the population was often mentioned and perceived negatively.

A startling result is that the prospects of the region and the chances to be successful there are evaluated very critical. A pessimistic basic attitude towards living in rural Sachsen-Anhalt seems to prevail. There is obviously a widespread belief among young people that they have no perspectives in the home region. The experience and shared knowledge of girls and boys living in rural Sachsen-Anhalt consists to some extent of the need to migrate. This may partly be explained by a transmission of experiences from parents: 44% of the pupils indicated that parents and also friends (41%) would advise them to leave the home region after finishing school. Contrary the teachers don't seem to give too much advice in this respect.

[5] Statements: "the place where I live has no future", "my current home is a very comfortable residential environment" and "if you want to make more of your life you have to leave"

Asked for their ***future plans*** only 16% of the pupils intend to stay in their home community after finishing school. 26% of the girls and 18 % of the boys aim at migrating to another region or abroad. Some more background information on how young people perceive the reality of life reveals the open question "please imagine your life in the next ten years. What do you think, where will you live then?" The answers reflect on the one hand the importance of the perceived prospects on the labour market, the gap between more rooted pupils and pupils that are on the brink of leaving as well as the fact that most of them are very down to earth with their expectations. The following statement illustrates this, for a first impression: *„I hope, that I'll get the job at XY and that I can stay here, but if that won't happen, then I'll have to move away to find a suitable job." (Boy, secondary school)*

c) Expert interviews

In the following some preliminary results of the expert interviews are very briefly presented according to the main topics:

With regard to the ***female labour market*** in Sachsen-Anhalt interviews with an expert of the chamber of commerce, with representatives of a platform of an employment agency and with school principals have already been implemented. The interviewees highlighted the positive framework conditions for entering the professional world due to the shortage of skilled labor. Yet, these tendencies seem to be hardly reflected by the young people. Nevertheless, a certain re-orientation seems to be taking place. Western Germany has been replaced by the Eastern metropolises as the most important destination of rural school leavers in Sachsen-Anhalt. With regard to the process of ageing job opportunities for women in the health care sector were pointed out as an important and growing sector. Beyond that, schools and dare-care facilities are important employers for women living in rural communities. The future employment opportunities in this segment are determined on the one hand by generational changes of the staff and on the development of the number of children. Additional experts interviews with female entrepreneurs and the ministries of labour and economics are scheduled for autumn 2011.

Referring to the ***social networks and infrastructure for young women*** several discussions with heads of day-care facilities have been carried out. This target group is in a very close workaday contact with local women with children - sometimes the interviewees were women concerned with migration decisions themselves. On the other hand kindergarden teachers are personally affected by the consequences of a demographic shrinkage and the question of closing-down social

infrastructure for young women. These institutions are not only important employers for women in rural communities, but also a place where contacts between women are made. Day-care facilities are also important for the social cohesion of small villages because they organise social events for the local community. Missing opportunities to meet and chat have been emphasised in several interviews as a specific problem in shrinking rural municipalities and a threat to social cohesion because other places for the inhabitants to socialise (e.g. post offices, shops) have been closed after reunification. This thought is reflected in the idea of child-parents-centers which have been established in Sachsen-Anhalt since 2007. In the federal state the dense network of day care-facilities is considered as suitable to foster social networks in the community, initiate civic engagement, support families and cross-generational cohesion. This concept could be suggested to be evaluated as an example for best practice. In the frame of the interviews with leaders of day-care facilities and the initiator of a non-profit organisation, social problems of families like unemployment, poverty and the fact that public or voluntary engagement in rural communities often lacks skills and money where mentioned.

Beyond that two interviews with school principals of schools dealing with educational aspects *and* ***future prospects of young people*** living in rural areas have been carried out. One of them was conducted as a group discussion including two girls. In this discussion the school principal stated inter alia, that the East German villages will be deserted in the near future: a lack of youth and infrastructure will contradict in-migration. Beyond that it was supposed that girls are more ambitious and show more initiative concerning their professional future. Cooperation between local enterprises and the school to improve the vocational preparation and orientation has already been established. The school principals have also highlighted the importance of (individual) mobility for young people. Given the poor public transport in rural Sachsen-Anhalt, it is more difficult for young people without a car and a driving license to find an apprenticeship training position. It was also mentioned that the low density of the broadband network in rural regions may also dispose young people to move away.

d) In-depth interviews with young women – some first results

To build up contacts to the target group of young women, personal contacts in the region and expert interviews in day care facilities as well as with majors were of particular importance. Beyond that, visits to and notices in local meeting points (e.g. associations) and announcements in local newspapers were used to contact interviewees. We were able to interview some re-migrants but only one inmigrant. We have also

surveyed women that have already left Sachsen-Anhalt and who are undecided or unwilling to come back. All in all the interviews cover very different biographies that reflect the local living situation and various ways to deal with these framework conditions.

Even though good education and a professional career are very important for the interviewees it is in several cases the professional decision of the partner that explains migration decisions of the young women in the sample. In-depth interviews as well as expert interviews confirm that private reasons are crucial when explaining female migration behaviour. In particular the reasons for re-migration are less job-related but more often influenced by professional decisions of the partner, the breakup of a relationship, the wish to come back to the family or the need to get the support of grandparents for child-care. Consequently, social networks are a very important factor when considering female migration decisions.

In some interviews it was striking that mothers convey to their daughters already in early childhood that out-migration is inevitable if they want to have a better life. The following quotation illustrates this pattern:

"Yes, it's sad somehow, my daughter is eleven, an age you normally don't have to worry about. But I as a mother I tell her, [Name], you won't stay here. You'll have to go sometime, because you won't get happy. You surely want to say one day I'll fly on holiday …she will accept it, she is eleven."

In this regard also an implicit or explicit reference to regions where the life is supposed to be better can be observed. In many cases these regions are located in Western Germany or in big East German cities like Berlin which are generally regarded to be more advantaged. Sometimes the conversations make clear that women feel that they have to argue why they live in rural Sachsen-Anhalt. In some cases the decision between living in a more rural community in Sachsen-Anhalt and living in a city abroad or in another German region is then interpreted as the decision in women's biographies between family and professional career. Consequently the family, children and quiet living are emphasized as main reasons for a living in the communities under investigation. On the other hand the very good supply with day-care facilities is often highlighted as an important advantage of Sachsen-Anhalt which is obviously a crucial locational factor when considering female needs.

e) Conclusions:

The results of the questionnaire and interviews lead to the following preliminary conclusions:

- Expert interviews and in-depth interviews reveal that the unbalanced sex-ratio structures in Sachsen-Anhalt are hardly

noticed in the everyday life and that they are not regarded as a crucial problem. On the other hand the topic of employment and jobs dominates numerous conversations. In many interviews the low salaries and lack of job opportunities - compared to Western Germany - were emphasized as main reason for the out-migration of young men and women.

- With regard to women's needs the provision of child-care facilities in Sachsen-Anhalt is one of the outstanding regional potentials. Women evaluate this supply very positively when reflecting on their own living situation.
- For many people living in rural Sachsen-Anhalt, migration is perceived to be crucial to make more of one's life and to raise one's social prestige. At the same time it became clear that the percipience that Sachsen-Anhalt is a disadvantaged region is very widespread. Contrary to other case study regions it cannot be taken for granted that the local people are proud to live in Sachsen-Anhalt.[6] Developing concepts that aim at enhancing the image of the region and at improving the self-esteem of the population is regarded as a very important policy task. Concepts that are targeted on improving the perception of the home region should also be geared towards teachers and parents.
- The interviews point out two explanations for gender related differences in migration behavior: (1) The survey with pupils reveals that girls have a more critical perception of their rural home region, that they are more impaired by bad accessibility and that they are somewhat more interested in experiencing (new) contacts/ cultures. This might explain a tendency towards moving to urban centers in the younger age groups. The boys, on the other hand, show a stronger orientation on money and material values. They also tend to more rooted lifestyles. (2) The discussions with young women highlight the importance of personal relations when explaining female migration behavior. Even if employment and career opportunities are crucial for gender equality, women still follow the professional ambitions of their male partners and not the other way around. Therefore concepts to attract young women should also take the career opportunities of the men in consideration.

[6] In this respect a differentiated perspective is crucial – e.g. raising awareness of the scenic surrounding was mentioned as a starting point to boost emotional attachment (e.g. for Havelberg).

3.2.3. Case Study Region Västernorrland

a) Results of the regional statistical analysis

Comparing migration pattern in Västernorrland's and Stockholm's county

In Sweden, as in almost all other countries, migration intensities are as highest in the ages 18-28. Especially in out-migration regions out-migration intensities for younger women seem to be more frequent then for younger men. Regarding the in- and out migration intensities for Västernorrland's county both sexes in the ages 18-34 experience net out-migration between 2000 and 2010. Women have higher migration intensities than men with regard to out- as well as in-migration (Table 10).

To find out more about differences in sex selective migration patterns in regions with quite different framework conditions the female migration intensities for the ages 18-34 for Västernorrland's county have been compared with Stockholm's counties (Table 8 a-c, annex): The labour market is more female-friendly and the study possibilities are better and more diversified in Stockholm than in Västernorrland – a phenomenon that ought to have some impact on the migratory movements especially for the youngest women, i.e. in the ages 18-24.

Comparing Västernorrland's and Stockholm's county in-migration intensities it becomes clear that the problem of Västernorrland is, thus, not low in-migration intensities among women in the ages 18-34 – instead the problem is that the out-migration intensities are much higher with net out-migration, skewed gender and age structures and then eroding reproduction potentials as results.

Age-specific migration intensities among young women

In order to investigate the impact of ages on the migration pattern for younger women the migration intensities for the age group 18-34 have been disaggregated in three different groups according to their position in the life cycle (see Tables 8 a-c, annex). These categories are:

- Women in studies and labour market entries (18-24 years)
- Women after finalised studies but in beginning of labour market careers (25-29 years)
- Women in the household creating ages (30-34 years)

It is obvious that the migration intensities and patterns differ a lot between the three age groups (Tables 8 a-c). Concerning the levels this is not surprising. Perhaps more surprising and interesting is the fact that the

disaggregation also demonstrate quite different patterns concerning in- and out-migration with regard to Västernorrland – from out-migration during the study and youngest ages to in-migration in the household creating ages. The high migration intensities in the youngest age group will result in out-migration for the whole category 18-34. It ought also to be highlighted that both intensities are higher in Västernorrland than in the Stockholm region. The high migration intensities for the youngest ages (18-24 years) are also in line with the observed fact for other regions in Sweden. It can also be shown that contrary to the expanding Stockholm region Västernorrland shows a migration deficit.

The picture has changed when the age group 25-29 is analysed. The out-migration intensity has dropped a lot for Västernorrland while the in-migration intensity is almost the same. The result is that the out-outmigration surplus for the age group 18-24 years has been changed to an in-migration surplus for ages 25-29.

In the ages when the entrance to the labour market is most frequent the mobility is lower but the return migration are probably higher. There are signs that many of the former out-movers are coming back in order to work but also probably as a consequence of "love and marriage". This phenomenon is even more highlighted in cohorts in the ages 30-34 when the household and family creating is even more frequently occurring. In these ages the bonds to the old and new residence region is also tighter as a consequence of jobs, houses and two income households that hamper migratory movements.

Intra-regional differences and disparities

Västernorrland is a county with a dual character. The costal part is the more populated with a more diversified economic structure while the inner part of the county is more sparsely populated and even more traditional in the sense that rural activities are more important for incomes and employment. These areas are also the ones that have been hurt most with regard to the structural transformation of the economy and with out-migration as one result. The unemployment during 2008 are perhaps not so high compared to the figures of today but it illustrates the dual character of the economy (see Map 3). It must here be kept in mind that Kramfors is an old industrial town with a traditional industrial base.

From Table 5 the dual character of Västernorrland is clearly shown. The only municipality that has a positive net-migration most of the years is Sundsvall. This is a city with relatively low unemployment, a university, large hospital, and a relatively female-friendly labour market with a large service sector.

Map 3 Open unemployment in Västernorrland 2008.

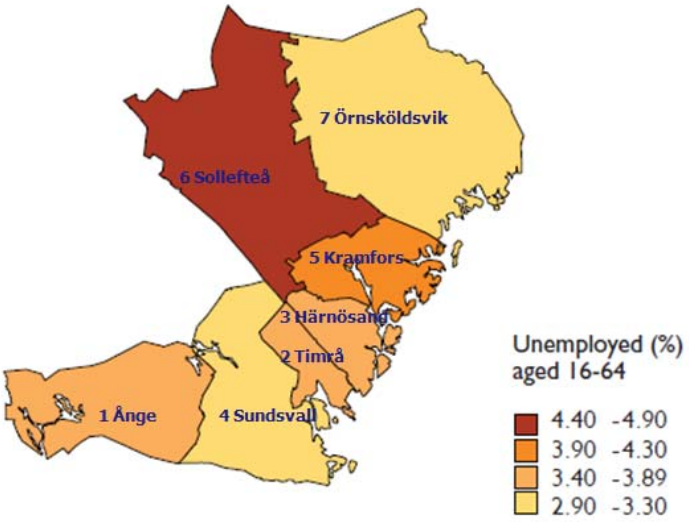


Table 5 Female net-migration intensities for the municipalities in Västernorrland 2000-2010

	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
Ånge	-3,7	-2,5	-2,7	-0,8	-5,2	-3,1
Timrå	-2,3	-1,5	-0,5	2,9	1,2	-0,2
Härnösand	-4,5	-1,8	-0,6	-2,5	-3,5	-2,3
Sundsvall	0,1	0,4	1,2	0,8	1,4	0,5
Kramfors	-7,1	-1,8	-2,6	-4,7	-5,4	-3,2
Sollefteå	-7,3	-1,0	-3,5	-3,6	-6,1	-2,7
Örnsköldsvik	-2,5	-2,0	-1,6	1,1	-0,3	-0,9

Source. Statistics Sweden.

The opposite situation can be found in the former regiment city Sollefteå and in the old industrial municipality Kramfors. Here the unemployment is high, education possibilities few, skewed gender and age structure, "un-friendly" labour market for women and standardized labour force.

Things that ought to be highlighted is the out-migration effects on the reproduction potential and natural population development. Comparing the relation between migration and natural population development and their impact on total development the following relations can be found for the period 2003-2007 (map 7, annex).

Sundsvall has experienced positive population development as a consequence of net in-migration as well as natural population increase. This is the most favourable population development in long term. Both Timrå and Örnsköldsvik have seen a net increase with regard to total population development but only as an effect of net in-migration.

Four municipalities are fighting against depopulation and unfavourable population development and structures. The capital of Västernorrland, Härnösand, shows a population decrease that is a consequence of negative natural population change - the figures concerning net-migration are positive. This seems, however, not to be an effect of in-migration of women in the ages 18-34 – instead it must be an effect of families and older person that move to the larger service supply in Härnösand. The same seem to be valid concerning Sollefteå that show the same migration pattern.

This problematic situation is even more pronounced in the two communities with the most unfavourable population development. Both

Kramfors and Ånge are in this category. In this case the negative population change is a function of both net out-migration and natural population decrease. The result will be an even more accentuated negative spiral with regard to the preconditions for a long term positive population development.

The dual Västernorrland is a function of economic structure as well as demographic development. Out-migration of younger women reinforces this duality both as consequences of direct and indirect effects. Direct effects in the sense that the population will be more skewed with regard to age and gender, indirect in the sense that the image will be changed in a more "male-oriented" direction, a development that hamper future in-migration of younger women in the out-migration areas. This is a self-fulfilling process that can erode the future preconditions for a positive population development in long term. Instead for convergence within the region the result will be divergence and eroding reproduction potentials especially in inner part of the county.

b) Questionnaire with pupils – first results

The questionnaire from which the empirical material for Västernorrland region has been collected was made in 2009/10 by the National Youth Board in Sweden. In total, 5512 pupils answered the questionnaire: 49% girls and 51% boys, 54% in the 8th class (aged 14) of the primary school and 46% at the 2nd year (aged 17) of the secondary school.

With regard to **the way of life** of the pupils the political interest increases with age and the sex differences are marginal. The difference is however very marked when origin is analysed: the interest in politics is significantly higher amongst pupils with non-Nordic origin compared to pupils with native and Nordic origin. The political activity amongst the youth in the 8th class of the primary school and at the 2nd years of the secondary school in Västernorrland is higher than the national average activity for youth in the same ages. Young women are significantly more interested in societal questions than young men in the 2nd year in secondary school: 51% of the young women express such interest while only 38% of the young men do so. With one exception, the differences in social behaviour are relatively small; the different social behaviour is related to a marked café culture among young women. It is unlikely that having access to more cafés is the major cause for leaving the hometown. Instead, the café culture among young women is probably an indicator for a desired life style which the young women perceive to exist in the major metropolitan areas in Sweden.

In 8th class almost 20% more girls than boys **intend to migrate**, and at the 2nd year of secondary school about 78% more girls than boys intend

to leave! This is a huge sex difference. The higher intentions to migrate among girls relative to boys can be assumed to be connected with the intention to study. In a sparsely populated region as Västernorrland all educations at secondary schools are not available in every municipality, i.e. to move to another town may be a necessity to get the desired education. The situation is partly similar when it comes to university studies: although there is a university in the region, it cannot offer more than a limited number of educations.

Considering the **future plans of the pupils**, more boys than girls would like to work after primary school. The wish to work is 44% higher among 16 years old boys leaving primary school than among the same girls. The situation is the opposite when studying the wish to enter an education at secondary school: 73% of the girls wish to do so, but only 63% of the boys. To study at secondary school is 16% higher among the girls than boys. The differences between the sexes to study in the home town are very small, but the girls have a much higher wish to study in another town: the wish to study in another town is 46% higher among girls than boys at the age of 16.

The major conclusion from the survey is that there are some sex specific differences that may influence the willingness to migrate from Västernorrland. In some cases the sex specific differences show remarkable results, e.g. that 40% of the girls who participated in the survey have bullied, threatened or harassed other pupils, while only 31% of the boys have done so. Being bullied, harassed and threatened is a potential 'push' factor for migration. Furthermore, a quite larger share of the boys argues that girls are favoured in school than the share of girls arguing that boys are favoured in school.

The major difference is apparently not related to sex, but to origin. The group of pupils of non-Nordic origin show e.g. a high willingness to tertiary studies, a higher political activity and a higher willingness to migrate. In several of the municipalities the results for questions on being a victim of sexual harassment, assault, robbery and being threatened are published and the picture given for these questions are a quite sad reading: pupils of non-Nordic origin are to a far greater extent victims of sexual harassment, assault, robbery and threats than native/Nordic pupils. They are also being bullied in school to a higher degree than pupils with native and Nordic origin. The 'push' factor for leaving the region as soon as possible ought to be higher for the group of youngsters with non-Nordic origin than for youngsters with native or Nordic origin.

c) Expert interviews

The selection of the respondents was made in close cooperation with the national stakeholder of the SEMIGRA project, County Administrative Board in Västernorrland's county. Nine respondents accepted to be interviewed. Three of the respondents were mayors, one worked at the County Administrative Board in Västernorrland's county, one at the National Labour Board (*Arbetsförmedlingen*), one researcher at the Mid-Swedish University who has done extensive research on youth in Västernorrland, one representative for the Swedish Enterprises, one representative for the Chamber of Commerce in Västernorrland and one representative for the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions (LO). The questions asked followed a semi-structured interview guide, which was the same far all case study regions in the SEMIGRA project.

There is a difference in the willingness to migrate between the sexes. The general opinion of the respondents is that young women are more willing to migrate than young men. Several of the respondents did, however, point out reasons for moving, which, primarily, are not related to education or labour market aspects: (a) especially media is communicating a view that the city life and the urban life style is something superior and desirable; (b) by tradition, many young adults are encouraged to travel after they have left secondary school "to see the world". They are told that "they can always return when they want to settle down". These two life style aspects do, however, not give any explanation *per se* why there are more young women than young men migration from Västernorrland.

In general, the labour market situation for the young adults is described in terms of "bad", "terrible" and "disaster"; only one respondent has the view that the labour market situation for the school leavers is good in Västernorrland. The labour market in Västernorrland is sex segregated; women are over-represented in education as well as health and care sectors, while men are over-represented in forestry, industry and manufacturing. None of them offer any great career possibilities.

Many of the respondents stressed that their opinion is that employers work actively with gender equality; the problem lies rather in the structure of the labour market. The tendency is that women are more likely to enter professions previously dominated by men; men entering professions dominated by women are fewer. Two respondents said that sex might have some impact on the career possibilities; four respondents stressed that what really matters is age, contacts and ethnicity.

With one exception, the respondents stressed that the young adults with an immigrant background have even more difficult than the native in the

same age to get a job. Many employers talk about meager language skills, but in fact a foreign surname is enough to get rejected in the recruitment process. Several of the respondents talked openly about a widespread discrimination against immigrants in the region. At the same time, they were convinced that more immigrants are needed in Västernorrland. Some employers would like to employ immigrants, but far more employers do not wish to even if they say so. One of the respondents argued that immigrants are only good for jobs at e.g. McDonalds and hard physical jobs, and these jobs are getter fewer and fewer in the region.

In the public opinion it is often perceived that if there only were jobs in the rural and peripheral parts people would not move away from there. This view was not confirmed by the respondents; the picture is far more multifaceted than just being a question about jobs and having access to higher education.

Some respondents mentioned that there is a deeply rooted disbelief on the future in Västernorrland. The de-industrialisation process has made the region leave industrialism, but it has not yet managed to enter post-industrialism; to many people the image of being "a looser" still clings on to the region of Västernorrland. Most municipalities in Västernorrland are considered everything but 'cool' to live in, they are regarded as rural, peripheral, industrial and declining. The two cities, Sundsvall and Örnsköldsvik, are 'cool' in a regional perspective; but taken as a whole the region is not regarded as 'cool' by young adults. The view of the stayers as 'lazy losers', in-actuate and without ambition is often given by media. While some respondents rejected this as a downgrading myth (3), others gave more nuanced explanations (3).

A majority of the respondents also mentioned one important thing: the marketing of the region must be better. The self-esteem of the region is low – the image of the region must be improved so that the population – and not just the young adults – actually can see all the good things and all possibilities that actually exist. The inflow is needed to attract key competences and population; if the region is unable to attract newcomers, it will actually be very difficult to keep the present population in the region.

None of the respondents thought that the school is doing a good job in preparing the young adults for the step into the labour market. The general criticism is related to three things: (1) the educations produced do not match the demand of labour – and this mismatch is devastating since the youngsters have to move to get a job; (2) the school system and its leadership is stuck in the industrial economy, e.g. a majority of the schools appear to think that future jobs still exist in forestry, industry and manufacturing. Consequently, the leadership in the schools can be

questioned. (3) Several of the respondents were not convinced that the liberalisation of the school system in the late 1990s actually improved the quality in education; several schools offer education that may attract pupils, but they will be unemployable when they graduate.

d) In-depth interviews women (outlook)

We aim to interview about 10 women aged 25-40 who have (1) their origin in Västernorrland but moved away from the region, (2) have returned to Västernorrland after they have lived outside the region for some years, and (3) women who do not have their origin in Västernorrland but have moved to the region. So far we have had problems identifying respondent for the interviews. We hope to do these interviews during January 2012.

e) Preliminary conclusions

The problematic situation with regard to the population development in Västernorrland with focus on younger women can be summarized as follows:

- High in-migration in both cases – in metropolitan Stockholm as well as in the ”rural” and sparsely populated industrial Västernorrland. The big difference is the high turnover in Västernorrland. Out-migration seems creates in-migration some years later.
- Young women have a higher migratory turnover than men in Västernorrland.
- Out-migration creates skewed gender and age structures among young people with eroding reproduction potentials as one result.
- The problem is higher out-migration than low in-migration that is at the same level as for the expanding Stockholm region.
- For Västernorrland – the most problematic point is the high out-migration among the youngest women (18-24 years).
- Recommendation – stimulate in-migration in the ages 25+.
- A more female-friendly labour market is a precondition to hamper out-migration and attract young women.
- The image of Västernorrland as a men world must be changed.
- Change attitude towards immigrants can stimulate refugees to stay.

3.2.4 Case Study Region Kainuu

a) Results of the regional statistical analysis

Since the 1970's, Kainuu has been losing population due to both a negative migration and a negative natural population development. Migration of young people and the lack of young women have resulted in negative natural population development. In the last 30 years the population of Kainuu has decreased by almost 20 % (from 100 000 inhabitants to 82 000 inhabitants in 2010).

When examining the gender distribution in Kainuu in smaller age groups (5-year) the unbalanced sex ratio structure can be noted clearly. Population under 15 years is quite evenly both male and female. There is a significant shortage of women starting from the 15 year old upwards. The biggest gaps in the numbers of men and women are in the age groups 20–24 years, 25–29 years and 30–34 years. Then again, from the age group of 65 years and older the amount of women compared to men starts to be higher and increases as the age groups get older and older.

The region has suffered from the highest unemployment rates in Finland, although in recent years the unemployment rate of Kainuu has come closer to the national average. The unemployment rate has decreased in Finland from 11.4 % in 1998 to 8.4 % in 2010. In Kainuu the unemployment rate was twice as high as the national average in the most difficult years.

b) Questionnaire with pupils – first results

In Kainuu the ratio of female pupils in the sample seems highly unbalanced with only 24% boys and 76% girls. Although the distribution of girls and boys in schools is quite even, it is not represented by the distribution of the answers in the questionnaire survey. It has been seen also in other, previous questionnaire surveys that girls are for some reason in general more willing and open to answer than boys.

Main reasons for higher number of girls among the respondents are that girls seem to be more dutiful than boys and it is more likely that girls answer this kind of questionnaire. For girls is it also more acceptable to analyse their feelings and wills via this kind of questionnaire. Social expectations are different between boys and girls.

With regard to ***the way of life of pupils*** (Q 10) some interesting differences between boys and girls are obvious. Girls are much more eager to experience new cultures and countries than boys. Also for the girls family and friends are more important than money and career. Both sexes agreed it is important for them to live in a protected and safe surrounding. Girls in Kainuu seem to be much more enthusiastic about

living in a big city than boys (50% agreed to this statement but only 26% of the boys).

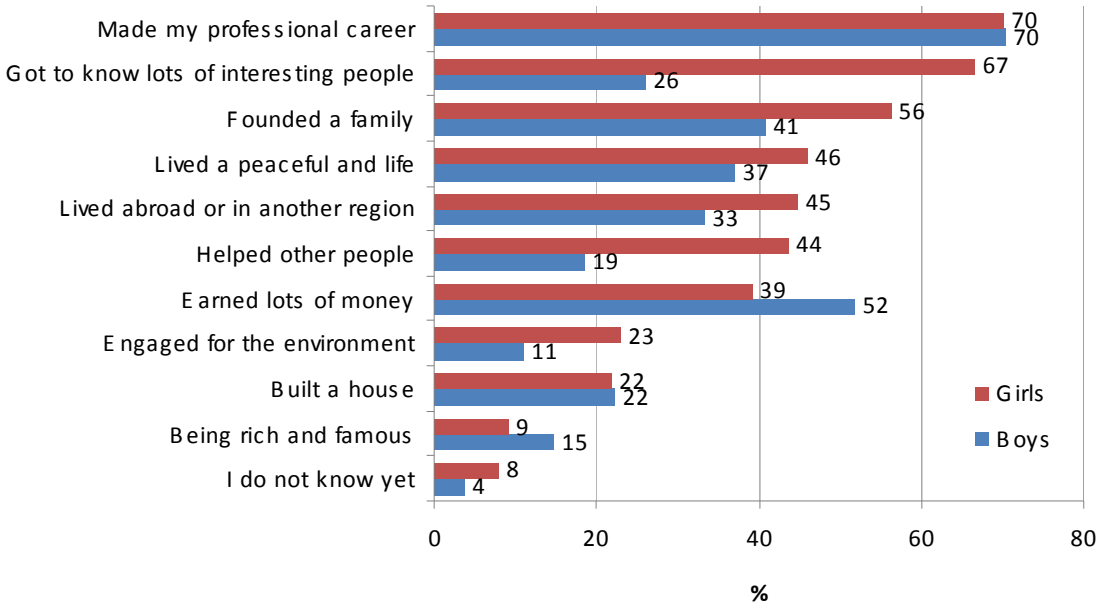
Striking is that pupils disagreed strongly with statements that provide information on the regional rootedness like "Living in the countryside fits perfect to my needs and hopes" and "I think it would be very difficult for me to settle down elsewhere". Neither girls nor boys thought it would be very difficult for them to settle down somewhere else.

When regarding the respondents' ***evaluation of the local living situation*** (Q15) it can be seen also in Kainuu region, that girls are more critical than boys when evaluating their home region. 91 % of the girls and 76 % of the boys agree that if you want to make more of your life, you have to leave. Boys seem to appreciate the beautiful environment more than the girls whereas the girls are more attached to their friends in the region. Girls also seem to want more strongly some new free time activities than the boys.

Some clear indications about the differences between boys' and girls' thoughts about moving elsewhere can be noticed from the statements "I cannot wait to leave from here" (60 % of the girls and 48 % of the boys agree or fully agree) and "the place where I live has no future" (48 % of the girls and 44 % of the boys agree or fully agree). Additional boys are more prone to fully disagree with these statements than the girls. Also the idea of moving elsewhere from their home town appears to be more sensitive for more boys than girls as is represented by this statement: "I feel very much at home here. It would be terrible if I had to move away from here" (up to 43 % of the boys agree or fully agree compared to only 31 % of the girls). All in all these results indicate a very serious situation with regard to the demographic future of the region.

Regarding the ***future plans*** of the pupils both girls and boys want to have made their professional career as a main thing (Figure …). In general, girls seem to want more things than boys. The boys' wishes appear to be oriented more to the material things whereas the girls aspirations are concentrated on "softer", socio-cultural goals. For example meeting interesting people and founding a family are clearly desired by girls. Boys on the other hand would more often like to have earned lots of money.

Figure 3 What do you want to have achieved then, in 10 years from now?



Half of the girls and boys ***intend to migrate*** to another region in Finland after finishing school. They mentioned mainly bigger university cities, where there are more educational possibilities e.g. Helsinki, Kuopio, Jyväskylä, or Tampere. Only 17 % of the respondents plan on staying in Kainuu. 30 % of the respondents did not know whether they will move or not after finishing school.

These answers can be understood via current situation of Kainuu. After school young people are often in a situation that they have to move, if they want to continue their education. In Kainuu region there is only a limited number of places at the university of applied sciences and vocational schools, and no permanent under graduate studying places at the university. Only some temporary master program studying places are offered at the university level. The level of education has risen during last decades especially among women. In many cases girls are moving to university cities after finishing elementary school in Kainuu.

Among the respondents there were both girls and boys who could imagine coming back to Kainuu at some point (Q23b). A bit surprisingly, the girls were even more willing to come back (probably/very likely will return: girls 38 % and boys 22 %). Boys on the other hand were more against the idea of returning. 7 % of the girls and 17% of the boys indicated, that they certainly won't return.

With regard to the influence of the social environment on migration decisions neither teachers nor the parents in Kainuu seem to discuss with young people about whether they should leave the region or stay there

after finishing school (Q24). Rather the friends seem to advice both boys and girls to leave the region.

c) Expert interviews

The questionnaire survey to the experts in Kainuu region was sent to 85 respondents of which 78 were reached by e-mail. 24 % of respondents (19 persons) participated (5.9.2011). Responses were received from almost all municipalities of Kainuu. The respondents represent e.g. the Joint Authority of Kainuu, municipalities and youth workers of municipalities and congregations.

The Majority of the experts (63 %, N 19) in Kainuu are convinced that there are more girls than boys moving out from the region. As a main reason for that it was mentioned that girls are more actively looking for possibilities for studying outside the Kainuu region. Experts have the feeling, that among boys there are more often those how don't like to go because they are rooted to their home region and that boys are often not so keen on a certain profession and happy with the possibilities that can be found from vocational school or university of applied sciences in Kajaani. It was a general belief of the experts that girls are more willing to look for a job outside Kainuu region if they cannot find the desired job in their home region.

Almost all of the experts think the main reasons for young women and men to move out from the region is a lack of suitable studying places and lack of suitable open vacancies on the labor market. Especially almost totally none exist studying places at university level drives young people out from Kainuu. They are forced to go out if they like to continue studying at university level.

All experts are convinced that young people`s moving out from the Kainuu region is a very serious problem for the region because this fosters the aging tendency of the population. On the other hand they see that moving of the young generation is important, to improve skills and to continue their studies at university level. The real challenge is perceived in finding strategies to encourage young people to come back after they have graduated. Lacking of university level education is regarded as a kind of vicious circle for Kainuu: when there is no under graduate university education, young have to leave and there is a lack of high skill entrepreneurs and labor demand for highly educated.

All experts (N 19) estimated that young people moving out from Kainuu region are moving to the cities where head campus of some university is located. Almost all of the experts believe young would stay at Kainuu region if there would be suitable education places. Also all of them (expect

one out of 19) believe young people would come back after graduated if there are available suitable jobs for them.

Approximately half of the experts are very critical about the future of young people in Kainuu. The other half of the experts are more positive. The main reasons for pessimistic visions are the bad demographic situation and trend in Kainuu and the lack of education possibilities for young as well. The main reasons for more optimistic visions are the aging, which will release new vacancies for young people and the crowing business fields like mining and tourism, which will create new vacancies and career positions for young in Kainuu region.

d) Outlook on in-depth interviews and first conclusions

The implementation of in-depth interviews with young women is foreseen for September and October 2011. Targeted are 10 interviews with women that re-migrated or in-migrated to Kainuu region. Some key finding based on the case study carried out so far can be summarized as follows:

- One common key character in the city regions where the population has crowed in Finland is that they all are areas with university. Somehow developing the University Applied Sciences and university activities via Kajaani university consortium are critical issues for the future of the region and for the possibilities of young people to stay in Kainuu.
- There is a lack of jobs for the highly educated in Kainuu. On the other hand there are open vacancies for highly educated like for doctors in public sector, which are hard to fill. This tells that there are also difficulties to recruit experts and highly qualified.
- The image of Kainuu is an image of a remote and small area and there are problems with the marketing of the region.
- Without enough education places at the university level, it is very difficult to keep young people in Kainuu after they have finished school and it is also more difficult in Kainuu than in many other areas in Finland to find highly educated experts to open vacancies.
- Intentions of outmigration are very widespread among young people, among girls more than among boys. At the same time it is a surprising result that young people feel that neither teachers nor parents do not give advices or discuss with them about future perspective in the region. Friends seem to advice to leave the region in most cases. Schools should therefore establish more co-operations with local authorities in order to inform young people about the professional opportunities in Kainuu.

3.2.5 Case Study Region Észak Alföld

a) Regional Statistical Analysis

According to the three typologies of the ESPON EDORA project, the NUTS 3 regions of Észak-Alföld are "Intermediate Accessible" and "Predominantly Rural Remote"; the whole NUTS 2 region is "Agrarian rural"; and on the basis of performance, it belongs to the "Below Average" rural regions. The ESPON DEMIFER has defined the demographic status of Észak-Alföld as one of the "Challenge of Labour Force" type of regions. The relative young age structure in a European sense is proved by the ageing index that is 0.95 as compared to the national index of 1.10.

Észak-Alföld is among the Hungarian regions with a decreasing number of inhabitants. The 2% pace of decline measured in the region is exceeding the -0.7% national average of the previous 10 years as of 2008. Észak-Alföld is also among the four regions (out of 7) with negative net migration rates (in the period between 2003 and 2008). The number of out-migrants was continuously increasing from 2004 up to 2007, when it reached its highest level so far. Nevertheless the year 2008 was still the worst regarding the net migration. Our analysis of settlements/ municipalities (LAU 2) with less than 5,000 inhabitants suggests a logarithmic correlation between the size of municipalities and the number of out-migrants, on the other hand, the number of citizens receiving unemployment benefits leads to an exponential increase in out-migration.

In 2009 women made up 50.6% of the permanent inhabitants of the 389 settlements in Észak-Alföld. This ratio varies between 46% and 56% within the region. There is a deficit of young women that is more pronounced in the age group of the 30−39 than in the 20−29 year olds in every settlement category except for the municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants.

Employment figures for women varied between 47–51% in 1998–2009 and so regularly fell behind the figures for men, which varied between 60–63%. 9% of women living in Észak-Alföld are registered as unemployed (with a standard deviation of 0.03) while 46% of the unemployed in average are women (this rate may be as high as 64% for some areas).

On the basis of economic indices (GDP) the Észak-Alföld region is one of the least developed regions in Hungary and also in the European Union. The per capita gross domestic product fell short of reaching the national level in the past years and has shown signs of further deterioration beginning with the year 2008.

Inner regional differences

Of the three counties (NUTS 3) in the region, the economic indices of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg are the least favourable, and it is Hajdú-Bihar that improves the average. Within the region (with a 45% employment rate of the active age population), it is also Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county that shows the lowest employment index. The rate of unemployment is higher as well, and it has been increasing in the entire region since 2004 with only minor breaks of decrease or stagnation. The proportion of women among registered job seekers is around 45% everywhere in the region.). In the region's western quarter, 5–13 out of 100 women are registered as unemployed and this figure deteriorates as one goes eastwards – with the exception of larger settlements – until it reaches the quartile of 23–46 out of 100 women in the easternmost part of Észak-Alföld (see map 8, annex).

Between the variables we used in the principal component test, the data regarding unemployment, out-migration, ageing and social subsidy explain 90.7% of the complete variance. The primary principal components were the educational background of the unemployed population, the number of accessible types of temporary social subsidy and the amounts offered through them and the level of out-migration with a combined 77.3% explanation of the complete variance. The ratio of women within the permanent population and within the unemployed population was considered at this level, but its explanatory strength was rather small. As the data measuring gender differences are very restricted in Hungary, the the questionnaire survey and the interviews are indispensable.

b) Questionnaire with pupils – first results

The opinion of senior secondary school students of pre-graduate years (17-18 year old) was surveyed in the Észak-Alföld region offline. Respondents were contacted in a direct manner, with the help of the institutions they attended. When selecting the partner schools, we intended to make sure that the widest possible scope of trainings is included in the study with regard to the level and – in the case of vocational trainings – the field of the trainings. We also aspired to choose a group of institutions which mirrors the region's structure of rural secondary education by paying attention to the geographical location of schools and the size of population of the towns they are situated in. The 6 towns where we selected the 6 schools are as follows: Tiszafüred, Szolnok, Berettyóújfalu, Debrecen, Vásárosnamény, Kisvárda.

Of the total 740 questionnaires filled out by students, 61% may be considered coming from rural municipalities (i.e. settlements with less

than 10,000 inhabitants). 51% of respondents were girls. The research recorded no internal disproportionality with regard to the financial living conditions of families and the qualification of parents between male and female students or based on their place of residence. 20% of respondents mentioned that migration antecedents occurred in their lives. Almost 40% of all migration comprised of moving from villages into towns/cities. Immigration from abroad is negligible, but interregional migration is also very rare (less than 5% of all migration).

With regard to **the way of life** and as far as the most important social relations are concerned, the data show no internal shifts in percentage points on the basis of sex or place of residence except for a slight decrease in rural respondents marking the category of "friends" important (15% in comparison with 21% in larger towns and cities). This shift probably indicates that integration into the peer group is somewhat more difficult in villages and rural areas. The same phenomenon seems to be true concerning the importance of schoolmates. Over 20% of girls marked this group "not at all important", compared with a mere 12% of boys. This discrepancy indirectly shows the different levels of importance boys and girls attach to less tight relationships: girls are more likely to establish tight friendships with peers, while boys have a greater number of peer relationships, which are often rather superficial.

The results of the questionnaire study are clearly contrary to the often voiced presumption that relationships established in the town of the institution attended by commuting students and students living in dormitories eventually substitute the network of relations of the locality they are originally from. Based on the answers of respondents from rural areas, it seems certain that the original network of relations continue to be important at least up to the graduation from secondary school. Neither social relations, nor spending leisure time depend on venues only accessible in larger towns/cities.

With regard **intentions to migrate**, boys seem to be more strongly attached to their settlement/nearby area. As opposed to 18% of girls, 35% of boys plan to stay in their home towns/villages, and in addition to this, the ratio of girls planning to leave the region is also 5% higher. This discrepancy between the strength of attachment of boys and girls also becomes apparent in the data obtained regarding the ratios corresponding to the number of male and female respondents who render their future return to their home town likely (less than 25% of girls compared to over 40% of boys).

Around 2/3 of respondents plan to continue their education after finishing their studies. There is no difference between the data corresponding to rural areas and larger towns or cities. A significantly higher ratio of girls

professed intentions to continue education at the next level (72% compared to 65% of boys). At the same time boys are somewhat more likely to plan on starting businesses (64% compared to 55% of girls) and the difference grows regarding respondents with concrete entrepreneurial ideas (28% compared to 17% of girls).

c) Expert Interviews – first conclusions

Considering on the one hand, that occasions for migration decision making arise in Hungary in the context of whether to leave a settlement/ municipality or to remain permanent resident therein, and considering on the other hand, that the study of the deficit of young women was chiefly conducted with a close regard to rural spaces, we decided to pick the interviewees from 4 rural municipalities (LAU 2 scale case study settlements) in order to provide for the most thorough research of the social and economic context of migration decisions. These 4 settlements were Abádszalók, Hortobágy, Körösszegapáti and Tiszaszentmárton.

One of the most important lessons drawn from the expert interviews was understanding that none of the interviewees considered the possible consequences of the unbalanced sex ratio and the deficit of females among youths so far. They have no knowledge of discourse of any level on the topic and the phenomenon is generally out of their sight and perception. Interviewed municipality officials working with migration records agree with our hypothesis that the excess of the deficit of women in the 30−39 age group compared to the 18−29 age group is largely due to an 'administrative glitch': the post-socialist liberalization of the ways to change one's official place of residence was presumably conducive to the emergence of a practice to register these changes with years of delay compared to the actual act of leaving one's parents.

Respondents suppose selective migration is behind the unbalanced sex ratio too, but they believe that out-migration is essentially shaped by the labour market (as opposed to marriage or further education – the latter only influences the phenomenon in an indirect way and first and foremost affects citizens with university degrees). They consider the lack of employment opportunities to be the defining push factor of rural settlements for men and women and young and old alike. Although these experts usually take all emphasis off the question of gender differences, some of them highlight the lack of freedom in migration decision of a marginalised social stratum pushed to the impoverished outskirts (i.e. the former agricultural centres of Hortobágy and Körösszegapáti). The solidarity in the local societies, the locally accessible (medical and educational) services and the undoubtedly liveable nature of the case

study settlements are seen as pull factors, but they are not considered strong enough to overcome the unbearable burden of unemployment.

Taking into consideration the proposals of the expert interviewees our preliminary suggestions are as follows:

- Abolition of gender-blindness: awareness needs to be raised to the gendered character of society, migration, settlements, labour market, etc. and the importance of gender mainstreaming in regional/settlement development projects should be emphasized.
- Setting up a system of training which accommodates the needs of a gendered labour market and assisting its interest structures and harmonization processes.
- Initiating projects designed to decrease unemployment in rural settlements which incorporate a gendered approach to the issue (local, micro-regional employment, communal labour, commuting, flexible means of employment supporting specific needs of women/men, etc).
- Firm assertion of the specific needs flowing from the settlement structure of the Észak-Alföld in regional development programs.
- Synchronizing social-, employment- and regional development policies observing gendered migration.

d) First conclusions from in-depth interviews with young women

In the 4 studied settlements, we prepared in-depth interviews with a total number of 18 women (between 25−40 years of age). Among them, there were i) 5 women who left her home town/village but ended up returning eventually; ii) 6 in-migrants who came from nearby or other villages in the same county, or a nearby city in Romania (Oradea); iii) one interviewee who migrated in, then out then returned back again; iv) 4 women who have lived in their village their entire lives; v) one bi-local migrant/stayer, who alternates places of residence between her flat/ settlement and the one of her common-law husband; vi) a father of a woman who moved to Budapest without official registration.

Based on the experience of these in-depth interviews, the conclusions for regional strategy building in this stage of the study are as follows:

- The interviewed women have no knowledge of the unbalanced sex ratio of their settlements, and try to explain the phenomenon of selective migration by saying things along the lines of "*women have higher standards and they are brave enough to go and try to improve their situation".* This supports the need to encourage awareness of the fundamental questions of the SEMIGRA project.

- The delay between actual migration and its official registration – or the complete failure to register – is a matter worth reconsidering not only for the sake of a more accurate database, but also in order to be able to understand better the role administrative practice plays in encouraging or discouraging attachment to settlements.
- Attending secondary school in a nearby town does not seem to be in itself a strong enough inducement to make our interview partners leave their home towns. Out-migration is fundamentally encouraged or forced by the disparity in the regional dispersion of employment opportunities on the labour market. Therefore, gendered employment policy must be a key feature shaping regional development policy.
- Demographic and family policy (also) faces a serious challenge in the delaying effect migration of jobseekers has on marriages and starting a family.
- Interview partners were very fond of their home villages and this image is an important appeal.
- According to our interview partners, out-migrants who leave in search of employment "*have to leave at least as far as Budapest*". Other than the capital city, only a few Western-Hungarian cities and some Western-European countries attract jobseekers. Even the regional centre Debrecen fails to be a real alternative. These findings are especially discouraging if we add that most people in the area find urban life repulsive.
- The motivations and incentives of in-migrants and return migrants cannot definitely serve as a basis for an effective migration policy. Return migration resulting from family affairs cannot be considered a 'best practice' approach. But they underline the need for harmonizing the policy targeting male and female migration. Low real-estate prices are not necessarily advantageous for migration policy, because they often end up perpetuating poverty.

3.2.5 Case Study Region Észak-Magyarország

a) Regional Statistical Analysis

Észak-Magyarország is the fourth largest region with one of the highest population densities in the country. Out of 605 settlements 39 are towns comprising approximately half of the regional residents. The population potential of the region is satisfied, but the economic potential has proved to be inadequate. Among the Hungarian regions the most disadvantaged region is Észak-Magyarorzság with a 15% unemployment rate. Compared to EU data the unemployment rate in the EU-27 among the 15-64 year old population the average rate is 9%.

According to the Hungarian statistical office by 2010 the region's number of inhabitants is 1109142. The gender ratio did not change significantly. Compared to 1990 the region's population has decreased by 9% which is the largest population decline in the country. The Northern Hungarian region had the largest population decrease to 86.5 % of the 1990 value among 15-39 year old women, compared to the other parts of the country. Despite the nationwide decrease in the demographic index, Central Hungary shows a 5% increase in the number of women of childbearing age, which is likely due to the internal migration trends; the central region has a more attractive economy and labour market ability.

According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office database the GDP per capita was 2.6 milion HUF in 2009. In Hungary the difference between the most and least developed region is 2.4-fold. Only in the capital region the income level is above the European Union average. North-Hungary's GDP accounted for 7% of the national GDP in 2009, whereas the population of the region represents 12% of the Hungarian population. The GDP per capita was 1.6 milion HUF, which is 60% of the national average and 40% of the EU27 average measured at purchasing power parities (PPP). In line with the national tendency, the service sector accounts for more than half of the regional GDP.

The income gap increased in the examined period between Central Hungary and the other regions. In Észak-Magyarország the growth rate is very low, so the region's position has changed neither in the European Union nor in the national hierarchy in the examined period. In the counties of Northern Hungary the growth of the GDP per capita is more than 4%. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county features the best performance.; Nógrád county, in contrast, is far from the average performance. Each of three counties could reach a significant growth in 2005-2006, but after the crisis the economic development has slowed down. The trend of the unemployment rate is the same in the region as at national level, but it is always higher than the national average for Northern Hungary. It has

been increasing since 2001 and for four years it has been over 10%, while the national average has been below 8%.

The average activity rate increased by just 2% in the examined period. The activity rate was the highest in Central and Western Hungary, and the lowest in Northern Hungary and the Great Plain. In the latter regions the average rate was 50%. The trend of this indicator was decreasing in the most developed regions, but in the others it was increasing. After the recession the activity rate stagnates or slightly decreases everywhere. The activity rate of Northern Hungary region is 3% points below the country's average. The activity rate of the Northern Region improved by 4%, which is mainly caused by Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county's development.

With regard to employment the Northern Hungary region is far from the country's average. The employment rate, after a short increase, has started to decrease from 2007. The main reason was the recession. The crisis has affected Nógrád county the most, where the employment rate was under 42% in 2010.

Northern Hungary has faced severe economic and social challenges since the transition to a market economy. In spite of its natural and environmental potentials, the performance of the region is very poor both in terms of economic and social progress. Currently real struggle has been fought for economic competitiveness and for a better quality of life.

Besides looking at the total number and the changes of the population, its composition is also worth examining. Population changes can have two sources: vital events and migration. In the examined period the balance was always negative for both of them, and in Northern Hungary, the natural decrease is always higher. Even if the number of live births per thousand inhabitants is above the national average, the number of deaths per thousand inhabitants is also higher.

Note that the fertility rate in Northern Hungary is among the highest in the nation. This is due to the fact that fertility is extremely high among women younger than 14 (which is three times higher than the national average) and women between 15 and 19 years (twice as high as the national average) (Darók 2006), while the fertility rate of those above 25 is below the Hungarian mean (Tóth Szita and Buday-Malik 2006). This leads to the unfavourable fact that young mother get out of the education system, do not get any qualifications and thus cannot reach the living standard necessary to satisfy the minimum needs. Early founding of a family can be a reason for poverty and deprivation.

Changes in the number of the population can also be caused by migration. Net migration in Northern Hungary has always been negative. A considerable increase in net migration can be seen for the examined

period. Even if the international net migration has been positive in the region between 2001 and 2010, it has been counterbalanced by the negative national net migration.

Not only population data, but also average life expectancy is an important social indicator of regional performance. This value is much lower for men then for women, which is a problem throughout the country. In the case of Northern Hungary, however, all values are lower than the national average. The difference between regional and national data is more significant in the case of men.

In 2009 the ratio value of the employed population in the age group 15-74 was the highest in Central Hungary with 55%, and the lowest in Észak-Magyarország where only 43% of the population had a job. The employment rate for women was extremely low in the North Hungarian region: 37 % which is far below the EU targets. (the reasons for that would be very interesting) According to the 2010 plan, the women's participation in the labour market should have been increased to 60%. In the educational structure there is no significant difference/change. Women's employment rate with higher educational qualification of high-school, college, or with a university degree is higher, quite similar to the national rates.

Full-time employees' monthly gross earnings in 2009 was 199800 HUF, 0.5% more than last year. In the region the average gross earning was 164155 Ft, which was 82% of the national average. At the same time in two other regions employees earned an even lower salary.

According to EU recommendations we need to measure the gap between the wages of men and women. In the Northern Hungarian region there was a 12% gap in gross income, and this meant a 16% gap in net income. According to Borbély (2010) the difference between the wages of men and women shows the greatest difference in the Northern Hungarian region.

b) First results of the questionnaire with pupils

In the region 514 secondary school students (17-19 year old) in 5 schools were surveyed (64% girls, 36% boys). The surplus of the girls in secondary schools (with no specification) is typical, but decreases from year to year.

During the selection process we tried to find a wide scope of curriculums and locations. As we thought in the framework of the capital city-rural region opposites, we have chosen the three county capitals Miskolc, Eger, and Salgótarján (as peripheries in geographical and also in economical sense) and a village (Mezőkövesd) next to one of the county capitals.

A high ratio of the students commutes between the place of living and the schools. The schools attract a significant amount of pupils from nearby villages. In some cases, the distance was more than 60 km between the places of domicile and education.

Regarding free time, in rural areas the pupils feel that they have enough time after school, but that can also be a negative sign: there are just a few possibilities for pursuing sports or leisure time activities, spending time with friends in local places (cinema, theatre, club, sport centre, etc.). That is why most of the students prefer online meetings with friends that is a „daily routine" in case of more than half of the answers.

Regarding the open question "which is the most difficult thing at the place you are living for young people like you?" it becomes clear that the biggest problems that are important causes of the further migration potential are the high unemployment rate that goes with poverty, the high share inhabitants belonging to the Roma minority, pollution and the security of the places. 35% of the students also choose the inadequate mass transportation. Because of the adverse accessibility of the analysed areas (the county capitals are far from the centre of the country, so in geographical aspect – based on available population potential – these are strongly peripheral or transitional areas that are less attractive because of the high travel times) their attractiveness because of the high travel times is getting worse.

Analysing the **way of life** in the region, it was hopeful to see that for the students family and friends are more important than career and money – 169 fully agreed of which 59 were boys. Pupils do not think that it would be very difficult to find a place of living elsewhere based on more than 65% of answers. The ratio of the boys was lower, only 30% disagreed or fully disagreed, so it seems that they are more attached to their home town. 95% of the pupils fully agreed that the security and safe surrounding has very high importance.

Regarding **the evaluation of the region**, only 60% of the pupils agree that it is very nice to live in their present place of residence. It was interesting that 70% of the boys think the same, in contrast to the girls' 53% value. It is a negative aspect that only 51% of the pupils disagree with the statement that there is no future in their hometown (there was no significant difference between the boys and girls).

Regarding the **intentions to migrate**, unfortunately most of the students are planning to leave the region before or after finishing higher education. Almost 80% of the students think that because of lack of jobs in the region, the most liveable place in Hungary is the capital city and its agglomeration. In 10 years time concerning the aims, the answers were

unambiguous: in total, most of the students (75% of the girls 61% of the boys) want to have a family firstly, than professional career (latter was the second common with 67% of the girls and 70% of the boys) – here the ranking is opposite in the case of boys. On the third place comes living a peaceful life, with 143 yes from the girls and 81 from the boys.

30% of the boys and 32% of the girls plan on working abroad in 10 years. Unfortunately, only 24% of the boys and 21% of the girls plan to stay in their present location. 21% of the boys and 23% of the girls want to go abroad. However, many students and here more boys (29%) then girls (16%) are sure that they will come back.

As the results indicate, the general problem is the low level of standard of living, so the strategy should focus on how to change the weaknesses mentioned above. It is also a relevant problem that more than half of the pupils hear from their family that it is better to leave the region (or the country) in order to find better terms of life. Friends rather suggest staying. Surprisingly more than half of the students do not talk about this question with the teachers at school (53%), who would normally have a relevant effect on them.

c) Expert interviews and in-depth interviews with young women (outlook)

In addition to ten expert interviews (Table 15, annex) we are planning to make in-depth interviews with a total number of 13-16 women (between 25−40 years of age) in October and November 2011. Among them there should be women who left their hometown and moved to the capital city, who are still working at her hometown and who migrated in.

d) First conclusions

Regarding the results of the survey with pupils so far, the chances of our analysed territories are not adequate. Most of the pupils are staying in their hometown because there is lack of possibilities to move (hard financial situation that was described in the last parts of the questionnaires). Generally, students think that later, because of the high unemployment rate (that is expected to grow in the next years) they will be forced to find a new place to live, maybe in abroad. The poor infrastructure (services, availability, etc.) is also not able to improve the attractiveness of these locations that will result in continuously growing emigration.

4. Further proceeding towards the Draft Final Report – The transfer of the SEMIGRA results

The general analyses and the empirical results presented in section 3 provide a sound basis for activities 4 and 5. They will be elaborated as follows:

- Depending on the sample size, the data derived from the survey with pupils should be further analyzed by identifying certain types of young people living in rural areas: the group of the pupils with a more rooted attitude and the group of the pupils more prone for outmigration. Beyond that correlations with age and the level of education are still missing and should be added. Also the open questions will be analyzed in a more conclusive way.
- Expert interviews will be completed and analyzed with regard to existing concepts responding to selective migration and examples for best practice.
- The narrative interviews will be completed and analyzed with regard to specific societal pattern determining female migration behavior in the region under consideration.
- After completing the work in the case study regions the members of the TPG will provide more detailed regional reports. These reports shall be discussed with the stakeholders and include topics that are considered to be of particular importance in the case study region. These may be very specific aspects, like for example the role of the Roma population in the Hungarian case study areas.
- In the final report the results from all case study regions will be integrated in a comparative perspective. Here we intend to identify diverse challenges and different ways to deal with the local situation to identify similarities and differences between the regions under investigation.
- On this basis the final work phase will be carried out with regard to policy advice, the transferability of the results into practical action and to the European context. Therefore a SWOT analysis for the case study regions, a documentation of the lessons learned and scenarios are key tasks towards completing the SEMIGRA project and providing the final report.

4.1 SWOT with regard to young women

With the help of a SWOT analysis the position and potentials of a region can be identified, in this case concerning the development of young women's migration preferences and patterns. SWOT analysis involves collection and analysis of external and internal factors in order to get a hint about a region´s position in order to work out a strategy for change and development concerning – in this case – young women's migration preferences and patterns. This means that the analyses preferably can be done in three stages – identification of external and internal relations, analysis of these relations' impact on the SWOT-ingredients and then policy implications and recommendations and strategic policy options. In this process the selection of relevant variables is of utmost importance – "wrong" variables will surely result in an incorrect SWOT-analysis.

The SWOT-analysis in this study will, thus, focus on the involving regions' socio-economic status with regard to the purpose of the project – migratory movements of young women. The main aim of the SWOT analyses in the context of SEMIGRA is then to assess the regional push and pull factors.

Analyses of statistical data (both with regard to external and internal impact factors), scientific and policy documents, expert interviews as well as responses from pupils in their late teens will provide the empirical basis for the SWOT analysis. This will be the starting point for the development of strategies to

(1) mitigate the consequences of sex-selective out-migration of young women and

(2) promote in- and remigration.

Profound knowledge of the case study regions and a thorough understanding of the processes that influence regional development are necessary requirements for a successful implementation of a SWOT analysis. The main advantage of this method is the holistic approach that takes into account both internal and external factors that influence regional development. The SWOT analysis describes the current status of the case study regions. Hence, it is a tool to translate scientific evidence into strategy building and to provide a basis for scenario building and policy advice (see 4.2, 4.3). It is intended to use the results of the SWOT analysis to initiate a discussion in the case study regions on how to develop regional development strategies that address the needs of young people in general and young women in particular.

The selection of relevant variables and factors is, thus, of great importance for the outcome of the SWOT-analysis. Impact of business

cycles, structural transformations, global shifts and crises, changing competitive relations, international and national labour market conditions, national and international policies within differing fields are examples of *factors of external character* with relevance for the four SWOT ingredients and then for the SEMIGRA SWOT-focus. Economic diversification, labour market conditions, internal cohesion or dualism, education supplies, female-friendly labour markets, regional image, life-style factors, age and gender structures (that also are effects of young women's migratory movements that are in focus of the SWOT), environmental factors, child care, medical and health care, social policy are examples of *factors of internal character* that all have an impact of various degree and that are of importance for the SEMIGRA SWOT-analysis.

It must be kept in mind that there are no watertight bulkheads between internal and external factors. It must also be highlighted that the relations are not mono-causal, instead spatial variations and changes in young women's migration patterns have feedback effects on strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. It is of utmost importance to perceive that these feedback processes often work in a cumulative way in a positive or negative direction.

4.2 Lessons learned from the case study regions and policy recommendations

The SWOT is a first step to evaluate the project results with regard to policy implications. Subsequently the transfer of the project findings to policy recommendations that are also suitable for other regions and the overall European context is a key task.

The aim of this activity is to evaluate how and to what extent gender related courses of action derived from a particular case study region are suitable to influence sex- and age-selective migration respective the consequences of these processes in rural and peripheral regions in general. The main task in this context is to document identified factors of success and to estimate their transferability. In this regard the different political framework conditions and the possibilities of the stakeholders to implement policy recommendations are central (see Inception Report section 4.2).

The empirical results confirm so far, that in the case study regions labour market conditions and the internal and external perception of the regions (image) seem to be the most important fields for policy advice. Here targeted measures have to be thoroughly considered like e.g.:

- Effects of image campaigns targeting in particular young women,

- fostering female entrepreneurship, the reconciliation of employment and family,
- making best use of the possibilities offered by the internet, with regard to access to goods and services as well as job-related
- qualitative and quantitative improvements of the social infrastructure for women and young families.

To estimate in which types of rural regions the recommended strategies and courses of action (results of activity 4) are feasible and promising the case study results have to be transferred back to other European regions with similar demographic or socioeconomic structures. Therefore the typologies developed in activity 1 are a basis to evaluate to which extent the five case study areas can be considered as samples for best practice and which conclusions can be drawn for the goal of a more balanced territorial development in Europe. With regard to the results of the general analyses it becomes clear that national peculiarities are of outmost importance to understand unbalanced sex ratio structures. The know-how transfer to other regions with similar demographic challenges shall be based on the typologies developed on NUTS 3 level and the scenarios described below.

4.3 Scenarios for age- and sex selective migration pattern in rural regions

The aim of this task is to better assess the possibilities and potential of different policy strategies with regard to overall societal and economic future trends. Starting point is the central question: "How will sex and age selective migration in rural regions develop and how will this influence rural development within the next 15 years"?

The scenarios for the case study regions will consist of the following elements (Stiens 1998, Küpper 2006):

- The timeframe of the scenarios will be 15 years. Here we want to include a prognosis of the demographic development in Europe and in the case study regions up to 2025 based on EUROSTAT's EUROPOP 2008 forecast and projections calculated by the national statistical offices.
- The given situation is already analyzed in activity 1 (general analysis) and activity 2 (case study research and SWOT).
- The spatial reference levels are the case study regions (NUTS2, NUTS3) and in-depth considerations on LAU2 level. With regard to

transferability types of rural region in the European Union will also be taken into account.

- Key fields of influence that turned out to be important in the research context are the (female) labour market, social infrastructure, supply with goods and services, the image, settlement structure and accessibility.
- The implementation shall include the consideration of cause-effect-chains.

The following macro processes will be considered and discussed with regard to their impact on the development in the case study regions and the development of different types of rural regions in Europe in general:

- *Processes of socio-demographic polarization* between rural and urban regions and the emergence of "rural peripheries" (impact on labour market, social infrastructure, supply with goods and services): important aspects are the development of demographic shrinkage (lack of 'critical mass') and processes of social selective migration ('brain drain') that endanger the maintenance of social infrastructure (schools, day-care facilities) as well as the image and self-esteem of the population.
- *The process of overaging (impact on social infrastructure, jobs and image)*: aspects are e.g. new jobs in the health care sector, new markets by third age population but less offers for younger generations, negative effects on the percipience of the region by younger age groups.
- *Increasing physical and virtual mobility*: enables commuting, but also lowers the emotional costs of out-migration because social contacts can be maintained through social networks
- *Increase of Information and Communication Technology (impact on supply and organization of labour)*: this trend can be considered as an opportunity to ensure the access to and supply of goods and services in rural regions. With regard to the needs of women and the reconciliation of family and employment, possibilities of teleworking have to be considered in this context. In particular for rural regions ICT is a precondition to keep up with the social and economic development in a knowledge based society.
- The narrowing of the financial scope of public budgets and the increasing competition for funds between regions and municipalities (impacts on social and technical infrastructures).

5. Dissemination Activities

a) SEMIGRA Website:

All important documents like questionnaires, interview guidelines, calendar, presentations at meetings and conferences as well as basic information about the stakeholder, TPG and case study regions, are available at the SEMIGRA website at www.semigra.eu.

b) Regional Conferences:

The aim of the regional workshops is to present the results of SEMIGRA at the regional level and to discuss research based recommendations for policy maker. In this context the conferences will focus on the following main topics:

- The consequences of female outmigration,
- the female labour market,
- women in social contexts,
- education and expectations of young men and women.

All experts that have been surveyed so far will be invited to the regional workshops (see Tables 11-15, annex). Additional regional experts in the above mentioned fields and persons concerned will be asked to participate. The form, organisation and date for the event have to be arranged in close cooperation with the stakeholder. The conference is scheduled between December 2011 and February 2012 in the case study regions.

c) Final Conference:

First ideas have been developed together with the Lead stakeholder. The Lead stakeholder recommends a conference that targets a broad audience. The venue of the event should be located in Sachsen-Anhalt, here the city of Halle was considered as.

d) Participation of the TPG at Conferences:

ARL Conference, Bremen (Germany), 06/2011: „Territoriale Kohäsion und Gender: Zum Zusammenhang zwischen Regionalentwicklung und dem Wanderungsverhalten junger Frauen"

ESPON Open Seminar, Gödölö (Hungary), 06/2011: „ Can Regions benefit from gender sensitive policy advice?"

Re-Turn Kick-off conference, Wernigerode (Germany), 07/2011, "Recent migration theories - scientific input and first results from the ESPON SEMIGRA project"

6th Conference Critical Geography, Frankfurt (Germany), 08/2011: "The peripherisation of rural areas in post-socialist Central Europe"

Statistische Woche, Leipzig (Germany), 09/2011, „Die Geschlechterproportionen im jungen Erwachsenenalter als Indikator für die sozioökonomische Marginalisierung ländlicher Räume Ostdeutschlands?"

Participation of the TPG at conferences foreseen:

Conference on Policies with regard to mobility and welcoming newcomers in rural territories: public action with regard to new lifestyle geographies, Lyon (France), 12.2011, abstract: "On the brink of leaving and gone for good? Causes and consequences of the outmigration of young women from rural Eastern Germany"

ESPON Seminar, Krakow (Poland), 11.2011.

8th European Feminist Research Conference, Budapest (Hungary), 05/ 2012.

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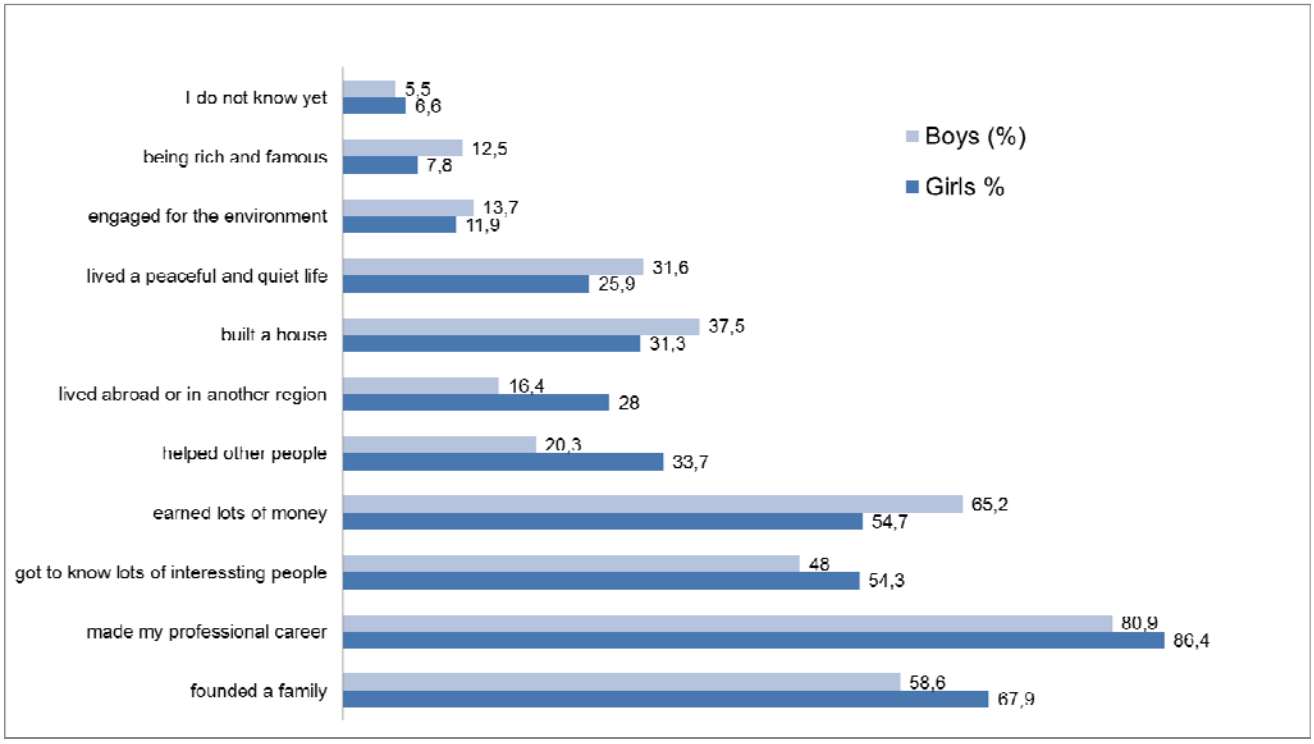
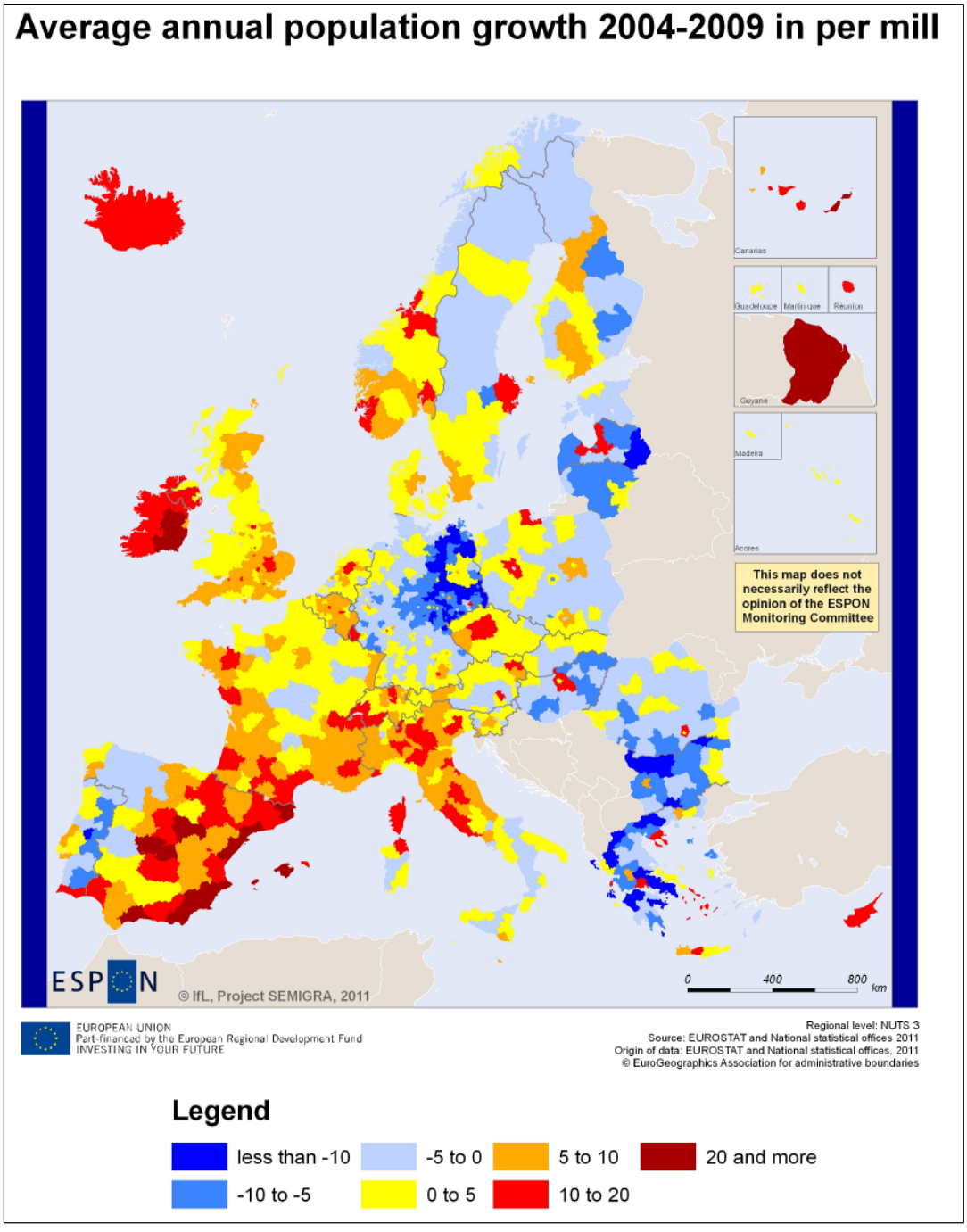
Annex - Figures

Figure 4 Case Study Sachsen Anhalt (Q18b): What do you want to have achieved then, in 10 years? (Multiple replies, %)



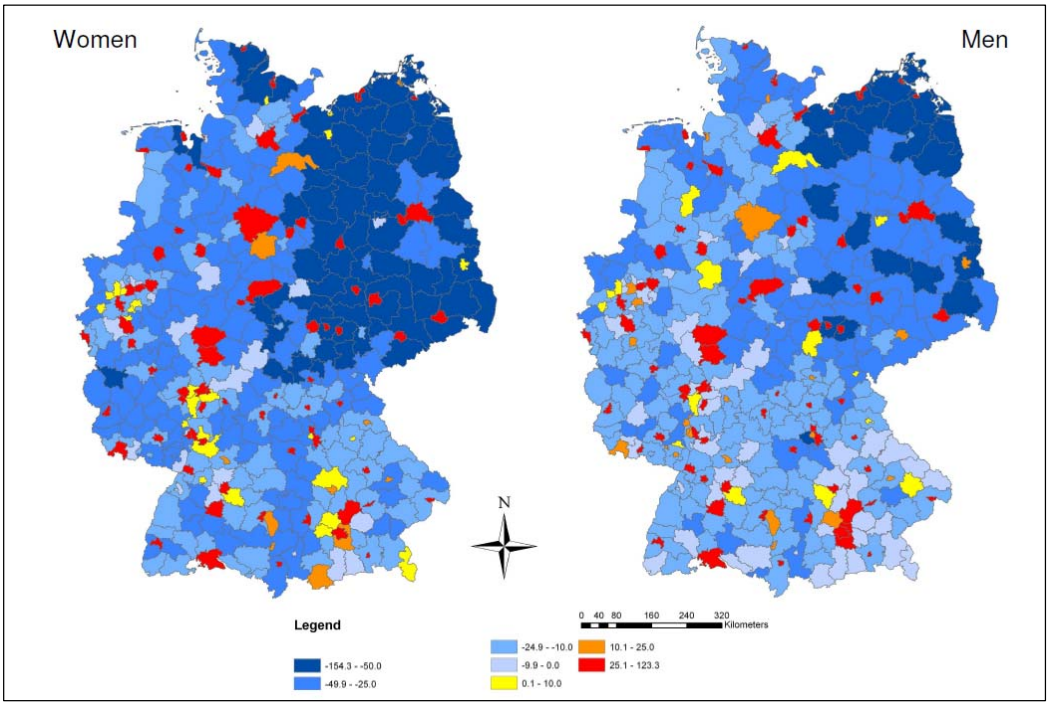
Annex - Maps

Map 4 Average annual regional population growth per 1000 inhabitants 2004-2009 in the EU- and EFTA-states.

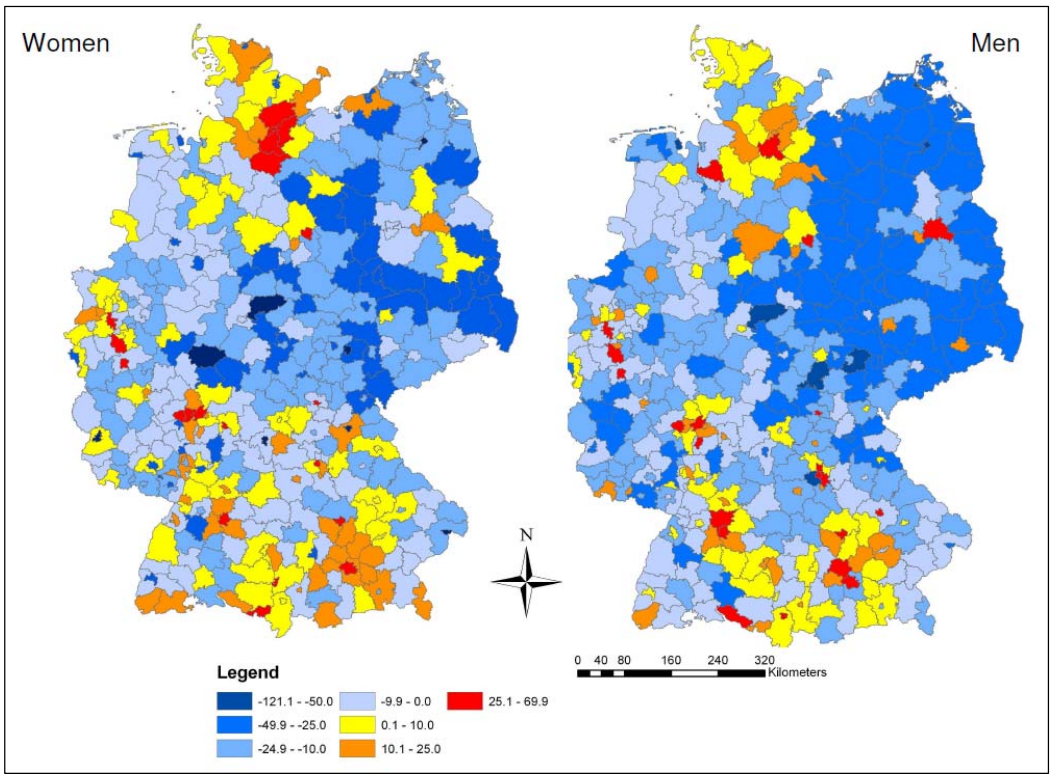


Own calculation; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

Map 5 Germany: Migration balance of women and men between 18 and 25 at the NUTS3 level 2008.

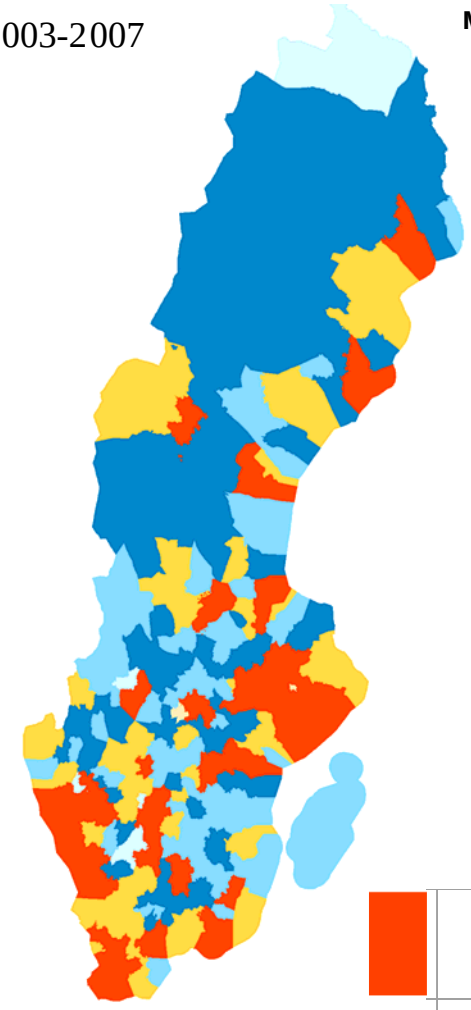


Map 6 Germany: Migration balance of women and men between 25 and 30 at the NUTS3 level 2008.



Data source: BBSR (2010)

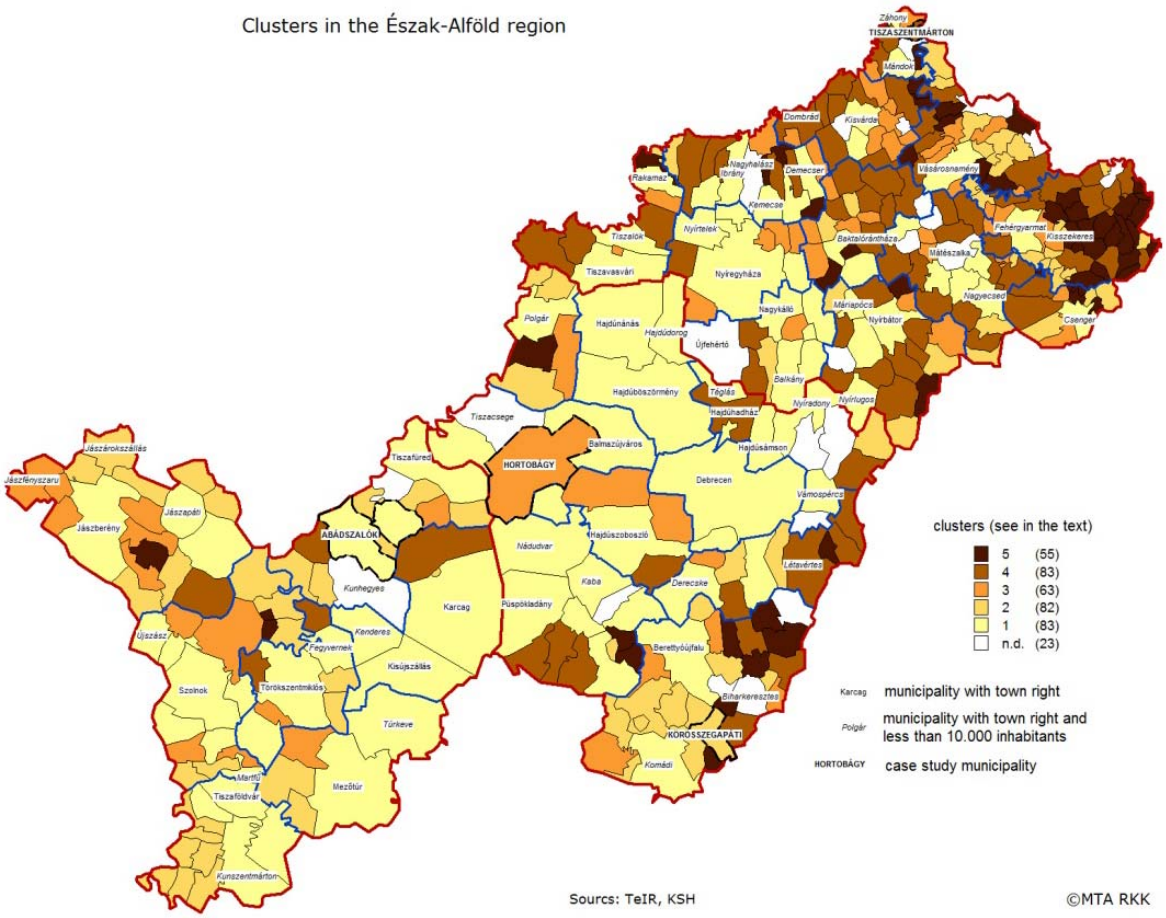
2003-2007



Map 7 **Sweden: Schematic typology concerning a sustainable demographic development 2003-2007**

	In-migration and young population/"high" TFR. High sustainability both in short and long term. The most favourable case.
	In-migration of people with low TFR. Natural population decrease because of lopsided age structure and/or low TFR. Dependent of in-migration. No sustainability in long term – weak reproduction potential.
	Out-migration and young population/"high" TFR. Short term – sustainability. Long term – eroding sustainability because of lopsided age structure (out-migration).
	Out-migration but still young population/"high" TFR. Traditionally high fertility regions. Falling TFR -> low sustainability.
	In-migration and old population/"low" TFR. In-migration of elderly people and/or singles, low reproduction potential. Dependent on in-migration. Low sustainability both in short and long run.
	Out-migration and old population/"low" TFR, depopulation. No sustainability both in short and long term. The worst case.

Map 8 Észak Alföld: Socioeconomic differences



1. *Major settlements in Észak-Alföld.* Larger municipalities with high ratios of female inhabitants (around 51%), high ageing indices, high number of citizens registered as unemployed – relative to the regional average. (83 settlements)
2. *Ageing village communities with relatively few social difficulties. A*geing index of 1.17–1.4 (among women the index exceeds 1.38), women 51% of inhabitants. The number of citizens who are registered as unemployed, and the number of recipients of social benefits or unemployment benefits are low (82 settlements).
3. *Relatively "affluent", ageing village communities.* Unemployment is low and per capita income (469,000–498,000 HUF/year), exceeding regional average. The number of inhabitants receiving social security grants of unemployment benefits is low while the ageing index (0.8–0.95) and the ratio of working age inhabitants (66–68%) is higher (63 settlements).
4. *Bigger villages with less women and more social difficulties.* The ratio women (50%) and working age inhabitants is lower, while the number of citizens receiving social security grants or unemployment benefits is high. The figure for citizens registered as unemployed is higher, and the per capita income (335,000–400,000 HUF/year) is lower than the regional average (83 settlements).
5. *Small villages with demographic and economic difficulties.* The ratio of citizens receiving social subsidy is lower in these villages, and the number of working age inhabitants is also less (ratio< 0.65), just as the ageing index (0.66). Per capita income is low (< 350,000 HUF/year) (55 settlements).

Annex - Tables

Table 6 Urban and rural districts in Sachsen-Anhalt according to different typologies.

NUTS-Code	District	ESPON Territorial Typologies			BBSR-Type
		Urban/rural	Performance	Structural	
DEE01	Dessau-Roßlau	Urban			Rural district - higher density
DEE02	Halle (Saale)	Urban			Central city in urbanised region
DEE03	Magdeburg	Urban			Central city in urbanised region
DEE04	Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	rural	accumulating	diversified-industry	Rural district - low density
DEE05	Anhalt-Bitterfeld	intermediate	accumulating	diversified-industry	Rural district - higher density
DEE06	Jerichower Land	rural	accumulating	diversified-industry	Rural district in urbanised region
DEE07	Börde	rural	above average	diversified-industry	Rural district in urbanised region
DEE08	Burgenland	intermediate	accumulating	diversified-industry	Rural district in urbanised region
DEE09	Harz	intermediate	accumulating	consumption	Rural district in urbanised region
DEE0a	Mansfeld-Südharz	intermediate	accumulating	diversified-service	Rural district in urbanised region
DEE0b	Saalekreis	intermediate	above average	diversified-industry	Rural district in urbanised region
DEE0c	Salzland	intermediate	accumulating	diversified-industry	Higher-density district in urbanised region
DEE0d	Stendal	rural	accumulating	diversified-service	Rural district - low density
DEE0e	Wittenberg	rural	accumulating	consumption	Rural district - low density

Own design; data source: ESPON database and BBSR (2010)

Table 7 Typology of LAU1-Regions in Sachsen-Anhalt: Cluster characteristics.

Cluster	Unemployment factor	Economic structure factor	Sex ratio 18-25	Sex ratio 25-30	Travel time to Mittelzentren	Travel time to Oberzentren	Settlement density	Population density	Land use "nature"
1	+++	-	+	-	o	+	+	o	o
2	o	++	o	++	+	++	o	-	X
3	--	o	++	+	o	--	o	o	--
4	---	o	--	--	+	o	--	-	o
5	++	+++	++	+	---	-	+++	++	o
6	o	---	---	++	+	o	--	-	o
7	---	+++	+++	+++	---	---	+++	+++	+
8	o	o	--	--	+++	+++	--	--	++

Own calculation; data source: BBSR (2010).

Table 8 Västernorrland's (Y) and Stockholm's (AB) counties 2000-2010: Female in- and out-migration intensities, different age groups

a) Female in- and out-migration intensities Ages 18-24.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
ABin	11,6	11,2	10,1	10,0	10,0	10,0	11,1	11,2	10,6	10,4	10,3
ABout	6,8	7,0	7,1	7,2	7,0	6,8	6,5	6,7	6,5	6,3	6,4
Yin	11,9	10,1	12,5	12,0	12,1	12,0	12,3	11,3	11,1	11,2	11,0
Yout	16,3	14,6	16,2	14,5	14,9	14,9	14,3	14,7	14,1	14,2	13,6

b) Female in- and out-migration intensities Ages 25-29.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
ABin	9,6	8,7	8,1	8,2	8,8	9,7	11,0	11,7	11,0	10,8	11,1
ABout	5,3	5,5	5,6	6,0	5,8	5,7	5,8	5,8	5,4	5,2	5,4
Yin	7,0	6,9	8,0	8,9	8,4	9,4	9,6	9,2	9,5	8,8	9,8
Yout	8,3	7,5	7,6	7,5	7,9	8,1	8,5	9,5	8,5	7,6	8,7

c) Female in- and out-migration intensities Ages 30-34.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
ABin	4,1	4,0	3,7	3,7	3,6	4,0	4,9	5,4	5,1	5,2	5,4
ABout	3,3	3,6	3,7	3,9	4,1	3,8	4,1	4,2	3,6	3,3	3,8
Yin	3,6	3,5	4,1	4,4	4,4	4,5	6,6	6,2	6,3	6,2	6,4
Yout	4,1	3,5	2,6	2,9	2,8	3,7	4,8	4,7	4,8	4,8	5,8

Source. Statistics Sweden. Statistical Data Base.

Table 9 Sex ratio, women / men 2000 – 2010 among migrants in Västernorrland's (Y) and Stockholm's (AB) counties. Ages 18-34.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
AB in	51,6	52,7	52,9	53,5	53,7	52,2	50,4	50,3	51,2	51,4	51,0
AB out	53,4	54,4	53,7	54,2	53,8	53,4	53,5	53,0	52,4	53,1	52,5
Y in	52,8	51,4	54,3	54,7	53,3	52,4	52,3	52,6	52,8	52,4	49,6
Y out	49,8	50,2	51,1	51,8	52,4	51,9	52,7	51,4	51,3	52,6	51,0

Table 10 In- and out-migration intensities for Västernorrland's county (Y), men and women 2000-2010. Ages 18-34.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Y m in	6,8	6,5	7,1	7,2	7,5	8,0	9,2	8,5	8,5	8,4	9,7
Y m out	9,7	8,6	8,7	8,0	8,1	8,6	9,0	10,0	9,5	8,9	9,8
Y w in	8,4	7,6	9,2	9,4	9,3	9,5	10,8	10,1	10,2	10,0	10,4
Y w out	10,6	9,5	9,9	9,3	9,6	10,0	10,8	11,4	10,8	10,7	11,1

Source. Statistics Sweden. Statistical Data Base.

Table 11 Expert Interviews – Sachsen-Anhalt:

Politicians and regional planning		
Mr. Poloski	Mayor	Havelberg/Stendal
E1: Mr. Schmidt	Mayor	Annaburg/Wittenberg
Mrs. Schilling	Regional Planning Authority	Anhalt-Bitt.-Wittenberg
Regional labour market for women		
N.N.	Ministry of Economy Sachsen-Anhalt	Magdeburg
E3: Mrs. Modgdans, Mr. Klitzge	"PFIFF" Bildungswerk der Wirtschaft Sachsen-Anhalt e.V.,	http://www.pfiff-sachsen-anhalt.de/
N.N.	Federal Labour Office Sachsen-Anhalt-Thüringen,	Halle
N.N.	Representatives of local enterprises: Company "Preuss",	Linda/Wittenberg
Mrs. Gemmer	Association of Independent female entrepreneurs,	Magdeburg
N.N.	Juex: Young female entrepreneurs	
E4: Mrs Evers	Chamber of Commerce IHK Magdeburg (North SA)	Regional office Altmark/Salzwedel
Social infrastructure, social networks, civic commitment		
E7: Head of Day-care facility for children,		Groß Naund./Wittenberg
E8: Heads Day-care facilities for children,		Hettstedt/Mansfeld-Südharz
E9: Head of Day-care facility for children „Abenteuerland",		Annaburg/Wittenberg
E10: 2 Heads of Day-care facility for children and 2 mothers,		Havelberg/Stendal
E11: Mrs Mehr	Non-profit Assoziation „Wir e.V." Landfrauen helfen sich selbst	Jessen/Wittenberg
Future and perspectives of young men and women		
E2: Mrs. Zembrod, Mr. Wolf, Mrs. Karl-Sy	Social ministry Sachsen-Anhalt	Magdeburg
E6: Mrs Meinschien	Principal of Secondary school „Am Weinberg", Havelberg	Havelberg/Stendal
E5: Mr. Bette, two pupils	Principal of Secondary school	Bad Schmbg/Wittenberg

Table 12 Expert Interviews – Västernorrland

Politicians and regional planning		
Lars Gunnar Rönnqvist	County Administrative Board	Härnösand
Ewa Lindstrand	Mayor	Timrå
Sten-Ove Danielsson	Mayor	Ånge
Elvy Söderström	Mayor	Örnsköldsvik
Regional labour market for women		
Michael Persson	National Labour Market Board (Arbetsförmedlingen)	Sundsvall
Peter Nylander	Confederation of Swedish Labour Unions (LO)	Härnösand
Dick Jansson	Mid-Sweden Chamber of Commerce (Handelskammaren Mitt)	Sundsvall
Malin Sjölander	Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (Svenskt Näringsliv)	Sundsvall
Future and perspectives of young men and women		
Göran Bostedt	Mittuniversitetet	Härnösand

Table 13 Expert Interviews- Kainuu

Politicians and regional planning		
Online questionnaire; Number of experts answered 19; Confidentiality promised to answers	Municipal managers of Kainuu,	Kainuu region
	Representatives of the council of Kainuu	Kainuu region
	Third sector workers in youth work	Kainuu region
	Officials of the Joint Authority of Kainuu in regional development and educational sector	Kainuu region
Education and social networks – Future and perspectives of young men and women		
	Youth workers of municipalities and congregations	Kainuu region
	Project managers of youth projects	Kainuu region

Table 14 Expert Interviews – Észak Alföld

Politicians and regional planning		
Mrs Bánfi Zsuzsa	Official in charge of guardianship	Abádszalók
Mr Kovács Mihály	Mayor	Abádszalók
Mr Szűcs Dezső	Mayor	Tiszaszentmárton
Mr Tarsoly Attila	Mayor	Körösszegapáti
Mr Mikola Károly	Deputy manager-general	Hortobágy
Mrs Gyöngyi Józsefné	Official in charge of recording residents, migrants	Körösszegapáti
Mr Nemes Béla	Caretaker of scattered farmstead settlements	Hortobágy
Social infrastructure, social networks, civic commitment		
Mr Papp Imre	President of Gypsy minority self-government	Tiszaszentmárton
Mrs Szabó Sándorné	Official in charge of recording residents, migrants	Hortobágy
Regional Labour market for women		
Mr Nagy József	Agrarian entrepreneur	Abádszalók
Ms Tóth Henrietta	Official in charge of communal labour and "telehouse"	Tiszaszentmárton
Education – Future and perspectives of young men and women		
Ms Vad Erzsébet	Head of elementary school	Körösszegapáti
Mr Varga András	Principal of secondary school	Tiszafüred
Mrs Vincze Andrásné	Mayor	Hortobágy

Table 15 Expert Interviews – Észak Magyarország

Politicians and regional planning		
Pfliegler Péter	Municipality of Miskolc	
Kormány Krisztián	North Hungarian Regional Development Agency	
Social infrastructure, social networks, civic commitment		
Matiscsákné Lizák Mariann	MINŐIES foundation (Chance for Women in Miskolc) -	
Lévai A. Erzsébet	HOLDAM Association	
Regional Labour market for women		
Bacskai Mihályné	Employment Center of North-Hungary	
Education – Future and perspectives of young men and women		
Juhász Jánosné	Head of School - Mezőkövesd (Szent László Gimnázium és Szakközépiskola)	
Hornyákné Csörgő Ágnes	Head of School – Eger (Dobó István Gimnázium) -	
Holczinger Ferenc	Head of School – Miskolc, (Fényi Gyula Jezsuita Gimnázium)	
Pálfalvai Zoltán	Head of School - Salgótarján (Bolyai János Gimnázium és Szakközépiskola)	
Veresné dr. Somosi Mariann	University of Miskolc	

Annex – Questionnaire

Draft Questionnaire for young people in rural areas

This questionnaire is part of the SEMIGRA research project which aims at finding out more about the living situation, expectations and future plans of young people in (***case study region***). Your school has been chosen to be part of the project. Please reply to the questions below by choosing the answer which fits you the most. **Your reply will be anonymous** and it is part of a large international database helping us to better understand the processes in different regions. **Individual answers cannot be tracked back to the respondent**. Filling in the questionnaire will take about 15-20 minutes. **The participation in the survey is optional**. Your reply is very important to us. **In this research take part young people like you from Germany, Hungary and Finland.** Thank you for your time!

Name of the School, locality, grade/year of study:	

SD1) Are you a…

☐ boy
☐ girl

First we are very much interested in your hobbies, how you live and how you spend your free time….

1) What do you think, how much free time do you have?

☐ Too much
☐ Enough
☐ Too little

2) How often do you do each of the following things? *(mark with one x on each row)*

	1 daily	2 weekly	3 monthly	4 more rarely, not at all
Sports				
Meeting friends face to face				
Meeting friends online				
Watching movies / TV / DVDs				
Outdoor activities				
Computer games				
Going shopping (clothes, CDs, games, books.)				
Disco, cinema				
Reading				
Helping out my parents in the household, farm, business				
Going out with friends for a drink				

3a) Are you in a team, band or do you belong to a club?

	No → question 4
	I was /did in the past, but not currently → question 4
	Yes, what type of club or team do you belong to?

3b) What sort of club, association or team do you belong to?

	Sports club
	Fire brigade, red cross…
	Choir, theatre or music group
	Local heritage society
	Environmental protection association
	Scouts
	Church
	Political organisation
	Playing in a band
	Citizens' initiative
	Something else

4) Please just think about: Which persons are very important for you, which are not so important? (*Mark with an X on each column)*

	1 very important	2 important	3 not so important	4 not at all important	5 not applicable
My friends					
My school mates					
Training / hobby mates					
Online-friends					
My boy-/ girlfriend					
My brother(s) and/ or sister(s)					
My mum and dad					
My grand-parents					
Other Relatives (e.g. cousins, aunts, uncles)					
Other persons (e.g. trainer, teacher, neighbour)					

5) Where do you usually meet with your friends? Please choose the three (3) most important places. (*Mark with an X on each column)*

	1 most important	2nd important	3rd important
In own home			
In friends' home			
Outdoors			
In sports fields, halls, etc.			
In youth centres			
In coffee shops/ pubs/ ice cream parlours			

In restaurant, pub or such			
In youth clubs or other associations, societies			
Wherever, not in a specific place			

6a) How often do you use the following services? *(mark with one x on each row)*

	1 daily	2 weekly	3 monthly	4 not at all	5 no access
Internet at home					
Internet in library/school/other public spaces					
Chatting & using social media (e.g. IRC, ym, skype, fb etc.) at home					
Chatting & using social media (e.g. IRC, ym, skype, fb etc.) in library/school/other public spaces					
School library					
City library					
Youth centre					
Junior programmes offered by local clubs					

6b) Which one of the above services is most important for you and why?
Describe in detail why did you chose it.

7) Have you travelled in capital area or abroad in the past 2 years?
Multiple choices possible

	No, not at all
	Yes, with my family
	Yes, with my friends
	Yes, with youth groups, team mates etc.

8) To whom do you talk to if you feel sad or have a problem? *Multiple choices possible*

	My best friend(s)
	My boy-/ girlfriend
	Schoolmates
	Training / hobby mates
	Internet friends, which are not hobby or school mates
	My parents
	My brother(s) / sister(s)
	Other relatives
	Neighbours
	Teacher
	Someone of the school staff, other than teacher
	Another person; to whom? _____
	I don't know, at this point I do not trust anybody

9) How often do you think that people in your hometown / the place where you live have the same taste and interests as you have? *(mark with one x on each row).*

	1 all the time	2 often	3 rarley	4 not all	5 don't know
Same fashion taste					
Same music taste					
Same interests in sports					
Same interests in PC Games					
Same hobbies					
Similar political views					
Similar views of life					

10) In what extent do the following statements fit to your way of life? *(only one x on each row)*

	1 fully agree	2 agree	3 disagree	4 fully disagree	5 don't know
If I have problems, it is easy for me to find solutions from the internet					
It is very important for me to be part of a group					
I like to have a lot of friends and love to experience many new contacts					
It is important for me to live in a protected and safe surrounding					
I would very much like to experience new cultures and countries					
Living in a village/in countryside fits well/perfect to my needs and hopes					
I do things the best alone					
I think it would be very difficult for me to settle down elsewhere					
I would very much like to live in a big city					
I love to make trips in the nature/outdoors					
Family and friends are much more important to me than money and career					
I feel my current home region as a very comfortable residential environment					

11a) Are you interested in politics?

	Very interested
	Somewhat interested
	Not so interested
	Not at all interested

11b) Are you interested in societal issues like e.g. environment or animal protection, social justice?

	Yes, I am very interested, especially in……..(*please mention)*
	No, I'm not really interested

11c) Are you interested in participating and contributing to decision making in your municipality?

	Yes, that is very important for me
	No, I am not interested in it

11d) Do you have the feeling that the needs of young people are taken serious in your home town/ the place where you live and that they are also taken into consideration by the decision makers?

	Yes, nearly always
	Yes, sometimes
	Yes, rarely
	No, not at all
	I don't know

11e) Which are the most important problems in your municipality in your opinion?

Now we want to know something about the place you are living…

12) Where do you live? *Please name the locality you feel is your home town.*

13a) What do you like best about the place you are living (your home town)?

13b) What do you like least about the place you are living (your home town)?

14a) In your opinion, how difficult or how easy are the following things for young people living in the same place as you? (only one x on each row)

	1 very easy	2 easy	3 difficult	4 very difficult	5 don't know
To find a good job					
To make friends					
To reach leisure facilities					
To find a boy-/ girlfriend					
To participate in cultural events (concerts, cinema, theatre)					

To go shopping					
To make a living					
To participate in public life (e.g in local politics, clubs, …)					
To found a family					
To be successful					

14b) Which is the most difficult thing at the place you are living for young people like you?

15) In what extent do you agree with the following statements about the place you living (your home town)? *(only one x on each row)*	1 fully agree	2 agree	3 disagree	4 fully disagree	5 don't know
It is very nice to live here					
The place where I live is a safe and protected place to grow up					
Here should be more possibilities for youth to spend free time					
I like living here because people share my values and my way of life					
People here do not understand the way I want to live					
I don't like that the people here are gossiping so much					
If you want to make more of your life, you have to leave					
The best thing about this region is that my friends live here					
I cannot wait to leave from here					
I like to live here because my family and all my relatives live here					
I would like to live here, but I am afraid I won't find a job after finishing school here					
This is my home! I will always feel attached to the place I live now even if I will live somewhere else.					
My home town is remote – that is very difficult for me					
I like the beautiful environment of the place I'm living					
I feel very much at home here. It would be terrible if I had to move away from here					
The place where I live has no future					
Here you find a good apprenticeship only if you have the right relations					

16) Some people think that it is easier to grow up when you are a boy. What do you think, do the following statements fit the situation in your hometown or not? *(only one x on each row)*	1 fully agree	2 agree	3 disagree	4 fully disagree
Boys have much more liberties here than girls				
Girls get much more support than boys				

People treat you the same no matter if you are a girl or a boy				
Boys have much more possibilities here to spend their spare time than girls				
Girls are here much more expected to help at home than boys				
Boys here have much more and better job opportunities than girls				
When you are a girl, local people judge and assess your behaviour much stronger than when you are a boy				
It is better for the girls because it is a safe and protected environment				
In local clubs and associations, the girls are not very welcome.				
Girls have better future prospects than boys				
Boys are more mobile than the girls and have more possibilities to get out of their hometown				
This place offers no perspectives for young people in our age group, no matter if you are a girl or a boy				

17a) Please think about the following: Have your same good friends or close relatives recently left the place where you live?

	No → question 18a!
	Yes, **<u>why</u>** did they leave? .....*(please fill in)*

17b) How did their leaving affect your friendship? Multiple choice

	I lost the contact completely
	We maintain our friendship via Facebook and telephone
	I visit them regularly
	They visit us regularly
	I don't know yet how our friendship will develop

Now, we would like to ask some questions about your future plans.

18a) Please imagine your life in the next ten years. What do you think, <u>WHERE</u> will you live then?

18b) What do you want to have achieved then, in 10 years from now?
*(please read the response categories and choose up **to three things that are most important** for you)*

	Founded a family
	Made my professional career
	Earned lots of money
	Got to know lots of interesting people
	Lived abroad or in another region
	Helped other people
	Engaged for the environment
	Lived a peaceful and life
	Built a house
	being rich and famous
	I do not know yet

19a) Which are your plans after finishing school?

☐	Continuing my education → question 19 b
☐	Start working → question 19 c
☐	I want to experience a year gap year
☐	Take some time out
☐	I want to found a family and look after children
☐	Something else (what?) _____
☐	I don't know yet (go to question **20**)

19b) What education are you looking for after finishing the school?

19c) What job are you looking for after finishing the school?

20) If you would receive support and guidance, would you like to start your own business after finishing school?

☐	Yes, sure, I already thought about what kind of firm I would like to start!
☐	I could start, but I don't have detailed plans yet
☐	My family owns a business. I will take over the firm in the future
☐	Self-employment is not an option for me
☐	I don't know

21) If you need advice about your (professional) future, who do you ask?
Multiple choices possible

☐	My best friend(s)
☐	My boy-/ girlfriend
☐	Schoolmates
☐	Training / hobby mates
☐	Internet friends, which are not hobby or school mates
☐	My parents
☐	My brother(s) / sister(s)
☐	Other relatives
☐	My neighbours
☐	Teacher
☐	Someone of the school staff, other than teacher
☐	An occupational counsellors
☐	Another person; to whom? _____
☐	I don't need advice, I know best what's good for me

22) What would you prefer most after having finished school? Do you have a certain dream?

23a) Which are your plans of staying or moving after finishing school? COUNTRY SPECIFIC LOCATION RESPONSE CHOICES

☐	I will stay here → question **24**
☐	I will move away from my home-town/the place where I live but stay in this region
☐	I will move to another region in Germany/Hungary/Finland, namely …….
☐	I will move abroad
☐	I don't know yet

23b) If you must or want to move away - Could you imagine to come back after some time?

☐	Of course!/By all means!
☐	Probably/very likely
☐	Rather not
☐	Certainly not/ by no means!

23c) If you must or want to move away - What could make you to come back? (Please *list reasons for coming back to the region in which you live now)*

24) What do your parents, friends and teachers mainly advise you to do after finishing the school? *(Please mark with just 1 x for each row!)*

	1 ..stay in the region	2 ..to leave the region	3 don't give certain advice	4 We didn't talk about that
My parents advise me to…				
My friends advise me to…				
My teachers advise me to…				

Finally, we need some information about you and your family. All supplied data is confidential, individual responses cannot be tracked in the final research report.

SD2) What is the year of your birth?

SD3a) Since when have you been living in your home town/the place where you live now? (year)

☐	Since birth
☐	Since …… please fill in the year

SD 3b) If you do not live in your home town since birth, where did you live before?

☐	In another municipality nearby
☐	Somewhere else in this region/state
☐	Another state/region in Germany (resp. Finland, Hungary…), which one?____
☐	Abroad

SD4) What distance there is till the school? (km)

SD5) How long does it take to get to school, in a typical day? (min)

SD6) Mother's education

	No vocational qualification
	Skilled worker
	Vocational school/ technical school
	Technical Diploma
	University degree

SD7) Father's education

	No vocational qualification
	Skilled worker
	Vocational school/ technical school
	Technical Diploma
	University degree

SD8) Mother's employment

	Employed / own business	
	Unemployed	
	Homemaker	
	Retired	
	Other, which one?	

SD9) Father's employment

	Employed	
	Unemployed	
	Homemaker	
	Retired	
	Other, which one?	

SD 10) Only for Germany: Many people lost their jobs after reunification. Have your parents or grandparents also been unemployed eventually?

	Yes, my mum
	Yes, my dad
	Yes, one of my grandparents
	No, no one

SD11) Who lives in the same household with you?

	my mother
	my dad
	my sister(s)/brother(s)
	my grandparents
	my boyfriend/girlfriend
	I'm living in a flat sharing community
	Somebody else: who? _____

SD12) Are your parents born in this region?

	Yes, both
	No, only my mother or father
	None of them

SD13) Are you interested to get a summary of this research report?

	Yes -> please fill in your contact details below
	No

SD14) Only for FINLAND Are you interested to be interviewed?

	Yes, group interview -> please fill in your contact details below
	Yes, individual interview -> please fill in your contact details below
	Yes, interview via phone or skype or MSN-> please fill in your contact details below
	No

Thanks a lot for your valuable reply!

If you would like to receive a summary of this research, please we need your contact data (voluntary):

Phone number, id skype / ym / msn messager (mention which one)

Email

www.espon.eu

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ISBN

ESPON

SEMIGRA
Selective Migration and Unbalanced Sex Ratio in Rural Regions

Targeted Analysis 2013/2/15

Interim Report – Annex 1 | Version 30/September/2011

EUROPEAN UNION
Part-financed by the European Regional Development Fund
INVESTING IN YOUR FUTURE

This report presents the interim results of a Targeted Analysis conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2013 Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The partnership behind the ESPON Programme consists of the EU Commission and the Member States of the EU27, plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. Each partner is represented in the ESPON Monitoring Committee.

This report does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the members of the Monitoring Committee.

Information on the ESPON Programme and projects can be found on www.espon.eu

The web site provides the possibility to download and examine the most recent documents produced by finalised and ongoing ESPON projects.

This basic report exists only in an electronic version.

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Selective migration and unbalanced sex ratio in rural regions – Results from Activity 1

A demographic disequilibrium determined by selective migration can be regarded as a result of basic societal and economical changes leading to a reappraisal of certain territorial structures. Rising female labour force participation, the transition from industrial to post-industrial economies, the growth of the information society, the post-socialist transition and new frameworks for social relations in a globalising world are to be regarded as important reasons for changes in gendered migration patterns on the macro-level. At the regional level, missing job and career opportunities as well as not employment-related aspects like the image of the region, the cultural infrastructure, social structures and predominant lifestyles are commonly held responsible for the selective out-migration of young women. Age- and sex-selective out-migration from rural regions counteracts the overall concept of territorial cohesion and balanced development. The supposed consequences of the mismatch between female and male population are multilayered negative demographic, economic and social impacts on regional development such as:

- The intensification of demographic shrinkage. Regions with imbalanced sex ratios are challenged by low fertility and – as a consequence – pronounced ageing processes due to the loss of potential mothers. The depopulation and ageing of rural areas may lead to a triple loss: A loss of cultural landscapes, local traditions and infrastructure as well as educational and cultural facilities. It increases the need for an adaptation of the existing infrastructure to the needs of elderly persons and the provision of care facilities (Fischer 2010; Rico González and Gómez García 2003).
- Negative impacts on the economic development like a lack of human capacity and female manpower as well as negative spirals in case of establishing companies. Beyond that, the out-migration of young women also poses a threat for the continuity of family farms (Camarero et al 2009; Rico González and Gómez García 2003).
- Negative effects on the social cohesion of communities not at least due to the fact that women are an indispensable element in the formation of families and play traditionally an important role in the provision of care for the dependent population, namely children and the elderly (Camarero et al 2009). The negative impact of sex-selective out-migration on the care for the remaining senior citizens is especially a problem in conservative and familialistic welfare states where reproductive labour is expected to be carried out by

family members and care facilities provided by the state or private enterprises are rare. Additionally, women play traditionally an essential part in sustaining the rural community, e.g. by organising social events and doing voluntary work, which may be a strategy to counteract cuts in public and private service-provision. Thus, selective out-migration of women could negatively affect the public and social life of rural settlements (Fischer 2010; Little 1997).

- Negative impacts on the self-confidence of the remaining population. Closely related is the question if the lack of potential partners makes young men turn to deviant behaviour, substance abuse, violence and political extremism. Partner-market imbalances affect especially men with lower socio-economic status having serious problems to find a partner due to the female tendency to "marry up", i.e. to form a family with a man of higher social status. However, politically or socially deviant behaviour might be first and foremost an indicator for deprivation, that is there might be no *direct* link, but an indirect causal connection: economic factors are both responsible for deviant behaviour among young males and the out-migration of young women (Edlund et al 2007; Hesketh and Zhu 2006; Hudson and den Boer 2002; Kröhnert and Klingholz 2007; Kröhnert 2009).

The sex ratio of the population in a given age-group depends on three factors:

- The sex ratio at birth;
- Differential age-specific mortality rates between the sexes and
- Different sex-specific migration patterns.

If not artificially manipulated by infanticide and sex-selective abortion, the sex ratio at birth is relatively constant at 93.5 to 95.2 girls per 100 boys[1] across human populations. Previous research has shown that the sex ratio at birth is influenced among others by family size, parental age and occupation, birth order, race, coital frequency, hormonal treatments, stress, diseases and exposure to environmental toxins (Hudson and Den Boer 2002; Hesketh and Zhu 2006). These factors take effect at the individual or the local level and are therefore unlikely to systematically influence the sex ratio at birth at the national or regional levels.

[1] In the demographic literature, the sex-ratio is usually defined as the number of males per 100 females. Since the focus of SEMIGRA is on the out-migration of young women from rural regions, we have decided to define the sex ratio the other way round, i.e. as the number of females per 100 males. Hence, the lower the sex ratio, the higher is the "surplus" of men and the "deficit" of women in a given region.

Distortions of the sex ratio at birth at the national or regional level may be caused by culturally conditioned sex preferences of prospective parents that lead to infanticide and sex-selective abortion. The effect of sex preferences on the sex ratio at birth will be most pronounced in low fertility societies with a high proportion of only children, as can be observed in mainland China, Hong-Kong, Taiwan or South Korea (Park and Cho 1995, Lin 2009).

In Europe, parents either desire an equal number of children of both sexes or they don't have any sex preferences at all. There seems to be a tendency among man and non-pregnant women that the first child should be a boy, first-time pregnant women, however, tend to prefer a girl. Parental gender preferences seem to be a deeply-rooted cultural phenomenon that is relatively stable even in times of social and economic modernisation. In contrast to East Asia, parental gender preferences are not strong enough that parents would consider sex-selective abortion. Survey data indicates that it is out of question for an overwhelming majority of prospective parents using reproductive technology to select the sex of their children. Given the strong preference for a family with the same number of boys and girls it is, unlikely that the sex ratio at birth would change significantly even if a service for preconception sex selection was freely available. The literature suggests that there is no effect of the sex of the firstborn child on second births. The influence of parental sex preferences seems to be stronger for higher-order births as the odds of having a third child increase for parents of two girls or two boys (Andersson et al 2004; Andersson et al 2007; Dahl et al 2003a; Dahl et al 2003b; Hank and Kohler 2000; Hank and Kohler 2003; Marleau and Saucier 2002).

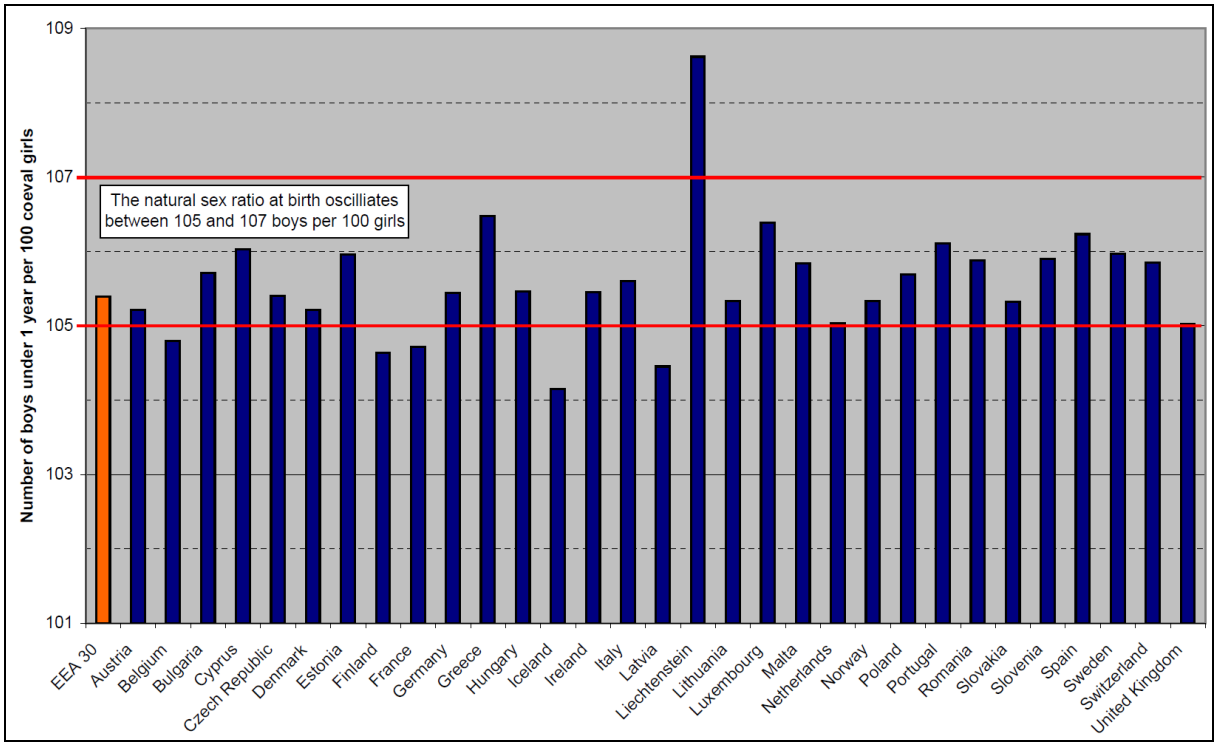


Figure 1: Average sex ratio at birth in the EEA 30 states 2000-2009. Own calculation; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

Figure 1 clearly demonstrates that the sex ratio at birth is within the natural range in almost all states of the ESPON area between 2000 and 2009. Only Liechtenstein has a relatively unbalanced sex-ratio, which may be ascribed to the low number of births in this small country. The sex ratio at birth can vary considerably over time as a result of natural variations that can neither be influenced nor predicted. It can therefore not be ruled out that local and regional sex ratio imbalances are the consequence of an unusually high proportion of newborn girls or boys in a given year. The mean sex ratio at birth is between 104 and 108 boys per 100 newborn girls in the large majority of NUTS2-regions in the period 1999-2009.[2] There is a very small number of regions with an above-average share of newborn girls in the analysed period, and only one region – Ionia Nisia (GR) – with a "surplus" of newborn boys. We can, therefore, conclude that the sex ratio at birth does not *systematically* influence the sex ratio in young adulthood. The sex ratio at birth may however explain variations in regional sex ratios over time.

While the sex ratio at birth favours males, girls and young women are less likely to die. In the absence of differences in nutrition and health care, they have a higher resistance to disease and greater overall longetivity and are less likely to engage in risky behaviour[3] and violence, two

[2] Own calculations based on EUROSTAT data

[3] Men are more likely to use illicit drugs, to be heavy drinkers, to drive under the influence, to commit suicide or to be murdered (Commission of the European Communities 2009; Waldron et al 2003).

important factors which increase the odds of premature mortality for young men (Hesketh and Zhu 2006). Given the higher survival rates of women, the sex ratio of a cohort increases over time. The influence of sex-specific differences in mortality is, however, rather moderate in Europe. The socio-economic conditions in a particular region can nevertheless influence the sex ratio in young adulthood, although it is difficult to determine in which direction. It has to be noted that people under 45 usually die due to external factors. Research results[4] on the development of gender differences in accident mortality over time are often contradictory, which indicates that there are no general trends in the developed world. This can be explained by the fact that gender differences in mortality and morbidity are influenced by changing gender roles, gender differences in behaviour, societal trends, public policies, economic conditions and the diffusion of innovations with differing gender role compatibility (Waldron et al 2005).

If neither the sex ratio at birth nor age- and sex-specific mortality patterns significantly and systematically influences the sex ratio of young adults in Europe, sex-selective migration patterns are the most likely explanation for an unbalanced sex-structure of the population both at the regional and national levels. Since the sex ratio at the national level is in the range of the 'natural' average in most ESPON countries (Table 1), we can assume that international migration is of minor importance. Figure 2 shows that there are large differences in the volume and the sex- and age-structure of international migration. Western European states seem to be more attractive for women, especially in the age-group 20 to 24, while migration to Northern and Eastern Europe is by trend more male-dominated. The differences between the sexes are, however, in most cases rather small. It is nevertheless possible that international migration significantly affects the regional sex ratio. The destination choice of male and female immigrants may be quite different, for example if women from abroad fill positions in the urban service sector and men work in agriculture or construction.

[4] For an overview see Waldron et al (2005)

	Women per 100 men in the age-group		
	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34
Austria	98.1	98.5	100.5
Belgium	99.3	99.5	98.3
Bulgaria	95.3	95.0	96.3
Cyprus	**103.7**	100.6	99.2
Czech Republic	93.8	94.6	95.2
Denmark	96.6	99.4	99.3
Estonia	96.6	97.2	99.8
Finland	95.6	95.1	94.8
France	99.3	102.2	101.6
Germany	96.7	97.6	97.2
Greece	92.2	**91.9**	93.4
Hungary	96.8	95.3	96.6
Iceland	95.2	**90.1**	**88.4**
Ireland	100.8	98.7	97.5
Italy	96.1	98.0	98.1
Latvia	96.7	96.5	97.8
Liechtenstein	99.6	96.4	98.3
Lithuania	96.3	95.8	100.5
Luxembourg	95.6	100.0	100.4
Malta	92.5	93.6	92.9
Netherlands	97.7	99.6	100.0
Norway	95.8	97.7	96.9
Poland	96.7	97.2	97.5
Portugal	95.9	97.8	98.7
Romania	95.4	95.4	95.1
Slovakia	96.2	96.0	96.1
Slovenia	94.9	93.0	93.5
Spain	95.6	94.0	92.7
Sweden	95.4	95.5	96.0
Switzerland	97.9	100.6	100.6
United Kingdom	95.1	98.2	99.9
Mean EEA 30	96.5	97.4	97.5
	Value 5.0 to 10.0% below EEA 30 mean		
	Value 2.5 to 5.0% below EEA 30 mean		
	Value 2.5 to 5.0% above EEA 30 mean		
	Value 5.0 to 10.0% above EEA 30 mean		

Table 1: Sex ratios in young adulthood at the national level 2008. Own calculations; data source: Eurostat (2011)

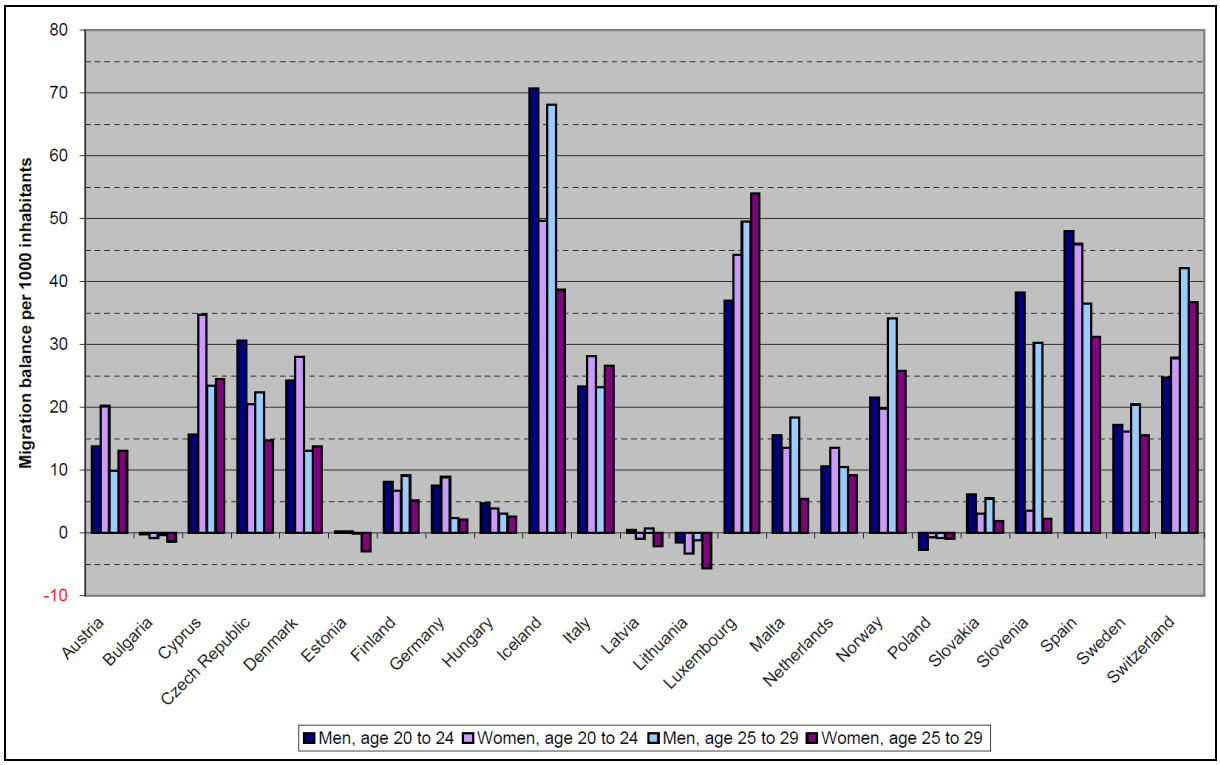


Figure 2: International net migration rate by age and sex for selected European countries 2007. Own calculations; data source: Eurostat (2011)

Women are more inclined to leave Bulgaria and the Baltic States while men are more likely to migrate to the remaining Central and Eastern European (CEE) states. Poland is the only exception to this rule. The effect of international migration on the national sex ratio in the CEE states is, however, small given the rather low number of (officially registered) international migrants per 1000 inhabitants in young adulthood. The only exception is Slovenia, which is – relative to the population figure - the destination of a quite large number of international migrants and at the same time much more attractive for male than for female immigrants.[5] The rather low sex ratio at the national level can consequently be explained by the highly skewed sex ratio of the immigrants. Given the high "surplus" of men among migrants, the effect on the overall sex ratio is, however, surprisingly small. Sex selective international migration patterns may also explain the "surplus" of men in Malta, Iceland and the Czech Republic and the "surplus" of women in Cyprus (Table 1). It would be necessary to analyse a time series of migration data to better understand the effect of international migration on the national and regional sex ratios, especially against the backdrop that the current financial and economic crisis has altered international migration patterns. Unfortunately, the data in the EUROSTAT database does not allow for an analysis of the effects of international migration on national and regional sex-ratios over time as it is fragmentary and incomplete.

[5] The data available in the EUROSTAT data base show that a high "surplus" of males among the immigrants has been a distinctive feature of Slovenia at least since 2005 and – to a lesser degree – also between 1998 and 2001. Data for 2002 to 2004 is missing.

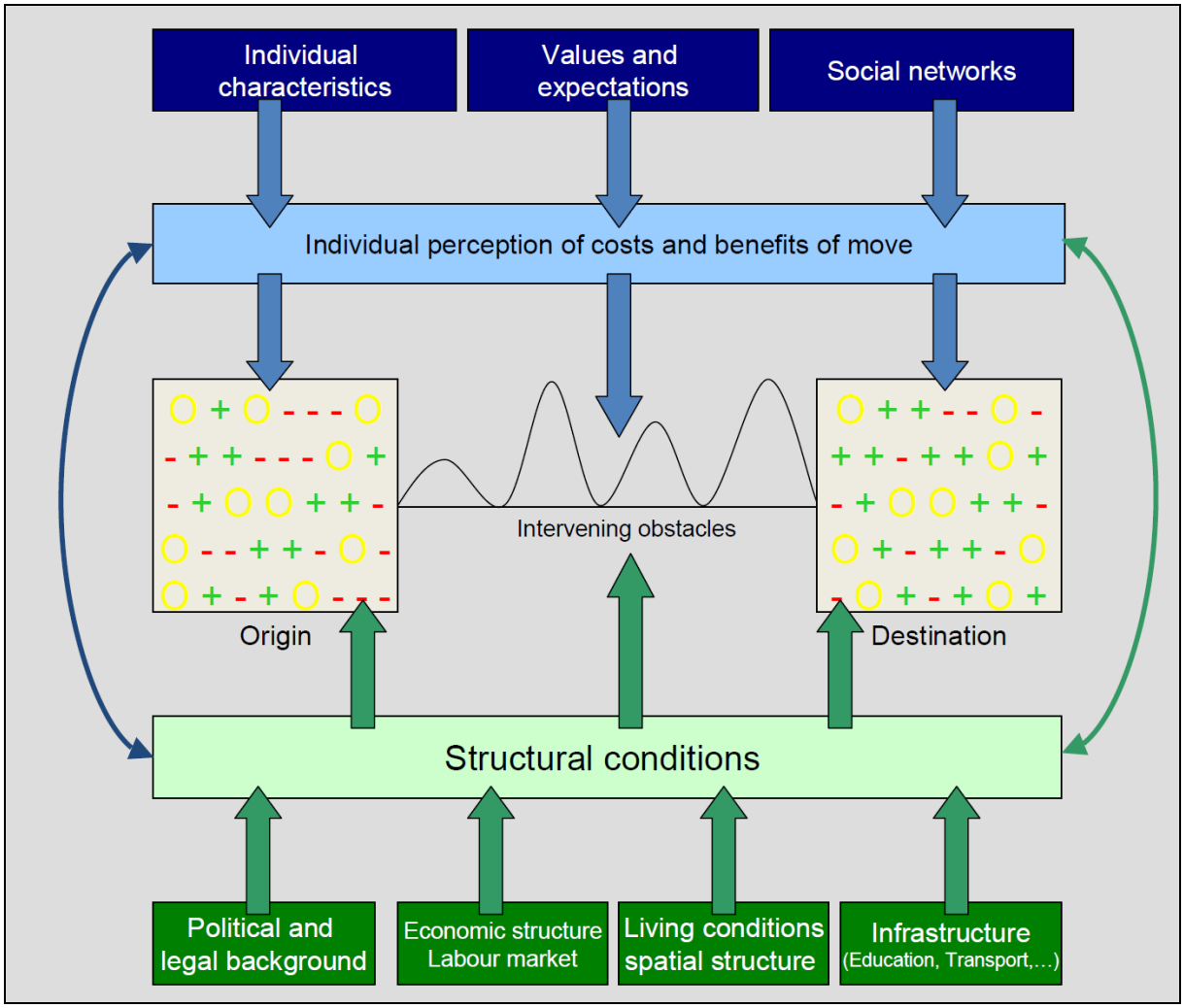


Figure 3: Explanatory model of the migration process; Own design based on Lee (1966)

The SEMIGRA research concept is builds on an explanatory model of the migration process that is based on Lee's (1966) push-pull model (Figure 3). It is assumed that people will consider migration if they negatively evaluate the situation at their present location and are convinced that moving would significantly improve their situation. Spatial mobility will only occur if the social and financial costs of moving are lower than the expected monetary and non-monetary gains and if other 'intervening obstacles' on the way between the present and desired place of residence can be overcome (Lee 1966; Sjaastad 1962). The assessment of the situation at the origin and destination as well as the expected difficulties to overcome the 'intervening obstacles' is influenced by structural conditions and individual aspects like values, expectations, gender role attitudes, and so on. The decision whether to migrate has a subjective dimension as well. Knowledge is limited and personal preferences may lead to economically suboptimal migration behaviour. Additionally, it has to be taken into consideration that social networks influence the decision to migrate. Living together with a partner, having children or caring for elderly relatives tend to lower the propensity to migrate (Bailey el al

2004). Structural and economic push- and pull-factors are important explanations of migration streams, but they are experienced by individuals in the context of culture, community, and family. Under similar socio-economic circumstances, some young women may opt to stay while others decide to leave (Corbett 2005). Other aspects operant at the individual level that may influence migration decisions may be social class-affiliation, as well as the amount of cultural, economic and social capital an individual disposes of (Rye 2006a; Rye and Blekesaune 2007). The regional statistical analysis can only look into the effects of the structural conditions on migration behaviour which is not enough to fully understand the complexity of age- and sex-selective mobility patterns in contemporary Europe. In the following report, we describe the regional patterns of unbalanced sex ratios in the countries of the ESPON area and discuss possible explanations. A multivariate regression analysis with theoretically relevant indicators will be prepared for the Final Report.

The structure of the remainder of this paper is based on the idealised life-course of young adults: Getting an education and entering the labour market (age-group 20 to 24), getting a foothold at the labour market and forming a stable romantic relationship (age-group 25 to 29), having children (age-group 30 to 34). The life-course of young adults is, of course, usually not that clearly structured and straightforward, there is a great deal of variability both in cross-national comparison and between different regions of the same nation, but also between educational, occupational or ethnic groups to name just a few.

Age 20 to 24: Getting an education

The age between 20 and 24 is the period of life in which young people finish their education and enter the labour market. The regional sex ratio patterns in this age-group are consequently strongly influenced by the location of higher education facilities and regional labour market conditions for young professionals. Cultural and political factors also play an important role, especially in explaining cross-national differences in the regional sex ratio patterns.

The basic precondition for imbalanced sex ratios is of course that young people leave the parental home. There are distinctive differences in the patterns of leaving the childhood home in Europe as Billari (2004) points out: "*In a time of overall social and economic convergence in European countries, it is hard to find social indicators with such striking differences among EU countries as those relates to the transition to adulthood. The differences between societies are striking, but intra-society heterogeneity is massive as well*." In Southern Europe, young people, especially young men, leave the parental home very late ("latest-late pattern"; see also

Figure 4). A substantial proportion of people in their 30s still live with their parents. Young Scandinavians, on the other hand, leave their childhood home in their late teens or early 20s and rarely co-reside with their parents in their 30s ("earliest-early pattern). Important determinants of leaving the parental home are parents' resources, conditions on the labour market, the availability of housing, and the welfare state. The age at leaving home is low in the social-democratic and liberal welfare states (the Nordic countries and the UK) where the welfare regime is oriented towards the individual, medium in the family-oriented conservative welfare states of central Europe and very high in the familialistic welfare states of Southern Europe which are characterised by a lack of social policies and weak family policies. Another important determinant that is closely related is the strength of family ties and values and beliefs about the 'correct' timing and sequencing of life trajectories. It is very likely that these values and believes are strongly gendered and that the influence that the cultural context exerts on the decision to leave the parental home is different for young women and men (Chiuri and Del Boca 2010; Billari et al 2001; Billari 2004; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008).

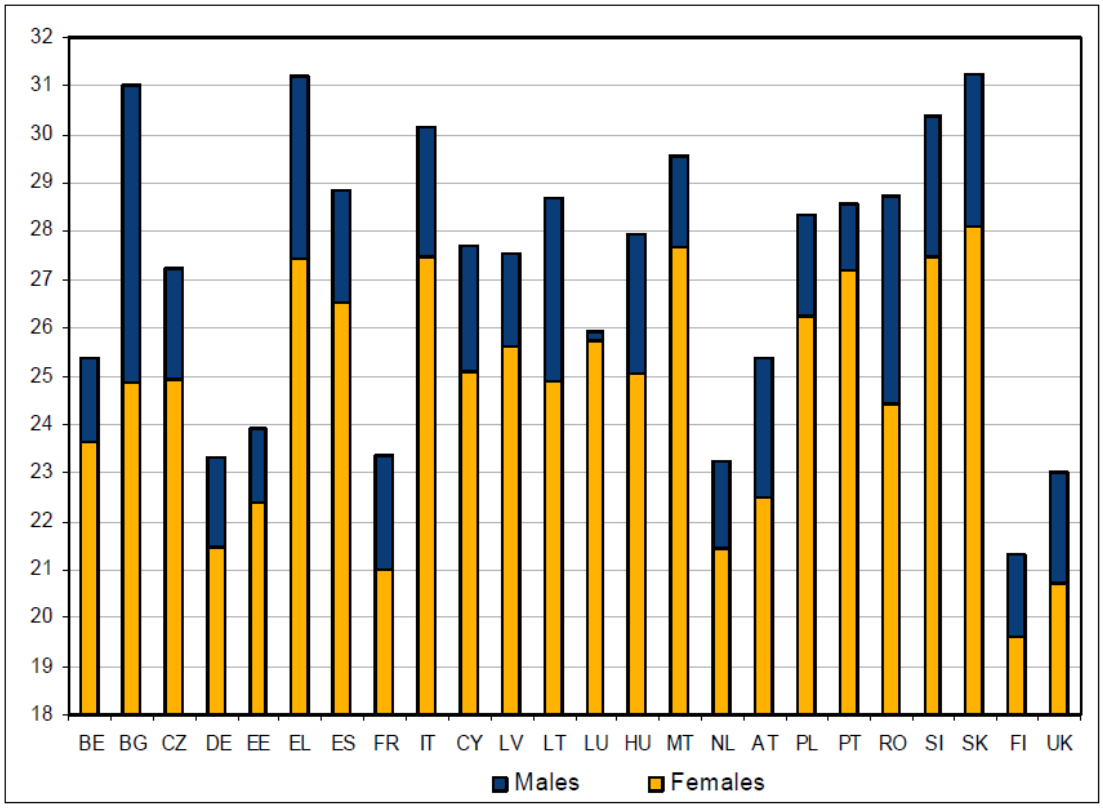


Figure 4: Mean age of young people leaving home by gender 2007; Source: Commission of the European Communities (2009)

There seems to be no strong connection between leaving home and the regional economic situation. In Italy, young people in the poor South where the youth unemployment rate is extremely high leave the parental

home at younger ages than their compatriots in the wealthy North where the economic situation is much better. Another indicator that leaving home is more strongly governed by cultural norms than by economic rationalities is the fact that young people living on their own are disproportionally affected by poverty in the Nordic countries. Youth poverty rates are among the highest in Europe in Scandinavia although the general level of poverty is very low. Against this backdrop, the economically rational behaviour would be a prolonged co-residence with the parents. However, young Scandinavians seem to value their residential independence so much that they are willing to accept a period of poverty (Aassve et al 2006; Santarelli and Cottone 2009).

There are also enormous differences with regard which transition in the life-course triggers leaving the parental home. In Northern and Western Europe young women and men move out when they go to university or earn their own money. Previous research suggests that young Czechs, Italians, Hungarians and Poles of both sexes rarely leave their childhood home before the end of education. Leaving home is more closely connected to family formation, although co-residence with in-laws is quite common for cohabitants and married couples in the Czech Republic and Hungary (Billari et al 2001). The long co-residence of adult children with their parents is mainly caused by economic insecurity and the low affordability of housing and hence involuntary in Eastern Europe. In Southern Europe, strong family ties between the generations are an additional explanation for the high age at leaving the parental home. A sizeable proportion of young adults living in the parental home is economically independent and could afford to buy a flat or a house of their own. The Southern 'family culture' is said to be based on a mutual exchange of affection and tangible goods between parents and their offspring. It has been reported that the moving out of an adult child negatively affects the psychological well-being of his or her parents (Dalla Zuanna and Micheli 2004; De Rose et al 2008; Moreno Mínguez 2003; Santarelli and Cottone 2009). Against this backdrop, the long co-residence of adult children with their parents seems to be more "voluntary" in the Mediterranean countries.

The large differences in leaving-home patterns will strongly affect the regional sex ratio. We can expect that regional gender imbalances will be less pronounced in the age-group 20 to 24 and – maybe to a lesser extent – in the age-group 25 to 29 in Southern and Eastern Europe where the 'latest late' pattern prevails. In Western and Northern Europe, especially in the liberal and social-democratic welfare states, disparities in the regional sex ratio should be more distinct.

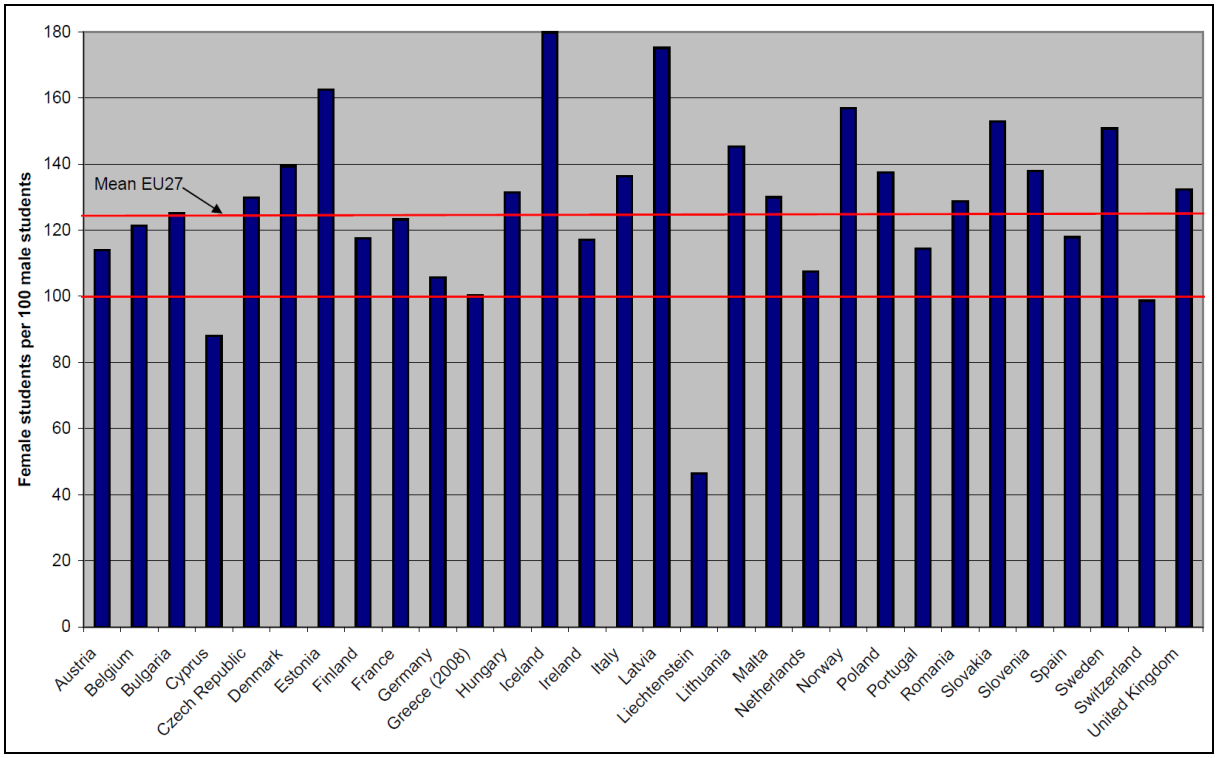


Figure 5: Female students per 100 students in ISCED levels 5-6[6] 2009. Source: Eurostat (2011)

With respect to education, gender differences in attending upper secondary education are low. However, strong differences across sexes emerge when the educational orientation is taken into account. In all European states, girls are in a majority in general upper secondary education, which prepares for further education. Boys, on the other hand, outnumber girls in vocational programmes. Their focus is therefore on entering the labour market. This pattern is especially distinct in Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, Malta, Poland and the Baltic States. Men are also over represented among those who leave the education system with at best lower secondary education and participate in no form of further education or training in all EU states with the exception of Bulgaria. At the European level, 15% of young people between 18 and 24 belong to this group. In Malta, Portugal and Spain the proportion of early school leavers is well above 30% (Commission of the European Communities 2009). As a consequence we can assume that the residence of women between 18 and 24 is determined by the location education facilities, while the location of young men is more strongly influenced by job opportunities. The early school leavers should be especially immobile, either because they cannot afford to be mobile due to their low socio-economic status or because they have found a very specific niche to make a living that builds on specific

[6] ISCED level 5: First stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to an advanced research qualification; ISCED level 6: Second stage of tertiary education (leading to an advanced research qualification)

talents and skills or social networks that are tied to special locality. Rural labour markets, for example, tend to offer better job opportunities for men with low formal education, e.g. in agriculture or handicraft enterprises where manual skills, personal relationships and the inheritance of occupational capital matter more than school leaving certificates (Bye 2009; Løken et al 2011).

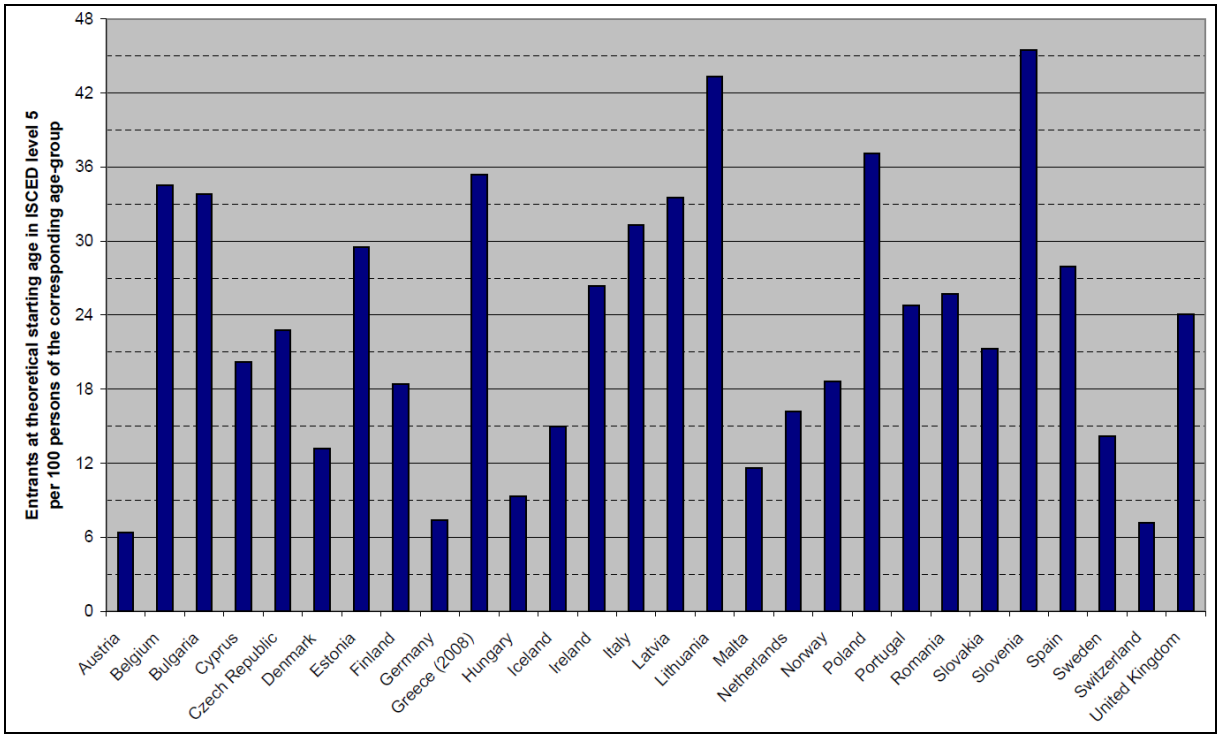


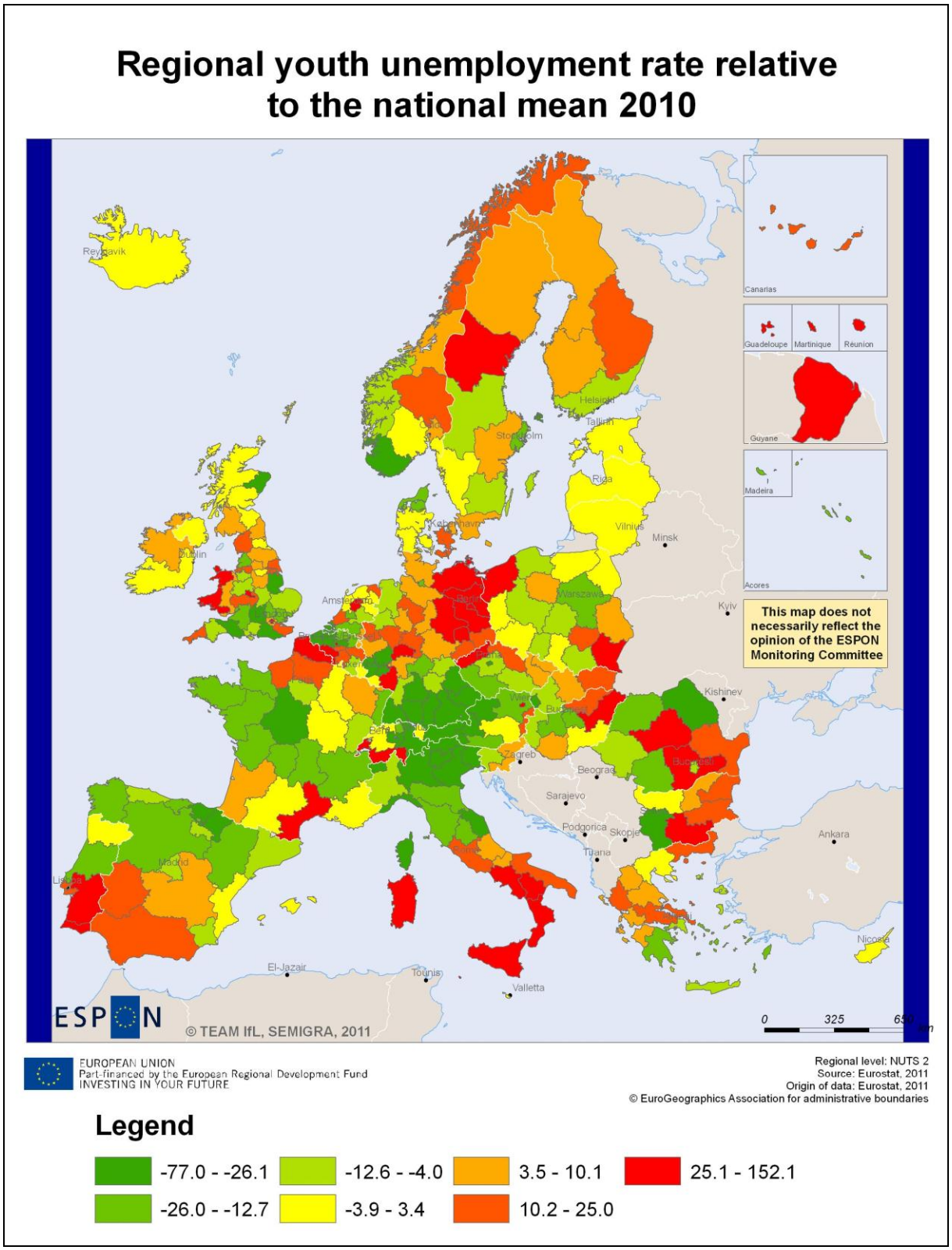
Figure 6: Entrants at theoretical starting age in ISCED level 5 per 100 persons of the corresponding age-group 2009. Source: EUROSTAT (2011)

The influence of higher education on regional sex-ratio patterns is determined by the proportion of women in the student body (Figure 5) and the percentage of young adults attending university (Figure 6). Young women are overrepresented among students in Italy, the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries and most of the post-socialist states. In most of these countries, a largely female student body and a relatively high proportion of young adults enrolled in university suggest a significant influence of higher education on regional sex-ratio patterns, provided that attending university is connected to leaving the parental home and the region of origin. This is, however not the case in most of the countries mentioned above (Map 3) where a dense network of higher education facilities enables students to commute to university from their childhood home. A more even distribution of universities over the national territory is frequently connected to missing on-campus accommodation for students. The causal relation is, however, not clear. There may be few dormitories because building student accommodation would violate the cherished social norm that (at least younger) students shall continue to

live with their parents. A lack of dormitories can of course also be the consequence of missing demand (Billari et al 2001; Billari 2004). Since the student body is predominantly female in almost all EU states, we expect that regions with larger universities will have "surplus" of women. There may be exceptions to this rule, notably in regions that are home to technical universities where male students will outnumber female students.

Many of the 20- to 24 year olds that have already entered the labour market hold unstable jobs. Almost 40% of employed 15- to 24-year-olds work on a temporary contract – with tendency to rise. There is a risk that young employees become 'trapped' in temporary employment. At the EU level, there seem to be no significant gender differences, although young women are somewhat more likely to work on fixed-term contracts. Labour market entrants frequently work only part-time. While part-time employment can be desirable for some, e.g. to be able to finance ones studies or to look after children or family members needing care, others will be forced to accept part-time employment because full-time positions are not available. Women are much more likely to work part-time in all EU countries except Romania (Commission of the European Communities 2009).

Cross-national differences in youth unemployment are considerable. Before the financial crisis, unemployment rates in the age-group 15 to 24 were especially high in Greece, Italy, Poland, Romania and Slovakia. In these countries – as well as in Bulgaria and Hungary – long term youth unemployment is also a mayor social problem. In the latter two countries, the proportion of 'NEETs' (**N**either in **E**ducation, **E**mployment nor **T**raining) is also very high. The statistics on youth unemployment describe the extent of young people's economic inactivity only partly because not all 'NEETs' are registered as unemployed. As a rule of thumb, the unemployment rate is higher for women across Europe. The gender gap is particularly large in Greece, Spain and Portugal. Greece is not only an extreme case because the unemployment rate for young women is almost twice as high as for young men, but also because it is the only EU member state where the risk of being unemployed increases with the level of education. Women with completed tertiary education are the most disadvantaged group on the labour market (Commission of the European Communities 2009; Grekopoulou 2010).

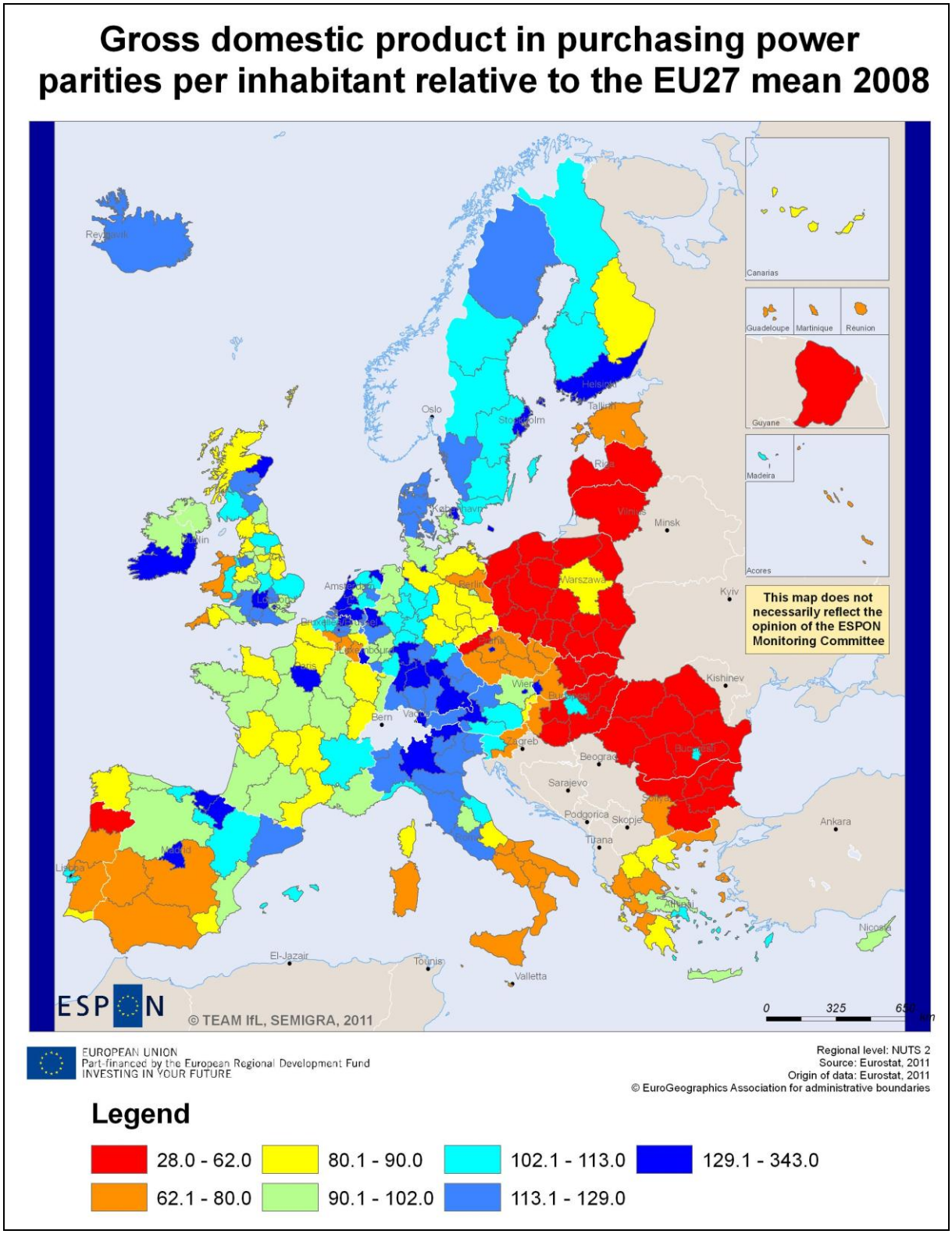


Map 1: Regional youth unemployment rates relative to the national mean in % 2010. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

The map of youth unemployment (Map 1) closely mirrors the regional differences in economic strength (Map 2). The higher the regional GDP, the lover is by trend the youth unemployment rate. Mayor urban areas

not only offer the best options for education, they also tend to be the regions with the best conditions for entering the labour market, especially in Eastern Europe. There are some important exceptions to this rule. The youth unemployment rates are, for example, highest in the capital regions in Austria and Belgium. Economically weak regions like Southern Italy or Eastern Germany on the other hand are usually also plagued by strongly above average youth unemployment rates. Considering the continual division of the labour market into a 'female' (administration, education, health, retail) and a 'male' (agriculture, construction, industry) dominated sector, the economic structure of a region will act as a moderating factor (see below). Another intervening variable would be the degree of the gender segregation of the regional labour market.

To summarise, we can expect that urban areas will be more attractive for young women in their early 20s because they are more likely to participate in higher education and universities and other institutions that offer postsecondary and tertiary education are usually located in cities. Urban areas are also characterised by more 'women friendly' labour markets due to a more diversified industry structure. Getting an education and entering the labour market in a specific region is, however, in many cases not a long-term geographical commitment; it is therefore very likely that the spatial pattern of sex ratio imbalances changes in the age-groups 25 to 29 and 30 to 34. The national welfare state context, predominating values vis-à-vis gender roles and patterns of leaving the parental home will also influence the migration behaviour of young women and maybe lead to a fuzzier picture that cannot be easily interpreted in economic terms.



Map 2: Gross domestic product in purchasing power parities per inhabitant relative to the EU27 mean 2008. Source: EUROSTAT (2011)

The regional pattern of gender imbalances in the age-group 20 to 24 mirrors – as expected – the urban-rural gradient and is closely linked to the spatial distribution of higher education facilities (Map 3). The capital regions – with the exceptions of Prague, Rome, Sofia and Tallinn – are

characterised by a "surplus" of females in all EU- and EFTA-states. In most cases the same applies to other mayor urban centres. The capital city regions are, however, not necessarily the regions with the highest sex ratios. In some states, the "surplus" of women is most pronounced in NUTS3-regions with university towns, e.g. Veliko Tarnovo (BG), the cities of Heidelberg and Würzburg (DE), Thessaloniki (GR), Cluj (RO), Uppsala län (SE) as well as the City of Edinburgh and Leicester City (UK). There are, on the other hand some regions with important universities which are characterised by very low sex ratios, e.g. the City of Aachen, Delft en Westland (NL) or Blekinge län (SE). The regions in question are home to technical universities whose student body is largely male. At the Blekinge Tekniska Högskola, 60%[7] of the students are male, at the RWTH Aachen 70%[8], at the TU Delft even 80%[9]. Additionally, Blekinge län is also home to Sweden's largest naval base.[10]

Sex ratios in rural and intermediate regions tend to be below the 'natural' mean all over Europe – with the exception of the Republic of Ireland. The "pink spots" on the map are mostly regions with minor urban centres – usually university towns – or the hinterlands of the metropolises. The "deficit" of women is, however, usually moderate. Regions with sex ratios below 87 (that is more than 10% below the 'natural' mean) usually do not form a contiguous area. The mayor exception to this rule is Eastern Germany. A comparable spatial concentration of very low and extremely low sex ratios can be found nowhere else in Europe. Extraordinarily low sex ratios in a given region seem to be the consequence of specific local conditions. A high "surplus" of males can for example be the result of the location of important military bases in a rural region, like in North Yorkshire or Wiltshire (UK).

The regional pattern becomes clearer if the national mean is used as benchmark instead of the 'natural' mean (Map 4). The percentage of young women is significantly above the European average in some countries, most notably in Belgium, France and Ireland. The general "surplus" of women "masks" unbalanced sex ratios at the regional level in the European perspective. Such a relative "surplus" of men is of course less problematic, because it does not reduce the reproductive potential of a region. We can conclude low sex ratios in young adulthood are a common feature of rural regions in Europe.

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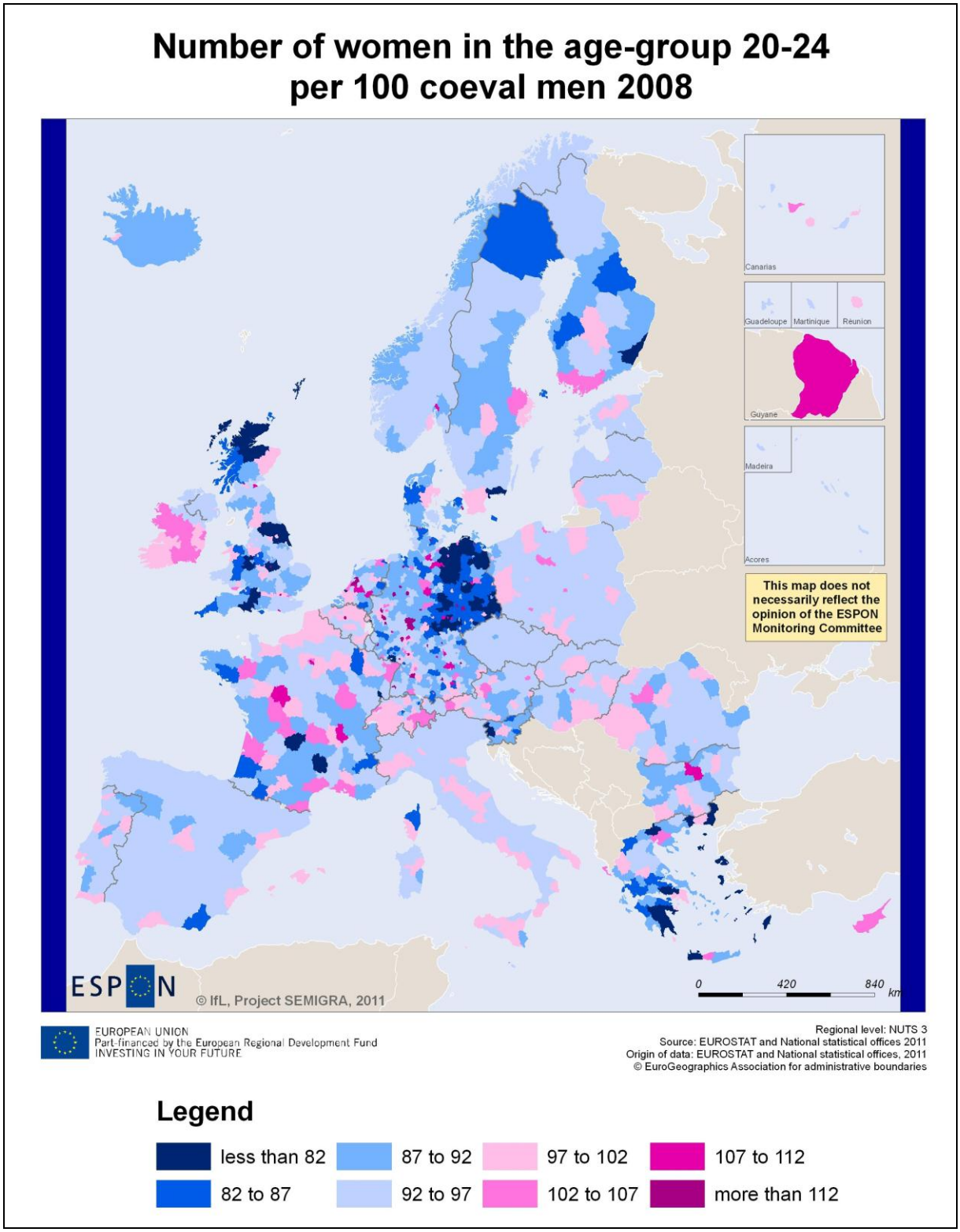
7 http://www.bth.se/valkommen.nsf/sidor/e441199b2e774bc0c1256e4b00394911!OpenDocument (09/01/2011)

8 http://www.rwth-aachen.de/global/show_document.asp?id=aaaaaaaaaacyvbl (09/01/11)

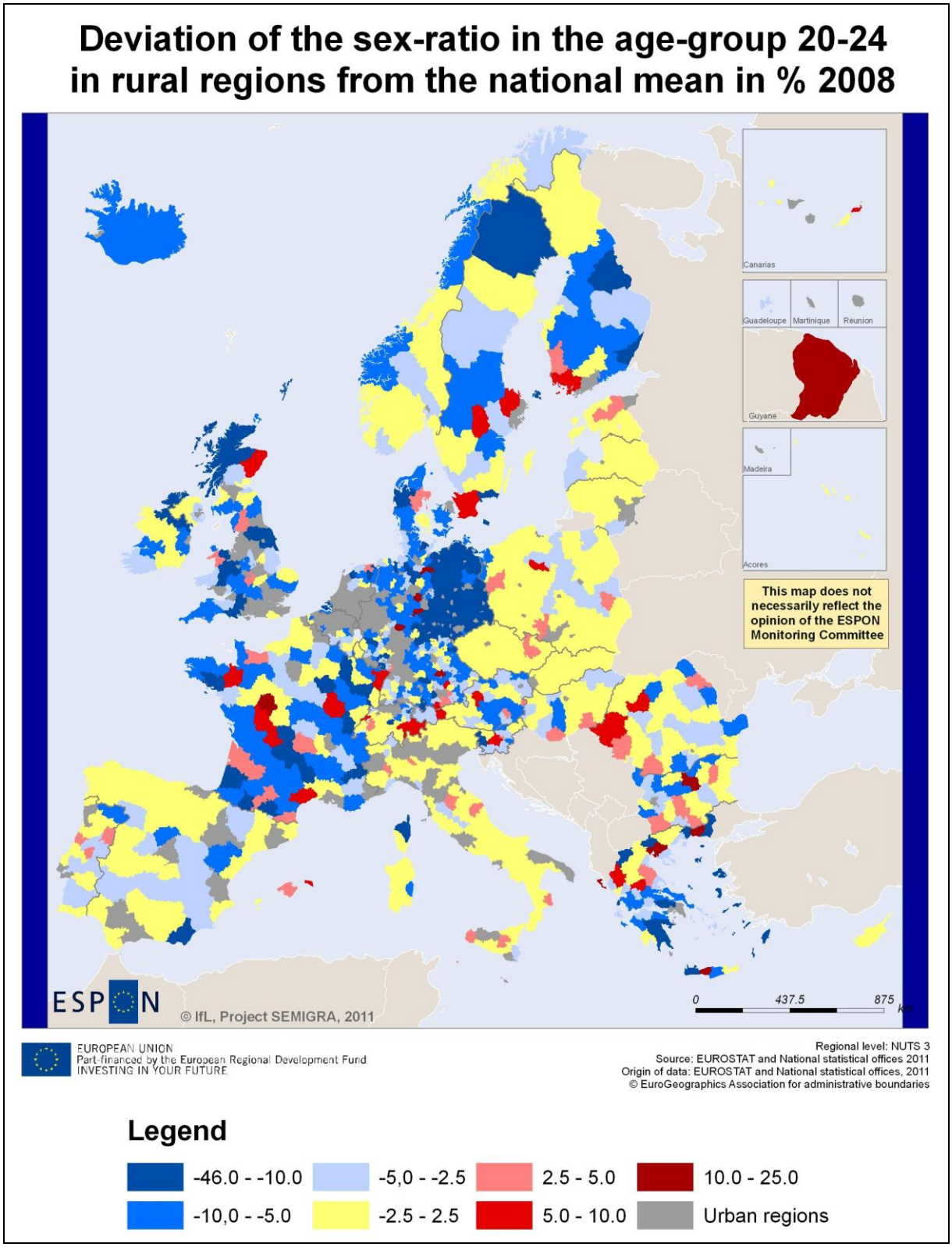
9 http://home.tudelft.nl/over-tu-delft/visie-feiten-en-cijfers/feiten-en-cijfers/onderwijs/ (09/01/11)

10 http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/Organisation/Training-units/Naval-Base-MarinB/ (09/01/11)



Map 3: Number of women in the age-group 20 to 24 per 100 coeval men 2008[11]. Own calculation; data source: EUROSTAT (2010) and national statistical offices

[11] Greece: 2001; Romania: 2002 (Census data); we will update the regional sex ratios as soon as new population data is available.



Map 4: Age-group 20-24: Deviation of the regional sex ratios from the respective national mean in % 2008. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2010) and national statistical offices

The differentiation between regions with a "surplus" of young men and a "surplus" of young women is, however, not equally strong across Europe

(Map 4). Regional disparities tend to be higher in Western and Northern Europe, while regional sex-ratios are more uniform in most Southern and Eastern European countries. Regional disparities are especially weak in the Baltic States, the Czech Republic, Italy, Poland and Slovakia. Regional economic disparities are, however, far from weak in these states, especially in the case of Italy where differences in economic power (Map 2), income (Map 14) and youth unemployment (Map 1) are more pronounced than in most other European states. The economically more uniform Nordic States, on the other hand, are characterised by rather distinctive regional gender imbalances. Obviously, the regional sex-ratio patterns are strongly influenced by the respective national context. The sex-ratio is strongly influenced by the age- and sex-specific patterns of leaving the parental home, the educational system and the support young people can expect from the welfare state. There are huge differences in state support for young people's autonomy and welfare across Europe. Additionally, home-leaving patterns are culturally coded and hence also very diverse.

The out-migration of young women and a moderate "surplus" of young men do not necessarily threaten the sustainability of the countryside. Since the availability of appropriate human capital is a crucial aspect of endogenous regional development, the out-migration of young adults to acquire the skills and knowledge to participate in the economic regeneration of rural regions is not only not a problem, but a necessity. The problem is that too few young women return later to use their human capital regionally. Return and in-migration can bring new ideal, enthusiasm and rejuvenation to depopulating rural regions. In this sense, discouraging school leavers to leave to get an education and to improve their human capital would eventually be detrimental to rural areas; policy makers should instead focus on creating the conditions that their regions become or remain attractive places with a high quality of life in order to encourage in- or return migration (Stockdale 2006).

We should also bear in mind that regional disparities in the sex ratio (or a lack thereof) can also have administrative reasons. Cross-national differences in the intensity of regional disparities can for example be related to the delimitation of the NUTS3-regions. In most states, urban regions are combined with their hinterland. This can lead to an equalisation of urban-rural differences. The examples of Germany and the UK illustrate that "female" cities can exist within a "masculinised" hinterland. Another aspect is the registration system. Students living in a dormitory may not regard on-campus accommodation but their parental home as their primary residence, so they might still be registered there and not be counted as a resident of the town where their university is

located. If there are significant differences in the likelihood to retain the childhood home as primary residence while studying or being trained elsewhere, the gender composition of the registered and the de facto of the same region or municipality population might be quite different.

Why do young women move to urban areas?

In the literature, several alternative hypothesises are discussed why urban regions are especially attractive for young women that go beyond the employment- and education-focused explanations offered so far. In the following section, we focus on three theses that are discussed in recent papers: (1) rural areas are male-dominated and offer women little leeway to deviate from traditional gender roles; (2) urban areas are more attractive marriage markets than rural regions and (3) formal education disposes young women to leave.

Rural out-migration may be motivated by the quest for the increased personal freedom urban life-styles offer and the dissatisfaction with the social control and the absent or hesitant economic and social progress in rural areas (Rico González and Gómez García 2003). Rural life in itself may also be more attractive for boys and young men. Since rural areas offer better leisure opportunities for young men and young women are more affected by gossip and informal social control (Kloep et al 2003, Haugen and Villa 2006), living in rural regions may be more satisfying for young men which may in turn explain the lower proportion of migrants in this group. Gossip and social control are also connected to a specific vision of feminity and the place of women in rural societies. Hence, young rural women have less leeway than their urban contemporaries to challenge the traditional gender roles (Haugen and Villa 2006). Jones (1999) argues that "*there is a tendency for 'dissenters' to leave and 'conformists' to remain*". For Dahlström (1996) the strong patriarchal structures embedded in rural areas are an important explanation for sex-selective out migration: "*Perhaps women are not just attracted by the opportunities in urban areas but pushed out from a male rural area in which there is little place for them culturally or concerning work opportunities*". A rural area becomes "male" because the local power relations, dominant values and norms, and activities are determined or dominated by men, while female activities are less visible and valued. Dahlström notices an increasing cultural gap between modern women and more traditional men which might eventually lead to a situation in which "*the young men may be left behind as losers* [and] *become marginalised*.

According to Edlund (2005), the "surplus" of women in their 20s in cities can be explained by a combination of marriage and labour market factors. She argues that urban labour markets offer both skilled women and men

better paying jobs. Consequently, cities offer women better job as well as better marriage opportunities since high earning men are concentrated are also concentrated in urban areas. Moving to urban regions would thus be a rational behaviour also for unskilled women, because they might be able to marry a man with a good job and high income there. In her analysis based on Swedish data, Edlund finds that a higher male income in a municipality is associated with a higher sex ratio. Municipalities with a "surplus" of men, on the other hand, are not only characterised by a low level of income of the resident male population, but also by a high proportion of never-married women. Hence, one can argue that young men in regions with a low sex ratio are not only more likely to be economically deprived; they are also faced with lower prospects to find a partner - not (only) because competition is keener but because they are considered not marriageable. This argument is in line with research results suggesting young men with low human capital are increasingly faced with a poor labour-market position at the beginning of their professional life due to industrial restructuring, rising economic inequality, and growing occupational insecurity which makes it more difficult for them to enter a cohabiting or marital union (Oppenheimer 2003; Oppenheimer et al 1997). Kröhnert (2009) suggests that the 'mismatch' between the high percentage of female school-leavers with upper secondary certificates and the above-average proportion of early school leavers in Eastern Germany is an important explanation for the strong out-migration of young women from the New Federal States and their low likelihood to return once they have left. He finds that female migrants to Western Germany are more likely to enter a relationship than young men which – as a consequence – significantly reduces the odds that they come back to Eastern Germany after they have finished their education or professional training.

There are also authors that hold the education system responsible for the out-migration from rural regions of young people in general and young women in particular. Young women are, as shown above, more inclined toward training and education and tend to reach higher educational levels than rural young men. The education system is sometimes accused of "*promoting the abandonment of rural life and sacralising the values and forms of urban life*" (Camarero et al 2009). This would, in consequence, result in a progressive distancing and uprooting of girls and young women from rural lifestyles and the values and life expectations of rural boys and young men. Corbett (2009) argues that "*formal education is designed for those who leave*" and that "*the multiple skills and intelligences that it takes to make it in a rural community* [are] *largely misunderstood and dismissed within formal educational contexts*". These skills are transmitted through 'informal' education systems that integrate the young men into local employment and cultural traditions and practices. This localised

social capital is, however, far less useful for girls, because the main sources of well-paid employment are 'male' jobs in the primary and secondary sectors. Consequently, rural women need to be successful in formal education to escape the economic marginality they would face in rural regions with male-oriented labour markets; the jobs they are prepared for are, however, usually not available locally which – in turn – disposes them to leave (Corbett 2005; 2009).

The urban preferences of young women may be restricted to young adulthood. Rye (2006b) finds in his survey of Norwegian pupils that significantly more girls than boys express a preference for living in a city in their 20s. There are, however, only minor differences in residential preferences in later stages of the life course. The out-migrants seem to have the intention to return to the countryside in their 30s or when they have children.

Age-group 25 to 29: Gaining a foothold on the labour-market

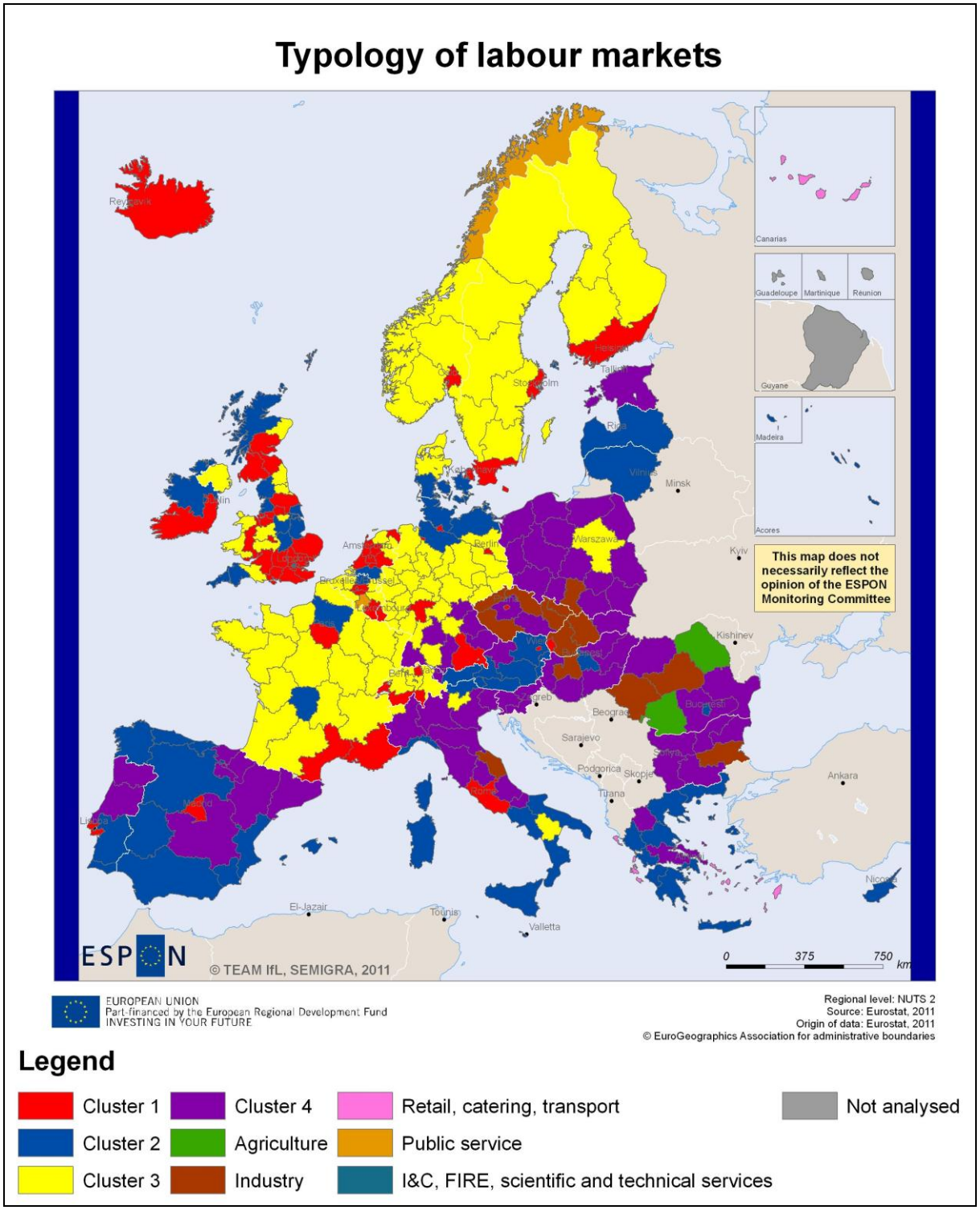
The age-group 25 to 29 is a transitional period in the life course. According to the ideal typical life course, young adults have finished their education in their early 20s and entered the labour market. The first years of the professional life tend to be characterised by marginal and precarious employment like part-time jobs, internships or fixed-term jobs and spells of unemployment. After gaining a foothold in the labour market, young women and men will eventually find a permanent position. Professional and economic stability is an important precondition for family formation for most people. The average age of first birth is between 25 and 29 in the ESPON area. We can therefore expect that both labour market conditions, patterns of family formation and residential preferences influence the spatial pattern of sex ratio imbalances in this age-group. We will focus on the labour market in this chapter and discuss the effects of family formation on the regional sex ratios in the following section.

It has been argued that the out-migration of young women is especially pronounced in rural labour markets that are characterised by a dominance of male-oriented jobs in the primary and secondary sectors. Regions affected by deindustrialisation processes, with industrial monostructures, or predominated by agriculture and forestry often show a pronounced mismatch between young men and women. Urban labour markets, on the other hand, offer more career opportunities for women, especially in the service sector (Kröhnert and Klingholz 2007). We have developed a

typology of labour markets[12] at the NUTS 2 level (Map 5) to get an impression if regions with distorted sex ratio structures are characterised by specific labour market structures that make them particularly (un)attractive for young women or men. The NUTS2 level is unfortunately not particularly well suited for this analysis because regional labour markets are usually smaller than NUTS 2 regions, especially for persons employed with low and medium qualification level. Yet, Europe-wide harmonised data is not available at the NUTS3 level. Due to data restrictions, we have not been able to restrict this analysis to women and young jobholders. The typology is intended rather as an overview than an exhaustive analysis.

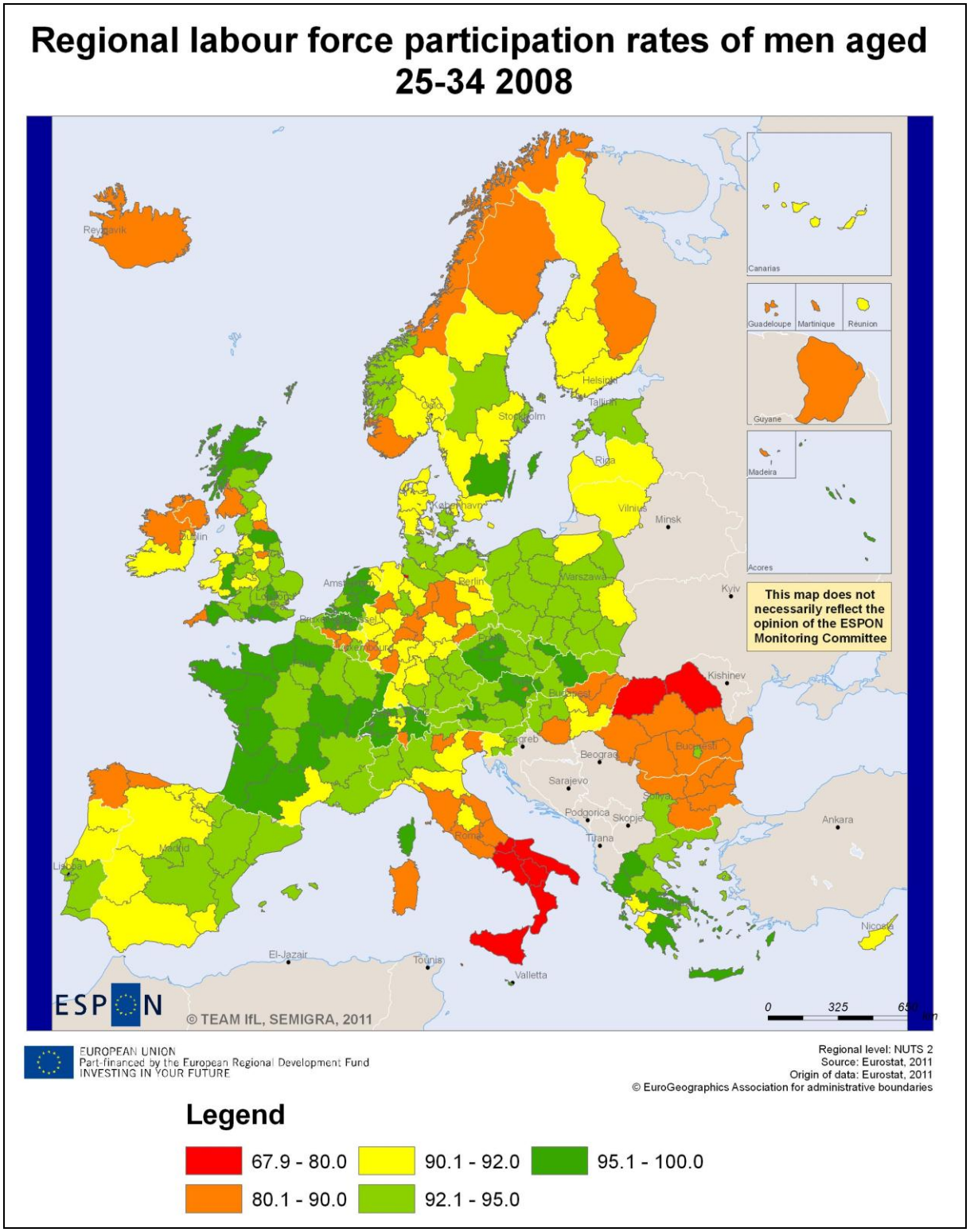
Cluster 1 is characterised by post-industrial labour markets with a very high share of employment in „modern" services (e.g. FIRE, I&C, creative sector) and a strong public sector. Cluster 1 regions are mostly urban. The diversified and service-based economic structure makes these regions attractive for young women and men alike, both as labour and marriage markets (Edlund 2005). **Cluster 2** contains regions with diversified labour markets with a high share of employees working in retail, maintenance and catering. This type of labour markets offers a variety of career options in traditional "pink collar" jobs. It is, however, difficult to assess if this industry structure is attractive for women. Jobs in retail, catering and gastronomy tend to be poorly paid, seasonal dead-end jobs that are hence unattractive for highly qualified women. The share of the work force in the public sector and "modern" services – which offer more attractive career options for (highly qualified) women is below the unweighted European average in cluster 2. **Cluster 3**, on the other hand, is characterised by labour markets with a high share of employees working in the public sector and below-average employment in retail, maintenance and catering. This type of labour markets can be considered as especially women- and family friendly. **Cluster 4** is made up of regions with a very high share of people employed in industry and construction and a low share of employment in the public sector and „modern" services. This type of labour markets can be described as male-oriented. In addition to these more diversified labour markets, there is also a small number of regions with monostructured labour markets where more than 40% of the workforce is employed in one sector.

[12] Hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward method) with subsequent discriminant analysis. Variables used: share of the workforce employed in industry and construction; share of the workforce employed in retail, maintenance, transport, catering and gastronomy; share of the workforce employed in public administration, defence, education and healthcare; share of the workforce employed in other services (e.g. I&C, FIRE, art and entertainment and so on).



Map 5: Typology of regional labour markets. Source: Own calculations

The industry structure is only one side of the coin. Another indicator for the economic opportunities of young women in a certain region is the labour force participation rate, i.e. the percentage of women of a given age that is economically active (employed or actively looking for work). A strong gender gap may be an indicator for deeply rooted traditional gender role models in a region, but also for a 'male-oriented' industry structure.



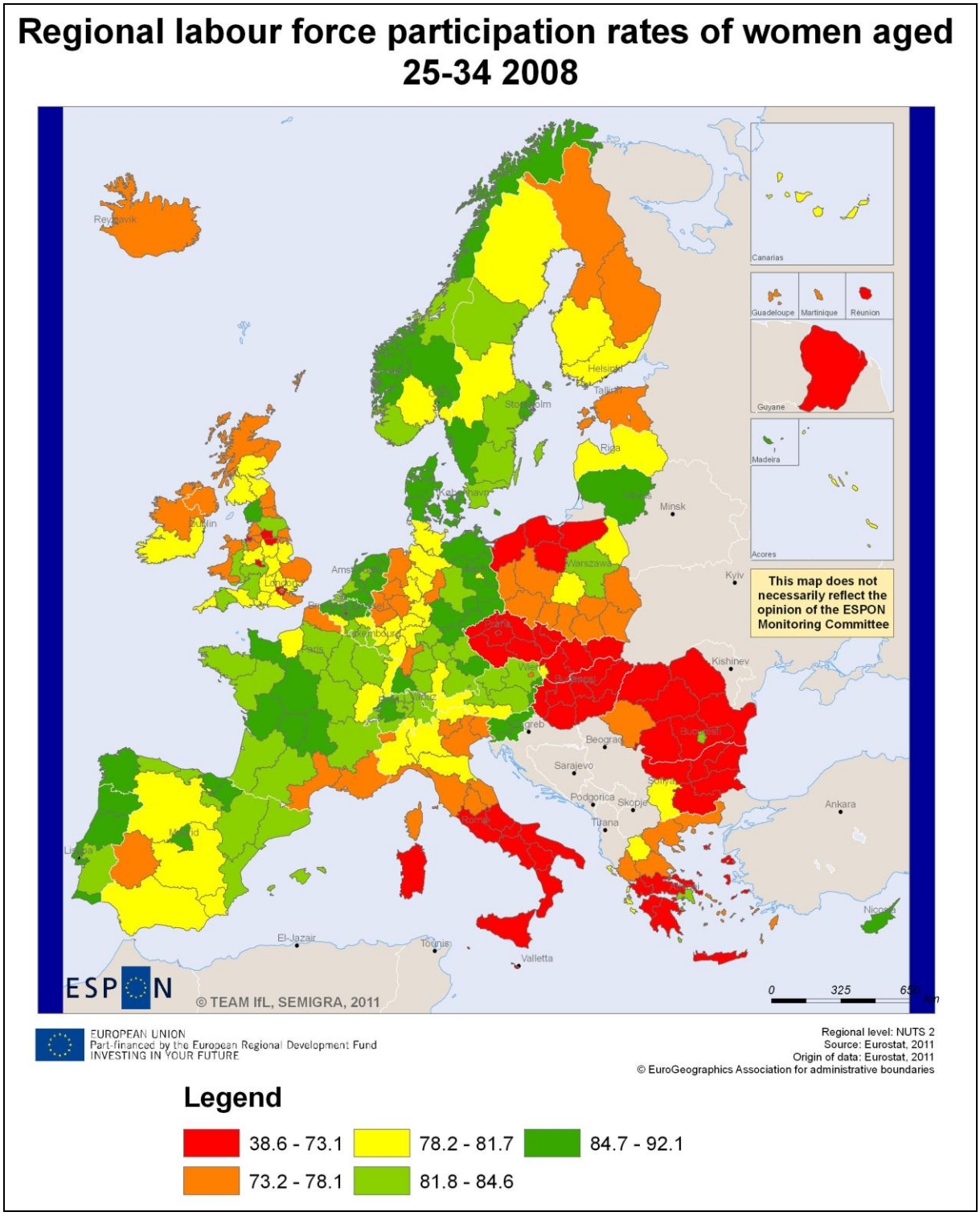
Map 6: Labour force participation rates of men aged 25-34 2008. Source: EUROSTAT (2011)

Map 6 shows the labour force participation rate of men between 25 and 34 at the NUTS 2 level, Map 7 that of coeval women. It becomes clear that there are pronounced intra- as well as interstate differences in the economic activity rates of both men and women. There are regions where the 'traditional' male breadwinner model dominates: The male labour

force participation rate is high, while the female labour force participation rate (FLFP) is very low in European comparison. Examples are the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the majority of the Greek NUTS2 regions. There are also regions with a very high share of gainfully employed women and a relatively low male labour force participation rate (MLFP), e.g. Chemnitz (DE), Galicia (ES) and Nord-Norge (NO). Regions in Cluster 4 of the labour market typology tend to have low female labour force participation rates although there are exceptions, e.g. Norte (PT), Catalunya (ES) or Niederbayern (DE). Surprisingly, the FLFP is rather low in most regions of cluster 1. The picture is more complex in clusters 2 and 3. Cluster 2 contains regions with both relatively high and low percentages of economically active women. Cluster 3 is by trend characterised by either a relatively high FLFP or a low gender gap, i.e. there are regions with low labour force participation rates for both sexes.

There are several possible explanations for the large differences in the labour force participation rates of women. A low share of women that are working or actively looking for work can be a result of a weak regional economy. In this case, the male labour force participation rate will also be low. The FLFP in the age-group 25 to 34 may also be the result of high regional fertility; in this case, a significant proportion of the female population would be inactive because they are on parental leave. There is also a cultural explanation. A low FLFP can be an indicator that traditional gender roles (male breadwinner and female homemaker) are still deeply rooted in the society of a given country or region.

At the national level, there are pronounced differences with respect to the evaluation of female labour force participation. People in Eastern and Southern Europe are more likely to think that women should retreat from the labour market in times of crisis and leave their jobs to men (Figure 7) and that women should only work if their job does not interfere with their family obligations and that they adjust their professional career to the needs of their family (Figure 8). Few Scandinavians, on the other hand, agree with these statements.



Map 7: Labour force participation rates of women aged 25-34 2008. Source: EUROSTAT (2011)

Female labour force participation is, by trend, lower in countries where the approval rating of the statements "Men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce" and "Women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family" is higher. This rule is of course not without exception. The proportion of working women is high in

Portugal and Switzerland despite the relatively high proportion of respondents that agree with both statements.

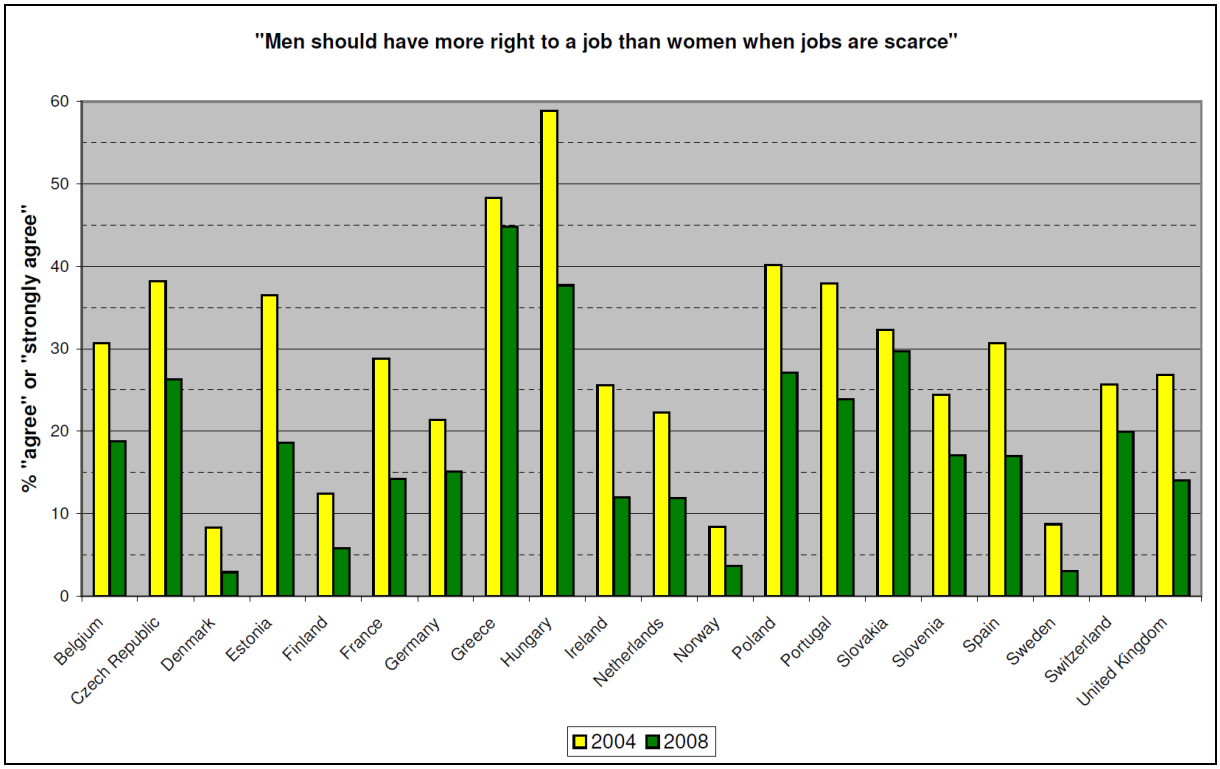


Figure 7: Approval rating of the statement "Men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce" in selected European countries 2004 and 2008; Own design; data source Norwegian Social Science Data Services (2011)

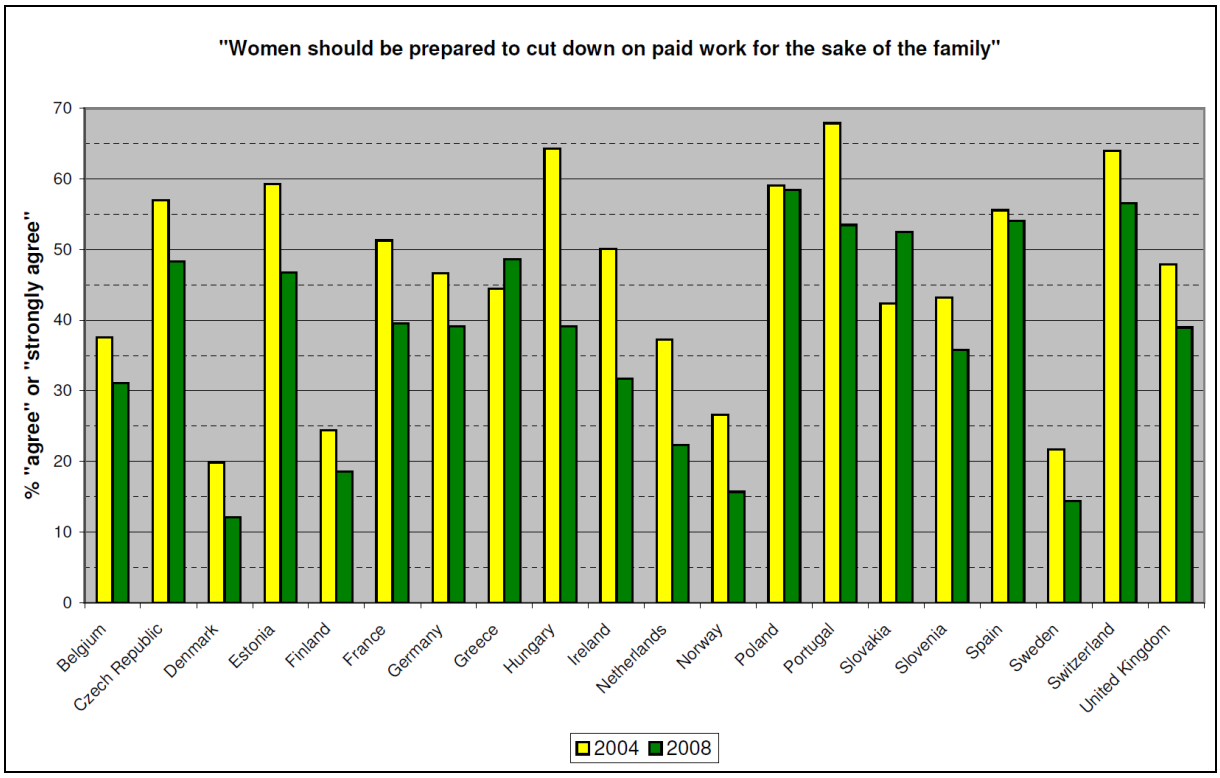


Figure 8: Approval rating of the statement "Women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family" in selected European countries 2004 and 2008; Own design; data source Norwegian Social Science Data Services (2011)

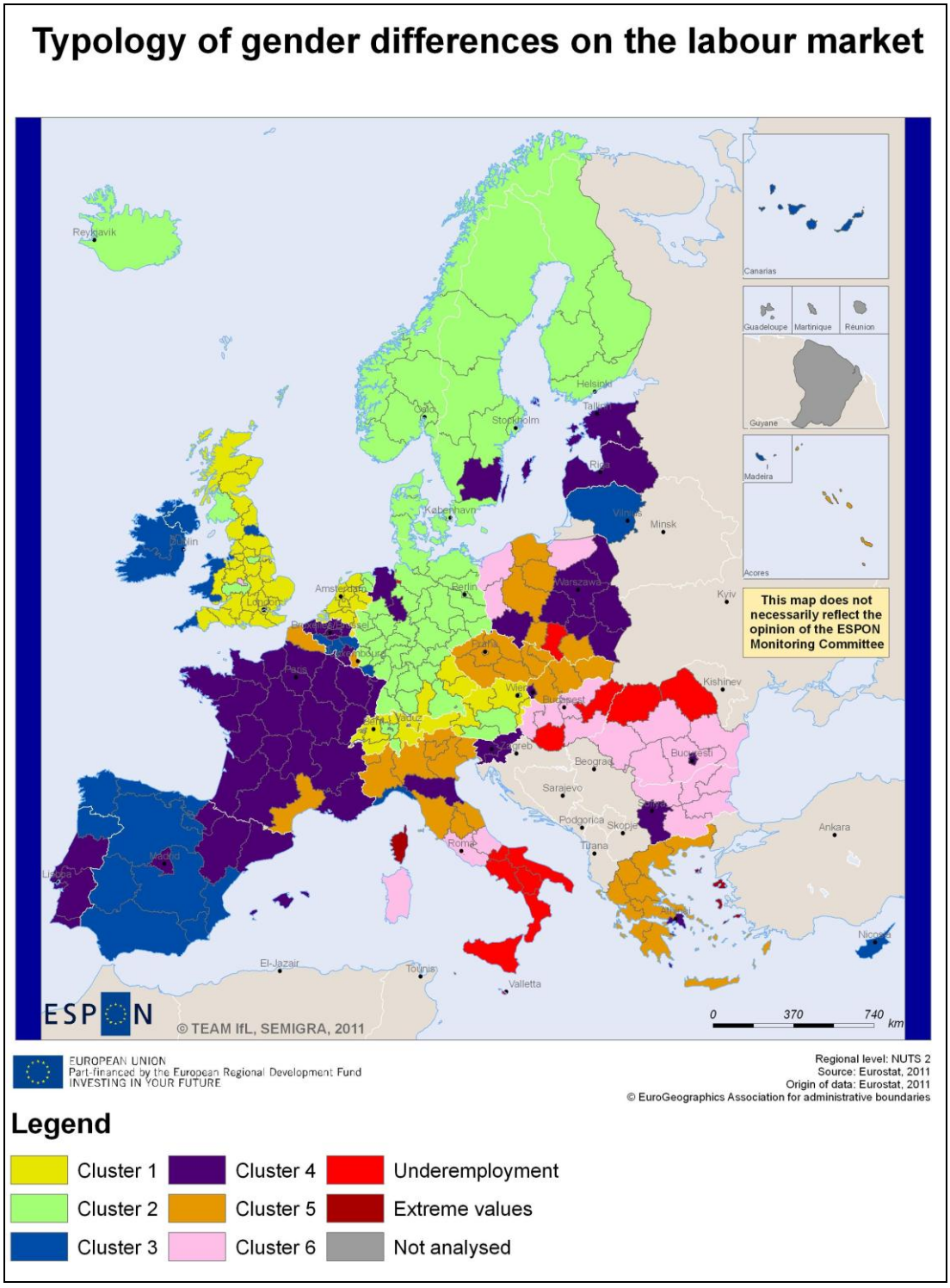
We have also developed a typology of gender differences on the labour market (Map 8, Table 2). To get a better picture of the gendered nature of the labour market in the ESPON area, we have included the sex-specific labour force participation rates in different age-groups as well as the 'gender gap' between FLFP and MLFP in the analysis. The NUTS 2 level is more appropriate for this analysis because the economic activity of women is not only determined by local and regional opportunity structures, but is also at least partly a cultural phenomenon.

Cluster	Labour force participation rate								Gendergap			
	Age-group 15 to 24		Age-group 25 to 34		Age-group 35 to 44		Age-group 45 to 54		Age-group			
	Men	Women	**Men**	Women	**Men**	**Women**	Men	Women	**15 to 24**	**25 to 34**	35 to 44	45 to 54
1	67.2	63.8	94.6	81.5	95.0	82.6	92.3	81.6	-5.6	-15.0	-14.0	-12.3
2	57.5	55.0	90.6	82.1	94.6	85.8	91.4	83.8	-4.6	-9.9	-9.9	-8.7
3	46.0	40.0	90.5	80.6	91.8	76.8	87.9	69.2	-14.3	-11.8	-17.9	-23.9
4	43.2	35.7	94.1	83.1	95.1	86.1	90.9	80.5	-18.9	-12.5	-10.0	-12.3
5	39.4	28.5	93.7	73.3	96.1	79.0	91.7	73.5	-32.3	-24.4	-19.8	-22.9
6	33.6	25.3	87.9	68.6	91.0	74.9	83.6	71.1	-28.1	-24.6	-19.7	-16.9
Underemployment	-	-	below 80%	-	below 80%	below 50%	below 75%	-	-	-	-	-
Unweighted mean	50.2	44.3	92.3	79.5	94.4	82.2	90.4	78.4	-15.2	-15.2	-14.0	-14.7
Calculation of the gender gap: (Female labour force participation rate - male labour force participation rate) / Female labour force participation rate												
A region has been asigned to the type "Underemployment" if at least one of the creteria mentioned above is met												
Indicators in bold letters have been used in the cluster analysis (Ward method with subsequent discriminant analysis)												

Table 2: Typology of the gender gap on the labour market: Cluster characteristics. Source: Own calculations.

Cluster 1 is characterised by strongly above-average labour force participation rates for both sexes and a low gender gap in the age-group 15-24. The labour force participation rates of both sexes are above the unweighted European average in the remaining age-groups while the gender gaps hardly differ from the EU mean. This type is very common in Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK. **Cluster 2** that predominates in Germany and the Nordic countries is the type with the lowest gender gap; the female labour force participation rate is above the European average in all age-groups. **Cluster 3** stands out with a below-average MLFP in all age-groups and low gender gaps in the age-groups 15 to 24 and 25 to 34. The female labour force participation is moderately below the unweighted EU mean in the youngest age-group and average in the age-group 25 to 34, but very low in the older age-groups. This results in rather high gender gaps in the older age-groups. This patterns suggests that gender roles are in transition and that the traditional breadwinner/ homemaker model is increasingly replaced by a dual earner model in the younger age-groups. Cyprus, Ireland, Lithuania, Wallonia and the majority of the Spanish NUTS2 regions belong to cluster 3. **Cluster 4** features low labour force participation of both sexes in the youngest age-group – possibly because of a high proportion of young women and men attending higher education (Figure 6). The labour force participation of women is well and of men slightly above the unweighted European average, hence gender gaps are relatively low. This type is very common in Estonia, Flanders, France, Latvia, Portugal and Slovenia. **Cluster 5** that contains most of the Czech, Greek, North Italian and Slovak regions is characterised by an

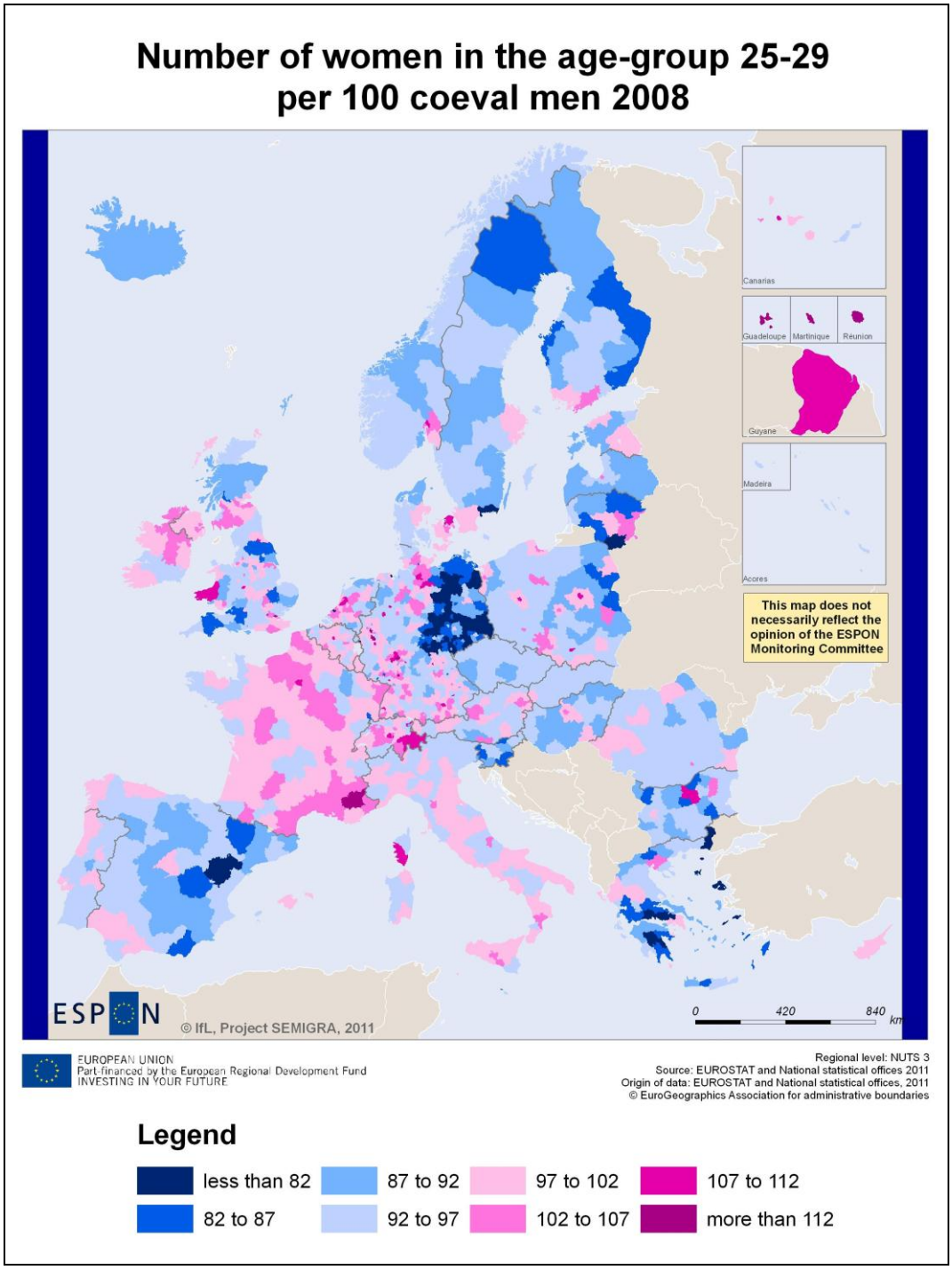
above-average MLFP in all but the youngest age-groups, generally low female labour force participation and a high gender gap.



Map 8: Typology of the gender gap on the labour market 2008. Source: Own calculations

In **cluster 6**, the labour force participation rates of both sexes are far below the European average. This type features the lowest female labour force participation rates in the ESPON area, hence the gender gap is relatively high. This type dominates in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. A

very low MLFP in the age-groups 25 to 34 and/ or 35 to 44 is interpreted as an indicator for a weak regional economy and pronounced labour market imbalances. These regions – that were excluded from the calculation of the cluster analysis – have been allotted to the type "**underemployment**".

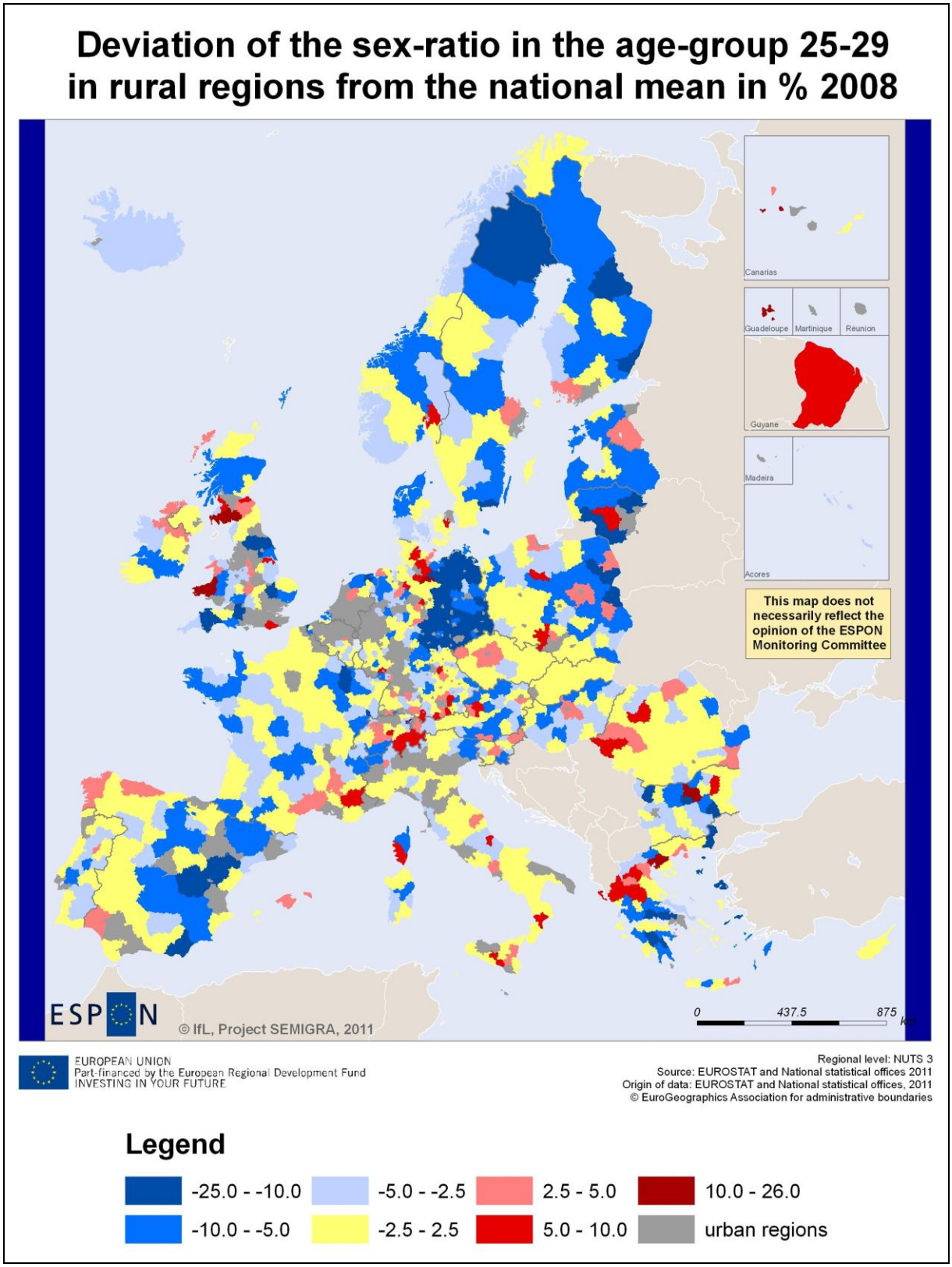


Map 9: Number of women in the age-group 25 to 29 per 100 coeval men 2008. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2010) and national statistical offices

Map 9 and Map 10 confirm our initial assumption about the transitory character of the regional sex ratio patterns in the age-group 25 to 29.

There is still a significant "surplus" of women in the main urban centres and NUTS3 regions with important educational facilities, but we can also notice a 're-feminisation' of the countryside, especially in France and in Italy. The spatial patterns of this 're-feminisation' in other Western European countries, e.g. in Austria, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands or the UK suggest that the suburban hinterlands of the metropolises are the initial points of this process. The situation in Hungary, Poland and the Baltic states is reversed. Regional disparities are more pronounced than in the age-group 20 to 24 and a trend of further masculinisation can be observed. The exceptional position of Eastern Germany with regard to unbalanced sex ratio structures is also clearly discernible in the age-group 25 to 29.

With regard to the typologies, we can conclude that the regions in cluster 1 of the labour market typology (regions with a diversified economy and a strong "modern" service sector) are by trend characterised by a "surplus" of women in their late 20s. There is, however, no clear trend that regions with 'male-oriented' labour markets (cluster 4) are characterised by a "deficit" of women. The possible explanation for this finding is that cluster 4 dominates in countries with weak sex ratio in all age-groups imbalances and low female labour force participation which implies that women are generally economically more dependent on their parents and partners which lowers their spatial mobility. There is no striking link between the typology of gender differences on the labour market and regional sex ratio imbalances in the age-group 25 to 29. In Poland, we even find the strongest "deficit" of women in regions with the most equal labour markets. This may be due to the more general nature of the typology, but can also be the result of cross-country cultural differences. In a next step, we will carry out a regression analysis with a variety of economic indicators in order to look into our initial hypothesis that unbalanced sex ratios with a "surplus" of young men are an indicator for territorial fragility. So far, we can neither confirm nor reject this assumption. The relationship between the economic situation of a rural region and the migration behaviour of young women and men also depends on the respective national context which implies that it is not necessarily possible to answer this research question with a definite "yes" or "no".



Map 10: Age-group 25-29: Deviation of the regional sex ratios from the respective national mean in % 2008. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2010) and national statistical offices

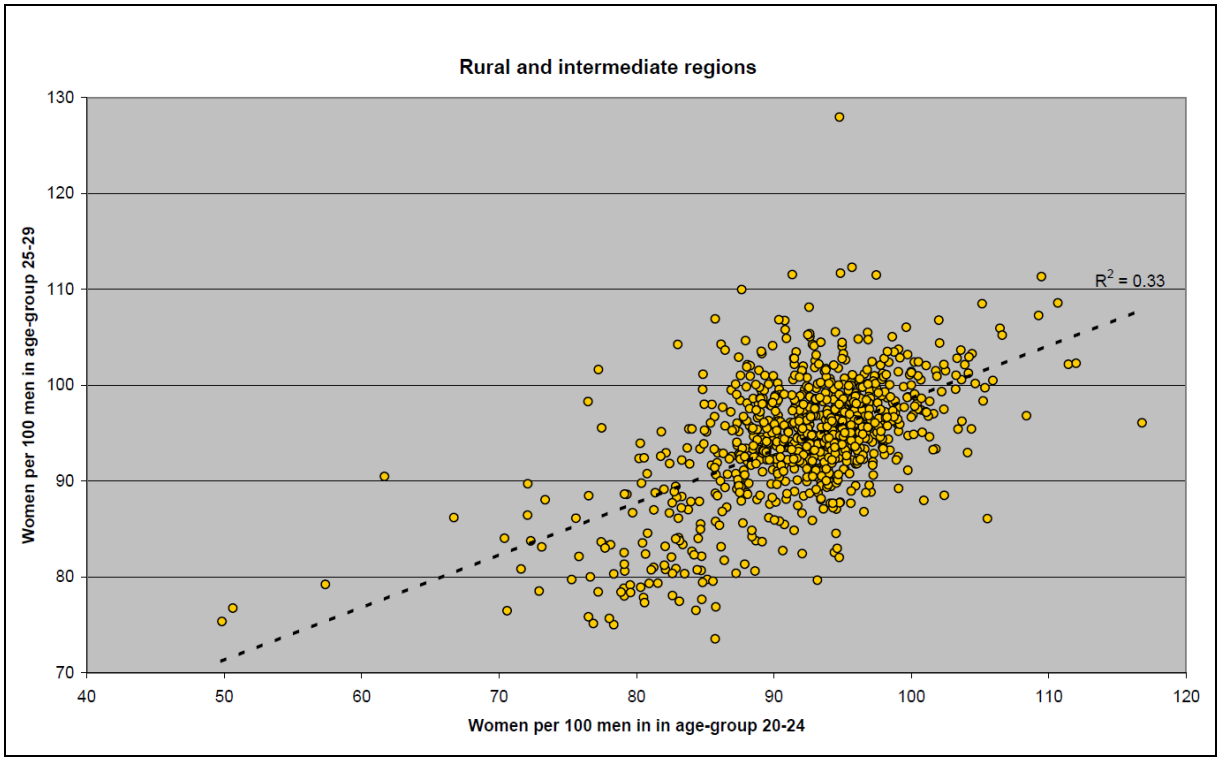


Figure 9: Scatter plot of the regional sex ratios in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 in rural and intermediate regions. Own calculation.

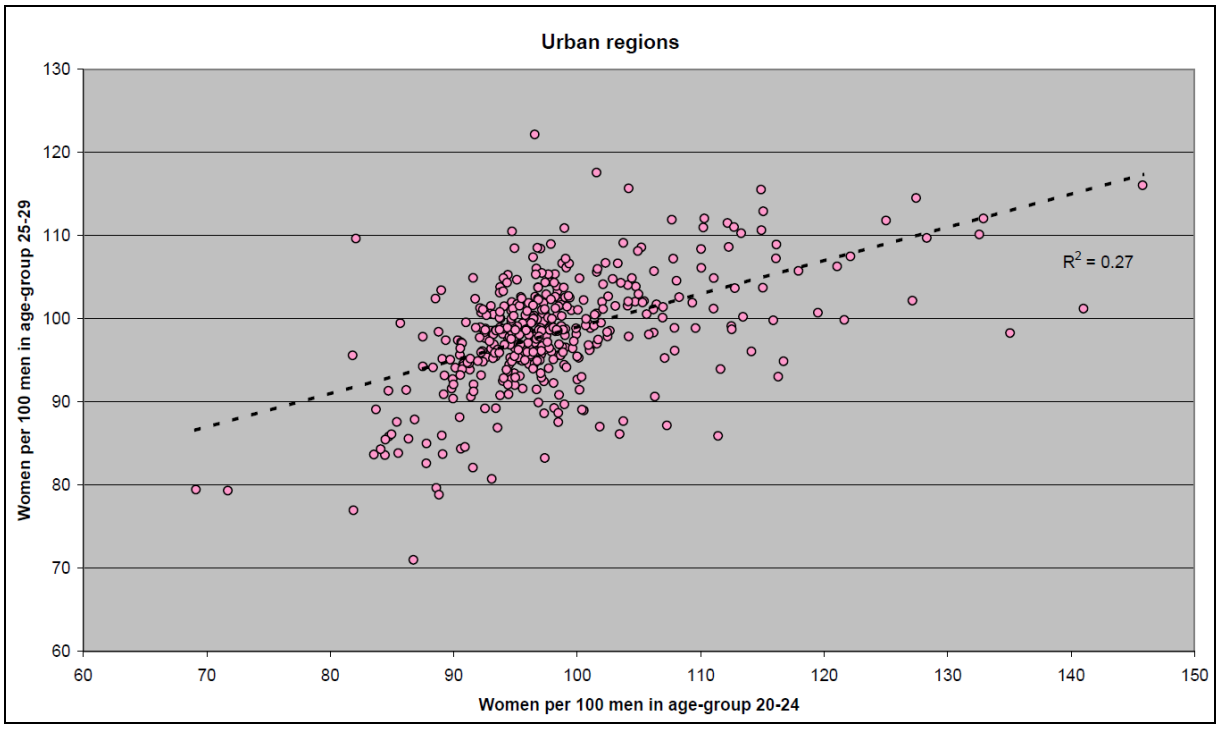


Figure 10: Scatter plot of the regional sex ratios in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 in urban regions. Own calculation.

If we compare the regional sex ratio patterns in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29, we find that there is a tendency that regions with high or low sex rations in the younger age-group also have high or low sex ratios in the older both in rural and urban regions (Figure 9, Figure 10). The

statistical relationship is, however, not very strong. This pattern underlines the transitory character of this age-group. The sex-ratio patterns of the age-group 20 to 24 that are influenced by education and labour market entry are still observable, but gradually give way to the patterns of the age-group 30 to 34 that are determined by family formation and residential preferences.

Age-group 30 to 34: Founding a family

According to the ideal typical life course, young people in their early 30s have already completed their education, gained work experience, found a permanent job and are now ready to settle down and have children. After having established oneself in the labour market and having reached a satisfactory income level, the relative importance of living conditions increases. Housing standard and the geographical setting of the residence gain in importance at the expense of factors oriented purely towards 'making a living' (Lindgren 2003) Hence, migration patterns in this stage of the life course should be determined by the availability of high-quality housing in attractive landscape.

Residential mobility of couples in their 20s and early 30s, especially moves into home-ownership, is frequently connected to a coming birth or concrete plans to have a(nother) child. There are several motivations to relocate for prospective parents. The current accommodation or neighbourhood may be too small, too expensive or not suitable for children. Some couples may also think that the city is no good place to raise kids and plan on moving to suburban or rural regions. In public perception, rurality is frequently linked to the concept of the "rural idyll". Rural regions are seen as traditional, sometimes sleepy problem free and nature-oriented places with closely knit societies. Social problems, e.g. poverty, crime or homelessness are, on the other hand, perceived as characteristically urban. The urban, both as a nightmare and a dream is imagined as the antithesis of rurality (Yarwood 2005). Occupational considerations are usually of minor importance when people decide to move to peripheral rural regions. Migration is primarily motivated by lifestyle considerations, e.g. the desire to live in harmony with nature in a quiet, safe place with a close-knit community and tight neighbourly relationships (Lindgren 2003, Rivera Escribano 2007). With respect to the question of whether to return to one's childhood home or not, social networks may play an important role. People with children tend to live closer to their parents. Recent research has shown that moves towards adult children or parents are usually induced by need for assistance or contact. In many cases, it is the younger generation that moves close to the older generation, especially in rural regions and when siblings still live close to the parental home (Michielin and Mulder 2007; Mulder and Cooke

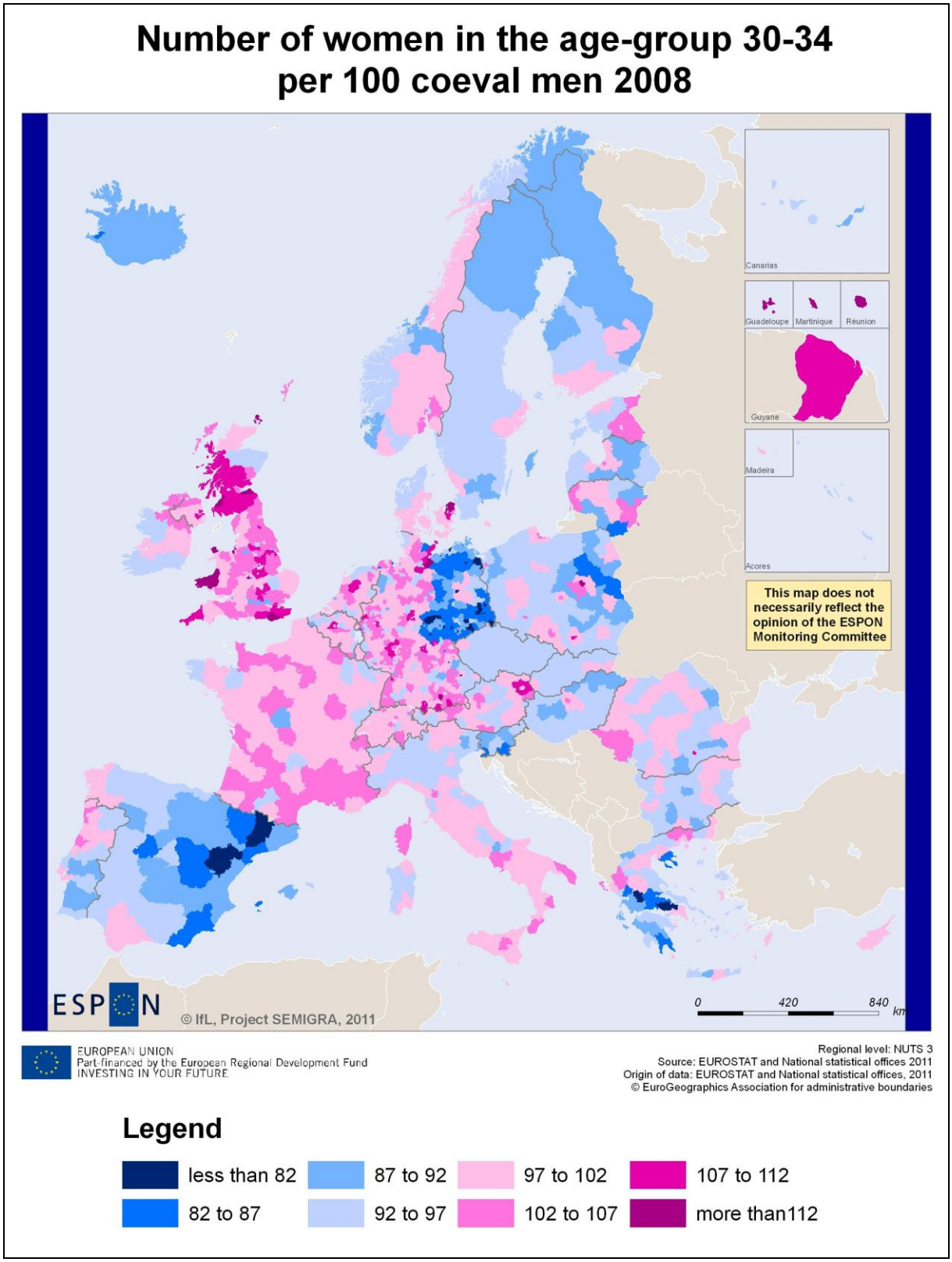
2009; Smits 2010). Other examples how social networks and individual biographies influence migration behaviour and residential choice include the intergenerational transmission of homeownership through gift-giving and socialisation (Helderman and Mulder 2007) and the fact that the place of birth plays a decisive part in shaping preferences for a specific residential environment later in life. Feijten et al (2008) show that people born in rural and suburban areas develop a preference for rural living later in their life. A reason why people return to the type of residential environment of their childhood may be the attempt to recreate elements from one's childhood which provides continuity and a sense of security over one's life-course. The individual concept of 'rurality' is, however, rather general and not tied to the place where they grew up in many cases, which means that they may not return to their hometown but move to more accessible rural regions with better infrastructure facilities and labour market conditions instead. In this sense, it seems that suburban areas are "rural enough" for most people. In these regions, one can settle in a rural environment that is safe and valuable to children and maintain contact with the urban labour market at the same time (Hjort and Malmberg 2006).

There exists a large body of literature which shows that family migration is usually to the benefit of the man's career. Women's economic status – on the other hand – tends to suffer as a result of family migration. They are less likely to be employed, work shorter hours and have smaller incomes. Family migration appears to be only weakly influenced by economic rationale and more by lifestyle considerations or the desire to be near family members, in particular parents and siblings. Overall, family migration to rural and suburban areas seems to strengthen "traditional" gender roles and to reinforce the position of the man as the main breadwinner of the family (Boyle et al 2006).

It has to be noted that there seems to be a trend towards reurbanisation in Europe. This is e.g. reflected in a growing tendency for young families to stay in the inner city at least as long the children are small. The pluralisation of household and living arrangements and the spread of 'non-traditional' family forms further fuel this trend to return to or stay in the city (Buzar et al 2007; Mulder and Cooke 2009). With regard to the gendered nature of family migration mentioned above, we can assume that more family-oriented women with a preference for traditional gender roles will be more likely to move to rural and suburban regions, while career-oriented women and couples with more egalitarian gender role models stay in the urban areas. This "sorting" of people will also determine whether rural regions with a "deficit" of women in their 20s can profit economically from re- and in-migration. The in-migration of skilled

and qualified persons is, as mentioned above, vital for rural regions. However, the expectations of in-migrants influence their subsequent behaviour, which means that the individual perception of a rural destination will influence the likelihood that individuals that want to set up a company or invest their cultural, economic and social capital in the countryside move there or to another rural region. Bosworth and Willett (2011) opine that regions which are commonly regarded as 'rural idylls' may attract people that look for an 'escape from modernity': "*Inward migrants are not enthused by ideas of developing their businesses or economic position, but rather their own, personal, individual happiness. This moves around the notion of the rural idyll which constructs the region as being outside of the progress of modernity, and attracts migrating businesses equally happy to trade off 'progress' for lifestyle*". According to Bosworth and Willett, the perception of a place as being outside of the modern world contains in itself the danger that this also applies to the local population i.e. an attractive image of place creates unattractive images of the people.

To conclude, we can expect that regional sex ratio patterns in the age-group 30 to 34 are strongly influenced by family formation and parenthood. 'Non-traditional' households will remain in the central cities, while individuals and couples with more conventional family and gender role models tend to move to rural and suburban regions. In this sense, we can assume that labour markets that offer attractive and well-paying career opportunities for men (e.g. in the second sector) as well as a variety of occupational options for women may be the most attractive in this age-group. If one of the partners is willing to commute, accessible regions with a well developed infrastructure may also attract young families. However, economic factors tell only half the story. Individual aspects, e.g. the presence of relatives, a rural socialisation, or a high appraisal of home-ownership will also influence migration decisions in this age-group. Gender role attitudes may also be important. Traditional gender roles are both an aspect and a precondition of the 'rural idyll'. This image is used by many rural and intermediate regions and municipalities to attract new inhabitants, especially young families (Grimsrud 2011). The downside of branding rural communities as calm, traditional, even anti-modern places is, however, that in-migration may stabilise the demographic development, but fail to invigorate the economy and that that a negative 'hillbilly image' is assigned to the region and its inhabitants.

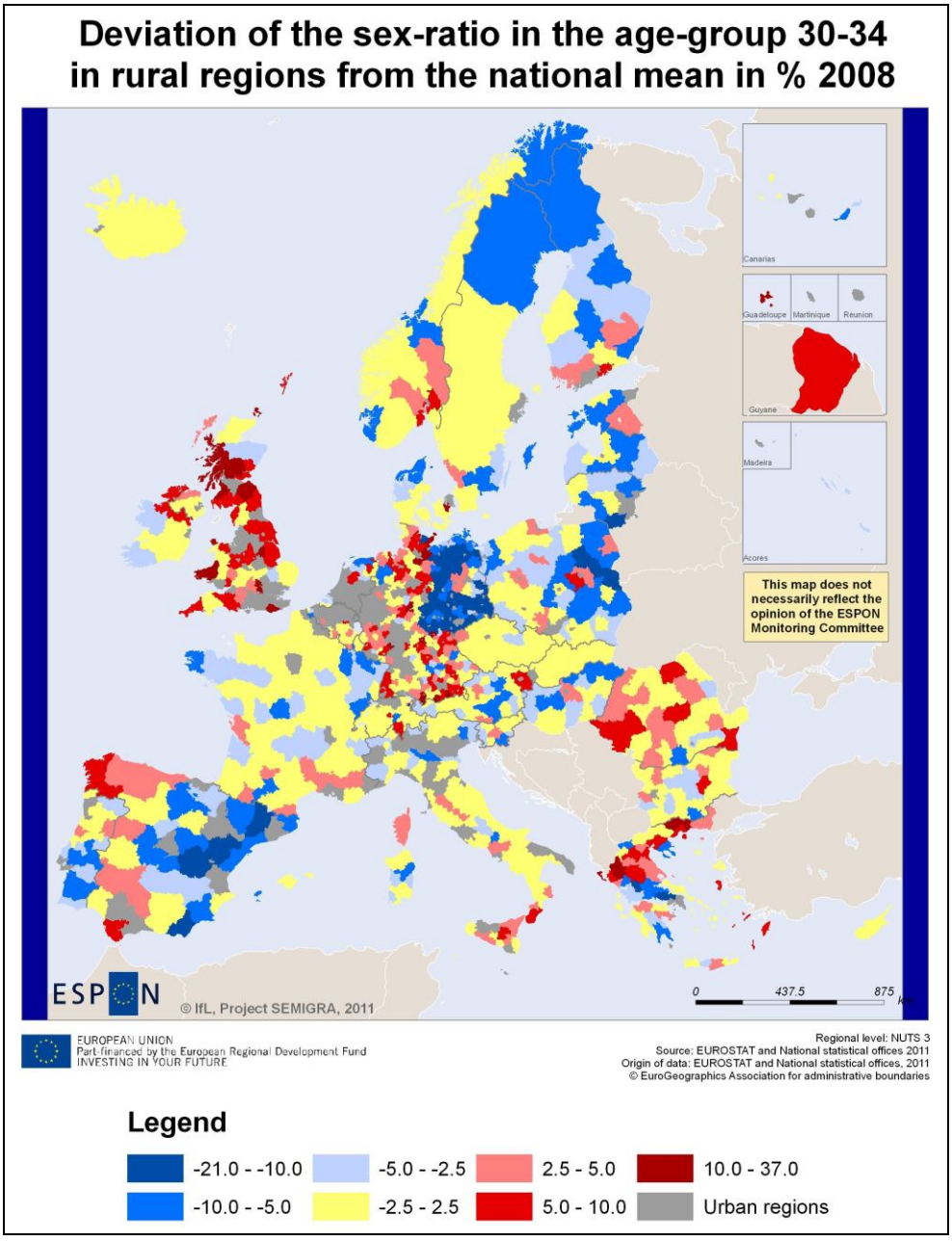


Map 11: Number of women in the age-group 30 to 34 per 100 coeval men 2008. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2010) and national statistical offices

Map 11 and Map 12 confirm that there is indeed a trend that the low sex ratios in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 even out as people form stable partnerships and have children, but only in Western Europe. The

gap between "female" cities and a "male" countryside is still the dominant spatial pattern in the post-socialist states with the exception of Eastern Germany where we can observe a slight "surplus" of women in the rural districts neighbouring Berlin to the West. The "return" of women in a later stage of the life-course is very pronounced in the UK, for example in the Highlands and Islands region in Scotland which is characterised by very low sex ratios in the age-group 20 to 24 and a marked "surplus" of women in their early 30s. Similar trends can be observed in Western Germany and Greece. The "re-feminisation" of the countryside affects primarily well accessible regions and rural and intermediate regions with minor urban centres. Peripheral, old-industrialised and economically weak regions tend to have at least a relative "surplus" of men also in this age-group. Accessible intermediate and rural areas may be perceived as a compromise between the good job and earning potentials in major urban centres and the ideal to offer ones children a "perfect childhood" like the one oneself had. The "surplus" of women in the major urban centres that was a typical feature of the regional pattern of sex ratio imbalances in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 is less pronounced in the age-group 30 to 34 or has even turned into a slight "deficit" (e.g. Berlin, Hamburg, London, Nottingham or Oslo).

The maps also show that regional disparities in the sex ratio decline in the age-group 30 to 34, especially in France, Norway and Sweden. The exceptions to this rule are Spain and the post-socialist states. The stronger regional sex ratio imbalances in the older age-groups are a result of the "surplus" of men among in-migrants in the Spanish case. In Eastern Europe, the 'administrative glitch' that was mentioned in the Észak-Alföld case-study is a possible explanation why the sex ratio decreases with age – in contrast to the Western part of the continent. Eastern Germany is still a special case with an extremely high "deficit" of women in almost all rural and intermediate districts – with the exception of the Northern, Southern and Western hinterland of Berlin. That women do not return or move in in their early 30s – which is the case in many rural and intermediate regions in Western Germany – aggravates the demographic problems of the New Federal States. A strong "deficit" of women in the most fertile age-group lowers the regional reproductive potential and accelerates depopulation and ageing.



Map 12: Age-group 30-34: Deviation of the regional sex ratios from the respective national mean in % 2008. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2010) and national statistical offices

Figure 11 shows that rural and intermediate regions which are attractive for women in their late 20s are by trend also attractive for women in their early 30s. The same pattern is also discernible in urban areas (Figure 12), although to a lesser extend. The sex ratio patterns in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 30 to 34 are, however, statistically independent (Figure 13, Figure 14). This underlines that residential preferences of women change during the life-course and that the age-group 25 to 29 can be characterised as a transitional period where both educational and occupational factors that are the most important determinants of migration in the age-group 20 to 24 and family-related considerations that strongly influence

the decision to relocate in the age-group 30 to 34 overlap and create a somewhat fuzzy spatial pattern of sex ratio imbalances.

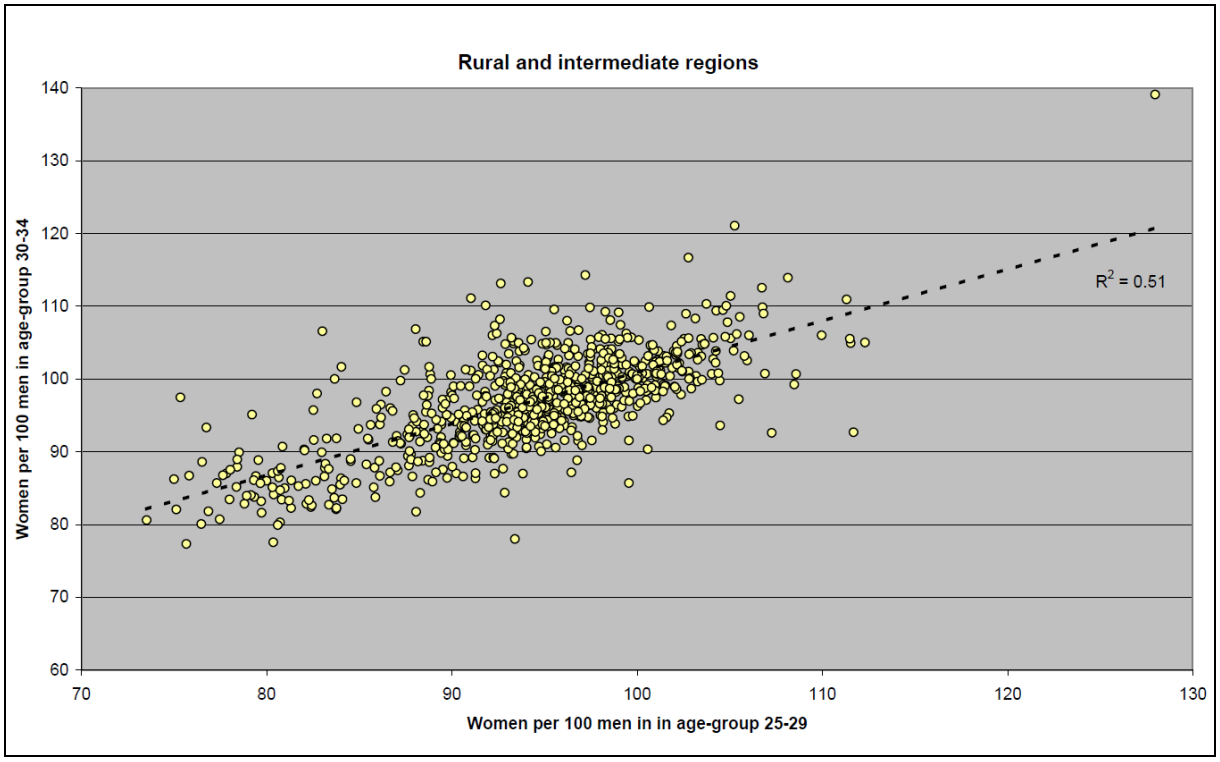


Figure 11: Scatter plot of the regional sex ratios in the age-groups 25 to 29 and 30 to 34 in rural and intermediate regions. Own calculation.

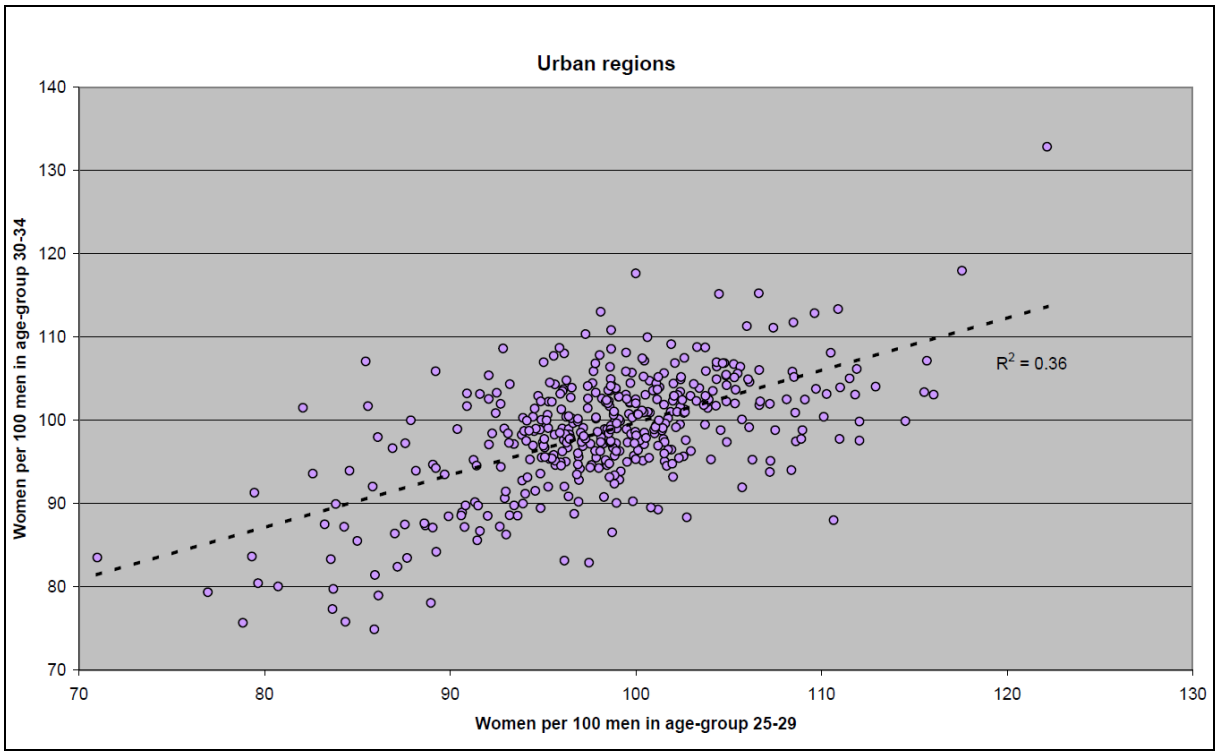


Figure 12: Scatter plot of the regional sex ratios in the age-groups 25 to 29 and 30 to 34 in urban regions. Own calculation.

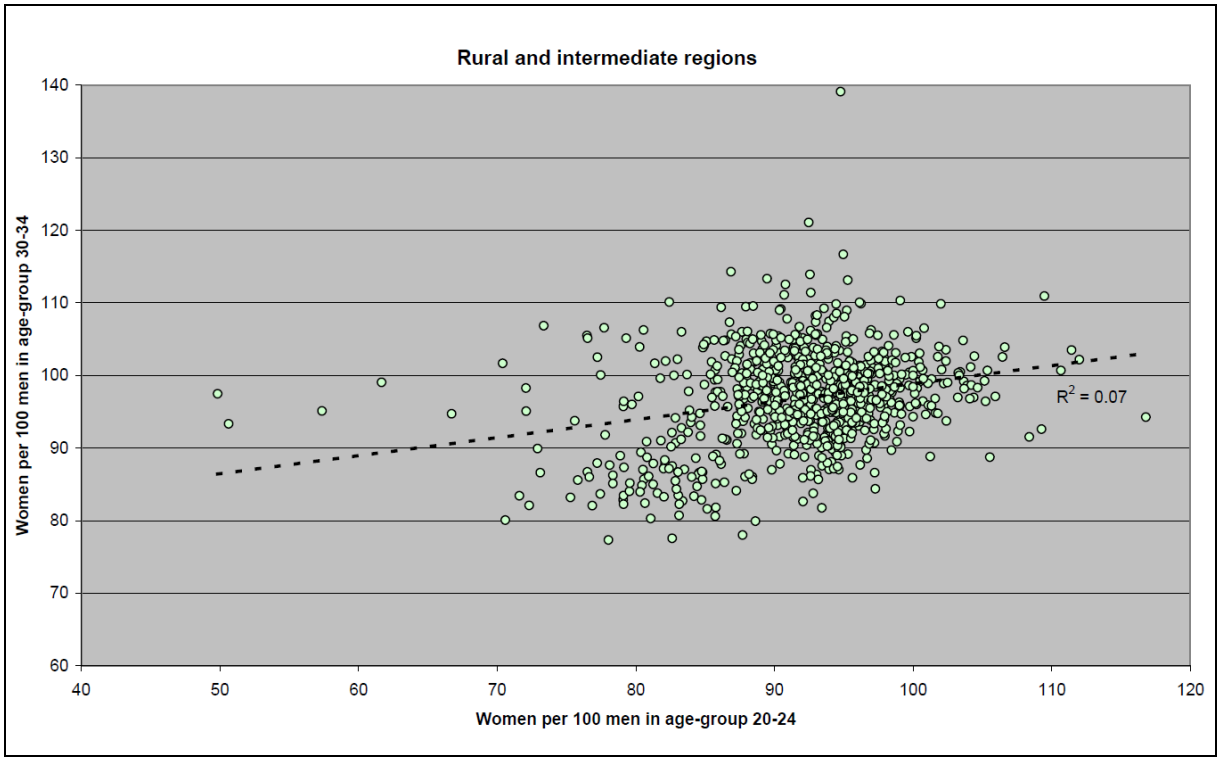


Figure 13: Scatter plot of the regional sex ratios in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 30 to 34 in rural and intermediate regions. Own calculation.

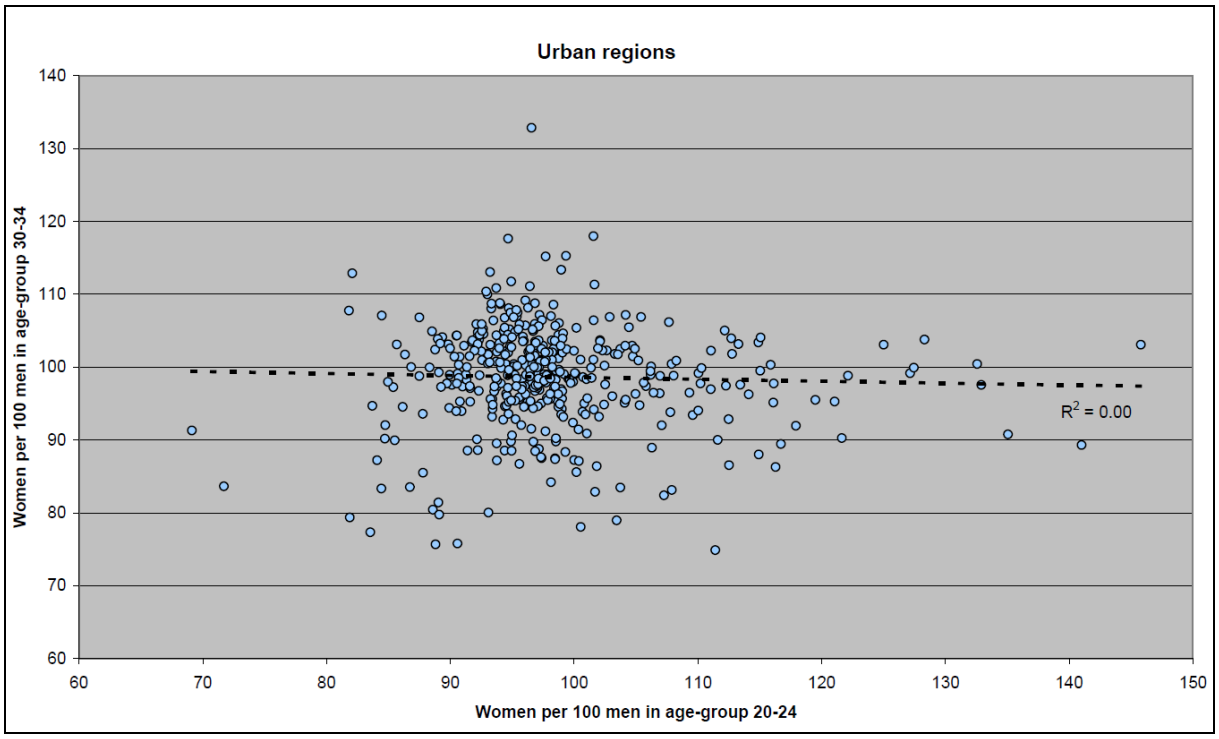


Figure 14: Scatter plot of the regional sex ratios in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 30 to 34 in urban regions. Own calculation.

A typology of regional sex ratio patterns

It has become clear that there are more or less pronounced differences in the spatial pattern of regional sex ratio imbalances in the analysed age-

groups and that the economic and non-economic influencing factors we have discussed so far are highly dependent on the respective national and cultural context. We have developed a typology of regional sex ratio patterns at the NUTS3 level in order to make this complexity more comprehensible. The variables used for the calculation of the cluster analysis were the number of women per 100 men in the age-groups 20 to 24, 25 to 29, and 30 to 34 (Map 13, Table 3).

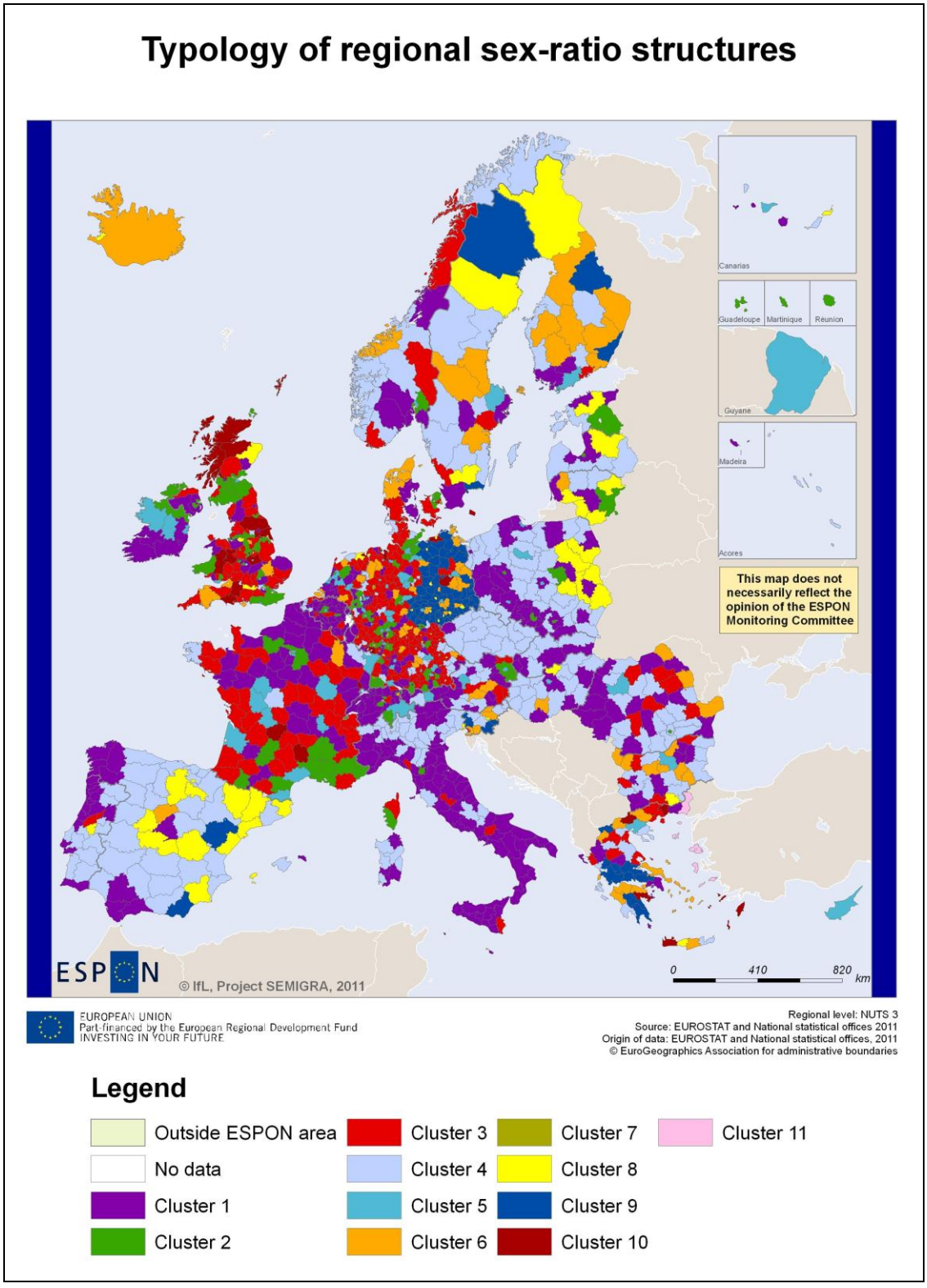
In **cluster 1**, the number of women per 100 men is slightly above the 'natural' average in all age-groups. This is the largest group (n=358) and more or less evenly distributed across countries as well as spatial, accessibility and economic categories, although urban and intermediate regions are slightly overrepresented (Table 4, Table 5). Hajdú-Bihar county, which is part of the case-study region Észak-Alföld, is a representative of this type. **Cluster 2** (n=122) features a slightly below average sex ratio in the youngest age-group and a strong "surplus" of women in the older age-groups. This type is predominantly urban, but it is also well represented in intermediate regions with a diversified economy.

	Women per 100 men in the age-group			Number of regions
	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	
Cluster 1	97.3	98.2	99.0	358
Cluster 2	94.7	**104.2**	**107.4**	122
Cluster 3	**90.5**	96.0	101.5	250
Cluster 4	94.0	94.1	93.7	248
Cluster 5	**108.0**	**103.5**	98.8	88
Cluster 6	87.6	88.7	94.3	87
Cluster 7	**130.0**	**107.5**	97.6	12
Cluster 8	98.0	**88.9**	**87.2**	63
Cluster 9	**81.9**	**81.3**	**84.6**	90
Cluster 10	**78.4**	**90.2**	101.7	27
Cluster 11	**54.9**	**80.4**	96.2	4
Mean EEA 30	96.5	97.4	97.5	1349
	Value more than 10% below EEA 30 mean			
	Value 5.0 to 10.0% below EEA 30 mean			
	Value 2.5 to 5.0% below EEA 30 mean			
	Value 2.5 to 5.0% above EEA 30 mean			
	Value 5.0 to 10.0% above EEA 30 mean			
	Value more than 10% above EEA 30 mean			

Table 3: Typology of regional sex ratio patterns: Cluster characteristics. Source: Own calculation.

Cluster 3 (n=250) is also characterised by a sex ratio that increases with age. In the age-group 20 to 24 there is a pronounced "surplus" of men, which turns into a "deficit" in the age-group 30 to 34. Cluster 3 is largely rural, accessible regions in the consumption countryside are overrepresented. The characteristics of **cluster 10** (n= 27) are similar. The main differences are that the "deficit" of women in their 20s is higher than in cluster 3 and that cluster 10 contains more remote regions. These types are fairly common in France, Western Germany, Greece, the Netherlands and the UK. Clusters 3 and 10 are textbook examples of the 'ideal typical' life course that we used to structure this report: Women leave in their early 20s to get an education and enter the labour market

and return later to found a family. The fact that both clusters combined account for only one fifth of the NUTS3 regions emphasises that age- and sex-selective migration processes in Europe are far too complex for such a simplistic explanation.



Map 13: Typology of regional sex-ratio structures. Source: Own calculations

Cluster 4 (n= 248) is characterised by a moderate "deficit" of women in all age-groups. Rural regions – both accessible and remote – are overrepresented as are agrarian and industrialised regions. This confirms our assumption that a 'male-oriented' economic structure is an important explanation for sex ratio imbalances. Cluster 4 is very common on the Iberian Peninsula, in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Västernorrland and four of the six counties of Észak-Alföld and Észak-Magyarország (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg) belong to cluster 4. **Cluster 5** (n= 88) and **cluster 7** (n= 12) are very attractive for women in their 20s, but not so much for women between 30 and 34; in this age-group the sex ratio is only slightly above the 'natural' mean. Cluster 7 is entirely urban and is made up only by important German university towns. Cluster 5 is predominantly urban but also contains intermediate accessible regions in the consumption countryside or with a diversified economic structure with a strong service sector. **Cluster 6** (n= 87) is characterised by a strong "deficit" of women in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 which levels off somewhat in the age-group 30 to 34. The share of rural accessible and rural remote regions as well as agrarian and regions in the consumption countryside in this type is considerably higher than among all NUTS 3 regions. Cluster 6 is very common in Finland and also contains the urban district of Dessau-Roßlau in the case-study region Sachsen-Anhalt.

Accessibility	Percentage of NUTS-3 regions in cluster											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	total
Intermediate accessible	37	34	43	33	20	27	0	16	38	41	0	34
Intermediate remote	3	1	0	3	0	5	0	2	0	4	25	2
Rural accessible	16	7	25	27	7	30	0	18	32	15	0	20
Rural remote	7	3	9	20	2	21	0	21	16	33	75	12
Urban	38	54	23	17	70	17	100	44	14	7	0	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Economic structure	Percentage of NUTS-3 regions in cluster											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	total
Agrarian	14	2	8	32	2	23	0	27	11	19	75	16
Consumption	29	20	46	32	16	49	0	23	60	56	25	34
Diversified-industry	5	7	7	13	1	6	0	6	8	7	0	7
Diversified-service	15	16	17	6	10	5	0	0	7	11	0	11
Urban	38	54	23	17	70	17	100	44	14	7	0	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4: Typology of regional sex ratio patterns: Percentage of NUTS3 regions per cluster by accessibility and economic structure. Source: Own calculation.

In **cluster 8** (n= 63), the sex ratio deteriorates with advancing age. The number of women per 100 men is slightly above the 'natural' average in the age-group 20 to 24 and significantly below in the oldest age-group. This type is largely urban, but also contains an above average share of

agrarian regions. Nógrád county in the North Hungarian case study region and the urban districts of Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg in Sachsen-Anhalt belong to cluster 8.

	Number of NUTS-3 regions in cluster											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	total
Austria	15	3	4	8	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	35
Belgium	28	3	5	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
Bulgaria	6	0	4	9	1	7	0	1	0	0	0	28
Cyprus	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Czech Republic	1	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Denmark	2	2	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	11
Estonia	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
Finland	2	0	1	5	1	8	0	1	2	0	0	20
France	28	18	33	3	13	1	1	0	0	3	0	100
Germany	57	43	122	29	43	30	10	20	71	4	0	429
Greece	5	0	7	9	1	10	0	1	9	5	4	51
Hungary	4	0	0	13	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	20
Iceland	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Ireland	4	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Italy	69	1	5	31	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	107
Latvia	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
Liechtenstein	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lithuania	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	10
Luxembourg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Malta	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Netherlands	13	2	12	1	5	4	0	1	1	1	0	40
Norway	5	1	3	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	19
Poland	25	5	0	26	4	0	0	6	0	0	0	66
Portugal	15	0	2	12	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	30
Romania	14	1	6	17	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	42
Slovakia	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Slovenia	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	1	3	0	0	12
Spain	12	0	0	29	1	1	0	14	2	0	0	59
Sweden	3	0	2	8	1	3	0	2	2	0	0	21
Switzerland	13	6	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	26
United Kingdom	25	33	38	7	5	6	0	6	0	13	0	133
Total	358	122	250	248	88	87	12	63	90	27	4	1349

Table 5: Typology of regional sex ratio patterns: Number of NUTS3 regions per cluster and country. Source: Own calculation.

Cluster 9 (n= 90) stands out with a massive "deficit" of women in all age-groups. 68 of the 90 regions are located in Germany, 9 in Greece. The concentration of regions with extremely unbalanced sex ratios in the New Federal States suggests that Eastern Germany is a special case and that the reasons for the strong "deficit" of young women are connected to the German Reunification. Apart from the pronounced economic gap between Western Germany and the former GDR e.g. regarding youth

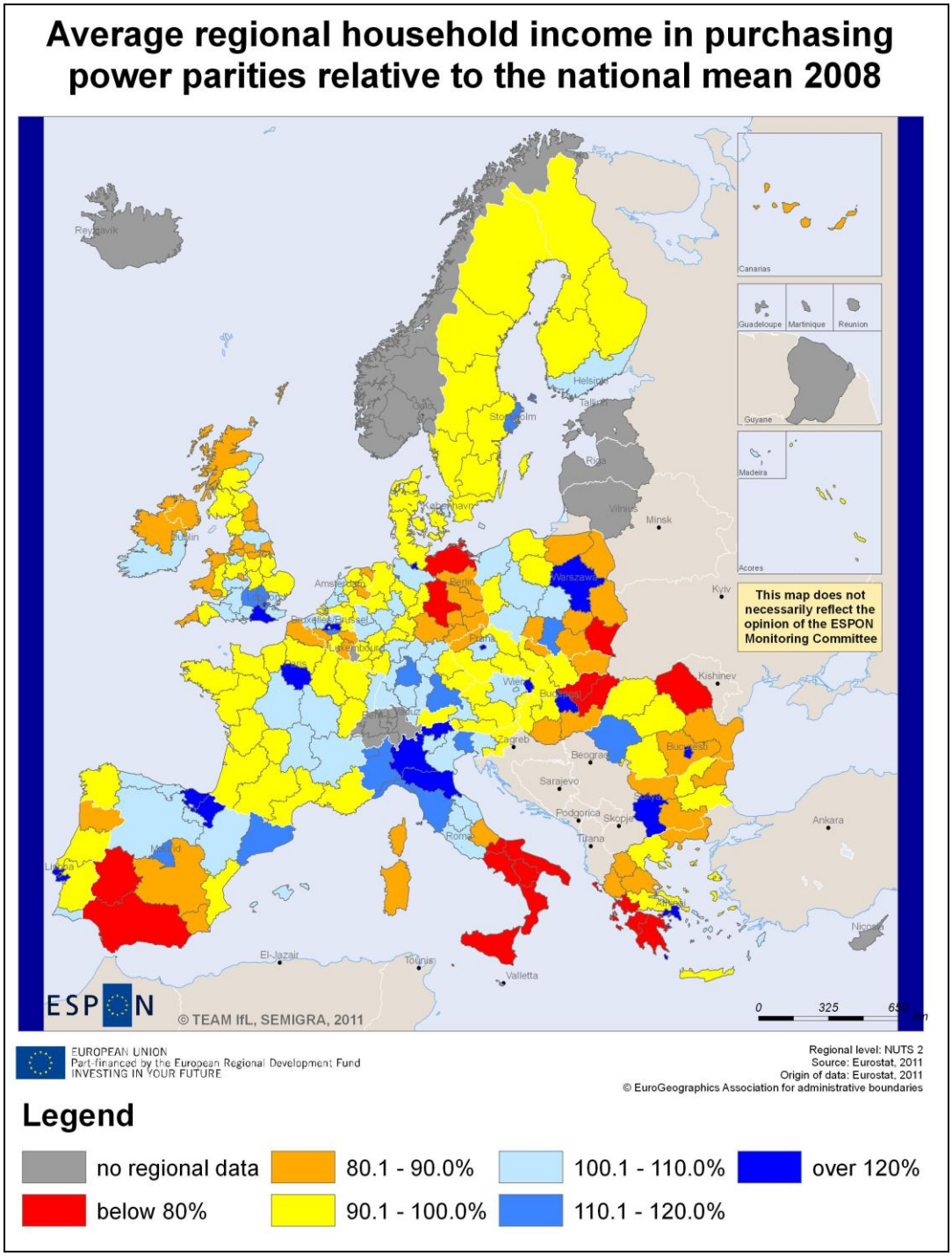
unemployment (Map 1), GDP (Map 2) or purchasing power (Map 14) there are still large cultural differences e.g. regarding the labour force participation of mothers with small children (Leibert 2009; Stöbel-Richter and Brähler 2005). Cluster 9 is predominantly rural and consists largely of consumption countryside regions. The "surplus" of men in the urban regions belonging to this cluster that are located outside Eastern Germany can be attributed to specific local circumstances like the existence of important technical universities (Aachen [DE] and Delft en Westland [NL]; see above) or naval bases (Wilhelmshaven [DE]). Of the SEMIGRA case study regions, all rural districts in Sachsen-Anhalt and Kainuu belong to this type. **Cluster 11** (n= 4) contains regions with extremely distorted sex ratios in the age-group 20 to 24 and to a lesser extend also 25 to 29 in Greece. It can be assumed that such low sex ratios are the result of regional peculiarities. Trying to find explanations for these peculiarities is beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusion and next steps

As a conclusion, it shall be highlighted that numerous factors related to education, the labour market, the regional economic situation, but also culture and gender roles influence age- and sex-selective migration processes. It has to be kept in mind that the migrants are human beings and that they sometimes act in an economically suboptimal way, that they are part of social networks that influence their decisions, that they are not fully informed about all possible options and that their behaviour is governed by values and norms. The national context also plays an important role. It has been shown in this paper that there are some pan-European trends in the regional pattern of sex ratio imbalances, but that there are even more differences and national peculiarities. A mixed-method approach is indispensable to fully understand the migration patterns of young adults.

As a next step, we will conduct a regression analysis at the NUTS 2 level in order to explain the spatial pattern of regional sex ratio imbalances. A preliminary analysis (not shown) suggests that the educational infrastructure and the industry structure are important determinants of unbalanced sex ratios in the age-groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29, even though the models only explain between 30% and 40% of the variation. It is also rather difficult to explain the spatial pattern in the age-group 30 to 34. We are currently discussing possibilities to include indicators that measure the regional residential attractiveness to improve the models. In order to better understand the phenomenon of distorted sex ratios, it would also be helpful to analyse regions that are not affected, especially in Italy, where there are no imbalances despite a pronounced economic gap between Northern and Southern Italy. Other interesting aspects of sex-

selective migration include the questions why there are extremely low sex ratios in several Greek regions, why Slovenia is much more attractive for male immigrants and why sex ratios decrease with age in Eastern Poland and Lithuania. To answer these questions is unfortunately beyond the scope of the SEMIGRA project.



Map 14: Average regional household income in purchasing power parities relative to the national mean (=100%) 2008. Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

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ISBN

ESPON

SEMIGRA
Selective Migration and Unbalanced Sex Ratio in Rural Regions

Targeted Analysis 2013/2/15

Interim Report – Annex | Version 06/February/2012

EUROPEAN UNION
Part-financed by the European Regional Development Fund
INVESTING IN YOUR FUTURE

This report presents the interim results of a Targeted Analysis conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2013 Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The partnership behind the ESPON Programme consists of the EU Commission and the Member States of the EU27, plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. Each partner is represented in the ESPON Monitoring Committee.

This report does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the members of the Monitoring Committee.

Information on the ESPON Programme and projects can be found on www.espon.eu

The web site provides the possibility to download and examine the most recent documents produced by finalised and ongoing ESPON projects.

This basic report exists only in an electronic version.

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2 B: Report on the Case Study Region Västernorrland
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2 D: Report on the Case Study Region Észak Alföld
2 E: Report on the Case Study Region Észak Magyarország

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Annex 2: Data Sources

The data used in the SEMIGRA project come from three main sources:

(1) the national statistical offices of Finland, Germany, Hungary and Sweden;

(2) the EUROSTAT database;

(3) the ESPON database and

Additionally, the TPG itself will collect qualitative and survey data in the case study regions.

Data provided by the national statistical offices

For the case study research, regional (NUTS 3) and local (LAU 1, LAU 2) data is needed. For this reason, the national statistical offices will be the most important data source. The online data bases provided by Statistics Finland, the Federal Statistical Office Germany, the Hungarian Central Statistical Office and Statistics Sweden offer a wide range of up-to-date data at the regional and local levels. The German Project Partner will also use local data provided by the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development while the Hungarian Project Partners have access to the TeIR database provided by the Ministry for National development and VÁTI. The TPG considers the data provided by these sources as largely adequate. No data gaps have been identified; hence no need for support from the stakeholders or the ESPON CU is foreseeable at the moment.

Data provided by EUROSTAT and the ESPON database

For the analysis of unbalanced sex ratios at the European level, the EUROSTAT database is the most important source of up-to-date comparable data covering a wide range of subjects. The ESPON data base is also seen as an important source. The urban-rural typologies that were developed in the ESPON 2013 EDORA project have for instance already been used in the interim report. The project partners have, however, not fully made use of the potentials of that tool until now. The most important problem with both sources is, however, that regional data is only available at the NUTS 2 level in many cases which is too crude for the case study research. Relevant differences at the regional level may become blurred or disappear completely. However, in many cases the methodology and concepts developed in other ESPON projects can be used for the case study research. The typology of population development developed by the Swedish SEMIGRA Project Partner in the ESPON 2006 project 1.1.4 'Spatial effects of demographic trends and migration' can for example also be used to describe and analyse the population development at the local level in the case study regions (see Map 7). For the SEMIGRA scenarios, it shall be assessed whether the scenario building in the DEMIFER project can serve as a guideline. The TPG will also monitor the progress of the ongoing ESPON 2013 projects and evaluate whether the data, methodology and/ or concepts are relevant for the SEMIGRA project.

Annex 3: A general SWOT-analysis with focus on young women's migration

1. Analytical approach

SWOT analysis is a method to identify the Strengths and Weaknesses of a region and Opportunities and Threats for the future development of that region. In the frame of SEMIGRA the SWOT analysis is intended to describe the current status of the case study regions that are affected by female out-migration. Hence, the SWOT is a tool to translate scientific evidence into strategy building and to provide a basis for scenario building and policy advice (Fig. 1). It is intended to use the results of the SWOT analysis to initiate a discussion in the case study regions on how to develop regional development strategies that address the needs of young people in general and young women in particular.

SWOT		Internal appraisal	
		Strengths	**Weaknesses**
External appraisal	**Opportunities**	Regional development strategy: Formulation and implementation of policy instruments that build on regional strengths and exploit local opportunities	Regional development strategy: Formulation and implementation of policy instruments that aim at overcoming weaknesses by better exploiting regional opportunities
	Threats	Regional development strategy: Formulation and implementation of policy instruments that utilise regional strengths in order to avert threats for future regional development	Regional development strategy: Formulation and implementation of policy instruments that aim at mitigating regional weaknesses and eliminating threats

Fig. 1: SWOT matrix and possible regional development strategies. Own design

With the help of the SWOT analysis the position and potentials of the case study regions shall be identified with regard to the development of young women's migration preferences and patterns. The SWOT analysis involves the collection and analysis of *external* as well as *internal* factors in order to gain an understanding about a region´s socio-economic and demographic situation in order to work out a strategy for change and development concerning young women's migration preferences and patterns. This means that the analysis can be done in four stages:

- Identification of external and internal impacts,
- Analysis of these relations' impact on the SWOT-ingredients,
- Prediction of policy implications and
- Suggestion of policy recommendations and strategic policy options.

In this process the selection of relevant variables is of utmost importance – "wrong" variables will surely also give an incorrect SWOT-analysis. The SWOT-analysis in this study will thus focus on the case study regions' economic and social status with regard to the purpose of the SEMIGRA-Project – migratory movements of young women. The main aim in the context of SEMIGRA is then to assess the regional push and pull factors, to build on regional strengths, to eliminate weaknesses, to exploit opportunities and to mitigate the effects of external threats. The main advantage of this method is the holistic approach that takes into account both internal and external factors that influence regional development.

2. Selection of indicators, identification of internal and external impacts

The indicators of the SEMIGRA SWOT analysis are selected in the light of statistical facts (both with regard to external and internal impact factors), scientific and policy documents, and the results of the empirical research in the case study regions (expert interviews, interviews with young women, survey with pupils). The key criterion for the selection of a particular indicator is its relevance for (female) migration: Here impacts on in-, re-, outmigration and staying are considered.

External factors:
The impact of business cycles, structural transformations, global shifts and crises, changing competitive relations, international and national labour market conditions, and national and international policies within differing fields are examples of *factors of external character* with relevance for the four SWOT ingredients and for the SEMIGRA SWOT-focus. With regard to the regions affected by selective out migration of young women the following influencing impacts are crucial:

- The overall demographic trends
- The development of gender roles
- The economic development with regard to urban-rural relations
- The development of the financial scope of public budgets
- The development of mobility and the information and communication society

Internal factors: Economic diversification, labour market conditions, internal cohesion or dualism, education supplies, female-friendly labour markets, the regional image, life-style factors, age and gender structures (which are also effects of young women's migratory movements that are in the focus of the SWOT), environmental factors, child care, medical and health care and social policy are examples of *factors of internal character* that all have an impact of various degree. It is aimed at developing a common SWOT-model that is applicable to the differing regions and their needs. For the SEMIGRA SWOT-analysis the most important internal factors to be evaluated are:

- Economic and labour market structures
- Social and educational infrastructure

- Social structures and interrelations including also gender traditions
- Natural environment, settlement pattern

Table 1 shall be seen as a general analytical approach that is relevant for all SEMIGRA-regions in various ways depending of the preconditions – external and internal – in respective region. It shows the SWOT-ingredients that are relevant for female migration in a more detailed way.

3. Implementation

Table 1 will be the starting point for the evaluation of the five case study regions with regard to female migration and the development of strategies to mitigate the consequences of sex-selective out-migration of young women. The indicators are valid for all five regions. Profound knowledge of the case study regions and a thorough understanding of the processes that influence regional development are also necessary requirements for a successful implementation of the SWOT analysis.

Table 1 Scheme for the SEMIGRA SWOT-analyses

Indicators with impact on migration, facts	*Strengths, internal factor, what makes women stay in the regions*	*Weaknesses, internal factors, what is driving young women to move away from the region?*	*Opportunities, influenced by external impacts (economy, policy)*	*Threats, influenced by external impacts(economy, policy)*
Economic structure	Balanced, diversified, flexible, Invulnerable to external chocks. Female-friendly labour market Tradition of (female) entrepreneurship The "new rurality" is established	Unbalanced, inflexible, rigid, vulnerable to external chocks Male dominated labour market No tradition of (female) entrepreneurship Dependent of the old agricultural/industrial sector	Diversifying of the regional economy labour market opens more up for women Rising possibilities and incentives for (female) entrepreneurship Develop the "new rurality", rural revival	No growth factors economic structure stays rigid Even more male dominated labour market Diminishing possibilities and incentives for (female) entrepreneurship Still dependent of the agricultural/industrial sector, rural retardation
Social and educational structures	Good educational structure, highly skilled population, open milieus	Deficient educational structure, low skilled population, isolated milieus	Brain gain	Brain drain
Gender-specific sharing of roles	tradition of employed women and mothers	traditional gender roles, no working mothers	increasing reconciliation of family and employment	Reactionary trends
Quality of environment	Good	Bad	Improving	Worsening
Image, has to be considered with regard to different target groups (age, gender)	Positive	Negative, "no future"	Rising	Worsening
Settlement patterns, housing situation	Good living conditions, cheap housing prices	Bad living conditions especially for young adults and families	upgrading, pull-factors for families	Downgrading, pauperization, "drop-outs"
Cultural and social activities	Lot of sociocultural facilities (clubs, associations)	"Nothing to do", especially for young people, alienation	Diversified culture, rising cultural and social involvement, voluntary work	No cultural activities, deeper alienation, apathy, isolated milieus
Social/educational infrastructure for women (young families)	Dense net and good quality (e.g. child care, schools)	Insufficient infrastructure	Expanding, improving quality, new, flexible and adjusted solutions	Cutting down of infrastructure without replacement

Outcomes: influence on demography / female migration

In-migration of young people (women)	Out-migration of young people (women) and an unbalanced population structure	Stimulate in-migration of especially (young) families	Accentuated out-migration of young people especially young women
Relatively high fertility rates. Young population, a pull-factor.	Relatively high fertility rates but hampered of the huge out-migration. Skewed age structure – a push-factor.	Childbearing is increasing. Great expectations, higher fertility. Family in-migration. Increased return migration.	Not attractive for any population groups. Worsen reproduction potentials. Bad expectations, lower fertility. Dying-out regions.

Annex 4: Scenarios for age- and sex selective migration in rural regions

The aim of this task is to better assess the possibilities and potential of different policy strategies with regard to overall societal and economic future trends. Starting point are the central questions:

- "How will sex- and age-selective migration in rural regions develop within the next 15 years"?
- "How will these processes be influenced by different drivers?"
- "Which futures are possible for the rural regions affected by female outmigration?"

The given situation is already analyzed in activity 1 (general analysis) and activity 2 (case study research and SWOT). Here important drivers of the regional development with regard to female migration are already identified: Key fields of influence that turned out to be important in the research context are the (female) labour market, social infrastructure, supply with goods and services, the regional image, settlement structure and accessibility.

The spatial reference levels are the case study regions (NUTS2, NUTS3). With regard to transferability types of rural region in the European Union will also be taken into account based on the EDORA typology of rural regions and the typology of sex ratio structures developed in this project.

The scenarios for the case study regions will include predictive as well as explorative elements (Börjeson et al 2006, Stiens 1998, Küpper 2006). While the predictive scenario elements are based on quantitative data the explorative elements are related to qualitative assumptions mainly derived from document analysis, expert and stakeholder discussions.

Implementation of predictive scenarios:

The central question of the predictive scenarios is: "What demographic processes are likely in rural regions affected by a shortage of young women?" The timeframe of the scenarios will be 15 years. Here we want to include a prognosis of the demographic development in Europe and in the case study regions up to 2025 based on EUROSTAT's EUROPOP 2008 forecast and projections calculated by the national statistical offices. The mayor demographic challenges for the case study regions are depopulation, ageing and a loss of reproductive potential. The predictive scenario will take these problems into account and assess the possible consequences based on the current strategies that are implemented in the regions to deal with the effects of demographic change. The basic

assumption of the predictive scenario is that neither the demographic trends nor the policy response to them change significantly during the analysed period.

Implementation of explorative scenarios:

The explorative elements of the scenarios target the question "What can happen to rural regions affected by female out migration due to external factors?" The implementation is related to the following work steps (SGI, 2011):

a) Analysis of EU documents:
   The Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 (TA2020) identifies six challenges with regard to the key questions of SEMIGRA. Especially the challenges of globalization, "territorially diverse demographic and social challenges" and "segregation of vulnerable groups" are related to selective migration from rural areas.

b) Reference to scenarios of the ESPON projects DEMIFER, EDORA (with regard to sparsely populated areas and inner peripheries: GEOSPECS, TeDi) and SeGI. Especially the scenarios of DEMIFER analyzing how policies may impact future patterns of mortality, fertility and migration levels provide important implications for SEMIGRA. It is, however, also necessary to pay attention to the national context which is an important determinant of age- and sex-specific mobility (see Annex 1).

c) Identification of external factors: The following macro processes will be considered and discussed with regard to their impact on the demographic development and female migration in the case study regions and the development of different types of rural regions in Europe in general:

   - *Processes of* ***socio-economic polarization*** between rural and urban regions and the emergence of "rural peripheries", i.e. regions where poor accessibility and a low population density result in a problematic situation on the labour market and problems to maintain the social and technical infrastructure as well as the supply with goods and services. Important aspects are the development of demographic shrinkage (lack of a 'critical mass') and processes of social selective migration ('brain drain') that endanger not only the maintenance of social infrastructure (schools, day-care facilities) but also the image and self-esteem of the population. These processes are very gender-relevant

since the public service and private providers of social infrastructure are very important employers for rural women.

- The process of **population development**, notably ageing, impact on social infrastructure, the labour market and the regional image. Important aspects are e.g. new jobs in the health care sector, new markets by third age population but less offers for younger generations, negative effects on the percipience of the region by younger age groups.
- *Increasing physical and virtual* ***mobility*** which enables commuting, but also lowers the emotional costs of out-migration because social contacts can be maintained through social networks. *The increase of Information and Communication Technology has an important impact on the supply and organization of labour*. This trend can be considered as an opportunity to ensure the access to and supply of goods and services in rural regions. With regard to the needs of women and the reconciliation of family and employment, possibilities of teleworking have to be considered in this context. In particular for rural regions ICT is a precondition to keep up with the social and economic development in a knowledge based society.
- The narrowing of the ***financial scope of public budgets*** and the increasing competition for funds between regions and municipalities will limit the regional actors' ability to maintain social and technical infrastructures. Cuts may result in a lower quality of life and hence fuel out-migration or curb re- and in-migration. On the other hand - under favourable conditions - the strengthening of local communities and the civil society in rural areas can emerge regardless of the retreat of the state if the local population succeeds in developing ideas and measures to break the vicious circle of shrinkage and disinvestment.

d) Identifying and combining possible future states of these factors: here we take the results and implications from other ESPON scenarios into account (mainly DEMIFER, EDORA) focusing on relevant gender aspects.

Example: Possible futures and their effects on female migration:

Negative state	Driving forces	Positive state
Shrinking (female) labour force participation, Job cuts, no innovation, ICT not widespread	Economy, technical and social innovation	Growing (female) labor force participation, New jobs of in the knowledge-based and service economy New technology and innovation, rising use of ICT
Cuts in public services, retreat of the state	Policy (female and family friendly), cohesion policy focusing on urban-rural relations	Family-friendly welfare policy
Effects on demography/female migration		
Population decrease, low fertility, no in- and remigration, pronounced aging, female outmigration		Population increase, (female) in- and remigration, higher fertility,

Possible future states and scenarios like "social sustainability", "civic society" or "passive redevelopment" will be intensively discussed on the 6th TPG meeting in Tokaj, Hungary.

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