

# **New Motives for Migration?**

## **On Interregional Mobility in the Nordic Context**

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Paper I: Lundholm, E., Garvill, J., Malmberg, G. & Westin, K. (2004). Forced or free movers? The motives, voluntariness and selectivity of interregional migration in the Nordic countries. *Population, Space and Place* 10(1): 59-72.

Paper II: Lundholm, E. & Malmberg, G. (2006). Gains and losses, outcomes of interregional migration in the five Nordic countries. *Geografiska Annaler Series B - Human Geography* 88(1): 35-48.

Paper III: Lundholm, E. (2007). Are movers still the same? Characteristics of interregional migrants in Sweden 1970 - 2001. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 98(3): 336-348.

Paper IV: Lundholm, E (2007) Migration – commuting substitution. Commuting potential and interregional migration propensity. *Submitted*.

APPENDIX I: Nordic survey questionnaire

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*When Lina is sixteen she moves for the first time, from her parents' house in the countryside of Västerbotten in northern Sweden to the nearby town of Umeå in order to attend upper secondary school. The travel time is less than an hour and buses make it possible to travel every day, but for Lina commuting is not a real option since it appeals to her to spend time with friends and participate in activities in Umeå after school. To leave her parents' home at age 16 is an easy choice, as her two sisters did the same before her.*

*After finishing her studies at upper secondary school, Lina feels like trying something new, meeting new people and devoting time to her main interest, music. She moves to a town 200 kilometres away to attend a one-year residential course.*

*Thereafter, she applies for a university education that is available only at a few locations in Sweden. She is accepted to two universities in southern Sweden more than 1,000 kilometres away. In deciding where to move, the fact that her sister already lives in one of the two cities is one factor she considers. She eventually decides to also move to that city, Göteborg, and her first apartment there is not far from where her sister lives.*

*After graduation four years later, Lina's boyfriend Emil (who she met in Göteborg) is offered a job in the small town of Arvika, 300 kilometres north of Göteborg. Lina also manages to get a job in Arvika and decide to move there. The main reason they choose this town is that they are familiar with it since Emil's parents live nearby.*

*After two years in Arvika, Lina and Emil decide it is time to settle down more permanently and start thinking about starting a family; Lina is now 27 years old. She misses Göteborg, while Emil likes living in a small community. They start to look for housing and employment opportunities in the Göteborg area, preferably in the north-western part of the city where several of their friends, Lina's sister and her family, and Emil's brother and his family live. The prospect of living near the sea and archipelago is also appealing. When Emil is offered a job in a small municipality on the outskirts of Göteborg, they decide that this is a good compromise and decide to move. Lina has no job in the new locality, but as the labour market is much larger and more diverse she assumes that her job prospects will be better there, and only months after their arrival she has a job. This time the intention of the move is to settle down; Lina and Emil buy a house, and their first child is born in 2007.*

Lina's migration biography illustrates the complexity of migration decisions on the individual level. Her biography is unique, as are all migration biographies, but it also contains elements that are typical of many migration biographies. It exemplifies many of the themes that are studied on an aggregated level in this thesis. This thesis on interregional migration relates migration to individual migrants' perceptions on how long-distance migration fits into their life projects, additionally; it examines how the tendency for migration among different groups has changed over time due to social and economic change.

To some extent, Lina's biography is a contrast to the migration stories in the public debate of the urbanization era in Sweden during the 60s and 70s (see, for example, Öholm & Åberg, (1970)). One substantial element in this debate was a campaign in the North of Sweden using the slogan "vi flytt int" ("we don't move"). Internal migration was typically described as being labour-market driven; migrants are forced to move due to economic restructuring, especially from the northern periphery to the south. Additionally, migration was considered typically involuntary and its price was thereby high. The archetypal migrant of this era was a single male or a breadwinning husband with a family of tied migrants. This conception of internal migration is still present to some extent in current debates on migration in Sweden and it is therefore relevant to question whether this view on interregional migration is still valid for contemporary migration patterns. Does the labour market still force people to migrate against their will? Although there is no comprehensive study of what the motives actually were for the migrants of the urbanization era to compare with, this study, through contrasting current survey data on motives and perceived outcome of migration with register data on interregional migrants during the period 1970-2001, can study the changing composition of migrants and thereby investigate how interregional migration has changed character over the past decades.

### **1.1. Aim**

The point of departure for this thesis is the discussion of the role of the labour market in interregional migration, and how this role has changed or even become less important over the past decades. The focus is on the individual migrant and

the debate over possible conflicts between the individual's constraints and preferences concerning residential location and the labour market's demands for mobility.

Based in a Nordic and Swedish context, the aim of this thesis is to study a) the influence of labour-market conditions on migration motives in relation to other factors, b) how individuals in different circumstances perceive the influences on, and outcomes from, decisions to move or stay, c) the influence of labour-market conditions for interregional migration over time, and d) the influence of commuting potential on migration behaviour over time.

## **1.2. Outline of thesis**

This thesis is based on four papers and an introductory section. The papers include four empirical studies on interregional migration in Sweden and the Nordic countries. The introductory section consists of a general discussion of various theoretical aspects of interregional migration and a discussion of the results and conclusions that can be drawn from the papers in this thesis.

Paper I: *Forced or free movers? The motives, voluntariness and selectivity of interregional migration in the Nordic countries.* Focuses on migrants' perception of the migration decision, motives, voluntariness, attitudes and values, based on a survey in the five Nordic countries.

Paper II: *Gains and losses, outcomes of interregional migration in the five Nordic countries.* Also based on the Nordic survey; examines the migrants' perception of the outcome of migration in economic and non-economic terms.

Paper III: *Are movers still the same? Characteristics of interregional migrants in Sweden 1970-2001.* Register study comparing the changing propensity for interregional migration in Sweden during the period 1970-2001.

Paper IV: *Migration – commuting substitution. Commuting potential and interregional migration propensity*. Register study comparing the effect of commuting potential on migration propensity in Sweden during the period 1970-2001.

### **1.3. The individual biography and general patterns of migration**

Some features of Lina's biography are common for migration patterns in most settings, for instance her repeated migration at a young age before settling down. She is also similar to typical 20<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish migrants, migrating from the rural north to the urban south. Other features, like student migration, are more specifically typical of contemporary migration in Sweden. Universities and university colleges have been established in many new localities in Sweden, and the number of people enrolling at universities has increased dramatically over the past decades, as has migration among youth.

All migration biographies contain intricate interrelations between intentions, constraints, social bonds and coincidence. It was a coincidence, for instance, that Lina fell in love with a person whose parents live in Arvika. If she had never met Emil, the likelihood that she would have applied for and accepted a job in Arvika would be very small. Unforeseen twists of fate are inevitably an element in everyone's biography, and the sequence of events is also dependent on previous events in one's life course, for instance Lina's decision to pursue university studies had consequences on when and where she could migrate. Once one graduates, labour-market opportunities are determined by availability of work in a particular sector. The labour market can influence migration both directly and indirectly. Employment is a constraint on migration as it is difficult to migrate to a place where there are no employment opportunities. A precondition for Lina and Emil's decision to move back to Göteborg was that at least one of them had a job prospect; however, this does not mean that migration is always contracted, i.e. that the job comes first and the move later. For Lina, moving back to Göteborg was a speculative move - migration came first and she supposed that she could eventually find employment.

Migration is set in a life course; this is something that manifests itself in general patterns, concerning for instance age-specific migration behaviour. These patterns

differ in time and space, however. Nest-leaving is an inevitable life course event for most young people and is in many cases an end in itself. For Lina, nest-leaving was triggered by her attending upper secondary school and facilitated by the expectation from her family and herself that the timing was right. The norms concerning who can migrate, as well as when and where to, differ in time and space. In contemporary Sweden the single, young woman migrating to a city is a common migrant, whereas in another cultural context this might not be a thinkable option. Migration is most frequent among young people; Lina's first couple of migration events were deliberately non-permanent, as opposed to her last migration event, which occurred at a stage of family formation and was connotated with permanent intentions. The likelihood that she and Emil will remain a long time in their present locality and their owner-occupied home is very high. Many major life course events are often concentrated within a few years during a person's youth. Thereafter, as a household is formed, both spouses have finished their education and established themselves on the labour market, and the incidents of major life course events are expected to be less frequent. Children and owner-occupied housing are also factors that potentially increase the costs of migration and therefore reduce the probability that Lina and Emil will migrate soon again. But this state of 'adulthood' generally appears at an older age today compared to in the 1970s. Lina will be twenty-nine years old when her first child is born, and this makes her a fairly young mother in a Swedish metropolitan region in 2007.

Social bonds are important when we make decisions; Lina did not make the decision to move back to Göteborg on her own but instead together with Emil as one household. They needed to take into account not only their two wills, but also their two careers. Dual-career households are characteristic of multiple-person households in Sweden today. But at the same time, single-person households are becoming increasingly common. A striking feature of Lina's migration biography is the importance of friends and relatives in her choice of migration destinations; even though social relationships did not directly cause migration in Lina's case, they were nevertheless very important in the process of deciding when and where to move. As is the case with most interregional migrants, Lina and Emil never moved to a "black hole", i.e. a place where they knew no one.

#### 1.4. Gains from mobility and immobility

The potential conflict between stability and mobility in the interest of individuals and society is illustrated in Figure 1. A conflict occurs if the requirements of society (including the labour market) for mobility clash with the individual's wish to stay, as in the arguments of the "vi flytt int"-debate in the Swedish context. There is also a potential conflict if mobility among individuals challenges the requests of society for a stable population, for instance in regions where many young people move out and leave a skewed demographic structure behind in their home region.

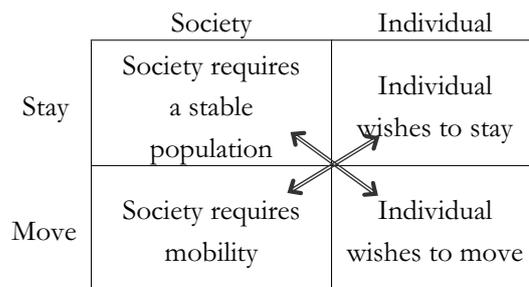


Figure 1: Conflict between mobility and stability on societal and individual level. (Garvill et al. 2002 p 11)

From society's point of view, there is a need to have a stable population in order to maintain service functions and infrastructure. The organization of society (at least in modern Western cultures) is based on sedentary settlements (Garvill et al. 2000). Both rapid population growth and decline are potentially problematic and could cause severe stress in various institutions. Interregional migration is an important policy question in Sweden, as well as in other Nordic countries. With the exception of Denmark, the Nordic countries have a similar settlement structure with a relatively small population occupying vast areas, generating a similar public debate about depopulation and how to maintain a stable population and thereby secure service and infrastructure in the whole country (Abramsson 2005). From a local perspective, population development is considered a crucial matter, and municipality representatives generally express an overall aim to maintain or increase population in their local context (Niedomysl 2004).

Society also requires mobility to some extent; labour-market functionality is dependent on a certain amount of labour mobility and that the labour force be allocated where job opportunities are available. Thus through a better use of individuals' education and skills, migration can also reduce regional imbalances in unemployment. Migration is therefore considered good for productivity and general economic development (NUTEK 2000; Åkerlund 2007).

From the individual's perspective, there are also many reasons migration could be a positive thing. According to economic and behavioural theory, the individual's decisions are expected to be rational and migration is thereby assumed to be positive as long as it is voluntary and occurs only when it is anticipated to be beneficial for the individual in one way or another. For many individuals, there is a value in having the opportunity to migrate and choose another region of residence in order to obtain increased life quality.

From time to time there has been a public debate over the negative effects population redistribution could have on individuals, both those who remain in depopulated areas and those who migrate. Loss of homeplace has been highlighted as a problem for migrants when forced to migrate from a region where they are rooted and feel at home (Öholm & Åberg 1970). The negative consequences for both individuals and regions caused by the national policies in northern Norway during the urbanization were discussed by Brox (1966). The Nordic countries are welfare communities where the population generally anticipates free choice of settlement as a welfare quality and even a right that citizens should be entitled to. It is a political goal to have welfare services distributed equally across the entire country and economic security, regardless of where one lives (SOU 2000).

### **1.5. Interregional migration in Sweden and the Nordic countries**

During the post-war period, Sweden experienced a population concentration process. Urban growth was slow in the 1950s, but in the 1960s a rapid urbanization process concentrating population on all geographical levels followed when employment in the primary sector was replaced by a growing industrial sector. The

northern part of the country was depopulated in favour of the southern part, (Borgegard et al. 1995). For several decades, the declining population in rural areas of Sweden (and in Finland, Norway and Iceland) has generated a public debate on involuntary labour-market migration. The labour force migrant being forced to move to an urban area is a reoccurring theme in the argumentation. The underlying assumption has been that there is a conflict between the needs of society for a mobile labour force and the need of individuals to choose where to live, and that individual migrants have to pay a considerable price for the demands of the labour market.

In the 1970s, migration rates fell and migration flows reversed in a process similar to that in other industrialized countries, known as the “turnaround trend” – in Sweden, also called “gröna vågen” (“the green wave”). Migration to urban areas decreased and migration to rural areas increased. This deconcentration process during this period was facilitated by the new employment opportunities in the public sector, especially for women. One important idea of the welfare state is that welfare services should be equally available to all citizens regardless of where they live. Accordingly, job opportunities were created in the public sector across the country, including areas where the private sector did not offer sufficient employment. Other important factors facilitating deconcentration were investments in infrastructure, increased car ownership and subsidies promoting commuting. During this period, higher education was dispersed by the establishment of regional university colleges, allowing students to remain in their home region (Kupiszewski, Borgegård et al. 2001). According to Bengtsson and Johansson (1993; 1994), the processes that led to the decline in interregional migration during the 1970s and 1980s were driven mainly by a new economic structure in which the economic restructuring reduced the incentives for labour-market migration to the natural resource-based industry. Instead, the new labour-market opportunities in the service sector and the growing public sector were distributed to population concentrations in all regions. This development reduced the need for people to relocate to jobs, as the new jobs occurred where people lived. Parallel to this development, Bengtsson and Johansson (1993; 1994) also acknowledged other factors contributing to the decline in migration rates such as the growth of dual-in-

come households, lock-in effects in the housing market, regional policy and transfer payments and a shift in values whereby people tended to value housing preferences higher than proximity to workplace.

In the 1990s, interregional migration was once again intensified and shifted toward population concentration again, but the new migrants were to some extent different from the groups among which migration rates fell in earlier decades. The most important group accounting for nearly the entire increase in migration consisted of students, while migration rates among those who were employed stabilized at a low level (SOU 2007). Another development during the past decades is an increase in commuting, in terms of both average length of trips to work and number of people who work in a different administrative unit than the one they live in. This has sometimes been interpreted as a result of substitution between migration and commuting (Kullenberg & Persson 1997; SOU 2003; 2007; Storrie & Nättorp 1997), but no studies have empirically tested whether commuting opportunities have a stronger impact on the tendency to migrate today compared to before.

Norway, Sweden and Finland all experienced a strong urbanization period with high rates of interregional migration during the 1960s and 1970s. This period was followed by a period of lower migration rates and, to varying degrees, also tendencies of deconcentration (Kultalahti 2001; Kupiszewski et al. 2000; Kupiszewski, Illeris et al. 2001; Rees et al. 1998). During the 1990s, all Nordic countries experienced a population concentration trend toward the capital city regions (Kupiszewski et al. 2000; Kupiszewski, Illeris et al. 2001; Rees et al. 1998). The interregional migration intensities are difficult to compare between countries since this factor is greatly dependent on the definition of regions. Judging from existing comparisons, (SOU 2007) migration rates in Sweden do not deviate substantially from intensities in other OECD countries. The trend of declining rates of interregional migration during the 1970s and 1980s is common in several OECD countries, with migration rates thereafter stabilizing at a low level or increasing during the 1990s in countries like Sweden, France and the Netherlands (OECD 1990; 2005).

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In migration literature, long-distance migration has been assumed to be primarily labour-market related, as opposed to short-distance migration caused by household transformations (Gordon 1982). Recent studies on Swedish interregional migration, however, indicate that the role of the labour market as a driving force for interregional migration has changed or even declined (AMS 1999; Garvill et al. 2002; Johansson et al. 2004; Johansson & Persson 2000). The correlation between migration rates and business cycles has become weaker in Sweden since the 1990s (Israelsson et al. 2003; Johansson & Persson 2000; Storrie & Nättorp 1997), which is one indicator that an increasing share of interregional migration is caused by processes that are not directly related to the labour-market. This tendency could be explained by an increased share of students among interregional migrants and migration among recent immigrants, groups that are less sensitive to business-cycle fluctuation. This could also be anticipated as support for the notion that motives for long-distance migration are mixed rather than predominately determined by labour-market reasons. At the same time, interregional migration continues to enhance regional disparities and concentrate the population to regions of economic growth (Israelsson et al. 2003; SOU 2007); there is thus reason to conclude that the labour market is still highly significant for interregional migration.

Although economic explanations for migration have dominated migration research (Boyle et al. 1998), various non-economic factors, such as family ties, amenity and cultural explanations have been put forward as important in understanding migration processes (Bailey et al. 2004; Bengtsson & Johansson 1993; Colwell et al. 2002; Hedberg & Kepsu 2003). Tourist researchers such as Williams and Hall (2000) and Bell and Ward (2000) argue that there has been a shift toward more consumption-driven, as opposed to production-driven migration; thus tourism and migration are more intertwined. According to Halfacree (2004), there is a risk in using the dualism of economic vs. non-economic as the non-economic factors tend to be considered merely subordinate explanations that complement the economic explanations.

This study is not an attempt to contrast economic and non-economic mechanisms behind migration but rather to acknowledge both (or rather: the diversity of migration triggers). The individual perspective places migration as an event intertwined in everyday life, social relations and individual characteristics. In the individual context, both economic and non-economic circumstances are influential, determining an individual's opportunities to choose residential location. In a migration biography like Lina's, it becomes apparent that the migration decision consists of a multitude of reasons for migrating, among which income and employment are only two of many. Lina's migration biography is not unique in this respect; most would agree, not least from their own experience, that a migration decision is directly and indirectly dependent on many factors. Ní Laoire (2000) describes from a biographical point of view how the migration decision reflects a *"process of negotiation which requires some kind of trade-off"* (p. 238).

According to many macro-economic studies, migration flows respond to regional economic disparities in accordance with economic theory; i.e., net migration flows are positive in regions with economic growth and low employment, and are negative in less prosperous regions (Greenwood 1985; Todaro 1969; Westerlund 2001). The causality in this relation between economic growth and net migration has, however, been a long-standing debate within macro-economics (for an overview, see Carlino & Mills 1987; Massey 1990; Muth 1971). Myrdal (1957) argued that migration and employment growth constitute a process of "circular and cumulative causation" in which migration induces economic growth and social change, which stimulates further migration in a cumulative process. Florida (2002) argues that in the new economy, which is no longer based primarily on natural resources, the creativity of the labour force is the most important localization factor and corporations cluster where their employees prefer to live. Further, Florida argues that changes in social and cultural values in developed countries have led to choice of residence being more impacted by lifestyle considerations than by jobs. People need employment for their livelihood, but the locations of jobs are largely dependent on the location of labour; in short, jobs occur where there are people. Entrepreneurs choose to locate in regions with a good supply of labour, or entrepreneurs make their own jobs at the location where they wish to live. Employment

is further created by the demand for public and private services by the population residing in a certain region (ibid).

Economic models for migration consider migration a result of the matching process between the potential migrant and available jobs on the labour market where the migrant finds a suitable job in another region (Jackman & Savouri 1992; Westerland 1997). In many cases, an underlying assumption for these models is that, generally, a person first finds a job and thereafter considers commuting or relocating residence, because it is regarded as more difficult to find a job than a dwelling (Eliasson et al. 2003; Van Ommeren et al. 2000). The opposite train of thought is that choice of destination comes first in the decision to migrate. For instance, Findlay, Short, and Stockdale (2000) found that migrants often *make* jobs rather than *take* jobs when moving to the Scottish countryside. This suggests that the motive for migration was not the job opportunity but rather something else that made the countryside attractive. From the individual perspective, the process perhaps rather starts by deciding where one wishes to live (to stay or to move) and thereafter searching for job opportunities in a trade-off negotiation with commuting and over-qualification, and if the right opportunity reveals itself migration occurs. This is by no means a contradiction to findings, for instance by Westerland (2001), that an increased number of job openings enhances migration.

### **2.1. Life course, age-specific migration behaviour and family migration**

The macro-economic perspective is limited in the sense that it assumes that all individuals respond the same to macro-economic factors in terms of regional disparities. From the perspective of the migrants, migration behaviour appears to be very dependent on individual characteristics such as age, education level, position on the labour market and family situation.

One perspective that takes these individual dissimilarities into account is the life course perspective. There are always elements of age-specific migration patterns in international, regional and residential migration (Millington 2000). The reason for this is not that age in itself explains migration behaviour, but rather that it serves as a proxy for differences in living conditions during the life course. Different

phases and life course events are important in explaining individual migration behaviour, as migration is much more likely to occur in conjunction with major events in one's life course such as marriage, childbearing, establishment on the labour market, divorce, etc. (Fischer & Malmberg 2001; Flowerdew & Al-Hamad 2004; Mulder 1993; Warnes 1992). Linked to the life course perspective is also the biographic perspective, which acknowledges that migration behaviour is to be understood as depending on a person's whole biography, including previous experiences of migration, for instance Halfacree & Boyle (1993). In the studies in this thesis, however, life course is used rather as a way to understand the different migration patterns of different (age) groups.

Not only migration frequency, but also migration motives, vary with age. Employment and education are more common motives among young people, and it has been shown that residential concerns grow more important with age (Detang-Desendre et al. 2002; Garvill et al. 2002). Even if aggregate data sometimes suggest that there is certain behaviour typical of retired or young people, or others at a certain stage in life, there are of course other important aspects of individual characteristics that also form our migration behaviour. Attitudes and migration experience influence how we anticipate prospects of staying or moving, and there are individual variations in more profound life values that influence migration decisions. Information about such aspects is not available in register data and is hence mainly available from case studies and other intense method studies. While age-specific migration is well studied, the importance of values and attitudes are less explored, especially in quantitative measures.

Not only what a person wants in terms of motives, but also what a person can do in terms of constraints, vary over the life course and between individuals. The concepts of constraints on human behaviour developed by Hägerstrand (1970) can also be adapted to migration behaviour. *Capability constraints* acknowledge the economic, biological and physical constraints on human life. People need to sleep and eat with some regularity within the 24 hours of each day, and people generally need a home base to return to on a regular basis. *Coupling constraints* comprise the need for individuals to coordinate their lives with others, to adjust our daily activi-

ties with those involving family, employers and so on. Daily activities are also constrained by *authority constraints*, laws, regulations and institutions, etc., which frame the life of individuals by limiting their access to certain places. These sets of constraints limit the daily activity space, where individuals live their everyday life with home, work, shopping, etc. These constraints delimit where individuals can choose to live and whether migration is desirable and possible. All these features of daily life are different at different stages during the life course, and constitute constraints on migration. These constraints also vary in time and space; transportation innovations, for instance, can reduce capability constraints.

According to Mincer (1978), dual-career households constitute a constraint on migration as it might lead to the interruption of a spouse's career. It is more complicated to relocate two careers; thus non-migration is often a preferred option. At the same time, the existence of two incomes could make relocation redundant if the family can be maintained with one salary for a longer or shorter period. Dual-earner families have been shown to be less migratory (Nivalainen 2004; Smits 1999; Smits et al. 2003). When studying intra-organizational geographical relocation, Green (2004) and Green and Canny (2003) found that employees stress the importance of a partner's career and children's education and that commuting on either a daily or weekly basis can substitute for migration if the price of moving is considered to be too high. Employers are increasingly willing to accept solutions in terms of 'circulation', commuting and part-time working from home when employees are reluctant to migrate (ibid).

Migration is not an individual decision if you share a household with others. In the literature on international migration, explanations for migration are often found on not only a macro (political-economic) level or a micro (individual) level, but also on a meso-level through social ties to family, and friends (Faist 1997). According to Stark (1991), the migration decision may not be rational from an individual perspective but could be a strategy for a group, especially the family.

## **2.2. Human capital, strategic migration and insider advantages**

The human capital approach initiated by Sjaastad (1962) is widely used in migration research (Boyle et al. 1998) and is a perspective in which the rationality of the individual migrant behaviour is attributed to both the costs and the benefits of migration, and that considers migration or non-migration an investment in improving a person's human capital or in realizing human capital. For example, the human capital approach can explain why those with a high education are more prone to migrate (Chiswick 2000). For the well educated, career advancement is desirable but also obtainable, and mobility is often one way to trigger career advancement. For other groups on the labour market, the career prospects offered by migrating are limited and these groups therefore have less incentive to migrate.

Employment can be a motive for migration, induced by intentions to obtain a better position, more income or a more interesting job. Avoiding unemployment can also be a motive for migration. When employment is the motive for migration, employment is often contracted; i.e., new employment is arranged before migration to a new location. Some contracted migrants relocate without changing employer. Hunt (2004) identifies a significant group of inter-state migrants in western Germany as same-employer migrants. Employment-motivated migration does not need to be contracted but can be more speculative, or rather strategic. By migrating to a region with better employment opportunities, a person can improve their chances on the labour market and migration can thereby precede employment. Fielding (1992) developed the view of migration as a long-term investment in his theory of escalator regions, regions that offer good opportunities for career advancement. A migrant can therefore have the intention to migrate to a better employment situation without migrating directly to a job (Figure 2). According to Gordon (1995), there is a difference between workers with education and skills who are often contracted migrants and less skilled workers who more often migrate speculatively. Many more young people study at university today compared to thirty years ago, and the motive for these individuals is perhaps not to move to employment; nevertheless, after graduation they find themselves in escalator regions and a large share of university graduates, especially in the

metropolitan areas, remain in the region where they received their education when they enter the labour market (Wikhall 2001).

	Employed in destination	Not employed in destination
Employment is motive	Career migration /unemployment	Strategic migration
Employment is not motive	Migration to job driven by: family ties, household formation/dissolution, amenities, housing, etc.	Migration independent of labour-market driven by: family ties, household formation/dissolution, amenities, housing, etc.

Figure 2: Labour market and migration.

Migration motivated by reasons other than employment, such as housing, household transformation or leisure, is also often dependent on employment opportunities. Since interregional migration has consequences on many aspects of life, various motives can also play roles in the decision. For some who are outside the regular labour market, like retirees or in some cases self-employed, the labour market is not relevant for the migration decision, but for all those who are dependent on employment for sustainability, a labour-market opportunity is necessary to bring about the lifestyle-induced move.

Human capital-oriented approaches can also explain non-migration in terms of insider advantages. Insider advantages comprise a kind of human capital that people accumulate that can be related to social life, work and leisure (Fischer & Malmberg 2001; Fischer et al. 1997). This location-specific capital is not transferable; hence the costs of migration are higher the longer a person has stayed in a given place. Several studies have verified that people become less prone to migrate the longer they stay in a locality (Fischer & Malmberg 2001; Gordon & Molho 1995). The

human capital approach anticipates the migration decision as a trade-off between the expected costs and benefits of migration. Loss of insider advantages that one has gained in a certain location can be such a cost that reduces the incentive to migrate.

The social insurance systems in the Swedish welfare state make up a factor that can enable non-migration. Social insurance enables people to wait out unemployment for a longer period and await the right employment opportunity. Huber (2004) claims that employment protection systems comprise one major explanation for the relative immobility in Europe. But by the same logic, the welfare state could also enable migration; the economic risks of migrating are reduced when a person can rely on the social security system until he/she is established on a new labour market. The governmental system offering loans and grants for university-level studies, for instance, enables earlier nest-leaving in Sweden compared to countries in southern Europe (Vogel 1999; 2002). Migration intensities have been shown to be rather insensitive to explicit governmental actions in terms of mobility grants aimed at stimulating labour-market mobility (Fredriksson 1999; Storrie & Nättorp 1997).

The correlation between unemployment and migration is not as prevalent on a micro-economic level as it is between regions on the macro-level. A higher probability for migration among the unemployed has been observed in some empirical studies (Eliasson et al. 2003; Widerstedt 1998), but other studies have not confirmed this conclusion (Axelsson & Westerlund 1998). One explanation for why people tend to avoid migration, despite unemployment, is that migration is not a realistic option for many unemployed. Family ties and a partner's employment, for instance, have more influence on migration behaviour among unemployed than do labour-market policies (Hämäläinen 2002). There are also examples of studies that indicate that migration is often an inefficient strategy for avoiding unemployment (Bill & Mitchell 2006; NUTEK 2000; Pekkala & Tervo 2002). This is explained by a selection effect that makes migration beneficial for the unemployed who do migrate and often do find employment, but this is mainly an effect of these people having skills that are requested on the labour market that they can

make use of by migrating. For others, migration is not a solution for avoiding unemployment, and the insider advantages in a locality might make the prospects of getting a new job in the present locality better compared to prospects elsewhere (Fischer & Malmberg 2001; Fischer et al. 1997). Unemployment and job change can also present an opportunity to migrate, if a person has the intention to relocate for other reasons. Harkman (1989) found, among unemployed people between 20 and 29 years of age who chose to migrate, that only half stated job availability and income gain as their motives for migration while the other half stated other items as their main motives.

### **2.3. Outcomes of migration**

Research on motives and underlying processes that cause migration is well developed, but less is known about the consequences of migration, i.e. the actual benefits and costs. An exception to this is the effect migration has on income development (Jacobsen & Levin 2000; Krieg 1997; Nilsson 2001; Yankow 2003). If it is assumed that interregional migration is caused primarily by employment and income disparities between regions, it is also reasonable to assume that employment and income are improved after migration. The predominance of empirical interest in income development can also be explained by the fact that income is a pecuniary variable. It is sometimes argued that the economic benefits of migration are attainable at the expense of other factors such as living environment and social relations; i.e., migration is associated with some kind of ‘social sacrifice’. On the other hand, it could also be argued that migration, regardless of what has triggered it, can be an opportunity to adjust to more suitable housing or change to a better school, for example (Lu 1998). Many studies confirm that migration is positive for an individual’s income (Jacobsen & Levin 2000; Krieg 1997; Nilsson 2001; Yankow 2003). There are, however, those who argue that the economic incentive for migration is relatively weaker in Sweden compared to other countries due to a flat income distribution, progressive taxes and labour-market regulations that counteract mobility (NUTEK 2000).

Many empirical studies conclude that most migrants gain economically from migrating as a result of obtaining higher wages in the new locality. But economic

gains can also manifest themselves in migration to a place where expenditures are lower. An example of this is Pehkonen (2005), who found in a survey among migrants to the Finnish countryside during the economic crisis of the 1990s that many people migrated to the countryside to escape financial problems. Measuring mere gross income changes, as is done in most empirical studies based on register data, is a crude measure of the actual net effect of migration on a household budget. Asking migrants about their perception of how their financial situation has changed after migration can contribute to a complementary view of the importance of the economic benefits of migration. In a survey, it is also possible to contrast income gains with other positive or negative outcomes of migration.

#### **2.4. Migration and other time-space strategies**

People's daily life consists of many activities that must be organized in time and space. Work, care, shopping and leisure must be reachable from the home in a manner that fits within the realm of everyday life. Interregional migration causes a reorganization of all these things as the hub in the time-space prism is relocated (using Hägerstrand's terminology). Over time, the preconditions for organizing time-space strategies have changed. The costs of relocating a family are higher as more families depend on two incomes and careers. Commuting has increased (Hedberg 2005; Van Ham & Hooimeijer 2005) and is sometimes suggested as a possible substitute for interregional migration and an explanation for increased immobility (Fransson 1991; SOU 2007), but no empirical studies have confirmed that commuting is increasingly substituting interregional migration over time. Other possible time-space strategies to facilitate labour-market matching include different kinds of short-term assignments, working at a distance and shorter stays away from home. (Green 2004; Green & Canny 2003). Long-distance commuting on a weekly basis is another strategy that is becoming increasingly common (Öhman & Lindgren 2003). A time-space allocation pattern resembling that of weekly commuters is the use of second homes. Müller (2005) uses second-home owners as an example of time-space allocation that blurs the distinction between tourism, commuting and migration, and highlights dimensions of migration that have traditionally been overlooked in migration research. Second-home users are an ex-

ample of circular mobility with a longer and/or more irregular pattern rather than a migration vs. commuting dichotomy.

Today's settlement pattern is the result of prior migration. Suburbanization has resulted in more people living and working in separate locations. This is a settlement pattern that generates commuting, and also possibly migration, as commuting enables people to live in more remote areas and travel to work (Verkade & Vermeulen 2005). Prior migration has also resulted in more people having a more dispersed geographical pattern of social contacts and family ties; this provides more alternatives for migration, as most migrants move to places they have a connection to (Stjernström 1998). Wolpert (1965) refers to the possible destinations the migrant has knowledge about as 'action spaces' and argues that a person's 'action space' can be expanded through social contacts. This reasoning leads the argument toward theories of migration networks (Massey et al. 1993), in which social ties between former migrants and non-migrants in the origin constitute a network that facilitates migration. In their study of adult children's distance to elderly parents, Malmberg and Pettersson (2007) found that intergenerational family ties are still important in choice of residence, as either an attraction or a constraint. The role of family ties in choice of location is different over one's life course. For instance, Malmberg and Pettersson observed that adult children with their own children were more likely to live near their parents (the children's grandparents); they also found that daughters more often moved away from their parents at a young age compared to sons, but that there was no such difference between sons and daughters when they grew older.

## **2.5. Motives, intensions and opportunities for migration**

De Jong (2000) presents a model for migration decisions that places migration intentions as the primary determinant of migration behaviour. The model is derived from the Theory of Planned Behaviour by Ajzen (1988), which acknowledges social norms as an important basis for forming intentions and thereby behaviour, besides the individual's expectations and the enabling and constraining factors of a specific behaviour. De Jong demonstrated how norms about gender roles affect

migration intentions in women and men. A similar discussion about what a person wants, can and should do is found in Holm et al. (1989) and Vilhelmson (2002).

When asking migrants about their motives for migration, the answer is primarily a manifestation of the intentions of the migrant, an expression of what he/she wants to achieve by migrating to another location. The constraining factors for migration are not primarily expressed. However, intentions are not sufficient for understanding the underlying process of migration. Intentions are only revealed if there is an opportunity, a situation in which there is coherence between intentions and constraints. Or as Hågerstrand (1982) puts it: *"Intentions have a high death rate. And the surviving ones have to adjust."* An opportunity could be that one is offered a job or that one's dream house is for sale. Opportunities determine the timing of migration. In micro-economic theories, the occurrence of such opportunities is often considered an immediate trigger for migration. In contrast, Adams (2004) describes the migration decision process among cross-national couples as a process that goes on constantly, on and off, rather than an unbroken process with a starting point, middle and final decision. This can be described as a long-term development of changing intentions and constraints that when evaluated can lead to different conclusions, conclusions that lead to migration if there is an opportunity. Opportunities are thereby more temporary than are intentions and constraints. Bailey, Blake, and Cooke (2004) assert a similar argument as they discuss the importance of family ties as enabling and constraining factors in migration, and argue that it is important to look beyond the migration triggers.

The importance of employment as a migration motive in the minds of migrants is difficult to compare over time. The earliest study in Sweden is Roger Andersson's thesis (Andersson 1987), which presents results from a survey from 1978-79 among 86 persons. In the sample of migrants moving long distances from the northern part of Sweden to the south, 72% stated that their move had been induced by employment. Among short-distance rural-to-urban migrants, 41% (south) and 48% (north) stated employment-related motives. Results from later studies on migration motives conducted in the late 1990s and early 2000s indicate that for the majority of interregional migrants, employment-related motives were

not the main motive for migration. The results vary, depending on method and sample, from 19 % (Garvill et al. 2002) to 36% (Niedomysl 2006), and a survey presented in AMS (1999) also concludes that about one-third of all interregional migrants were motivated by employment. Together, these studies conclude that for long-distance migration as well, employment is not the only motive but is rather one among several, and the distinction between long-distance migration motivated by employment opposed to short-distance migration induced by household and housing-related motives is not entirely valid in the context of contemporary Sweden.

## **2.6. Migration and voluntariness**

A dominating theme in the discourse on the labour migrant during the economic restructuring has been that migrants have had to leave their home region against their will. However, voluntariness is a relative concept. The question of voluntariness in migration is one example of the question about structure and agency that is endlessly disputed in social theory. Richmond (1988) argues that the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants is misleading since all human behaviour is constrained, therefore Richmond argues that the concepts of voluntary and involuntary is rather endpoints in a continuum than dichotomous.

A decision can be voluntary in relation to its alternative, if a person sees few other options; the decision to migrate can, for instance, can be perceived as the best solution, and is thereby voluntary considering the circumstances. War and disasters can force people to migrate, but in most cases migration is to be perceived as primarily voluntary. There can be elements of forced migration in voluntary migration also. Family migration might, for instance, be more desirable for some family members than for others. When discussing unemployment and regional labour-market disparities, labour-market induced migration sometimes appears as typically involuntary migration. Labour-market induced migration is, however, in many cases voluntary rather than a forced circumstance, a result of what a person wants rather than a must. Employment, career and earning are important elements in many people's lives, and migration is often a means to achieve goals in relation to a person's career. Other migration motives, like migrating because of spouses

employment, could in many cases be more involuntary. Migration can also be an effect of a situation in which options are limited and migration, although not directly forced, may be perceived as inevitable. Ruback et al. (2004) found that many of the poor immigrants to Islamabad, Dhaka and New Delhi referred to 'fate' as an important motive for their migrating, often in combination with employment reasons; lack of perceived control over one's environment and own life correlated with the notion of fate as a reason for migration.

Despite the complications discussed above, the question about the extent to which migrants identify themselves as forced labour-market migrants is relevant, because it touches upon the question of a possible conflict between mobility and immobility in a society and can shed light upon a recurring assumption in public debate.

## **2.7. Social and economic change and the changing context of life courses**

Life course events generate new opportunities and constraints, as well as potentially new preferences and intentions for individuals. Life courses are individual in the sense that there is not one life course but rather much variation in how individual life courses develop; that said, it can also be established that life courses are embedded in geographical, historical and social contexts that influence what behaviour is expected, desirable and possible. The aggregated pattern of life courses is changing along with other things in society. In the Nordic countries as well as other European countries, a trend can be noted during the studied period of a delay in family formation, childbearing and entrance onto the labour market. This has resulted in a larger share of the population being in a state of "youth", which affects their potential migration behaviour. The average timing of entrance onto the labour market has been delayed, due primarily to prolonged education, as more youth attend university. The youth period is especially long in the Nordic countries compared to other EU countries, since most youth in Sweden leave their parental home at a young age, during education, before entering the labour market. These students constitute a considerable share of low-income single households in the Nordic countries (Vogel 1999; 2002).

The growing number of single households is one element in a general trend of shifting household formation in Europe, sometimes called the ‘second demographic transition’ (Kuijsten 1996; Lesthaege 1995). Household formation and dissolution become more frequent, and the diversity in household forms has increased with gay and lesbian households, couples “living together apart” and children living part-time with their separated parents. An increase in single households could theoretically have an inflating effect on migration, as singles are generally more mobile than couples are; the delay of childbirth could also be expected to have a positive effect on migration, as we know that families with children tend to be more reluctant to migrate. Transitions associated with household restructuring are known to generate migration, and as the number of such transitions during a lifetime tends to increase, so could migration.

It is not only social structures but also economic structures that are under constant transformation. Johansson and Persson (2000) argue that the current economic restructuring process in Sweden has other implications for population redistribution, compared to the restructuring during the 1960s and 1970s. In the 60s and 70s, economic restructuring of the industry generated migration between regions. The transition into a post-industrial society has proved to generate less migration, as the regional disparities are not as prevalent. The restructuring process is more one of segmentation within the labour market rather than between regions. This is why a person who becomes unemployed as a result of restructuring has only a small chance of finding employment elsewhere (Johansson et al. 2004; Johansson & Persson 2000). A growing share of temporary employment is one feature of the post-industrial labour market. A more flexible labour market with more short-term assignments might reduce migration, since the costs of migration are too high in relation to a short-term contract (Green 2004).

Another important change in Sweden during the past decades is the new geographic pattern of higher education. Between 1960 and late 1990s, more than twenty universities and university colleges have been established (Eliasson 2006). The number of students has also increased dramatically, from 10,000 university

entrants to more than 65,000. Pursuing university studies has thereby become a step in the life course of more young people today compared to thirty years ago.

Previous migration patterns have long-term effects on migration. The urbanization process has resulted in a settlement pattern whereby people today, on average, have daily access to more people (Håkansson 2000). The fact that people generally have access to larger labour-market regions would suggest that the incentives for labour-market induced migration would be reduced. Empirical studies show that people in more densely populated regions are less prone to migrate long distances (Eliasson et al. 2003; Eriksson et al. 2007; Van Ham et al. 2001). This could be a part of the explanation for why labour-market related migration seems to have declined from the 1970s and onward. The continuing population concentration tendency is mainly an effect of student migration (Jans 2005; SOU 2007); students who migrate to urban areas in order to study have a tendency to remain within the larger, more diverse labour market. In this sense, student migration is replacing labour-market migration, reinforced by the growth of the share of each cohort that attends university.

The urbanization settlement pattern could perhaps also explain why socially related motives are frequent in the post-urbanization migration pattern. Malmberg & Pettersson (2007) conclude that the distance between parents and their adult children was longer in the urbanization generation than in later cohorts. This intergenerational distance could be a reason why “moving closer to family and friends” is a common migration motive in contemporary migration.

### **3. METHOD AND DATA**

#### **3.1. Methodological considerations**

A migration biography like Lina's can generate an understanding of the individual and contextual factors that interplay in a migration decision; a more thorough qualitative analysis could attain much more valuable information from migration biographies like hers. In this thesis, however, Lina's migration biography is used merely as illustration and reminder of the fact that the study of migration is the study of people, individuals for whom migration and non-migration is part of their individual, unique lives in a given historical context. Through quantifying individuals' statements and studying their actual migration behaviour, the empirical analysis of this thesis examines the general pattern and trends of interregional migration on the Swedish national level and, in some cases, in the five Nordic countries. Through the study of migration behaviour among individuals with certain characteristics in different time settings, patterns of how the context affects individual behaviour can be discovered. However, these underlying social and economic structures that shape the preconditions under which migration decisions are made are not explicitly studied, neither theoretically nor empirically, since this is beyond the scope of the study.

From a macro-economic perspective, migration flows constitute a response to regional economic disparities in accordance with economic theory, whereby people migrate to regions of economic growth and low unemployment and from less prosperous regions (Greenwood 1985; Massey et al. 1993; Westerlund 1997). There is plenty of empirical evidence that this takes place on the regional level, but this does not mean that employment is the main motive on the individual level or that macro-economic circumstances have the same effect on all people. When conclusions regarding individual or small-group behaviour are inferred from the aggregated level there is, as Golledge (1980) points out, a problem of ecological fallacy. This fallacy can be avoided by the use of individual data and aggregate micro data into macro-level behaviour, instead of the other way around. Through analyzing the effects of individual characteristics on migration propensity it is pos-

sible to untangle how changes in who migrates depend on both changes in demographic composition in the population as a whole, and changes in how individual characteristics influence migration propensities. The Swedish population register is an outstanding source for micro data analysis, with plentiful socioeconomic data on individuals and thereto, high geographical resolution. Since interregional migration is a quite rare event, it requires a large data set in order to bring up a sufficient number of observations to obtain statistical validity for subgroups. This is possible with this data set as it entails the whole Swedish population. While there are several migration studies on individual migration behaviour in Sweden on this kind of data (see for example: Eliasson et al. 2003; Fischer & Malmberg 2001; Johansson et al. 2004), only few i.e. Jans (2005) Johansson & Persson (2000) and SOU (2007) have taken advantage of the time depth in this data to compare migration propensities over time. This time depth also allows for a study comparing the importance of commuting potential for interregional migration over time, which can complement the cross-sectional studies that show that commuting potential has a positive effect on interregional migration (Eliasson et al. 2003; Eriksson et al. 2007; Van Ham et al. 2001).

Macro-economic studies point out that economic growth and job growth produce more opportunities for migration, but fail to properly describe individual behaviour. Register studies can explore the migration propensities of individuals with certain characteristics and the frequency of migration among, for instance, employed individuals compared to others. But register studies cannot investigate the migration motives from the perspective of the individual migrant. In order to examine these motives, the individuals must be confronted. The behavioural perspective on migration and spatial behaviour was introduced by, for instance, Wolpert (1965) and focuses on the physiological and contextual factors behind migration behaviour. According to this approach, behaviour is considered deliberate and thereby exhibits regularity, although individual behaviour is not necessarily economically or spatially rational (Golledge 1980). In order to explore the individual's view on migration events a survey was used, which not only has national coverage in Sweden but also incorporates the other four Nordic countries. Migrants were overrepresented in order to obtain a sufficient sample. Altogether, this

makes the scope of this survey rare; previous studies are more limited in geographical scope and number of respondents. The main contribution of the analysis of survey data in this thesis is that the results complement the studies of register data with the migrants' perspectives. The question about the perceived conflict between migrants' wish to stay and the demand for labour-market mobility cannot be resolved by register data; nor can one make conclusions about the degree to which the migrants perceive the decision to migrate as voluntary or how they perceive the outcome of migration in non-pecuniary terms.

The answers given in a survey must be interpreted carefully. A survey is a blunt tool for capturing a complex decision like migration; also, the answers depend on the survey design and response alternatives. Respondents cannot be expected to account for all underlying causes for their migration decision when they answer a survey, but their answers about motives, for instance, still provide information about how the individual perceives the main motive that is unavailable if the questions are never asked. The combination with register data can give further support to conclusions drawn from survey data. Responses to a survey are a result of psychological processes that make people rationalize their behaviour in order to make their statements consistent with their behaviour (Festinger 1957). It is therefore expected that people hold their own actions as rational and successful. Nevertheless, through comparing migrants' judgments of different features of things such as migration outcomes, and through contrasting groups of migrants, conclusions can be drawn on the relative importance of various factors.

### **3.2. Sources of data**

The empirical results in the papers of this thesis are derived from two main sources of data. The first (Papers I and II) is based on a survey, designed at the Department of Social and Economic Geography at Umeå University and conducted in the five Nordic countries for the period 1999-2001 with a total of 9,600 answers derived from a random sample, representative of the countries' respective populations. Results from this survey have previously been presented in Garvill et al. (2002; 2000). The survey data contribute with insights on migrants' motives and perceptions of the migration decision and its outcome, as well as attitudes toward

their residential location and mobility. Although a survey cannot supply in-depth understanding of individual experience, it does provide information on the extent of a phenomenon, for instance who and how many migrants state that their migration decision was voluntary.

*Table 1:* Sample, response rate and date of data collection in the Nordic survey.

	Sample	Number of responses	Response rate	Migrants (Strata iii-vi)	Date of data collection
Sweden	5,000	2,883	58%	58%	Oct 1999
Denmark	3,178	1,896	60%	65%	Nov 2000
Norway	2,990	1,679	56%	66%	Feb 2001
Iceland	2,422	1,131	47%	49%	Feb 2001
Finland	2,992	2,010	67%	66%	Feb 2001
Total	16,582	9,599	58%		

The second set of data (Papers III and IV) is individual data on the entire Swedish population, derived from the longitudinal micro database ASTRID, originating from administered registers at Statistics Sweden (SCB). The data from 1970 to 1985 are derived from population census data (Folk- och Bostadsräkning) every five years, while data from 1990 to 2001 are register data. The last census was conducted in Sweden in 1990 and was replaced by detailed register data for every year. This data can thereby contribute with time depth in the observed composition of interregional migrants in Sweden from 1970 to 2001. The information on the geographic location of the individuals allows an analysis of the population density in the migrants' neighbourhoods. What Papers III and IV do is place the results from the survey in a broader context by discussing the development of interregional migration in Sweden over time, thereby illustrating how social and economic change alters the circumstances under which migration decisions are made.

### 3.3. Delimitations

This is a study of interregional migration, and international migration is not included; the two Nordic studies describe internal migration within each country, and migration between the countries is excluded. From a perspective of regional population development in Sweden, international migration has been very influential in the time period studied. This is especially true in the metropolitan areas, where net immigration has from time to time contributed more to population increase than has interregional migration. But since this study is not concerned with the study of population development in regions, but the process and trends in internal migration, international migration is omitted in the empirical studies and discussion.

The delineation between international and internal migration is rather straightforward in a formal sense, since migration is defined as crossing national boundaries. The delineation between residential migration (intraregional) and interregional migration is more difficult. The separation of these two processes is important, as the processes behind them are partly different (Zax 1994). A general and quite simplistic distinction between long and short-distance migration is that the former is motivated by housing adjustment needs and the latter by employment factors (Gordon 1982). Residential migration is often regarded as housing adjustments that are unaffected by workplace location. Interregional migration, on the other hand, implies a change of the daily activity space, space where we live our daily life. The operationalizations of a distinction between inter and intraregional migration are not clear-cut; there are several possible ways to make such a distinction. In the first two studies, interregional migration is defined as change of municipality. Paper III goes one step further in order to exclude intraregional migration by defining interregional migration by change of local labour market, delineated by Statistics Sweden by average commuting behaviour between municipalities, estimating functional regions. The last paper uses no administrative delimitation but defines interregional migration by Euclidean distance migrated.

The explanatory variables are individual characteristics such as age, education level, civil status, etc., but also attitudes, motives and life values expressed by the individual migrant. In the last paper, properties of the region where a person lives are introduced as an explanatory variable.

The geographic scope of the study is the Nordic countries (Papers I & II) with focus on Sweden (Papers III & IV). The survey data were collected in 1999-2001 while the time period studied in Papers III and IV is 1970 to 2001.

## **4. PAPER SUMMARIES**

### **4.1. Forced or free movers? The motives, voluntariness and selectivity of interregional migration in the Nordic countries.**

This paper scrutinizes the potential influences on migration decisions in contemporary Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, based on a survey in the five countries. The subject of this paper is migration motives and the degree to which different groups of migrants perceive their decision to move as voluntary. Furthermore, the study includes analysis of the social and demographic characteristics of migrants as well as their life values and attitudes. Migration is defined as a move between municipalities within the previous two-year period. The empirical data consist of a survey conducted in the five Nordic countries that yielded 9,600 responses. The sample consisted of six strata: stayers and movers in dense and sparsely populated regions as well as movers from dense to sparse, from sparse to dense, dense to dense and sparse to sparse.

The results were generally quite similar in the five Nordic countries. The most frequent motive for migrants in all countries is social (about 40%), and the second most important motives were related to the living environment. Employment was stated as one of the main motives by about one-fifth of all migrants (somewhat higher in Finland). The motives differed between age groups, with education the dominating motive for young people and employment also a more frequent motive in younger age groups; however, employment motives did not exceed 30% of all motives in any age group. Social and environment-related motives dominated for all migrants, regardless of whether they moved to or from sparsely and densely populated regions – with the exception of migrants from sparsely to densely populated areas, who more frequently mentioned education as their motive. Since municipalities are in some cases quite geographically small, separate analyses were performed for moves longer than 50 kilometres, and among these migrants labour-market related motives and education-related motives were slightly more common but were still not as frequent as social and environmental motives. More than 90% of the migrants claim that they made the migration decision voluntarily

and that the decision was easy to make. The degree of voluntariness was the same regardless of whether a person migrated to or from densely or sparsely populated areas. Those who migrated due to employment-related motives were somewhat more inclined to assess their decision as involuntary.

In summary, this study found that for the overwhelming majority of migrants in the Nordic countries there is no apparent conflict between plans, values, preferences and migration behaviour. Many people have strong incentives to stay in their present locality, especially if they have lived in a locality for a long time and have strong social bonds there. These people would seldom consider migration, even if they were to become unemployed. In the minds of most inter-municipal migrants in the Nordic countries, labour-market motives are subordinate to other motives.

#### **4.2. Gains and losses, outcomes of interregional migration in the five Nordic countries**

This paper explores the assessment of migration outcome from the migrant's perspective in both economic and non-economic terms. The analysis is based on a Nordic survey of interregional migrants. According to this survey, 92% of all migrants are satisfied with the outcome of migration, and stayers are even more satisfied with their place of residence. Many studies have examined the economic outcome of migration, and have concluded that migration is beneficial for gross income. In this survey, however, only half of the respondents claim that migration has improved their financial situation, and further that the assessment of economic outcome had less importance for their overall satisfaction with the outcome. Instead, migrants who were most satisfied were those who had a fortunate social outcome of migration.

The young and well educated were more satisfied with migration outcome in economic terms and less satisfied in non-economic terms, but were not more or less satisfied in general. No difference was found between migrants who moved to and from densely and sparsely populated areas. However, socio-economic factors such as age, sex, education, civil status, etc., contributed little to the explanation of sat-

isfaction with migration outcome; not even economic outcome was explained very well by such factors. More situation-specific and personal factors are needed to explain why some migrants are more satisfied than others. When motives, degree of voluntariness, attitudes, values and social networks were included in the model,  $r^2$  was improved. Motives determined what the migrants were satisfied with; for instance, those who claimed that they had migrated for environmental motives were also more satisfied with the outcome in terms of living environment. But motives did not affect the overall assessment of migration outcome. An exception was migrants who stated that they had migrated because of their partners' employment. This group was generally less satisfied. The conclusion from this paper is that most migrants in the Nordic countries seem to be able to make migration decisions without too many painful trade-offs. This study also highlights the value of acknowledging the non-economic aspects of migration, as migrants seem to consider them important in the migration decision and outcome.

#### **4.3. Are movers still the same? Characteristics of interregional migrants in Sweden 1970-2001**

Through analyzing the composition of interregional migrants in Sweden during the period 1970 to 2001, this paper is an attempt to explore the trends and patterns of interregional migration in Sweden during the past decades. The paper examines how the role of the labour market in interregional migration is reflected in a changed composition of migrants in terms of age, education, household situation and labour-market status.

Data consist of all Swedish residents for the years 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2001. Using descriptive statistics and logistic regression analysis, the composition of migrants in terms of age, sex, labour-market status, education level and family status is compared over time in order to examine how migration propensities have changed within different groups and how this has affected the composition of interregional migrants.

Overall, migration rates fell during the 1970s and 1980s but rose again in the 1990s (see Figure 1). Migration frequency was lower in 2001 (2.1%) than in 1970

(2.7%). The most striking shift in the composition of interregional migration during the period 1970 to 2001 is the dramatic increase in the share of students among migrants. The contemporary migration increase is rather an effect of growing migration rates among people outside the labour market. Among migrants of working age (18–64 years), the share that was employed after migrating had decreased over time. The share of children among interregional migrants had also decreased. It was more common for children to migrate in 1970, as the age group 0–17 years constituted 14% of all interregional migrants in 2001 compared to 27% in 1970.

The extent to which interregional migrants end up in employment after their move is an indication of labour-market influence on migration decisions. This paper concludes that more migrants today move at a period in life when they are independent of the labour market and before they form a family, compared to thirty years ago. One explanation for this is that entrance onto the labour market and the timing of family formation have been delayed in the life cycle. However, when age and other variables are controlled for it also becomes evident that the propensity to migrate has decreased among those who have children, all other things being equal. An important explanation for this development is the increase in the number of dual-income households.

#### **4.4. Migration-commuting substitution. Commuting potential and interregional migration propensity**

During the past decades there has been a tendency in several European countries toward an increase in commuting, in both the number of persons who need to travel a considerable distance to work on a daily basis and the average length of work trips. This development has sometimes been presented as one possible explanation for why interregional migration propensity has decreased, especially among people of working age. Several studies have confirmed that people who live in regions with good commuting potential are less likely to migrate. There are, however, no empirical studies on the development over time of this inhibiting effect on interregional migration apparent in large labour-market regions. This study

is an attempt to investigate the impact of commuting potential on migration propensity.

The empirical study is based on individual micro data on the whole Swedish population for three years: 1970, 1985 and 2001. The migration propensity of people in labour markets of different sizes (different commuting potential) was analysed using logistic regression, controlling for individual variables such as age, sex, education level, family situation, etc. The results confirm prior research that people living in large labour-market regions are less prone to migrate than are residents of smaller, more peripheral locations. However, there was no evidence that access to commuting potential has become more influential over time. This result may turn the commuting migration substitution argument around, suggesting that the increase in commuting is a result of declining migration tolerance, equal regardless of the size of the labour market where one resides. Although there was no indication of a general trend of migration-commuting substitution, some evidence was found that for the subgroup, families with children, access to good commuting potential had a stronger inhibiting effect on interregional migration in 2001 compared to 1970.

## 5. DISCUSSION

Although the question in the title of this thesis, “New motives for migration?” could seem straightforward, the subject is rather complex. Motives are an expression of the intentions of the individual, but these intentions are in turn dependent on the individual’s constraints, and both intentions and constraints are embedded in time and space. What stated migration motives do not describe, is how the labour market and other structures on a macro-level distribute opportunities and constraints to different individuals, enabling or restraining migration on the individual level. The results from the study do, however, give insight on how individuals perceive their migration decisions.

This thesis gives no clear-cut answer to the question above, but in at least two aspects it suggests that the motives for migration are new. First, the results that indicate that employment accounts for less than a quarter of all motives are unexpected for those who assume that interregional migration is mainly job-driven. Although there are no comparable studies to the survey that can conclude that this pattern is in fact new, the results suggest a set of motives that are new, in relation to a widespread presupposition.

Secondly, the comparison of the composition of migrants over time can say something about new motives for migration. New migrant groups imply new motives. The changing pattern of migration can be attributed not only to changed propensity for a group, for instance the employed, due to shifts in preferences or preconditions as a result of labour-market organization, but also to the composition of a population. The decrease in labour-market related migration is mainly an effect of fewer people in the most mobile ages being labour-market participants now compared to three decades ago. More young people enrol in higher education, and there has been a tendency to delay labour-market entrance. The most important change in the composition of interregional migrants is the growing number of migrants who are students, who are outside the labour force but are eventually ‘re-distributed’ to strong labour markets once they graduate. These migration flows reinforce the population concentration to urban areas (mainly university cities) and

the depopulation of rural areas. Student migration is to some extent concealing, or perhaps even replacing, labour-market induced migration. Another phenomenon that has been suggested as a potential substitute for interregional migration is the increase in commuting. These two processes, migration and commuting, are undeniably interrelated but the study of interregional migration and commuting potential over time suggests that the increase in commuting is rather an effect of reduced migration tolerance than the other way around.

A group that has become increasingly immobile is families. One likely reason for this is that most multi-person households consist of two breadwinners and dual income families are known to be less migratory. Compared to the 1970s, today's migration pattern is thereby more polarized between a highly mobile group of young people and a sedentary group of people who have established on the labour-market and housing-market and in most cases have a spouse who is employed. These results suggest that beside economic restructuring, business cycles and other fluctuations, social structures have an important role in forming migration patterns. Contemporary development of social structures, with increasing numbers of single households, separated families, reconstituted families etcetera will probably have new implications for migration behaviour. Another demographic group whose migration behaviour will have a prominent role in forming future migration patterns is the growing number of healthy (and wealthy) elderly.

There is not necessarily a contradiction between the neoclassical economic explanations and behavioural individual explanations; the former have thus far dominated migration research. What economic theory and empirical studies say is that regional disparities in unemployment rates, income levels and economic growth form the framework in which individuals make their decision and that the room to manoeuvre in this setting is dependent on individual factors like education level and household situation. What behavioural migration research can tell us is, for instance, the extent to which these preconditions for mobility are anticipated as enabling or constraining a free choice of where to live and the extent to which people experience that migration can contribute in a positive way to the fulfilment of individuals' life projects.

It is naturally not a coincidence that people who claim that their migration motive was everything but employment, end up living in regions with relatively prosperous employment opportunities. Behavioural and econometric studies are sometimes compared like apples and oranges. 'Motives' are used as a concept without a distinction between prerequisites and individual motives for migration. The motives that migrants cite in a survey should not be confused with the fact that people have to make migration decisions under the precondition that they need to make a living. This need to seek a livelihood does not mean that the migrant him/herself conceives of employment or income as a motive for migration. The destination choice is not random; people seldom migrate to a destination to which they have no connection. We can expect that people first look for employment opportunities in the location where they want to live or localities they perceive as attractive because of factors other than employment. It is also no coincidence that employment opportunities happen to exist where people want to live. Labour and jobs are mutually dependent in a cumulative process in which it is difficult to determine which is the chicken and which is the egg.

In the past and current public debate on population redistribution and interregional migration in Sweden and in other Nordic countries several questions are posted. One question is the negative effects that population redistribution has on regions and people who stay in a region subjected to depopulation. The existence and extent of these problems are outside the scope of this study and so are the issue of potential problems for regions and firms due to lack of mobility in the labour-force. These problems might exist independently from the possible problems from the individuals' point of view. A feature of the "vi flytt-int" debate that is addressed in this study is the issue of voluntariness and the role of labour market from the migrants' point of view. The result from this study that most migrants perceive their decision as voluntary and that they are content with the outcome is not surprising, but it strengthens a picture of interregional migration as being relatively unproblematic from an individual perspective in most cases. The role of the labour market seems to be underlying rather than explicit. The macro-economic

forces do not work in a fashion that causes migrants to identify themselves with the image of the forced labour-market migrant of the 1970s.

Many aspects interplay in the migration decision; the determinants of whether or not you are satisfied with migration are social and environmental rather than economic. It is thereby difficult to point out political instruments that effectively influence migration behaviour. Especially those who are established on the labour- and housing-market and who are members of dual-career households are tied to places by structures that are expected to be rather insensitive to policy measures. When intentions and constraints are in accordance, presenting an opportunity for migration, there are also good prospects for a favourable outcome of migration. As long as people experience that they have the possibility to take various aspects of life into consideration in the migration decision, there are good prospect that they will be satisfied with the outcome. If most migrants express that they are content with the outcome of migration, this suggests that they anticipate that they could await the right opportunity and avoid costly trade-offs.

When summarizing a research project, new questions arise; the results in this thesis also generate new research questions, for example regarding the interplay between the constraints and intentions in migration decisions. Although the question of free will versus opportunity structures will never be resolved, qualitative studies, for example of biographies, could contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the elusive issue of voluntariness in interregional migration and how the migration decision is formed by circumstance.

According to the results from the survey in this study, socially related motives stand out as very important. Further research could illuminate how social networks affect migration decisions and destination choices. The longitudinal Swedish data could be used in order to scrutinize how social networks are knit in space and how they evolve over time. A substantial part of the socially related motives are associated with household formation and dissolution; the migration pattern in conjunction with these events could be an issue for further research in the Swedish and Nordic context, making use of the longitudinal data.

When new social structures develop, and life-courses are modified, the conditions for migration decisions changes. The main question of the role of the labour market in interregional migration is perhaps not whether it has become more or less important over time, but rather how the role of labour-market has changed; since the role of the labour-market is not only dependent on the features of the labour market itself, but mediated through the lives of individuals.

## 6. SAMMANFATTNING (SUMMARY IN SWEDISH)

Långväga flyttningar har i migrationslitteraturen betraktats som starkt beroende av arbetsmarknadsfaktorer såväl på individ- som regional nivå. Denna avhandling handlar om långväga flyttare, vilka de är och hur de uppfattar sitt flyttningsbeslut. En central fråga är i vilken utsträckning det finns en konflikt mellan människors önskan att bo på en viss ort och arbetsmarknadens krav på mobilitet. Utgångspunkten är att mellanregionala flyttningar måste ses som en handling som påverkar hela livssituationen och att många aspekter vägs in i de enskilda flyttningsbesluten. Avhandlingens syfte är att i ett svenskt och nordiskt sammanhang studera: a) flyttarnas uppfattning om frivillighet och motiv till flyttbeslutet och arbetsmarknadens roll b) flyttarnas upplevelse av resultatet av flyttningen c) hur flyttningsbenägenheten förändrats för olika grupper över tid d) vilket förhållande som finns mellan flyttningsbenägenhet och förändrad pendlingspotential.

Avhandlingens empiriska resultat baseras på två datakällor. Artikel 1 och 2 utgår från en enkätundersökning bestående av 9600 enkätsvar från stannare och flyttare i de fem nordiska länderna. Enkätfrågorna behandlar flyttarnas syn på det egna flyttbeslutet, deras motiv, grad av frivillighet och hur de uppfattar utfallet av flyttningen. Artikel 3 och 4 baseras på svenska registerdata och omfattar alla flyttare i Sverige 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2001.

Artikel 1 behandlar flyttarnas motiv och i vilken grad de uppfattar flyttningsbeslutet som frivilligt. Endast en femtedel av de svarande angav arbete som viktigaste motiv medan sociala och miljörelaterade skäl var mer frekvent förekommande. Motiven varierar mellan olika grupper av flyttare. Arbete och studier var vanligast bland de unga medan sociala och miljörelaterade motiv var viktigare bland de äldre. Den överväldigande majoriteten (över 90 procent) uppfattade sitt flyttningsbeslut som frivilligt och lätt att fatta. Ingen skillnad noteras mellan de som flyttade till eller från glesbygd eller tätbygd. Slutsatsen i artikel 1 är att skillnaderna mellan de fem nordiska länderna är små och att en överväldigande majoritet av alla flyttare inte ger uttryck för någon konflikt mellan livsprojekt och flyttnings-

beslut. För en majoritet av flyttarna tycks flyttningen främst vara ett sätt att förverkliga annat i livsprojektet än att få ett arbete.

I artikel 2 studeras flyttarnas uppfattning av flyttningens ekonomiska och icke-ekonomiska utfall, utifrån samma enkät som i artikel 1. Resultaten visar att över nittio procent är nöjda med utfallet av flyttningen, men att de som inte flyttat är mer nöjda med sin bostadsort än flyttarna. Tidigare registerstudier har visat att flyttning ofta medför en inkomstökning, men när flyttarna själva får värdera vilka aspekter som förbättrats respektive försämrats värderar de förbättrad ekonomi relativt lågt jämfört med framför allt förbättrat socialt liv. Resultaten visar också att de som upplever att deras sociala liv förbättrats genom flyttningen också är de personer som är nöjdast totalt sett. Graden av nöjdhet och vilka aspekter flyttarna var nöjda med samvarierar obetydligt med ålder, kön eller socioekonomiska faktorer, men istället tydligt med livsvärden, frivillighet och framför allt med motivet för att flytta. En slutsats är att flyttningsbeslut i Norden idag i de flesta fall inte leder till kostsamma kompromisser.

I artikel 3 studeras sammansättningen av långväga flyttare i Sverige 1970 till 2001. Syftet är att undersöka trender och mönster i ålder, civilstånd, sysselsättning och utbildningsnivå bland flyttare under de senaste decennierna för att belysa arbetsmarknadens roll för flyttningar. Generellt minskade flyttningsfrekvensen under 70- och 80-talen för att sedan stiga igen under 90-talet. Dessa förändringar sammanhänger främst med en minskad flyttningsfrekvens bland barnfamiljer under perioden och med en uppgång bland yngres flyttningar under 90-talet. Jämfört med 70-talet, flyttar idag fler under en fas i livet då man ännu inte etablerat sig på arbetsmarknaden och inte bildat familj. Detta kan till en del förklaras att människor idag inträder senare i arbetslivet och bildar familj senare i livet. Men även om man bortser från detta, kvarstår en tendens att de som har barn idag är mindre flyttningsbenägna än vad de var på 70-talet. En viktig förklaring kan vara att fler hushåll idag består av två förvärvsarbetande vilket gör det lättare att bo kvar och svårare att flytta.

I artikel 4 ställs frågan om minskad benägenhet att flytta kan kopplas till den ökade pendling som skett under de senaste decennierna. I den empiriska undersökningen, baserad på registerdata, har benägenheten att flytta jämförts för människor med tillgång till olika stora potentiella pendlingsomland. Resultaten visar att de som bor i regioner med stor pendlingspotential (befolkningstäta regioner) har en lägre benägenhet att flytta. Möjligheten att pendla tycks därför ha en effekt på om man flyttar eller inte. Denna effekt har däremot inte förändrats över tid, vilket tyder på att förändrat flyttningsbeteende beror av andra processer än ökade pendlingsmöjligheter. Det förändrade pendlingsmönstret kan därför inte ses som en *förklaring* till utan snarare som en *effekt* av ett förändrat flyttningsbeteende.

I takt med olika samhällsförändringar, både ekonomisk-strukturella och sociala, har flyttningsmönstren påverkats. Arbetsmarknadens behov av geografisk rörlighet skiljer sig, inte bara mellan olika grupper på arbetsmarknaden i olika branscher, men också över tid. Människors livsbanor har förändras under de senaste decennierna. Idag är det fler unga som studerar, inträdet på arbetsmarknaden har senarelagts, många bildar familj i ett senare skede i livsbanan och i de flesta familjer, med mer än en medlem, finns två förvärvsarbetande vuxna. Unge människor utanför arbetskraften utgör en större andel av alla flyttare idag jämfört med 70-talet medan personer som etablerat sig på arbetsmarknaden och som har barn har blivit mer orörliga. Denna relativa orörlighet bland vissa grupper kan ses som en möjlig förklaring den ökade pendlingen. Däremot ger de empiriska analyserna inget stöd för att växande pendlingspotential skulle leda till färre flyttningar.

Ur individens perspektiv kan arbetsmarknaden påverka flyttbeslutet på flera sätt, både direkt och indirekt. Detta gäller emellertid inte alla, pensionärer och studenter är inte beroende av jobb för att välja bostadsort. För dem som förvärvsarbetar är arbete inte sällan ett direkt motiv för att flytta; ett sätt att undvika arbetslöshet eller att göra karriär. Men även om motiven till att flytta många gånger är andra än arbete, kan arbetsmarknaden fungera som en restriktion och individer tvingas välja bostadsort mot sin vilja. Denna avhandling visar att detta sker i liten utsträckning i Sverige och de övriga nordiska länderna. En överväldigande majoritet av flyttarna uppfattar arbetet som underordnat i flyttningsbeslutet, de uppfattar beslutet som

frivilligt och att de är nöjda med utfallet, särskilt med sociala förhållanden, miljö och boende.

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# Appendix



**Background information.**

*Circle the number of the alternative that best fits or write your answer in the space available.*

**1. Gender?**

- Male ..... 1  
Female ..... 2

**2. Year of birth?** 19 \_\_\_\_\_

**3. a) Where did you live during the major part of your upbringing (before you turned 18)?**

- In Finland ..... 1      →      *State one municipality.* \_\_\_\_\_  
Abroad..... 2      →      *State what country.* \_\_\_\_\_

**b) How would you describe the place where you grew up (before you turned 18)?**

*Circle one alternative.*

- Downtown of a major city ..... 1  
Suburb of a major city ..... 2  
Downtown of a medium-sized city ..... 3  
Outskirts of a medium-sized city ..... 4  
Minor city ..... 5  
Small community ..... 6  
Rural area ..... 7

**4. Where do you currently live?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**5. Are you registered in the municipality where you currently live?**

- Yes ..... 1  
No ..... 2

**6. a) When did you move to your current municipality?**

- 1 Year \_\_\_\_\_  
2 I've lived here my whole life → **Go to point 8.**

**b) What municipality did you move from?**

\_\_\_\_\_

7. **How many times have you moved to a new municipality since you turned 20?** \_\_\_\_\_ time(s)

*Do not count moves shorter than 30 km.*

8. **How would you describe the place where you currently live?**

*Circle one alternative.*

- Downtown of a major city ..... 1
- Suburb of a major city ..... 2
- Downtown of a medium-sized city ..... 3
- Outskirts of a medium-sized city ..... 4
- Minor city ..... 5
- Small community ..... 6
- Rural area ..... 7

9. **During the past 5 years, have you seriously considered moving to another municipality but decided not to?**

- I have seriously considered moving back to a municipality where I have lived before ..... 1
- I have seriously considered moving to a municipality where I have never lived before ..... 2
- No, I have not seriously considered moving ..... 3

10. **How many people, including you, live in your household?**

Adults (age 18 and over)	Children (age 0-6 years)	Children (age 7-12 years)	Children (age 13-17 years)	In total

11. **What is your major occupation?**

*If your major occupation is different from all alternatives below, write your answer in the space available.*

- Own business or farmer ..... 1
- Full-time employee (at least 35 hours per week) ..... 2
- Part-time employee (less than 35 hours per week) ..... 3
- Student ..... 4
- In the army or civil duty ..... 5
- Parental leave ..... 6
- Unemployed, looking for a new job ..... 7
- Retired due to high age or many years in service ..... 8
- Partially retired or on job alternation leave ..... 9
- Other ..... 10

Specify \_\_\_\_\_

**12. What is your highest completed level of education?**

Elementary school, primary school, secondary school.....	1
Vocational school or similar .....	2
High school .....	3
Vocational institute .....	4
Vocational university .....	5
University, Bachelor's Degree.....	6
University, Master's Degree.....	7

→ In what city did you study?

\_\_\_\_\_

**13. What is your current or latest occupation?**

*Be as specific as possible.*

\_\_\_\_\_

**14. What is your monthly income including taxable social benefits?**

*Taxable social benefits are, e.g., mother's allowance, student grants and unemployment benefits.*

\_\_\_\_\_ Mark per month

**15. Are you currently...**

Unmarried .....	1	Legally separated .....	4
Married .....	2	Divorced .....	5
Cohabiter.....	3	Widow/widower.....	6

**16. If you are married or a cohabiter, when did you and your current spouse move in together?**

\_\_\_\_\_ Specify year

The following questions should be answered if your main occupation is labour (also company owners and farmers, etc.)

*If not: Go to page 6, question 22.*

**17. Is your work situated in the municipality you live in?**

Yes .....	1
No.....	2

\_\_\_\_\_

**18. In your opinion, how well does your current work correspond to your education?**

Answer within a range from 1 to 7, where 1 = "Not at all" and 7 = "Completely".

Not at all Completely  
1      2      3      4      5      6      7

**19. If you lost your job, where do you think you would have the greatest chance of finding equivalent employment?**

In the municipality you live in ..... 1  
In another municipality ..... 2

**20. If you were looking for new employment, through what channel do you think you would have the greatest chance of finding a new job?**

Circle one alternative.

The national employment service ..... 1  
Job advertisements ..... 2  
Friends and acquaintances ..... 3  
Business acquaintances ..... 4

**21. If you were looking for work and could not find a new job in or near the municipality you live in, which of the following alternatives would you prefer?**

Circle one alternative.

Go to school in my current municipality ..... 1  
Move and go to school in another municipality ..... 2  
Commute weekly between my municipality and a job in another municipality ..... 3  
Continue looking for work in my municipality ..... 4  
Move to another municipality to work ..... 5

**The following questions should be answered if you are currently unemployed and are looking for work.**

*If not: Go to page 7, question 26.*

**22. Where do you think you have the greatest chance of finding a job that you would accept?**

In the municipality you live in ..... 1  
In another municipality ..... 2

**23. When you are looking for work, what is the main channel?**

Circle one alternative.

The national employment service ..... 1  
Job advertisements ..... 2  
Friends and acquaintances ..... 3  
Business acquaintances ..... 4

**24. If you are unable to find an acceptable job in the municipality you live in, which of the following alternatives would you prefer?**

Circle one alternative.

- Go to school in my current municipality ..... 1
- Move and go to school in another municipality..... 2
- Commute weekly between my municipality and a job in another municipality ..... 3
- Continue looking for work in my municipality..... 4
- Move to another municipality to work. .... 5

**25. How long have you been looking for a new job?**

State the latest period, including time you have participated in official employment programmes.

- Less than 6 months..... 1
- Between 6 and 12 months ..... 2
- Between 1 and 2 years ..... 3
- More than 2 years ..... 4

The following questions should be answered if your main occupation is **studying**.

*If not: Go to page 8, question 30.*

**26. Do you go to school in the area you live in?**

- Yes ..... 1
- No..... 2

**27. Did you live in the area where your school is located before you started going there?**

- Yes ..... 1
- No..... 2

**28. Where do you go to school?**

- University, Master's Degree ..... 1
- University, Bachelor's Degree..... 2
- Vocational university ..... 3
- Other post-high school education ..... 4
- College or vocational school ..... 5
- Manpower education..... 6
- Other ..... 7

→ *Where?* \_\_\_\_\_

**29. Where would you like to live after your education is completed?**

- In the same area where my school is located..... 1
- Somewhere I have lived before, different from where my school is. .... 2
- Neither where my school is nor where I have lived before ..... 3
- Abroad..... 4
- Does not matter..... 5

The following questions should be answered if **you have moved from one municipality to another since you turned 18.**

*If not: Go to page 10, question 32.*

**30. a) From where did you move to your current municipality? \_\_\_\_\_**

↳ *If from abroad, specify what country.* \_\_\_\_\_

**30. b) When was this? \_\_\_\_\_ Specify year.**

**30. c) How would you describe the place where you lived before?**

- Downtown of a major city ..... 1
- Suburb of a major city ..... 2
- Downtown of a medium-sized city ..... 3
- Outskirts of a medium-sized city ..... 4
- Minor city ..... 5
- Small community ..... 6
- Rural area ..... 7

**30. d) What is/are the primary reason/reasons for your move?**

- Was unemployed and got a job in another municipality .... 1
- Changed work ..... 2
- Started or finished school ..... 3
- Wanted a change in environment ..... 4
- Spouse or another family member got a job in another municipality ..... 5
- Housing related ..... 6
- Wanted to move closer to relatives and friends ..... 7
- Moved in with someone or separated ..... 8
- Other reason ..... 9

↳ *Specify.* \_\_\_\_\_

**31. a) Did you move because you wanted to?**

*Answer within a range from 1 to 7, where 1 = "Did not want to" and 7 = "Wanted to".*

Did not want to Wanted to

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

**31. b) Did you think it was a hard or easy decision to make?**

*If you did not participate in the decision process, circle the "Not applicable" alternative.*

Very hard Very easy Not applicable

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8

**31. c) State which things got better and which things got worse due to your move.**

*On each row, circle the alternative that best reflects your opinion.*

	Much worse				Unchanged			Much better	
a) Social life .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
b) Place to live .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
c) Available cultural activities (movies, music, theatre, etc.) .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
d) Spare-time activities .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
e) The environment .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
f) Available services .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
g) Personal security	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
h) Financial situation .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3		
i) Your work (If you do not work, circle the "Not applicable" alternative) .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	Not applicable
j) Your spouse's work. (If you are single, circle the "Not applicable" alternative) .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	
k) Options for personal education. (If you do not go to school, circle the "Not applicable" alternative) .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	

31. d) Looking back, do you think your current situation is better or worse since the move?

Much worse		Unchanged		Much better
-3	-2	-1	0	1
			2	3

The following questions are about the place where you live.  
 The questions at the end of the questionnaire apply to ***everyone***.

32. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following where you live?

On each row, circle the alternative that best reflects your opinion.

	Very dissatisfied	-2	-1	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	0	1	2	Very satisfied
a) Social life .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
b) Available cultural activities (movies, music, theatre, etc.).....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
c) Place to live .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
d) Spare-time activities .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
e) Options for personal education	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
f) Your present work situation (If you do not work, skip this question).....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
g) Your options to change /find a new work .....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
h) The environment.....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
i) Available services.....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	

33. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you in general with where you live?

Very dissatisfied		Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied		Very satisfied
-3	-2	-1	0	1
			2	3

**34. If you could pick where to live, where would that be?**

- Downtown of a major city ..... 1
- Suburb of a major city ..... 2
- Downtown of a medium-sized city ..... 3
- Outskirts of a medium-sized city ..... 4
- Minor city ..... 5
- Small community ..... 6
- Rural area ..... 7
- Abroad ..... 8
- Where I live right now. .... 9

→ State country if possible. \_\_\_\_\_

**35. Where do you think you will live in 10 years?**

- storstad, centralt läge ..... 1
- storstad, förort ..... 2
- mellanstor stad, centralt läge ..... 3
- mellanstor stad, i ytterområde ..... 4
- mindre stad ..... 5
- liten tätort ..... 6
- landsbygd ..... 7
- utlandet ..... 8
- där jag bor nu ..... 9

→ Ange land om möjligt? \_\_\_\_\_

**Relatives, friend and spare time**

Some people feel "at home" in their village, part of town or urban area. Others see a larger area, i.e. municipality or county, as "home". Yet others see another place different from where they currently live as "home", i.e. where they grew up. Some do not see any place as "home".

**36. What is "home" to you?**

- The part of town where I live ..... 1
- The village or community where I live ..... 2
- The city or municipality where I live ..... 3
- The region (i.e., county) where I live ..... 4
- Another place where I do not currently live... 5
- No specific place ..... 6

**37. How many of your closest friends live in the same place as you do?**

- All ..... 1
- Most ..... 2
- A few ..... 3
- None..... 4

**38. How often do you socialize with your closest friends?**

- Daily ..... 1
- At least once a week ..... 2
- At least once a month ..... 3
- Less than once a month..... 4
- Never..... 5

**39. How many of your closest relatives (siblings, parents, grown children) live in the same place as you do?**

- All ..... 1
- Most ..... 2
- A few ..... 3
- None..... 4
- I have no close relatives ..... 5

**40. How often do you socialize with your closest relatives?**

- Daily ..... 1
- At least once a week ..... 2
- At least once a month ..... 3
- Less than once a month..... 4
- Never..... 5

**41. How often do you socialize with your closest neighbours?**

- Daily ..... 1
- At least once a week ..... 2
- At least once a month ..... 3
- Less than once a month..... 4
- I do not socialize with neighbours ..... 5

**42. a) Where do you practice your main spare-time activity?**

- In the place where I live ..... 1
- In a place different from where I live ..... 2

**42. b) To what extent could you continue practicing that spare-time activity if you moved to another municipality?**

- Much more than now..... 1
- More than now ..... 2
- Neither less nor more than now ..... 3
- Less than now ..... 4

Not at all ..... 5

**Opinions on living**

**43. To what degree do you agree with the following statements?**

*Answer within a range from 1 to 7, where 1 = "Not at all" and 7 = "Completely".*

	Not at all							Completely							
a)	People who are unable to find a job close to the municipality they live in should move to where they can find a job.....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
b)	People must have the option to stay on their home ground. ....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
c)	It is a positive thing when young people move to new places.....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
d)	It would be exciting to live in another place .....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Not at all							Completely		Not applicable					
e)	If I am unable to find work on my home ground I will move. ....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f)	Politicians should make sure that everyone can stay if they want to. ....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
g)	It is up to each individual to make his/her own living.....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
h)	Moving would be the worst that could happen to me.....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
i)	It is not important to me where I live. ....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
j)	There is no future in the place where I currently live. ....							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**What do you find important in life?**  
*Read the instructions before you answer the last question.*

All people find some values important in life. The priorities might differ. We ask you to rate the following values in your life.

1. Read through all alternatives (a-t) first.
2. Choose the value you feel is most important. Check the *most important* value in the checkbox next to it.
3. Estimate how important you find that value. Circle the number that reflects your opinion.
4. Choose the value you find least important. This value should also be checked in the checkbox next to it.
5. Estimate how insignificant you find this value. Circle the number that reflects your opinion.
6. Work your way through all remaining alternatives and estimate their importance to you. Circle the number that reflects your opinion.

Number seven (7) corresponds to "Crucial" and minus one (-1) to "Contrary to my values".

Answer all questions. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. This is about finding your opinion on the principles that control your life.

44. a)  **Courage (finding adventure and taking risks)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

b)  **Social order (A stable society)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

c)  **Loyalty (faithful to your friends and your group)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

d)  **Authority (Influencing people and events)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

e)  **Open-mindedness (Being tolerant of new ideas and opinions)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

f)  **Self-discipline (controlling yourself, resisting temptation)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

g)  **Pleasure (fulfilling your needs)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

h)  **Helpfulness (working for other people's well-being)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

i)  **Curiosity (Being interested in everything, exploring)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

j)  **Welfare (Having material possessions, money)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

k)  **Successfulness (Achieving your goals)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

l)  **Social justice (Fighting injustice, helping the weak)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

m)  **Capable (Being competent and efficient)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important			Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

n)  **Social power (Controlling other people, being dominant)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

o)  **Honesty (Being genuine, being truthful)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

p)  **A varying life (Having a life full of challenges, new experiences and changes)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

q)  **Security for your closest (Security for people that are close to you)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

r)  **Freedom (Freedom in thinking and acting)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

s)  **Respect for traditions (Maintaining old habits)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

t)  **Social appreciation (Being respected by other people, being appreciated)**

Contrary to my values	Not important			Important				Very Important	Crucial
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Verify that you have answered all questions (a – t).

*THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION.*

*Use the postage-paid envelope to return the questionnaire.*

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