

# SEMIGRA

## Selective Migration and Unbalanced Sex Ratio in Rural Regions

Targeted Analysis 2013/2/15

Draft Final Report – Sachsen-Anhalt Case Study | Version 11/April/2012



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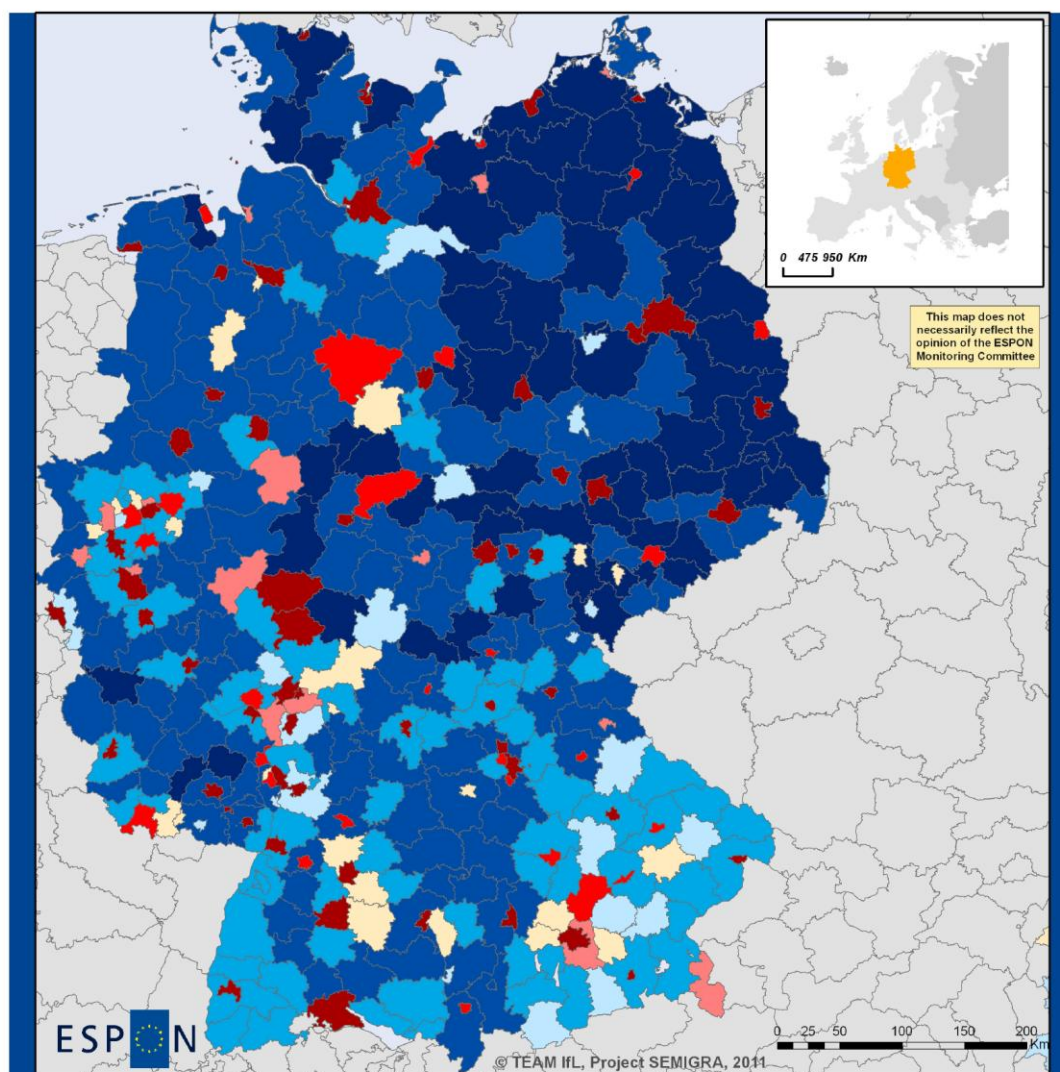
## 1 Regional statistical analysis

Sachsen-Anhalt is affected by three major demographic problems: **depopulation, ageing** and a **pronounced "lack" of women in the fertile age groups**. This phenomenon of "missing mothers" will further aggravate depopulation and the ageing process in the long run even if the number of births per women would soar in the near future. It has been estimated that 27% of the increase of the median age of the population of Sachsen-Anhalt between 1991 and 2004 are due to direct and indirect effects of age- and sex-selective out-migration (MAI 2006). In other words, the strong out-migration of young people, especially young women, during the last two decades has set a self-enhancing demographic downward spiral in motion which is difficult to stop.

### 1.1. Age- and sex-specific migration patterns

The rural parts of Sachsen-Anhalt are among the regions in Europe with the strongest population decline (LEIBERT & LENTZ 2011). Depopulation is especially pronounced in peripheral, sparsely populated districts with low accessibility such as the district of Stendal and economically weak districts with very high unemployment rates like Mansfeld-Südharz. There are two important reasons for the strong population decline in Sachsen-Anhalt and the whole of Eastern Germany. One is the negative natural balance; the second reason is the strong out-migration of young adults. Women are much more likely to leave rural Eastern Germany in the age group 18 to 24 while the out-migration of men is higher in the age group 25 to 29 (Maps 1, 2, 5, 6). The general migration patterns in the younger age group are more or less similar in Eastern and Western Germany, the proportion of young women and men leaving their rural home district is, however, far higher in the East. Large urban centres and university towns are the predominant destinations of the rural out-migrants in both parts of the country. Young men are generally less likely to leave the countryside in the age group 18 to 24 than young women. This indicates that it is easier for men to enter the labour market in rural regions. The German labour market is characterised by relatively strong gender segregation. Women tend to favour jobs in the service sector which are frequently located in urban areas or at least require training in a vocational school or university located in an urban district. Young men, on the other hand, prefer jobs in the manufacturing trade which are also available in rural regions.

## Net migration rate of women in the age-group 18 to 24 per 1000 inhabitants 2010

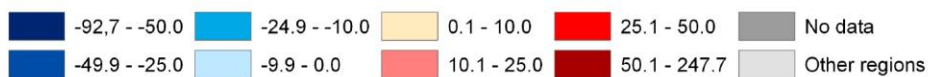


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Local level: NUTS3  
Source: own calculations, 2011  
Origin of data: Destatis, 2011

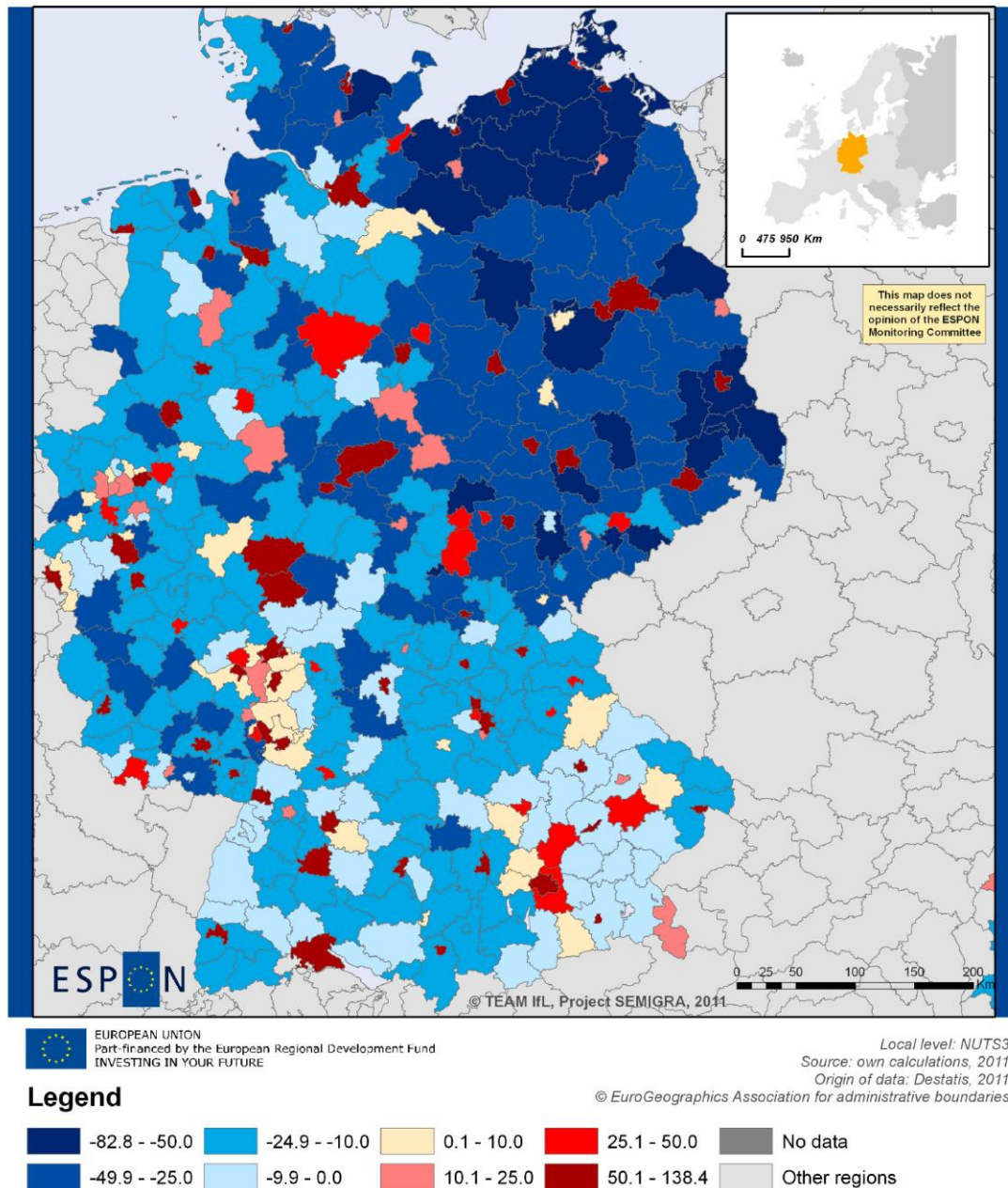
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### Legend



**Map 1: Net migration rate of women in the age group 18-24 in 2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

## Net migration rate of men in the age-group 18 to 24 per 1000 inhabitants 2010



**Map 2: Net migration rate of men in the age group 18-24 in 2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

The pattern that young women and men leave rural areas and move to urban centres is clearly discernible in Sachsen-Anhalt (Maps 1 and 2). The migration balance of all rural districts is negative in the age group 18 to 24, especially in the Altmark Salzwedel, Jerichower Land and Mansfeld-Südharz districts. The cities of Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg, on the other hand, have a positive migration balance in this age group. Halle seems to be particularly attractive for young women. The city ranks fourth in Eastern Germany and is outstripped only by Greifswald, Jena and Leipzig.

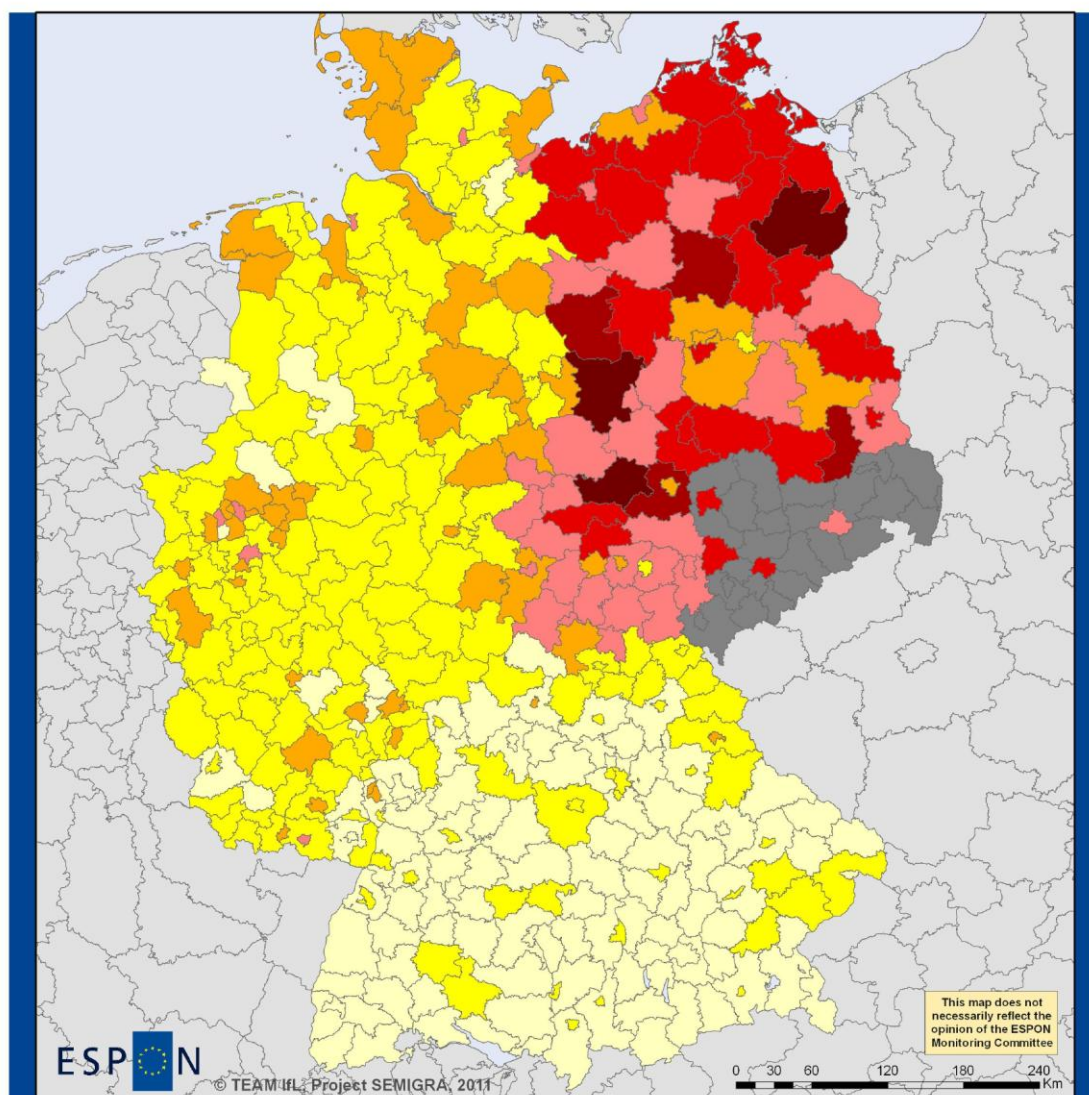
We can neither verify nor disprove the popular conception that girls in rural Sachsen-Anhalt are “smarter” and “cleverer” i.e. more ambitious and career-oriented than boys and hence more likely to leave with the available data. Although we can say that they are definitively more ambitious, career-oriented and willing to move than their peers in many rural regions of Western Germany, especially in Bayern, Niedersachsen and Schleswig-Holstein where the proportion of female pupils with higher education entrance qualifications (Maps 23 and 24) is rather low. The migration behaviour of young people, especially young women from Eastern Germany is a textbook example of the neoclassical economic theory which posits that spatial mobility of the labour force is a means of reducing interregional disparities in the wage level and the unemployment rate. The out-migration of spare workers is regarded as a necessary precondition to maintain the economic equilibrium, to counterbalance regional “shocks” in the demand for labour and to fuel economic growth (ARNTZ 2011). The reaction of the economy is a different matter. A high wage gap and high unemployment rates have been characteristic for Eastern Germany for more than two decades. For a long time, there have been few indications for economic convergence in Germany. The economic disparities, on the other hand, have proven to be very stable (BLIEN, PHAN et al 2010). One example for these stable economic disparities is youth unemployment which is still much higher in Sachsen-Anhalt than in Western Germany despite the relatively positive development in the labour and vocational training market in recent years<sup>1</sup>, especially in the Altmark, the Saalekreis and the Börde and Mansfeld-Südharz districts (Maps 3 and 4).

---

<sup>1</sup> The youth unemployment rate in Sachsen-Anhalt was 10.9% in 2010 [DE: 6.8%]; compared to 2009, the proportion of unemployed people between 15 and 25 is down by 2.1% [DE: -1.0%] (BURDACK 2011).



## Number of unemployed women under 25 per 1000 women between 15 and 25 2008



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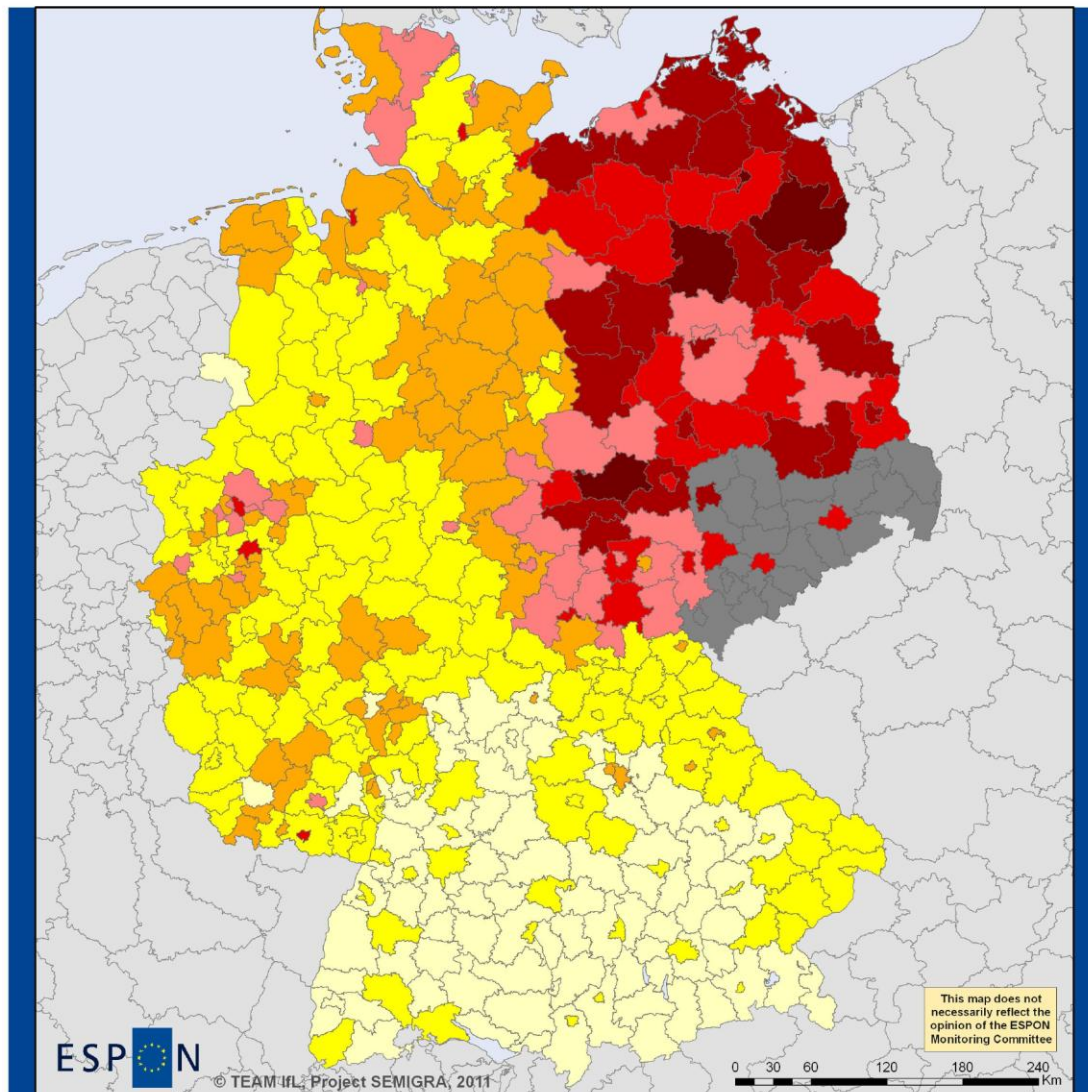
### Legend



**Map 3: Number of unemployed women under 25 per 1000 inhabitants between 15 and 25**

Source: Own design; data source: BBSR (2010)

## Number of unemployed men under 25 per 1000 men between 15 and 25 2008



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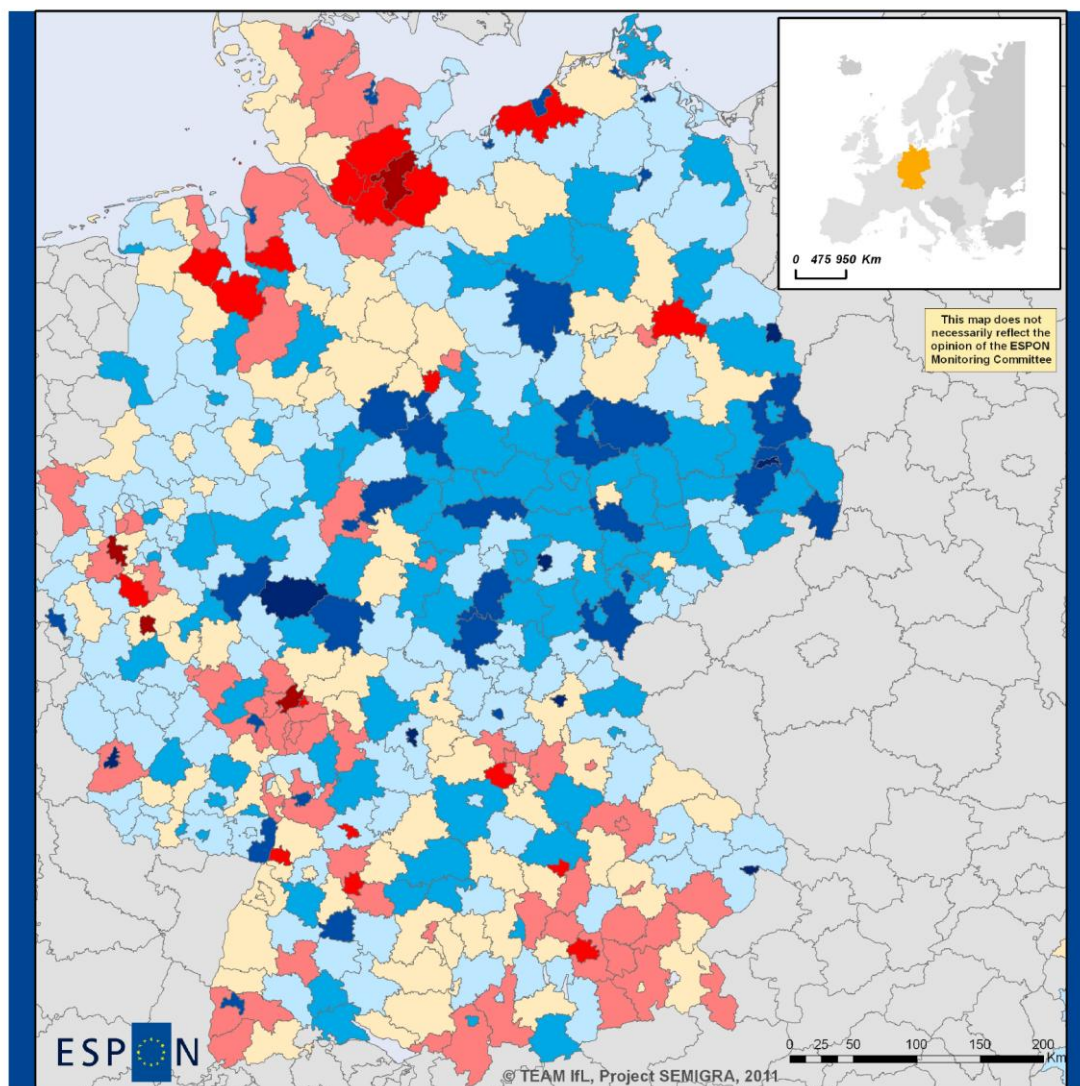


**Map 4: Number of unemployed men under 25 per 1000 inhabitants between 15 and 25**  
**Source: Own design; data source: BBSR (2010)**

The sex selectivity of the migration patterns becomes even more obvious in the age group 25-29. This is a transitional period in the life course. According to the ideal typical life course, young adults have finished their education in their early 20s and entered the labour market. The first years of professional life tend to be characterised by marginal and precarious employment such as part-time jobs, internships or fixed-term jobs and spells of unemployment. After gaining a foothold in the labour market, young women and men will eventually find a permanent position.

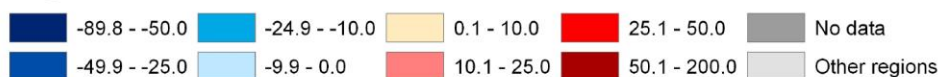


## Net migration rate of women in the age-group 25 to 29 per 1000 inhabitants 2010



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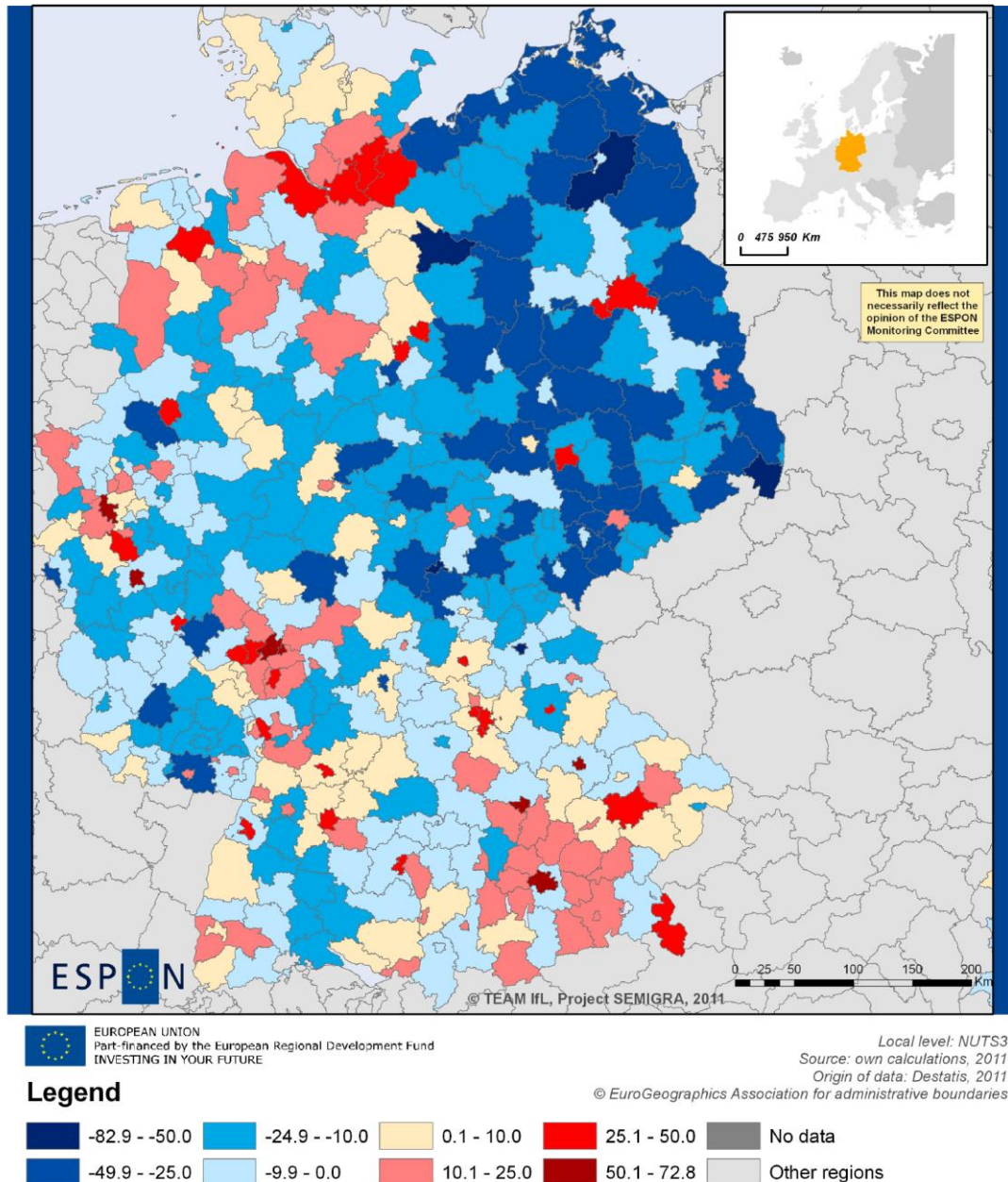
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Local level: NUTS3  
Source: own calculations, 2011  
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**Map 5: Net migration rate of women in the age group 25-29 in 2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

## Net migration rate of men in the age-group 25 to 29 per 1000 inhabitants 2010



**Map 6: Net migration rate of men in the age group 25-29 in 2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

Maps 5 and 6 confirm the transitory character of the regional sex-ratio patterns in the age group 25 to 29. A significant in-migration of women to the main urban centres continues, e.g. Düsseldorf, Frankfurt (Main) or München. The migration balance of smaller university towns like Greifswald or Trier and rural districts with important educational facilities, e.g. Göttingen, on the other hand, is negative. This pattern is not surprising. The labour markets of the smaller university towns cannot offer an adequate job for every graduate. The conditions for successfully entering the

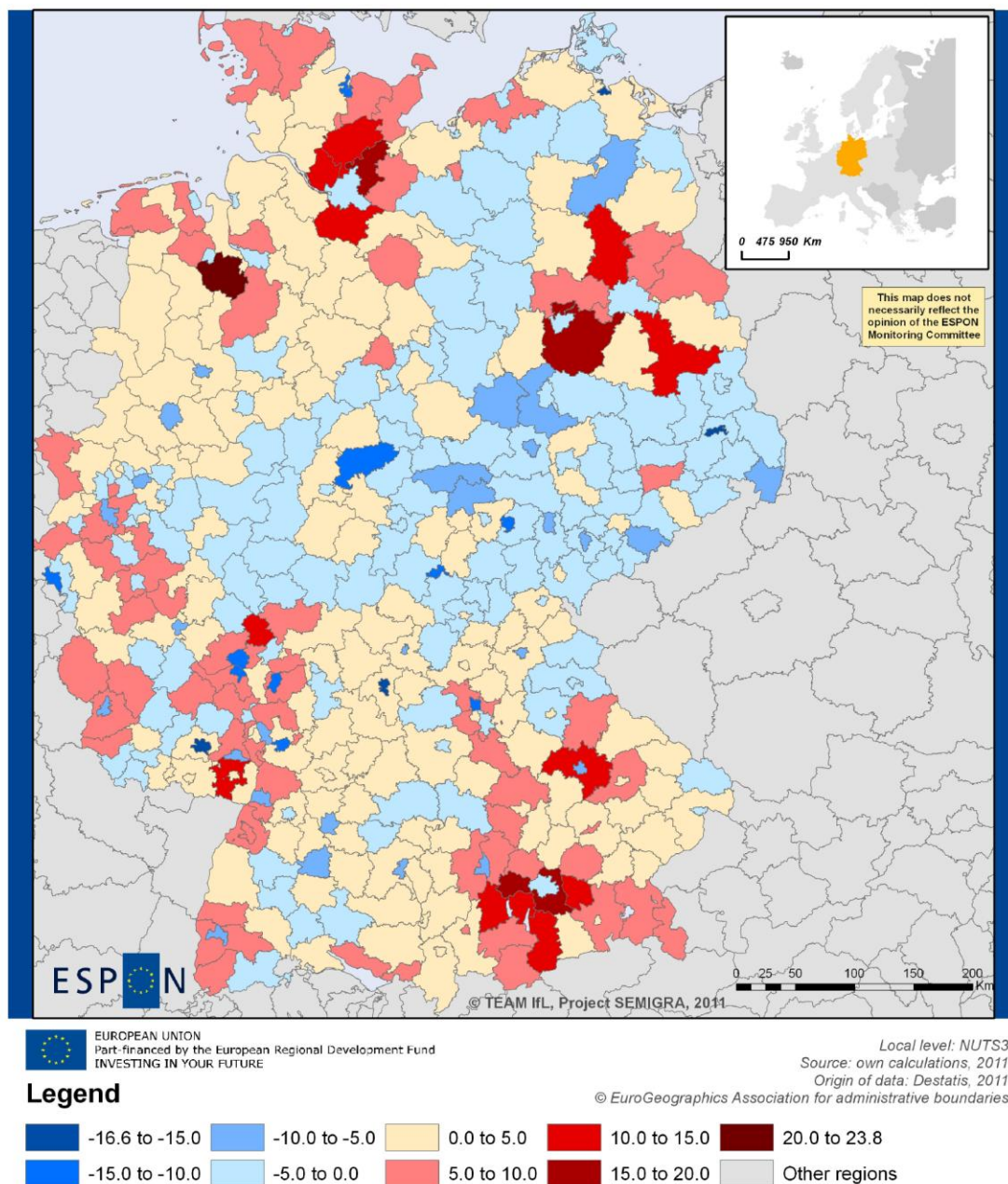
labour market are more favourable in the major urban centres. As demonstrated by FINDLAY et al. (2009), the economic core areas can function as “escalator regions” which are particularly appealing to young in-migrants interested in quick professional advancement. Using the example of migration patterns between Scotland and the “escalator region” of south west England, the authors are able to show that a significant proportion of out-migrants returned to Scotland at an early or mid stage of their careers to assume management positions. This is also the case in Germany as we will see below.

In suburban, well accessible and/or scenic rural districts, we can notice a “re-feminisation”, i.e. a trend that women in their late 20s and early 30s move (back) to districts with a pronounced “surplus” of men in the age group 18 to 24. The spatial patterns of this process suggest that the suburban hinterlands of Berlin, Frankfurt (Main), Hamburg and München are the initial points of this “re-feminisation”. The spatial pattern of the migration balance for men between 25 and 29 suggests that all in all young men are not less likely to leave rural regions in young adulthood, they only leave later. One of the interviewed experts has an explanation for this pattern: *“Boys acquire maturity later than girls. In many cases they don’t really know what to do with their lives when they leave school.”* The late 20s seems to be a point in the life course at which young men have “matured” enough to re-evaluate previous decisions. This is probably connected to family formation. In this age group men show a higher willingness to leave peripheral and economically weak rural regions, especially in Eastern Germany. There are also some clusters of districts with high out-migration rates in Western Germany, e.g. in the southern part of Rheinland-Pfalz.

There is no “re-feminisation” in Sachsen-Anhalt. The intensity of the out-migration decelerates somewhat in the age group 25 to 29, but remains high or even very high in comparison with Western Germany (and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), in particular in the districts of Anhalt-Bitterfeld, Stendal and Wittenberg. The migration balance for men is even more negative, with one exception: The migration balance of the city of Halle (Saale) is slightly positive.



## Net migration rate of women in the age-group 30 to 49 per 1000 inhabitants 2010

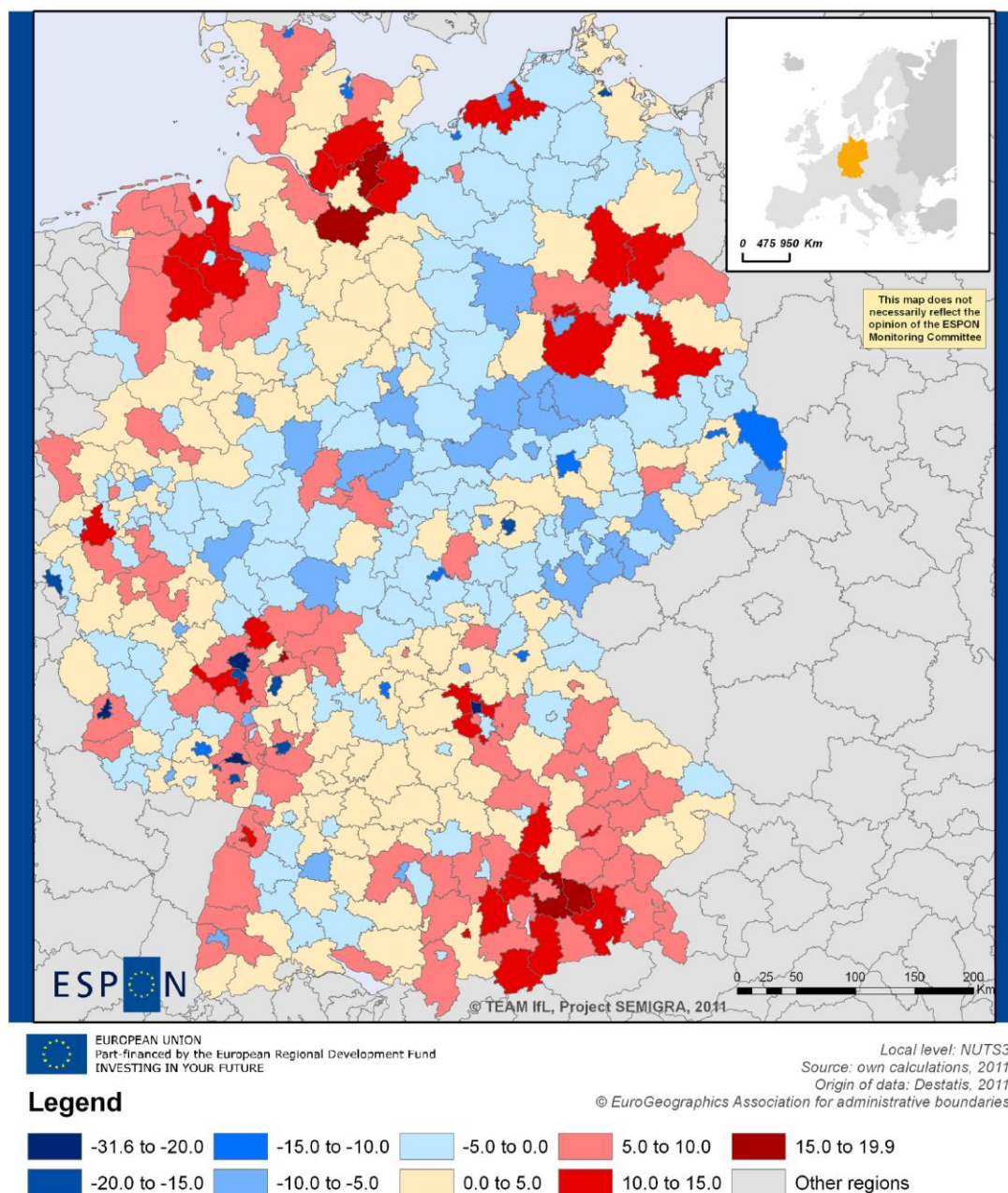


**Map 7: Net migration rate of women in the age group 30-49 in 2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

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

of the life course should be determined by the availability of high-quality housing in an attractive landscape. The residential mobility of couples in their 20s and early 30s, especially moves into home-ownership, is frequently connected to a coming birth or concrete plans to have a(nother) child. There are several motivations to move for prospective parents. The current accommodation may be too small, too expensive or not suitable for children. Some couples may also think that the city is not a good place to raise kids and plan on moving to suburban or rural regions.

### Net migration rate of men in the age-group 30 to 49 per 1000 inhabitants 2010



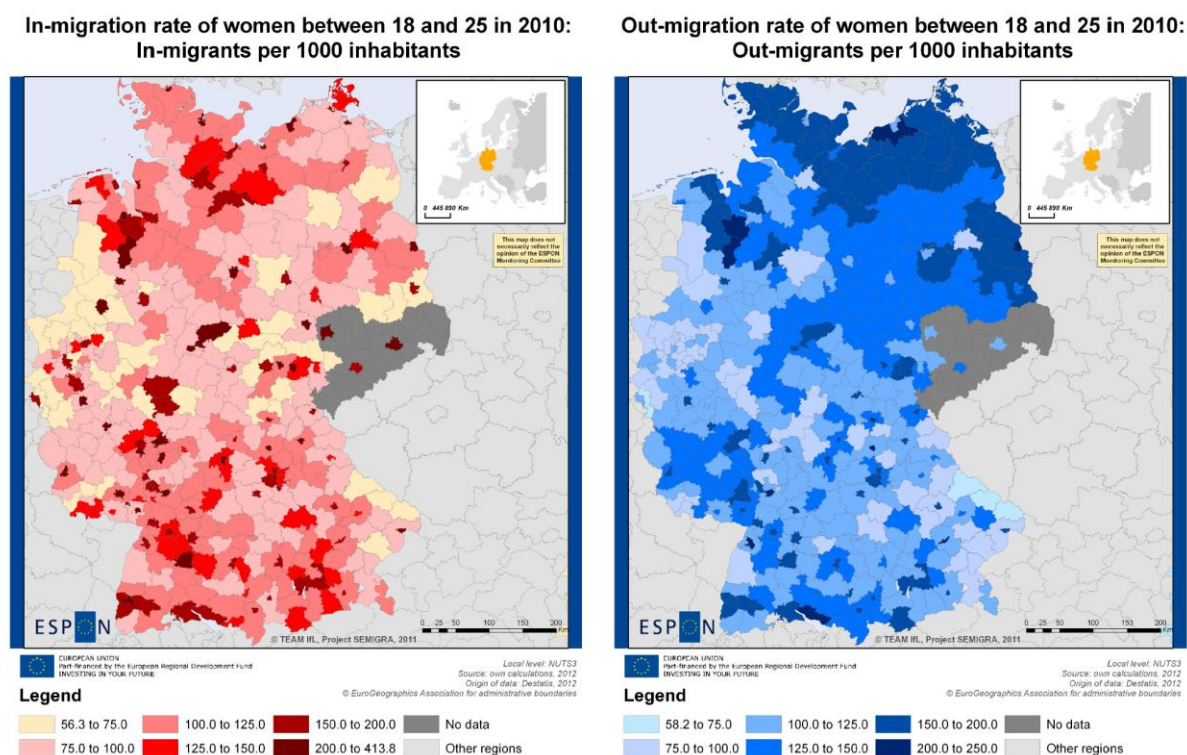
**Map 8: Net migration rate of women and men in the age group 30-49 in 2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

Occupational considerations are usually of minor importance when people decide to move to peripheral rural regions. Migration is primarily motivated by lifestyle considerations, e.g. the desire to live in harmony with nature in a quiet, safe place with a close-knit community and close neighbourly relationships (LINDGREN 2003, RIVERA ESCRIBANO 2007). With respect to the question of whether to return to one's childhood home or not, social networks may play an important role. People with children tend to live closer to their parents. Recent research has shown that moves to be closer to adult children or parents are usually induced by need for assistance or contact. In many cases, it is the younger generation that moves closer to the older generation, especially in rural regions and when siblings still live close to the parental home (MICHIELIN & MULDER 2007; MULDER & COOKE 2009; SMITS 2010). The place of birth also plays a decisive part in shaping preferences for a specific residential environment later in life. FEIJTEN et al (2008) show that people born in rural and suburban areas develop a preference for rural living later in life.

This is also reflected in the in-depth interviews. Interviewees who have or plan on having children told the interviewer with their own happy rural childhood in mind that they think rural or suburban areas are the best places to raise a family because children can grow up in a protected and sheltered way there. Another reason why people return to the type of residential environment of their childhood may be the attempt to recreate elements from one's childhood which provides continuity and a sense of security over one's life-course. The individual concept of 'rurality' is, however, rather general and detached from the place they grew up in many cases, meaning that they may not return to their hometown but move to more accessible rural regions with better infrastructure facilities and labour market conditions instead. In this sense, it seems that suburban areas are "rural enough" for most people. In these regions, one can settle in a rural environment that is safe and valuable to children while maintaining contact with the urban labour market (HJORT & MALMBERG 2006). The importance of family-related motives in the age group 30 to 49 is clearly reflected in Maps 7 and 8. The migration balance of women is positive in scenic and well accessible rural areas and more or less balanced in most of the remaining rural districts. The most attractive districts for re- and in-migrants in Eastern Germany are the suburban districts around Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Rostock as well as some scenic districts along the Baltic coast and in Thüringen – as well as the city of Magdeburg and the Jerichower Land district. Out-migration is higher than in-migration in urban districts, rural districts with smaller university towns such as Göttingen and some peripheral, economically weak districts, e.g. Anhalt-Bitterfeld, Löbau-Zittau, Mecklenburg-Strelitz or the Salzlandkreis.



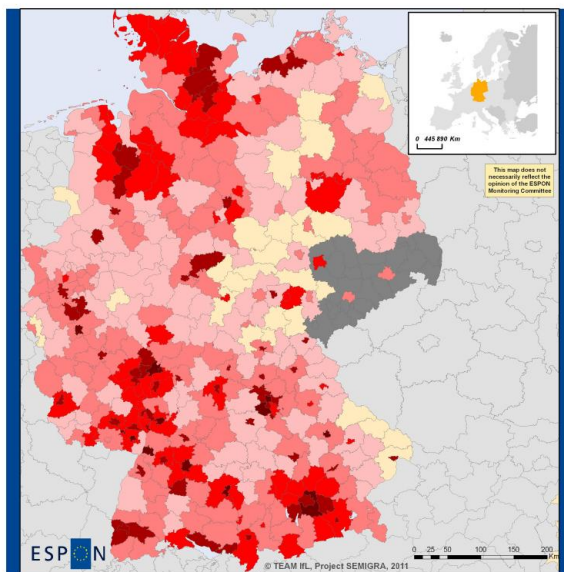
Some authors (e.g. SCHLÖMER 2004) have argued that Eastern Germany does not have a “problem” with out-migration, but with in-migration. In other words: The out-migration rate from the East is not particularly high, it is the in-migration rate that is too low, especially in the age groups 18 to 24 and 25 to 29. Map 9 partly confirms this reasoning for the age group 18 to 24, especially for Thüringen, but to some degree also for Sachsen-Anhalt. In-migration of young women to Sachsen-Anhalt is – compared to rural districts in Western Germany – low (Börde, Burgenlandkreis, Mansfeld-Südharz) to average (all other rural districts), while the out-migration is relatively, though not extremely, high in almost all rural districts. Out-migration rates from Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Eastern Brandenburg are, however, very high. These regions *do* have both an out- and an in-migration “problem”. The only exceptions to this rule are the districts of Ludwigslust and Rügen in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern which have comparatively high in-migration rates.



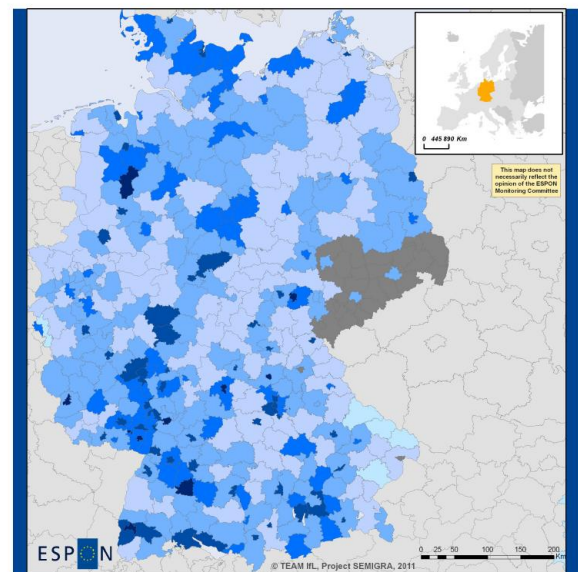
**Map 9: In- and out-migration rates of women between 18 and 25 in 2010<sup>2</sup>.**  
Own calculation; data source: Destatis (2012)

<sup>2</sup> Data for the Federal State of Sachsen is partly missing in several maps because Saxon NUTS 3 regions are still the old districts that have been dissolved as part of administrative reform that came into effect in 2008. As a rule, statistical data is only available for the current administrative structure of the state. Population numbers are available in the EUROSTAT database, the in- and out-migration rates have been calculated by the authors by aggregating community level data.

**In-migration rate of women between 25 and 30 in 2010:  
In-migrants per 1000 inhabitants**



**Out-migration rate of women between 25 and 30 in 2010:  
Out-migrants per 1000 inhabitants**



**Map 10: In- and out-migration rates of women between 25 and 30 in 2010.  
Own calculation; data source: Destatis (2012)**

SCHLÖMER (2004) is definitely right in the age group 25 to 29. The migration balance of virtually all rural districts in Eastern Germany is negative despite relatively low out-migration rates because the number of in-migrants per 1000 inhabitants is very low, especially in southern Sachsen-Anhalt (Map 10). The district of Bad Doberan in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the suburban hinterland of Rostock is the exception that proves the rule.

## **1.2. The demographic development in Sachsen-Anhalt 1964-2010**

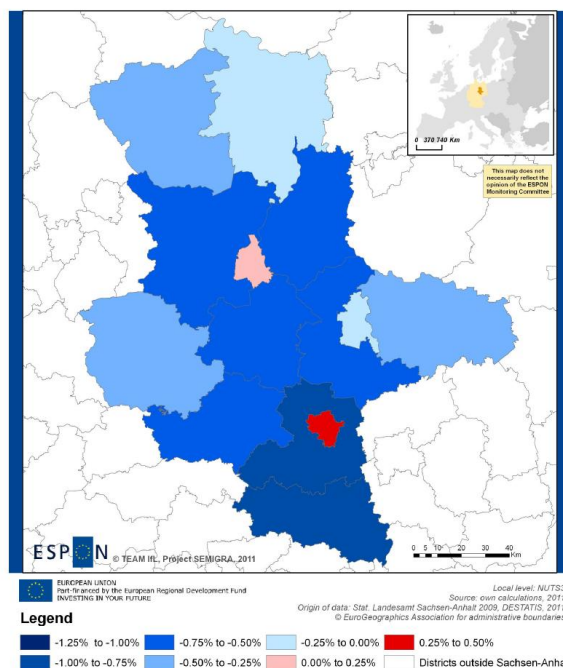
The depopulation of the countryside in Sachsen-Anhalt is not a new phenomenon, but one that has been going on for decades. The population of most rural districts declined considerably during the GDR era. The Saalekreis lost 23.5%<sup>3</sup> of its inhabitants between 1964 and 1990, the Burgenlandkreis 22.2% (Map 11). During socialist times, a concentration of the population in large and medium-sized urban centres took place. The city of Halle (Saale) grew by 13% between 1964 and 1990. The population of some cities with 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants increased at a comparable or even higher rate: Wolmirstedt (Börde; +69%), Stendal (+31%), Hettstedt (Mansfeld-Südharz; +13%), Salzwedel (+13%). Some small district seats with less than 10,000 inhabitants such as Kalbe (Milde)

<sup>3</sup> Population development: Own calculation; data source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen-Anhalt (2009)

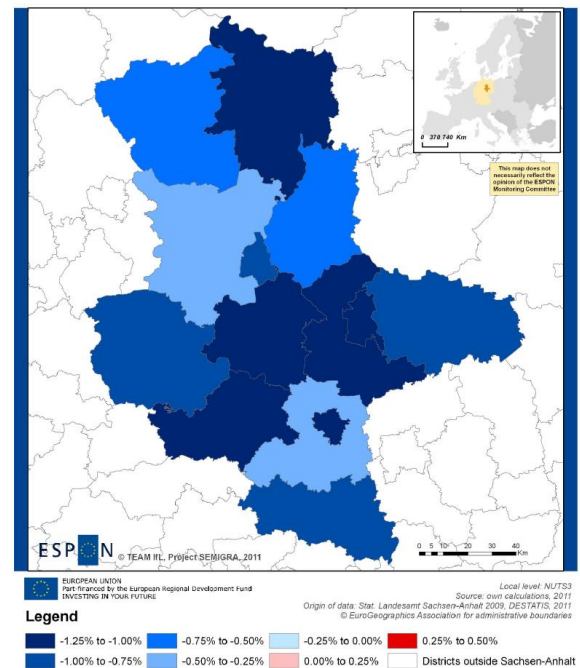


(Altmark Salzwedel; +10%), Klötze (Altmark Salzwedel; +17%) or Osterburg (Altmark) (Stendal; +19%) also grew considerably. Small rural municipalities as well as some industrial towns<sup>4</sup> were the losers of this concentration process and had to cope with severe population losses during the GDR era. To name just a few examples from the Anhalt-Bitterfeld district: Pouch<sup>5</sup> lost 47% of its inhabitants between 1964 and 1990, the city of Jeßnitz (Anhalt)<sup>6</sup> declined by more than 41% and the small village of Riesdorf lost more than 51% of its originally 295 inhabitants.

Average annual population development in Sachsen-Anhalt 1964-1990



Average annual population development in Sachsen-Anhalt 1990-2010



**Map 11: Average annual population development in Sachsen-Anhalt 1964-1990 and 1990-2010.**

**Own calculations, data source: DESTATIS (2012); STATISTISCHES LANDESAMT SACHSEN-ANHALT (2009)**

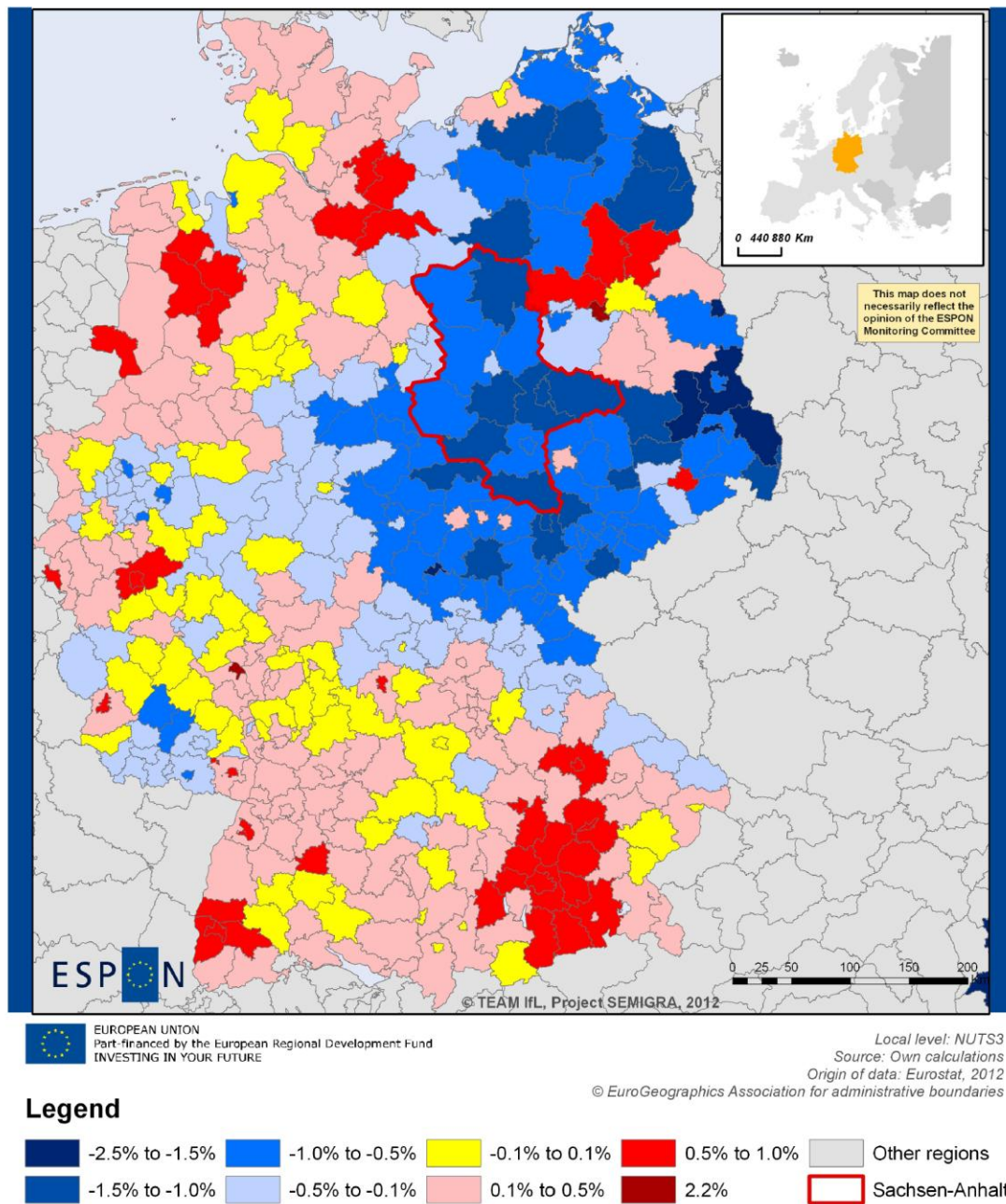
The depopulation of Sachsen-Anhalt continued after the German unification, but the spatial pattern changed. The urban districts and districts that were especially affected by deindustrialisation like Anhalt-Bitterfeld and Mansfeld-Südharz had to cope with the strongest population losses (Map 11). The population development was most favourable in the Börde- and the Saalekreis between 1990 and 2010 due to the very dynamic suburbanisation process in Eastern Germany (HERFERT 2008).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Schkopau (Saalekreis; -38%), Leuna (Saalekreis; -33%)

<sup>5</sup> 3501 inhabitants in 1964

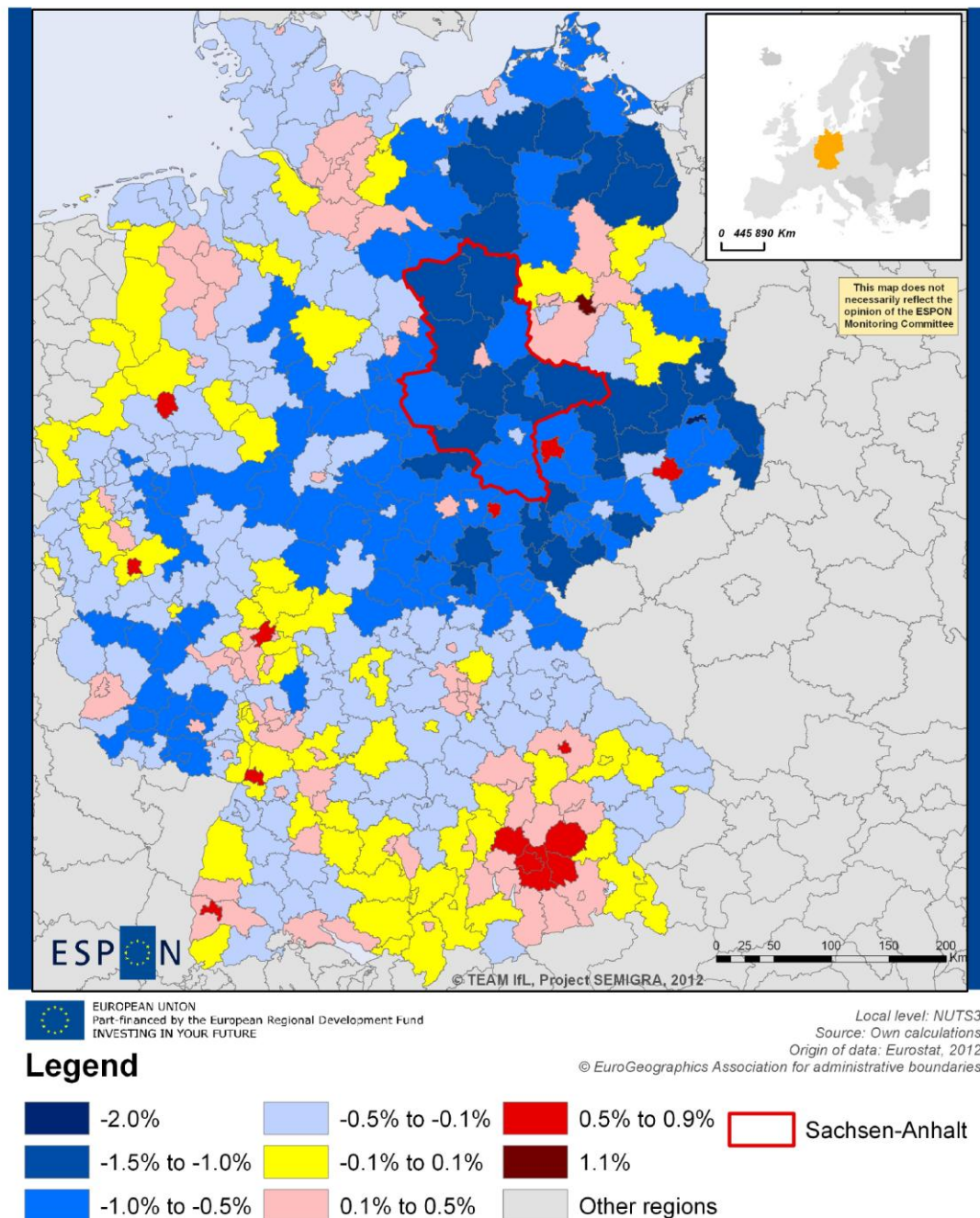
<sup>6</sup> 6933 inhabitants in 1964

## Average annual population growth 2001-2007



**Map 12: Average annual population growth in Germany at the district level 2001-2007.**  
Own calculation; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

## Average annual population growth 2007-2011



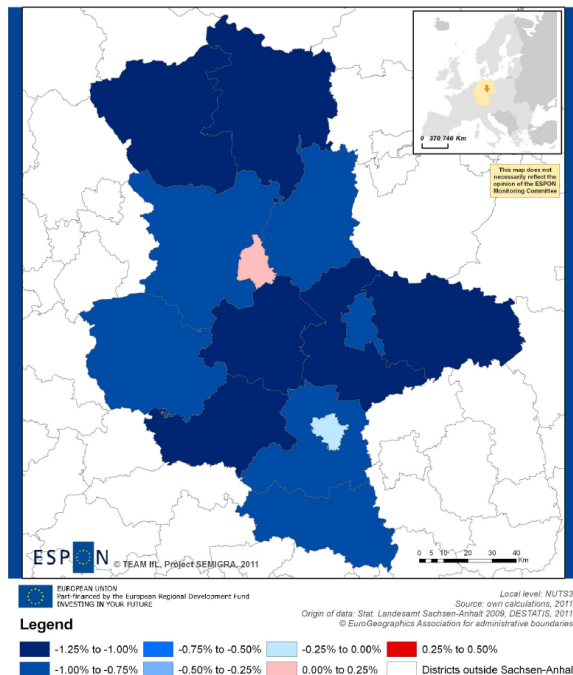
**Map 13: Average annual population growth in Germany at the district level 2007-2010.**  
Own calculation; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

But the tide turned again. Suburbanisation gave way to reurbanisation and the depopulation of the rural peripheries continues with no end in sight (HERFERT & OSTERHAGE 2011). Between 2007 and 2010 Magdeburg and Halle (Saale) were the only islands of stability in an ocean of shrinkage. These developments are not unique to Sachsen-Anhalt or Eastern Germany, as maps 12 and 13 clearly demonstrate. Rural districts in Western Germany find themselves increasingly confronted with a declining population while urban centres grow throughout the country – with the

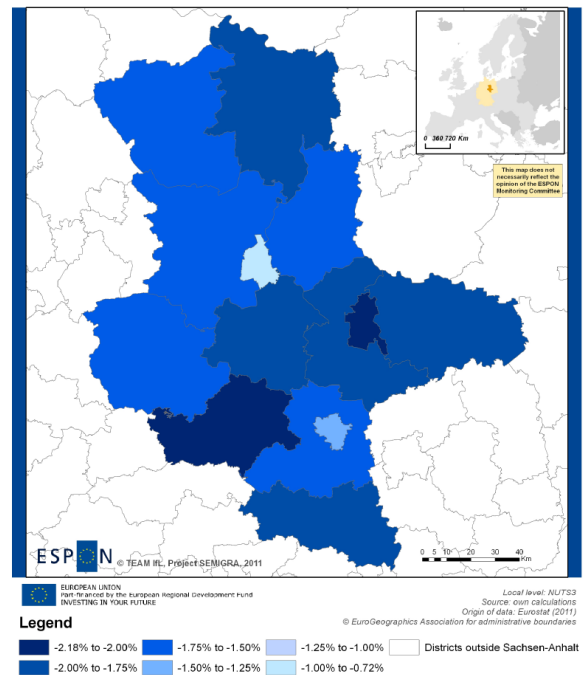


exception of old industrialised cities which are still struggling with the transition from the industrial to a post-industrial society.

**Average annual population development in Sachsen-Anhalt 2007-2010**

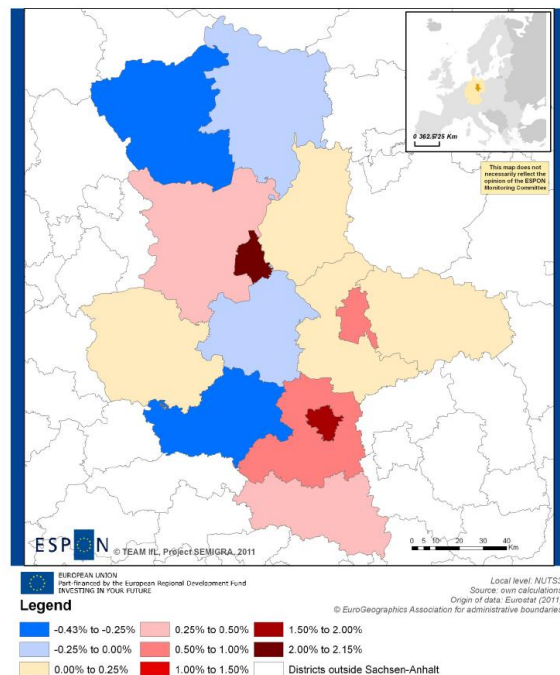


**Average annual development of the working age population in Sachsen-Anhalt 2007-2010**

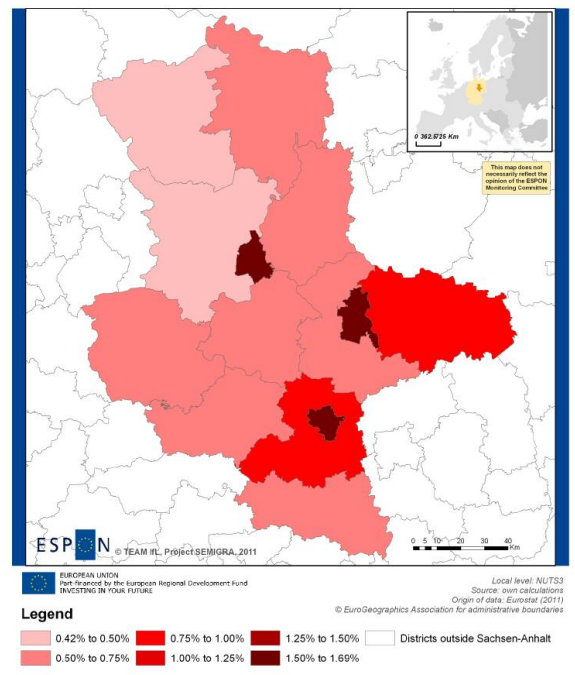


**Map 14: Average annual population development and average annual development of the working age population in Sachsen-Anhalt 2007-2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

**Average annual development of the number of inhabitants under 15 in Sachsen-Anhalt 2007-2010**



**Average annual development of the number of inhabitants over 65 in Sachsen-Anhalt 2007-2010**



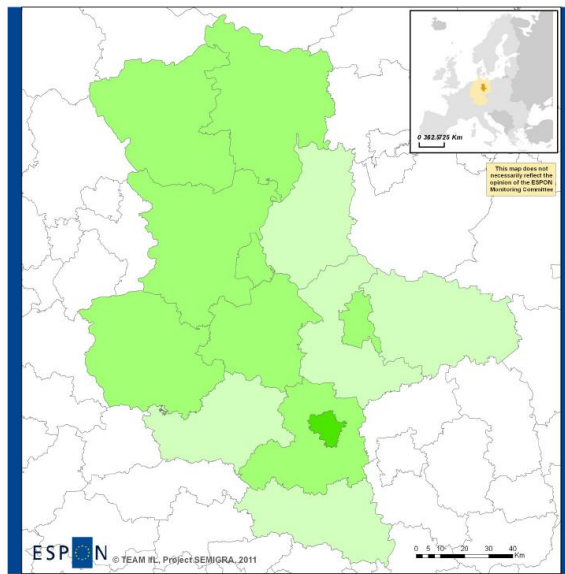
**Map 15: Average annual development of the number of inhabitants under 15 and over 65 2007-2010.**  
Own calculations; data source: EUROSTAT (2011)

The **development of the working age population** is especially alarming in Sachsen-Anhalt. With the exception of Magdeburg, the number of inhabitants between 15 and 64 decreased by at least 5% in every district in the state between 2007 and 2010 (Map 14). While the number of working age people plummeted between 2007 and 2010, the number of senior citizens increased, especially in the urban districts, the Saalekreis and the district of Wittenberg (Map 15). This means that an ever-declining number of jobholders has to sustain a constantly growing number of retirees.

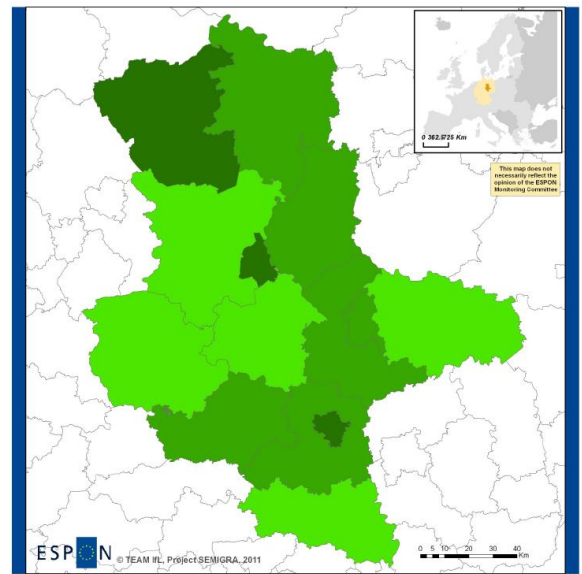
The **ageing of the population** is both an opportunity and a threat. Care for the elderly is traditionally a family affair and a women's domain in Germany. Due to the strong out-migration of young women, it is very likely that future generations of old people in need of care have to be looked after in nursing homes. This means both higher costs for the taxpayer as well as more employment opportunities for women in rural regions. However, being a carer for the elderly is a demanding, poorly paid profession with unattractive working hours. In the light of the upcoming skills shortage, it is possible that vacancies in the care industry cannot be filled because potential applicants prefer more attractive and better paid jobs. The result could be a severe shortage of nursing staff similar to the shortage of general practitioners in rural areas.

There are also rays of hope. The number of children rose in most of the districts of Sachsen-Anhalt between 2007 and 2010 (Map 15), especially in the urban districts of Halle (Saale) (+6.7%) and Magdeburg (+8.6%). This development is in part due to the growing attractiveness of these (university) cities for young women whereby the number of potential mothers increases. The other reason is a **recovery of the fertility rate** which was extremely low in Eastern Germany during the 1990s. The number of births per 1000 women of childbearing age has increased perceptibly, especially in Halle (Saale), Magdeburg and the Altmarkkreis Salzwedel (Map 16). The birth-rate in Sachsen-Anhalt is, nevertheless, still low by European standards and by far not sufficient to assure the replacement of generations.

Number of births per 1000 women between 15 and 44 2007

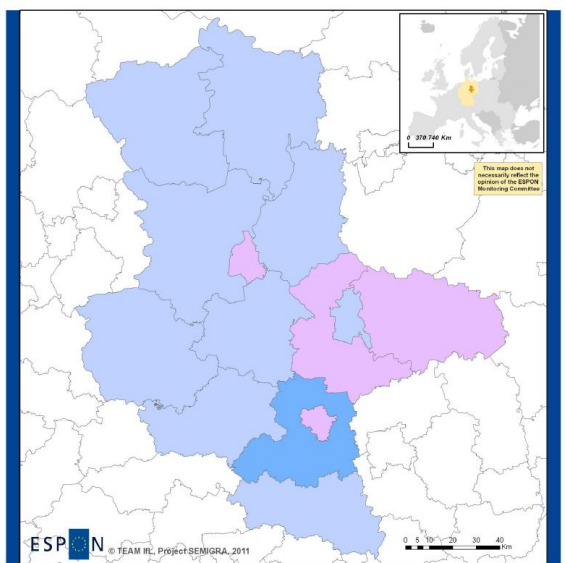


Number of births per 1000 women between 15 and 44 2010

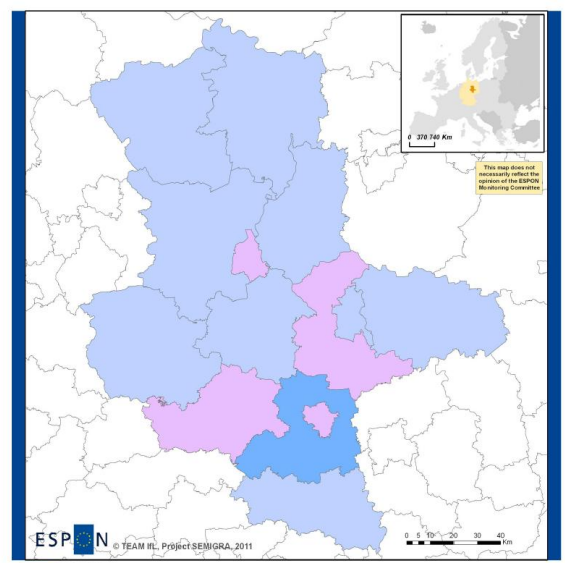


Map 16: Number of births per 1000 women between 15 and 44 2007 and 2010.  
Own calculations, data source: DESTATIS (2012)

Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age-group  
20-24 in Sachsen-Anhalt on December 31st 1990



Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age-group  
25-29 in Sachsen-Anhalt on December 31st 1990

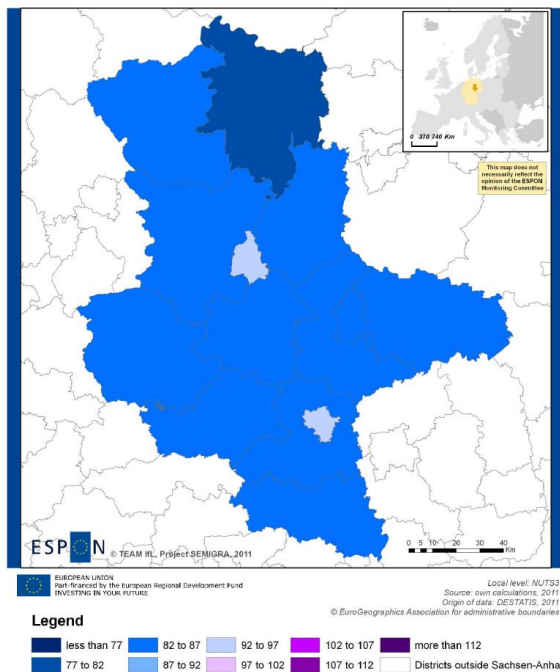


Map 17: Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age groups 20-24 and 25-29 in 1990.  
Own calculations; data source: STATISTISCHES LANDESAMT DES FREISTAATS SACHSEN (2010)

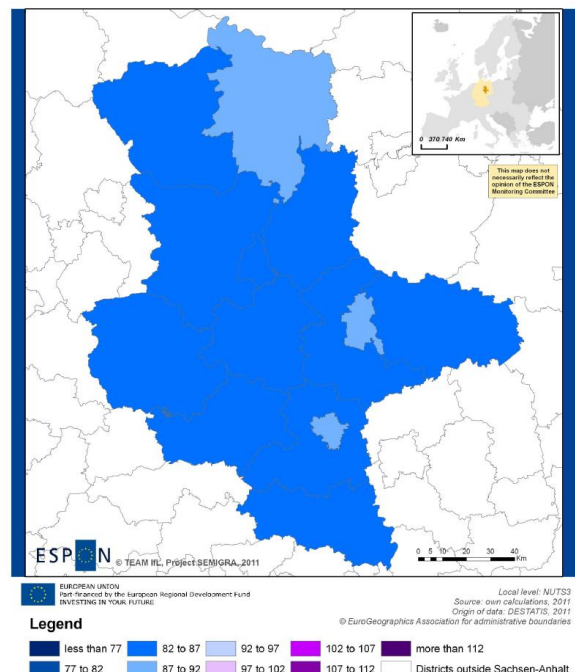
### 1.3. The “masculinisation” of rural Sachsen-Anhalt

The strongly unbalanced sex-ratio structures characteristic for the rural regions of Sachsen-Anhalt today are not inherited from the socialist era, but are a result of the reunification process. Map 17 illustrates that the number of women per 100 coeval men was around the ‘natural’ mean in all but one district in 1990 both in the age groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29. The only district with a significant “surplus” of men in 1990 was the Saalekreis, most likely because this district used to be the centre of the chemical industry in the GDR.

Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age-group 20-24 in Sachsen-Anhalt on December 31st 2000



Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age-group 25-29 in Sachsen-Anhalt on December 31st 2000



**Map 18: Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age groups 20-24 and 25-29 in 2000.**

**Own calculations; data source: STATISTISCHES LANDESAMT DES FREISTAATS SACHSEN (2010)**

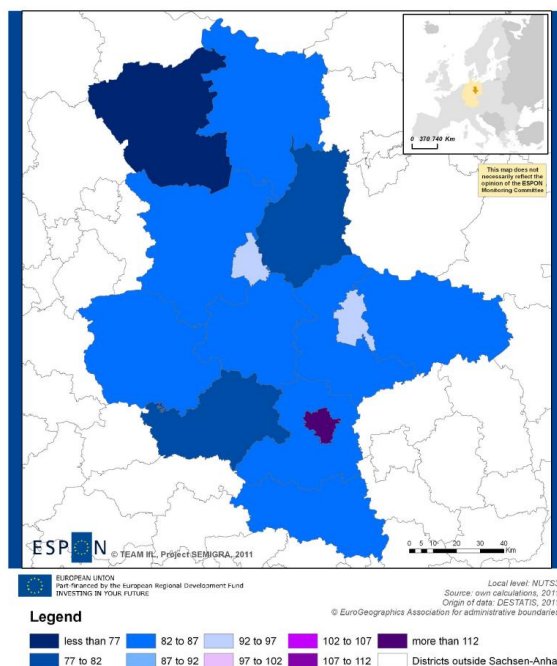
Ten years later, the consequences of the strongly sex-selective migration processes of the 1990s are clearly visible (Map 18). There is a pronounced “lack” of women in all rural districts and the city of Dessau-Roßlau in both age groups. In 2000, there were only two districts with a relatively balanced sex ratio in the age group 20-24: the university cities Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg.

In 2010, a certain “re-feminisation” of the urban districts is clearly visible in the age group 20-24 (Map 19). With 119 women per 100 men, Halle (Saale) is the most attractive city for women in their early 20s. In Magdeburg and Dessau-Roßlau, the sex ratio is only slightly below the natural mean. In the districts of Altmark Salzwedel, Jerichower Land and Mansfeld-Südharz, the “deficit” of women between 20 and 24 has increased

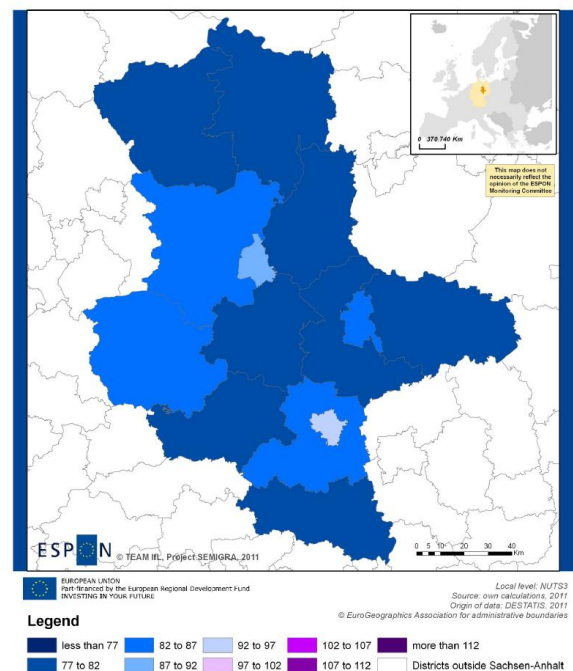


significantly during the last decade. The “deterioration” of the sex ratio is even more pronounced in the age group 25-29. The “deficit” of women has only decreased in two districts – Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg. In the rural districts, on the other hand, the “shortage” of women has intensified in all but three – Börde, Harz and Saalekreis. The sex ratio is between 15 and 20% below the “natural mean” in most of the state.

Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age-group 20-24 in Sachsen-Anhalt on December 31st 2010



Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age-group 25-29 in Sachsen-Anhalt on December 31st 2010



**Map 19: Number of women per 100 coeval men in the age groups 20-24 and 25-29 in 2010.**

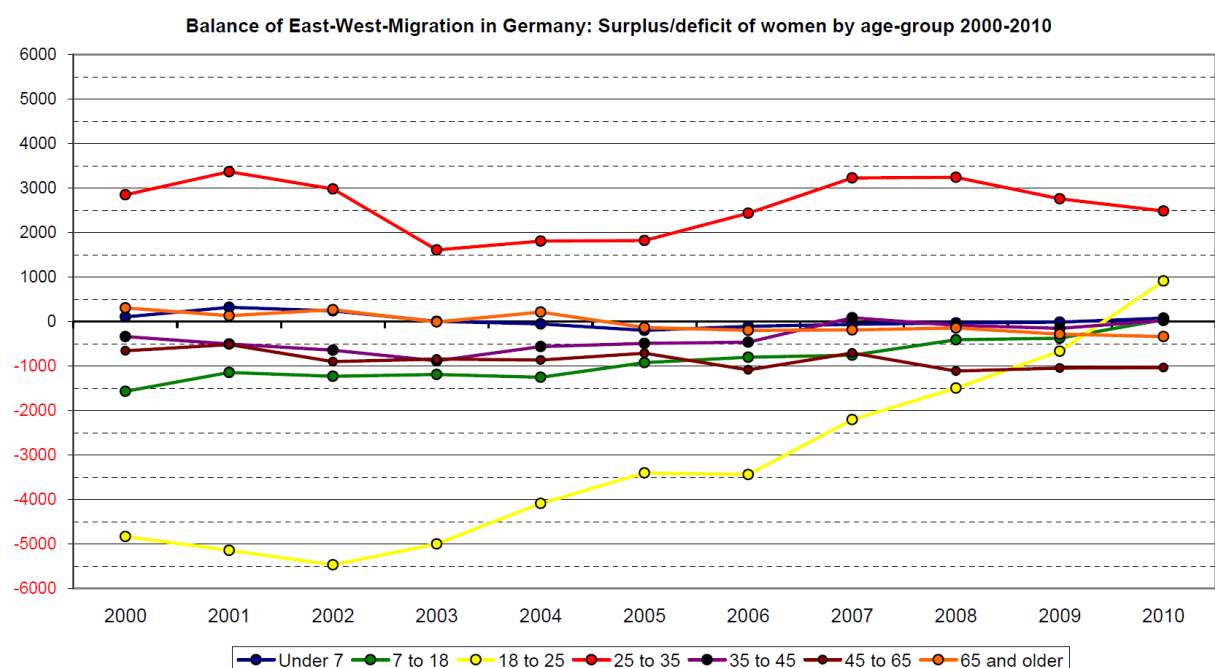
Own calculations; data source: DESTATIS (2012)

Yet the trends seem to be changing. The sex selectivity of the east-west-migration in the age groups 7 to 18 and 18 to 24 has been on the decrease since 2002. In 2010 the number of women between 18 and 24 moving to Eastern Germany was higher than the number of coeval out-migrants for the first time in years, probably even since the reunification (Figure 1). The figure also depicts that there has always been a tendency for women to move or return to Eastern Germany in the age group 25 to 35. Yet, this “backflow” was too small to counterbalance the strong out-migration of women in their late teens and early 20s up to 2007.

In summary, it appears that the demographic development of the past is a heavy burden for the future. Strong depopulation and rapid ageing alone is a difficult challenge for Sachsen-Anhalt. The “shortage” of young women aggravates both problems in the short as well as the long run due to a deterioration of the reproductive potential of the state’s population. The current trend of a declining sex-selectivity of the out-migration from Sachsen-Anhalt is a silver lining, but nothing more. Even if this develop-



ment turns out to be durable, the “deficit” of women will only even out in the medium or long term since the sex structure of the population is too distorted as a result of the pronounced sex-selectivity of the migration patterns in the past. The striking “re-feminisation” of university towns such as Halle (Saale) casts the sustainability of the trend towards less sex-selective migration patterns into doubt. This development may be caused by a high demand for places at university due to the shortening of the Gymnasium, the German grammar school, by one year in several federal states in Western Germany and hence be only temporary. It is too early to tell if we are indeed witnessing a reversal of the trend or if this is simply a short-term special development.



**Figure 1: Balance of East-West-Migration: Surplus/deficit of women by age group 2000-2010.**

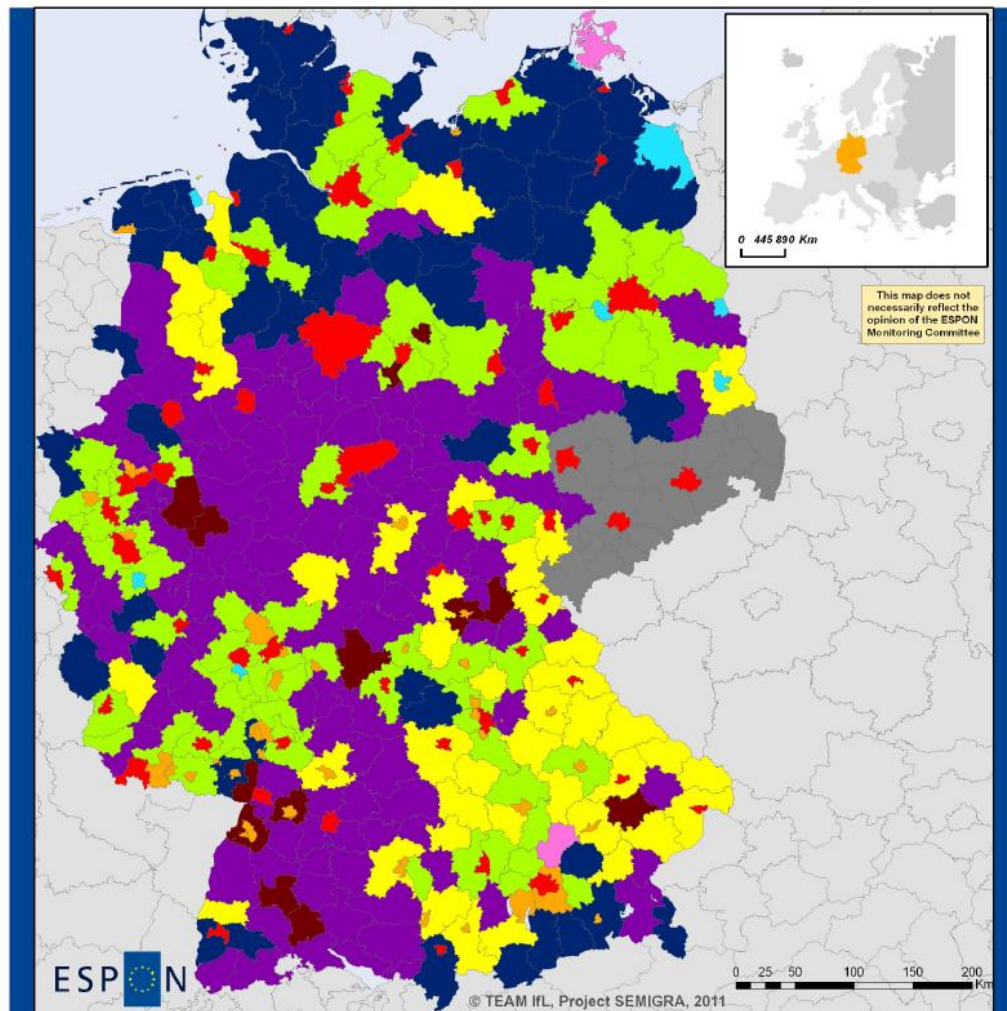
Own calculations; data source: IFL-WANDERUNGSDATENBANK (2012)

#### **1.4. The socio-economic situation in Sachsen-Anhalt**

One possible explanation for the sex-selectivity of the out-migration of young adults from Sachsen-Anhalt is the assumption that an economic structure has emerged in the last two decades that is characterised by a dominance of “male” jobs, e.g. in the manufacturing industry, construction and agriculture. “Female” jobs, e.g. in the public and service sectors, have been cut back as a result of decreasing demand and policy measures to deal with depopulation. MUILU and RUSANEN (2003) bring forward the argument that the “masculinisation” of small settlements in Kainuu, Finland, was caused by job cuts in the female-dominated public sector, especially in social and health care during the deep recession in the early 1990s. Many women were forced to move to the population centres where

better employment opportunities exist. Among the men, on the other hand, a trend to exploit new opportunities for combining economic activities could be witnessed. This strategy of “pluriactivity” enabled them to stay in their hometowns during the economic and labour market crisis.

## Typology of the employment structure in Germany 2008



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Local level: NUTS3  
Source: own calculations, 2011  
Origin of data: BBSR, 2010

Above-average share of the labour force working in... © EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries

### Legend

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <span style="color: red;">■</span> Cluster 1: ...all segments of the service sector                            | <span style="color: brown;">■</span> ...the manufacturing trade          |
| <span style="color: darkblue;">■</span> Cluster 2: ...agriculture, construction and the catering trade         | <span style="color: cyan;">■</span> ...the public sector                 |
| <span style="color: limegreen;">■</span> Cluster 3: Average occupational structure                             | <span style="color: magenta;">■</span> ...retail, transport and catering |
| <span style="color: purple;">■</span> Cluster 4: ...the second sector  | <span style="color: gray;">■</span> No data                              |
| <span style="color: yellow;">■</span> Cluster 5: ...agriculture and the second sector                          | <span style="color: lightgray;">■</span> Other regions                   |
| <span style="color: orange;">■</span> Cluster 6: ...research and development, hightech and creative industries |  |

**Map 20: Typology of the employment structure at the level of German districts in 2008.**  
Own calculations; data source: BBSR 2010

We have developed a **typology of the employment structure**<sup>7</sup> at the district level to determine if the economic structure of Sachsen-Anhalt and the other states of Eastern Germany is especially unfavourable for women when compared to rural areas of the Old Federal States (Map 20, Table 1). With regard to the employment structure, we can conclude that there is no specific "Eastern" pattern; hence it is unlikely that the strong out-migration of young women is caused by a dominance of male-dominated branches of trade. There is, however, a correlation between the employment structure and the local sex ratio in the age groups 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 (Table 2). Districts with an above average proportion of the labour force employed in agriculture, construction and the manufacturing sector (Cluster 5) are especially unattractive for women in their 20s while urban districts with diversified labour markets and a strong public and service sector (Clusters 1 and 6) are characterised by a "surplus" of young women. The unbalanced sex structure of the districts in cluster 2 is in need of explanation. Jobs in retail, catering, the hotel industry and the public sector which are overrepresented in this type are by trend "pink-collar jobs", although often not very attractive ones. The labour market in the districts in cluster 2 may be in principle "women-friendly", but in reality not attractive enough for the ambitious and career-oriented.

Cluster	Share of the labour force working in... (unweighted mean!)					
	Agriculture	Manufacturing sector	Construction	Retail, transport and catering	R&D, high-tech and creative industries	Public service, education, health care
1	0,5	13,1	3,8	25,0	21,7	35,9
2	6,2	15,4	7,6	27,7	10,7	32,3
3	3,3	19,0	7,3	27,9	14,0	28,4
4	2,8	25,7	6,6	23,5	12,2	29,3
5	5,9	28,6	8,6	22,3	9,5	25,1
6	0,6	23,5	4,0	22,9	18,5	30,4
Total	3,1	21,1	6,4	25,0	14,1	30,2

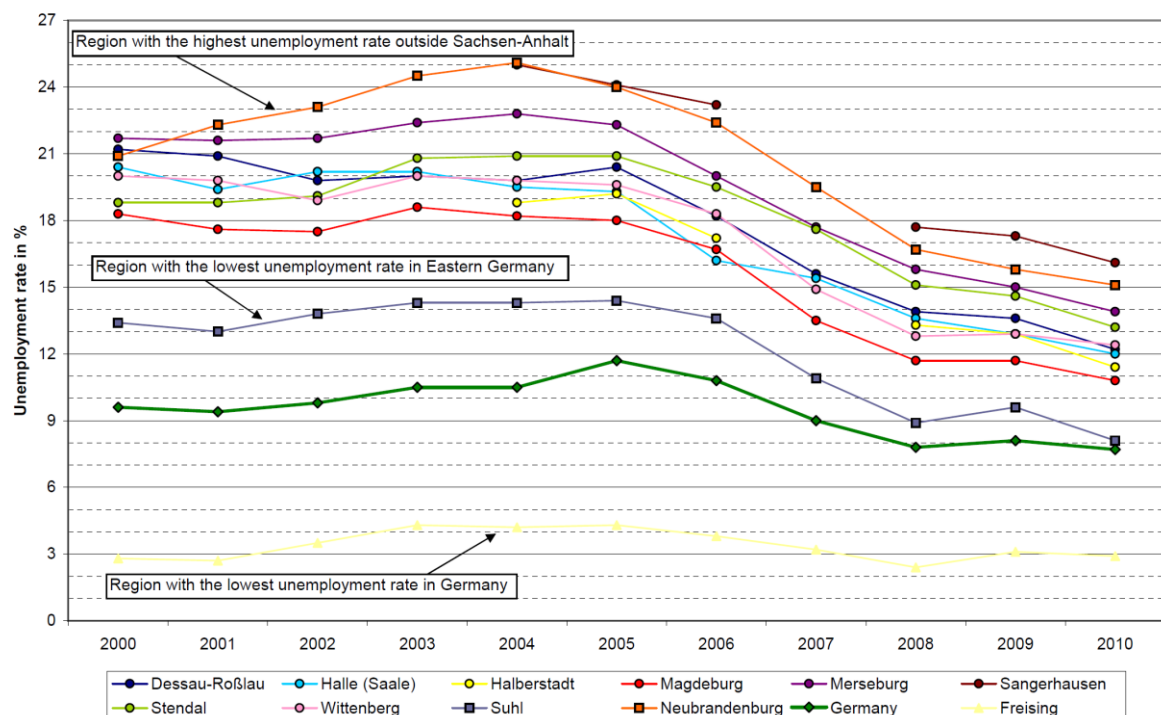
**Table 1: Typology of the employment structure: Cluster characteristics.**  
Source: Own calculations.

Cluster	Number of women per 100 men		
	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34
1	106,5	97,2	92,6
2	87,6	93,2	97,1
3	92,2	97,4	101,5
4	91,0	93,2	96,4
5	88,5	92,1	96,8
6	98,8	99,2	97,3
Total	96,5	97,4	97,5

**Table 2: Typology of the employment structure in Germany in 2008: Average number of women per 100 men by cluster and age group.**  
Source: Own calculations

<sup>7</sup> Hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward method) with subsequent discriminant analysis. Variables used: share of the workforce employed in agriculture, share of the workforce employed in the manufacturing trade and construction; share of the workforce employed in retail, transport, and catering.

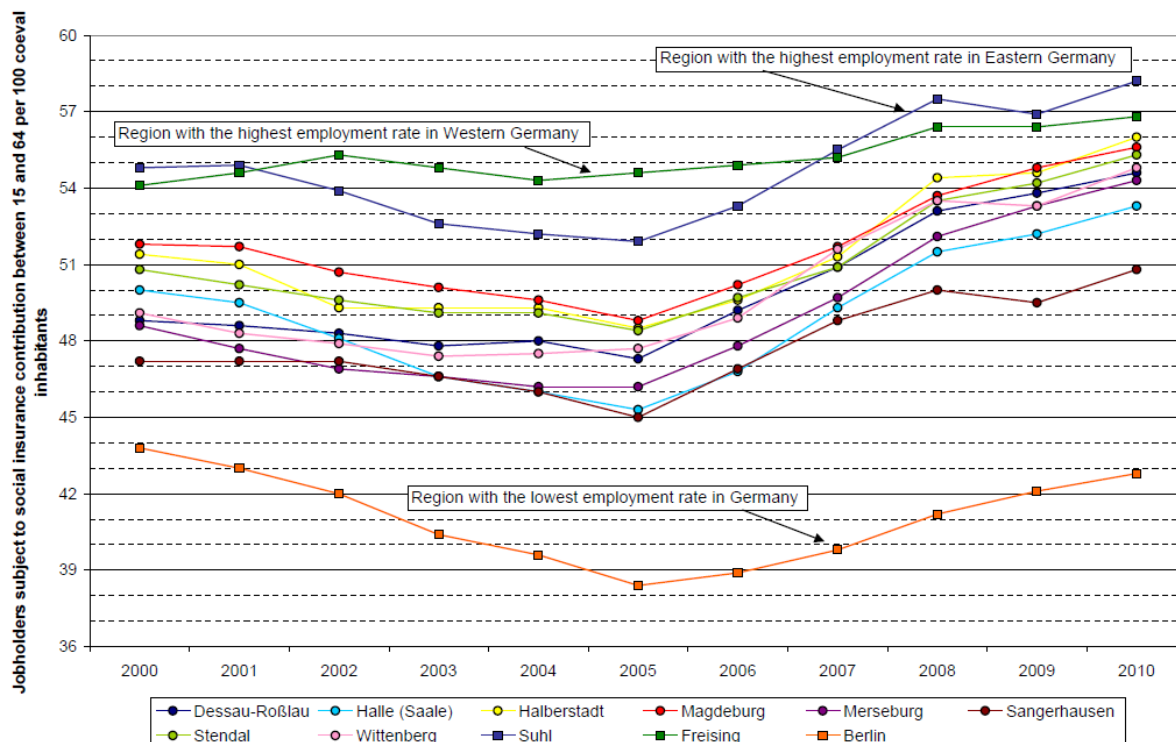
A consistent economic feature of the new Länder is the relatively high unemployment rate in all age groups. However, Eastern Germany was able to catch up economically with the Western states for the first time since the reunification in the boom period between 2005 and 2008. The number of jobs increased for the first time since reunification, most notably in the metropolitan regions, especially in Berlin and its hinterland (ZARTH 2011). The unemployment rate also declined in Sachsen-Anhalt between 2004 and 2010, but is still considerably above the German average, especially in the labour market region<sup>8</sup> of Sangerhausen, the region with the most unfavourable situation on the labour market in Germany (Figure 2).



**Figure 2: Development of the unemployment rate 2000-2010 in Sachsen-Anhalt and selected other regions.**

Source: Own design; data source: BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT (2012)

<sup>8</sup> The labour market regions, the areas of responsibility of the regional "Agenturen für Arbeit" (employment agencies), are not congruent with the current administrative structure of Sachsen-Anhalt.

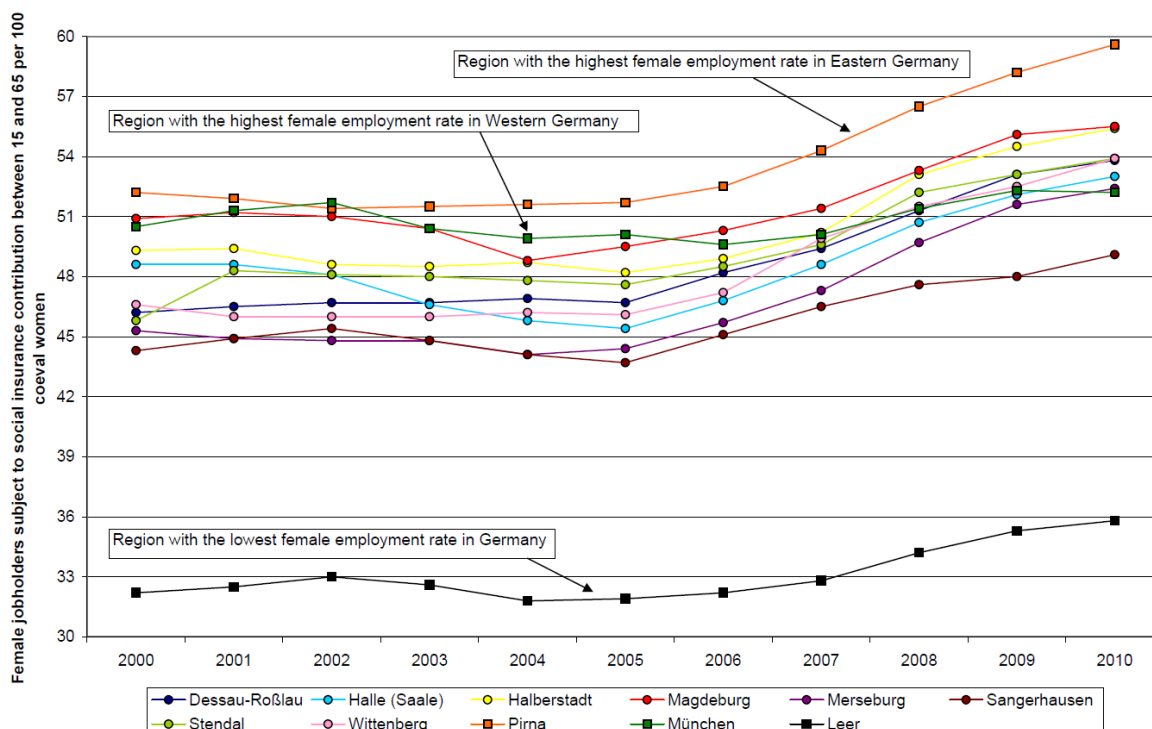


**Figure 3: Development of the employment rate 2000-2010 in Sachsen-Anhalt and selected other regions.**

**Source:** Own design; **data source:** BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT (2012)

The reason behind the high unemployment rate in Eastern Germany in general and in Sachsen-Anhalt in particular is the abrupt opening of the economy to the global market which was too early and too sudden for many companies. The dissolution of the COMECON further aggravated the situation because former markets were lost and supply chains were broken. The result was a massive loss of jobs; the unemployment rate soared to record values in times of peace (BLIEN et al 2010). Unemployment did not exist in the GDR. Economic downsizing and mass-layoffs resulted in many cases in existence anxiety and fears of falling below the minimum standards for existence. Getting and keeping a job became uncertain. Women were especially affected by the labour market crisis in Eastern Germany. They were more likely to become unemployed than men and had to cope with new difficulties of balancing work and family. The workplace had been the "centre of life" for many women because social activities for and the advancement of women was one of the functions of the work collectives in the socialist enterprises (RUDD 2000)





**Figure 4: Development of the female employment rate 2000-2010 in Sachsen-Anhalt and selected other regions.**

**Source:** Own design; **data source:** BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT (2012)

It is interesting that the employment rate in Sachsen-Anhalt and the other New Federal States is higher than in many regions in Western Germany despite the deep labour market crisis. The main reason for the relatively high employment rate is the **high labour force participation of women**. The labour market crisis in the former GDR did not lead to a crowding out of women from paid employment and a return to “traditional” gender roles like, for example, in regions with a similarly problematic situation in the labour market in Hungary (TIMÁR 2005). Women are much more likely to be economically active in Eastern Germany than in the Old Federal States where the male breadwinner/ female homemaker model is more common (Figure 4). The proportion of working women is, however, relatively low in the regions with the least favourable conditions in the labour market, namely in the labour market district of Sangerhausen (Figure 4).

The high proportion of economically active women may be a legacy of the former socialist system. In the GDR, everyone – women and men alike – who was able to work had the right to a job. The female labour force participation rate was very high, even in comparison to most other socialist states in Central and Eastern Europe. The flipside was the obligation to work full-time. Being a housewife or working part-time was virtually impossible. Women in the GDR were strongly oriented to both work and family (RUDD 2000). This pattern has not changed in the past two dec-

ades. The potential activity rate, i.e. the proportion of women who are either employed or unemployed or belong to the so-called "hidden reserve"<sup>9</sup> is almost 100% and hence much higher than in Western Germany (BLIEN et al 2010). Another reason for the relatively high share of employed women is the low income level in Eastern Germany. Wages are still on average 22% lower in the new federal states despite strong gains in productivity (BLIEN et al. 2010). The wage gap is even bigger in some industries. Salaries in the metal processing and electrical industry, for example, are 33% lower in Eastern Germany (LUTZ 2010). Surviving on one income would be very difficult, if not impossible for many families.

Currently the **situation on the vocational training market** is relatively good, even if 20% of the apprenticeship positions are financed by the state (West: 5%) which means that entering the labour market after finishing vocational training is more difficult than for trainees whose position is financed by the company they are working for (BODE & BURDACK 2011). The number of new apprenticeship positions increased by 23% in Sachsen-Anhalt between 2009 and 2010. In terms of figures, there are nine training places per ten applicants. Young people in Eastern Germany are, however, still much more likely to become unemployed after successfully completing vocational training<sup>10</sup> and have more difficulties in finding a permanent job (BUNDESINSTITUT FÜR BERUFSBILDUNG 2011).

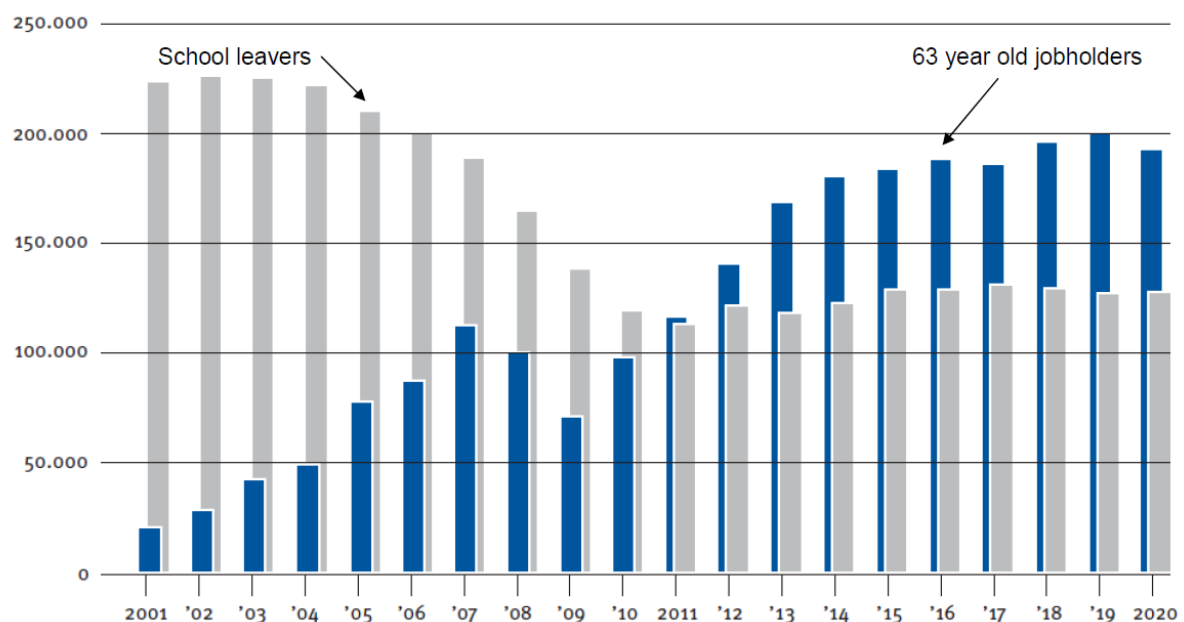
In the past, 'blocked' labour markets were characteristic for Eastern Germany. It was very difficult for young people, especially young women, to enter the labour market, because there were few vacancies due to early retirement schemes and the fact that the age-structure of the workforce in many companies and government agencies was relatively young in the early 1990s (KETZMERICK 2009) Figure 5 clearly depicts that there was a pronounced mismatch between the low number of older workers on the verge of retirement and the high number of school-leavers entering the labour and vocational training market. Under the conditions of "blocked" labour markets, out-migration to Western Germany was often the only solution to avoid long-term unemployment. One fifth of the school-leavers born in the late 1970s and 1980s with high grades and completed vocational training have not managed to get a regular job despite great search efforts (LUTZ 2010). One of the experts describes the "blocked" labour markets in schools, kindergartens and crèches, a sector with a predominantly female labour force in a rural municipality in the Wittenberg district: *"They have not hired anyone for 10, 15, even 20 years. If jobs had to be cut, it was the younger employees that had to go. That's because of*

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<sup>9</sup> Currently inactive individuals who would like to work but who are not actively looking for a job

<sup>10</sup> 2009: Men: 49.0%, women: 47.4% compared to 30.8% and 31.4% respectively in Western Germany (BUNDESINSTITUT FÜR BERUFSBILDUNG 2011).

*the labour law-related rules in the public sector. The longer you work there, the higher your social status. The older staff members are protected by their seniority."*



**Figure 5: School leavers and 63 year-old jobholders in Eastern Germany (absolute numbers)**

**Source: LUTZ (2010)**

The number of older workers leaving the labour market will be higher than the number of school-leavers in the years to come (Figure 5). This is, however, no reason to fall into euphoria. Companies in Eastern Germany tend to be smaller and more dependent on skilled workers than businesses in the Old Federal States. The average age of the workforce is higher because many companies have no means for and experience in strategic human resource planning and have missed out on hiring young skilled workers in the past despite the fact that many applicants would have accepted low wages and limited career options. In the future, companies will have to compete for trainees and skilled workers, not vice versa. They will have to adjust their wage level to West German standards. It must be feared that a certain percentage of companies will have to close because they cannot afford to pay higher salaries and/or are not able to rejuvenate their personnel. Many companies run the risk of walking into a demographic trap (LUTZ 2010).

The almost hopeless situation for school-leavers on the labour market has left permanent marks. Young people in Eastern Germany tend to think that their home regions are places of stagnation with a poor job situation and low wages offering them only very limited opportunities for their future lives. Western Germany, on the other hand, is regarded as a place where a variety of well-paid jobs is available. Many young people have



friends, acquaintances or family members who found it extremely difficult to enter the labour market even though they had excellent school leaving qualifications. One study concludes that **the perception is widespread that Eastern Germany is “the past” and Western Germany is “the future”**. In this view, economic disadvantage is closely connected to geographical location. Migration is the logical consequence: Taking responsibility for one’s life means moving to the West (SCHÄFER 2010). This perception is deeply rooted and unlikely to change at short notice. The out-migration rates from rural Sachsen-Anhalt may decline in the future, but a reversal of the trend is not in sight if parents, teachers, occupational counsellors and the young people themselves continue to link staying in Sachsen-Anhalt to future economic marginalisation.

## 1.5. Education

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

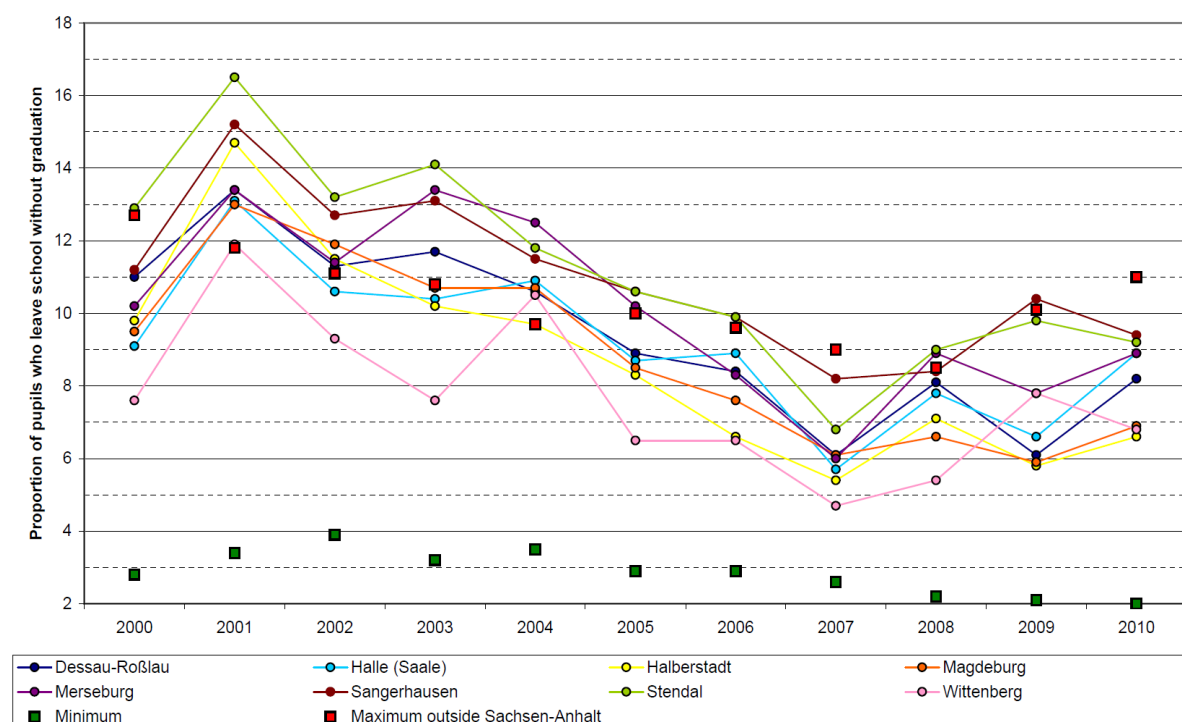
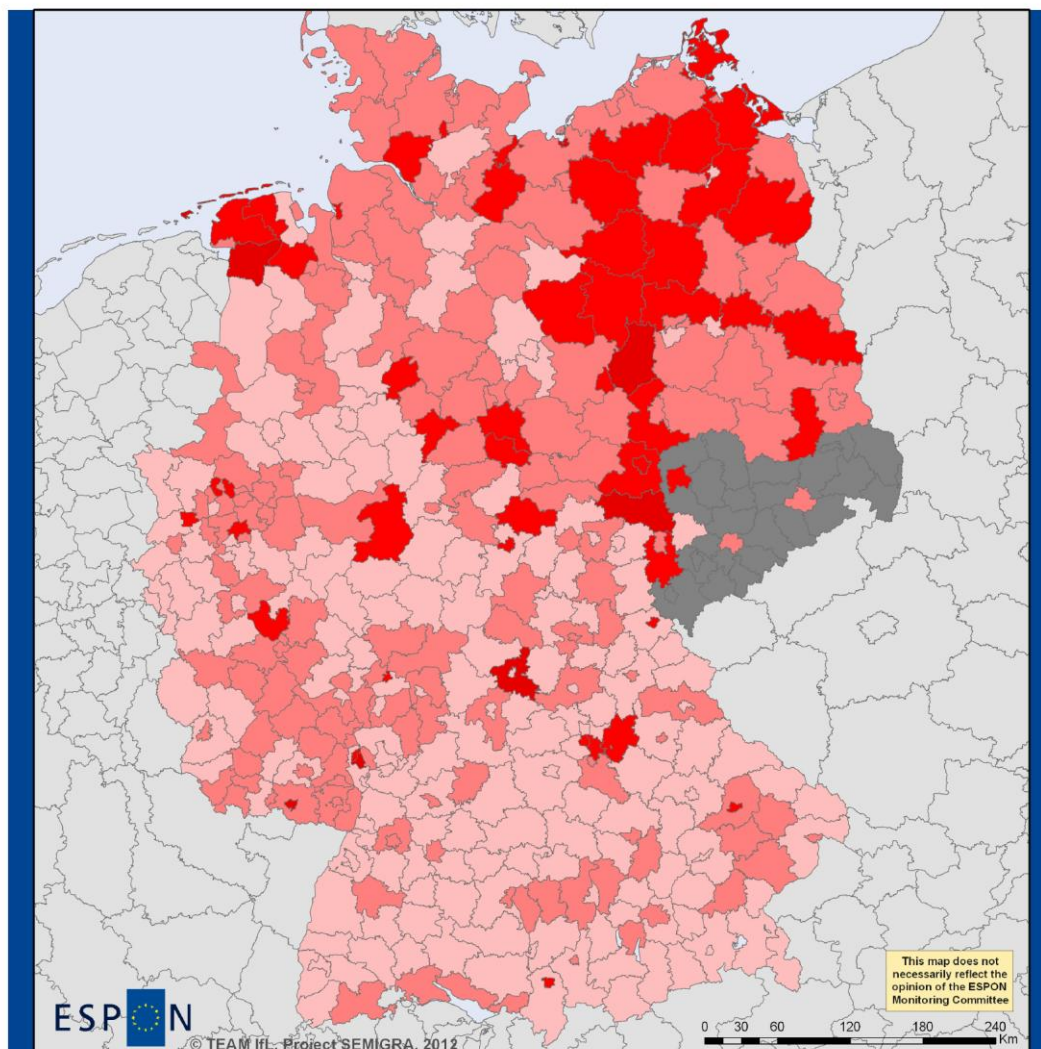


Figure 6: Proportion of pupils who leave school without graduating 2000-2010.

Source: Own design; data source: BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT (2012)

## Number of female school leavers without 'Hauptschulabschluss' (Certificate of Secondary Education) per 100 female school leavers 2008



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### Legend



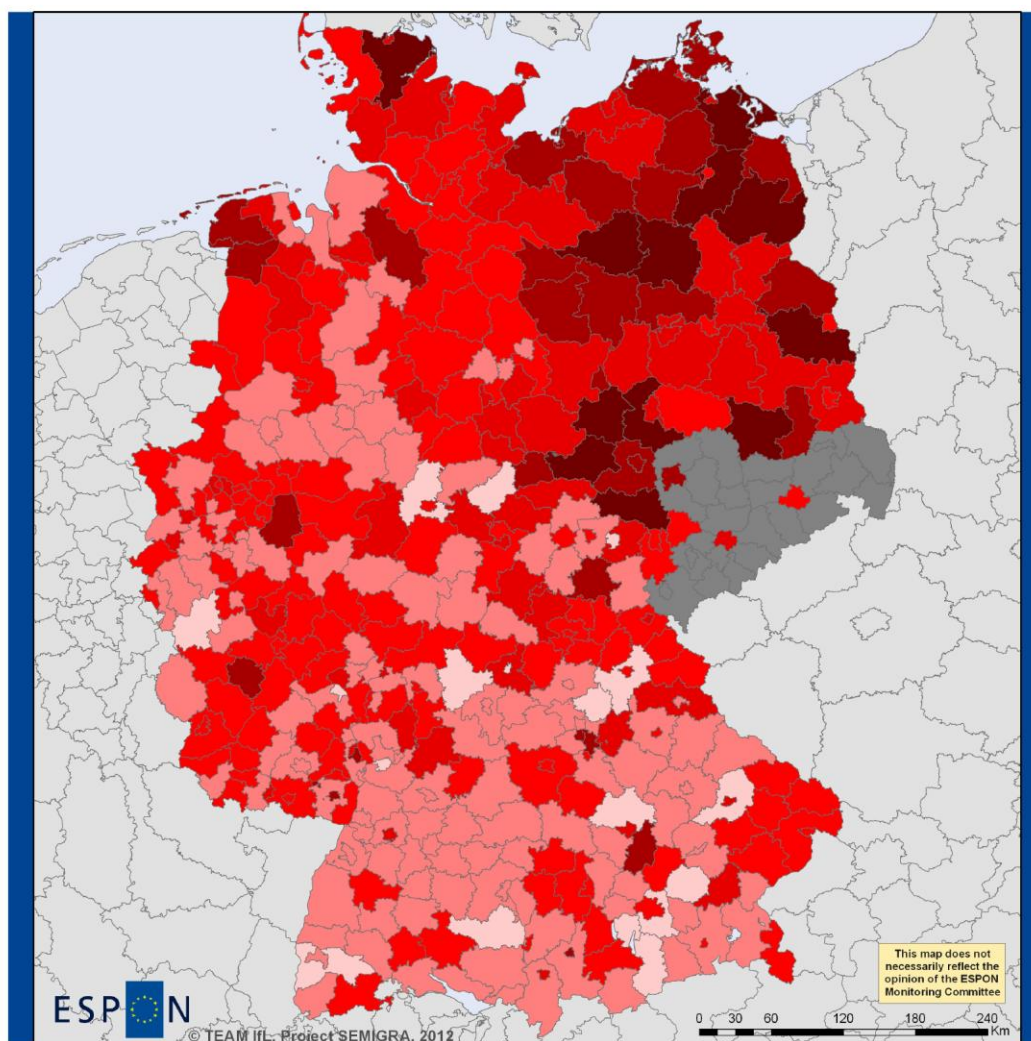
Local level: NUTS3  
Source: own design, 2012  
Origin of data: BBSR, 2010  
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**Map 21: Proportion of female pupils who leave school without graduating in 2008.**  
Source: Own design; data source: BBSR 2010

The high number of pupils who leave school without graduating is a very serious problem in Sachsen-Anhalt. For most of the past decade, the state had the highest proportion of drop-outs in Germany (Figure 6); currently Sachsen-Anhalt comes in second after Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Boys are much more likely to leave school without a certificate, especially in districts with high (youth) unemployment such as Burgenlandkreis, Mans-

feld-Südharz and Stendal (Maps 21, 22). Boys are, according to KRÖHNERT and KLINGHOLZ (2007), considerably disadvantaged in the educational systems of the New Federal States. They suggest that the high proportion of female teachers<sup>11</sup>, especially in elementary schools and the high number of female-headed households and the resulting lack of male role models is the reason for the high proportion of male drop-outs in Eastern Germany.

### Number of male school leavers without 'Hauptschulabschluss' (Certificate of Secondary Education) per 100 male school leavers 2008



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#### Legend



Local level: NUTS3  
Source: own design, 2012  
Origin of data: BBSR, 2010  
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<sup>11</sup> 82% of the teachers in Sachsen-Anhalt are women; in Germany as a whole, the proportion of female teachers is 70% (STATISTISCHES BUNDESAMT 2012).

**Map 22: Proportion of male pupils who leave school without graduating in 2008.**  
Source: Own design; data source: BBSR 2010

One expert offered another explanation for the high number of drop-outs in Sachsen-Anhalt: *"There are two types of parents: Some go to any lengths to make sure that their children get good jobs, while others have abandoned hope for a better future themselves and don't care about the school performance of their offspring."* It seems to be difficult for some young people to succeed in school if they believe and/or are constantly told that they stand no chance in the labour market anyway, that they will be unemployed or work in temporary, poorly paid dead-end jobs no matter how hard they try. KRÖHNERT and KLINGHOLZ (2007) also suggest that parents, teachers and the young men themselves adhere to obsolete gender role models according to which physically demanding, unskilled jobs in the manufacturing trade are regarded as especially "masculine" and hence desirable. This would be another explanation why young men (and their parents) attach less importance to formal qualifications.

Reducing the number of pupils that leave school without the "Hauptschulabschluss" should be a priority for the educational policy of the state. Sachsen-Anhalt has the lowest average number of pupils per class (18) as well as the lowest number of pupils per teacher (11.9) in Germany (STATISTISCHES BUNDESAMT 2012). These strengths should be enhanced to reduce the number of drop-outs. Specific programmes for boys from disadvantaged families as well as measures to encourage young men to become teacher at an elementary school or a Sekundarschule<sup>12</sup> would be helpful to achieve this objective.

Another strategy to deal with poor prospects in the labour market is to improve one's human capital. For Sekundarschule graduates this means going to vocational school and obtaining the "Hochschulreife", the German higher education entrance qualification, in addition to their certificate of secondary education. Maps 23 and 24 confirm that the proportion of pupils that leave school with "Hochschulreife" is very high in Eastern Germany, especially in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Brandenburg (53% and 43% respectively<sup>13</sup>). The share of young women and men that leave school with a higher education entrance qualification is lower in Sachsen-Anhalt (34%), but still above the German average (29%). In Western Germany, high rates of school leavers with "Hochschulreife" are characteristic for urban and suburban districts. The proportion of pupils with a

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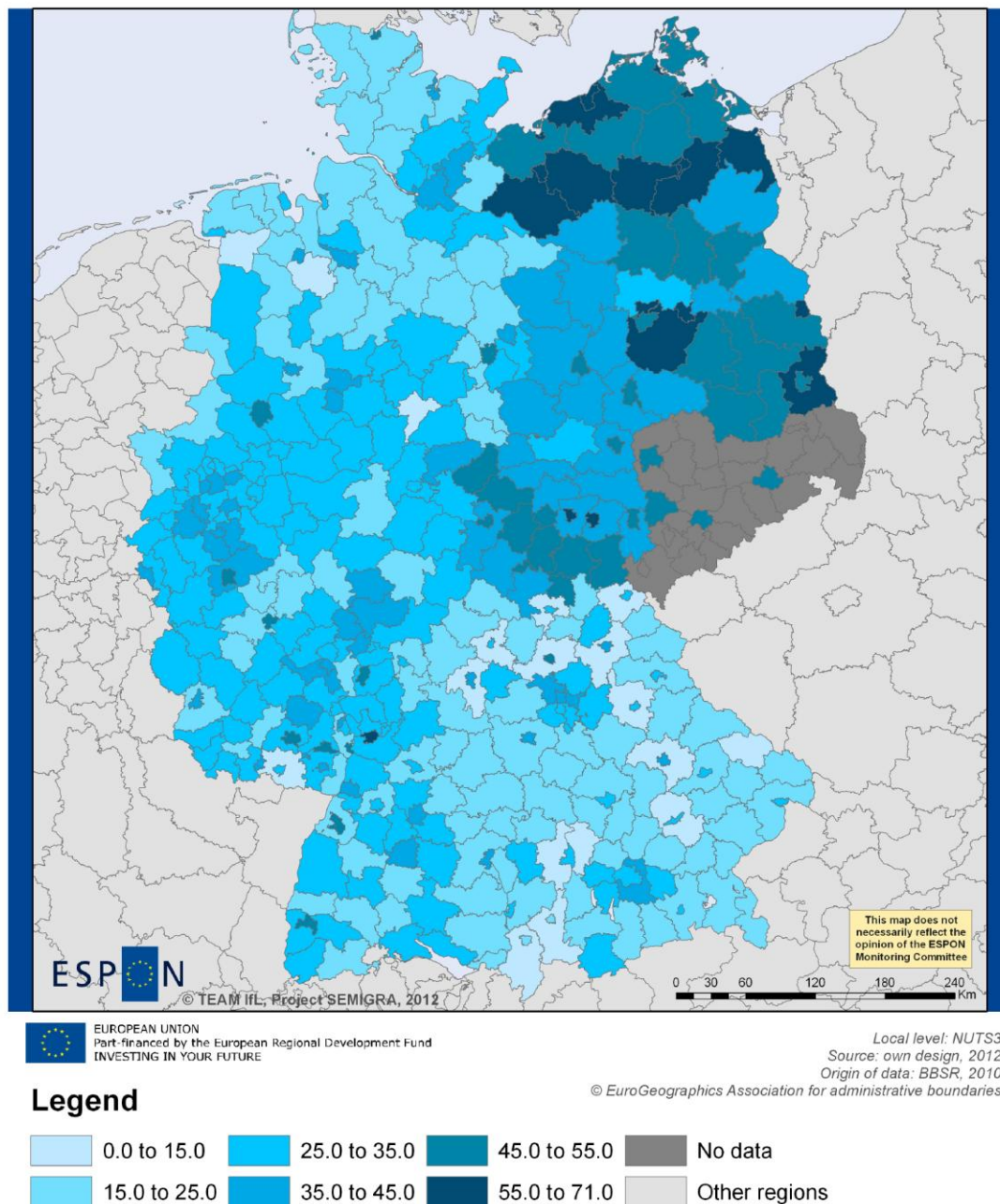
<sup>12</sup> The 'Sekundarschule' is an integrated type of school where pupils can obtain two types of school leaving certificates, the 'Hauptschulabschluss' (after the 9<sup>th</sup> grade) which is a certificate of basic education, and the 'Realschulabschluss' (after the 10<sup>th</sup> grade). At the time of the interview, the pupils in the 'Hauptschul'-branch were taking their final exams or had already left school, so the sample exclusively consists of pupils in the 'Realschul'-branch.

<sup>13</sup> Source: BBSR (2010)



higher education entrance qualification is, on the other hand, very low in many rural districts, especially in Bayern and Niedersachsen.

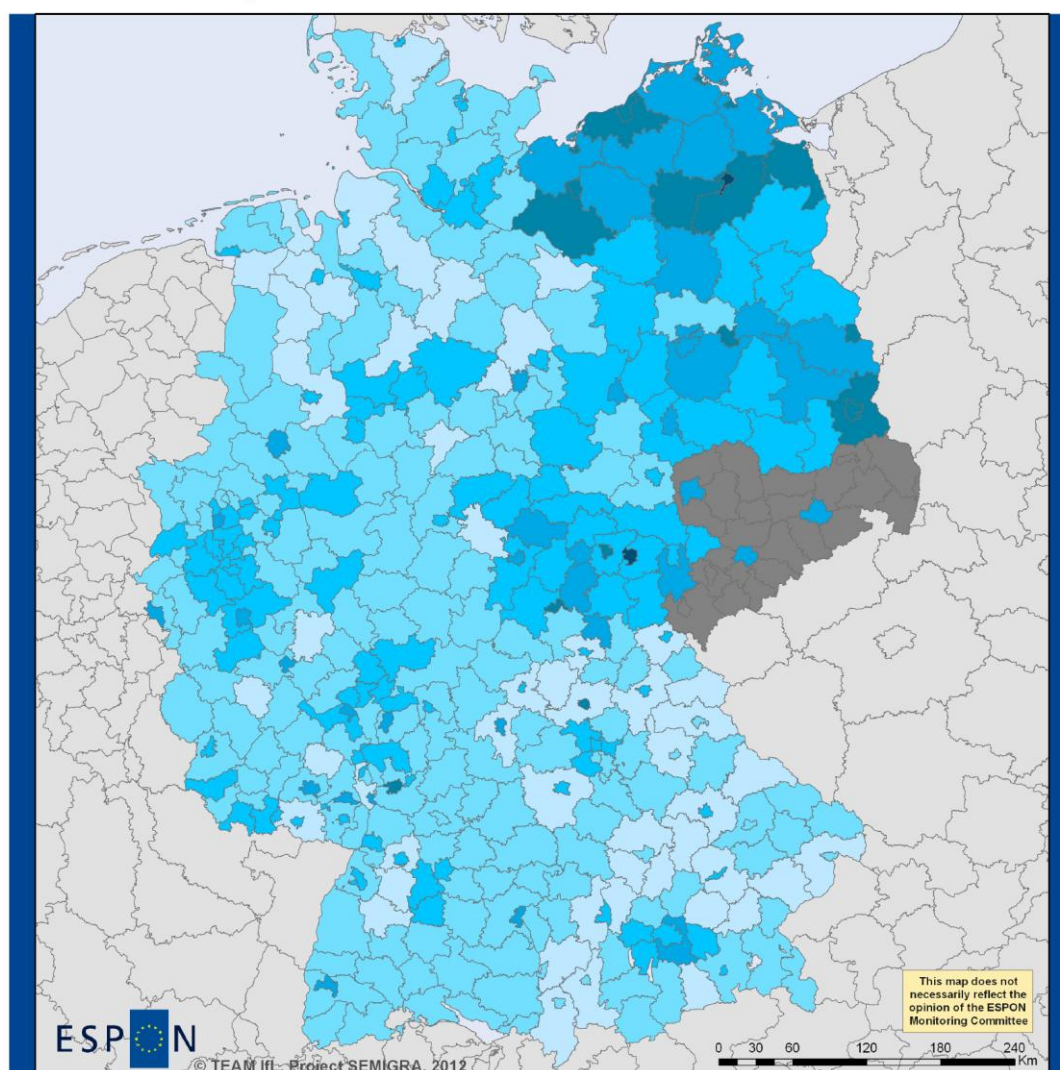
### Number of female school leavers with 'Hochschulreife' (higher education entrance qualification) per 100 female school leavers 2008



**Map 23: Proportion of female pupils who leave school with higher education entrance qualification 2008.**

Source: Own design; data source: BBSR 2010

# **Number of male school leavers with 'Hochschulreife' (higher education entrance qualification) per 100 male school leavers 2008**



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Local level: NUTS3  
Source: own design, 2012  
Origin of data: BBSR, 2010  
© EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries

## **Legend**



**Map 24: Proportion of male pupils who leave school with higher education entrance qualification 2008.**

**Source:** Own design; data source: BBSR 2010

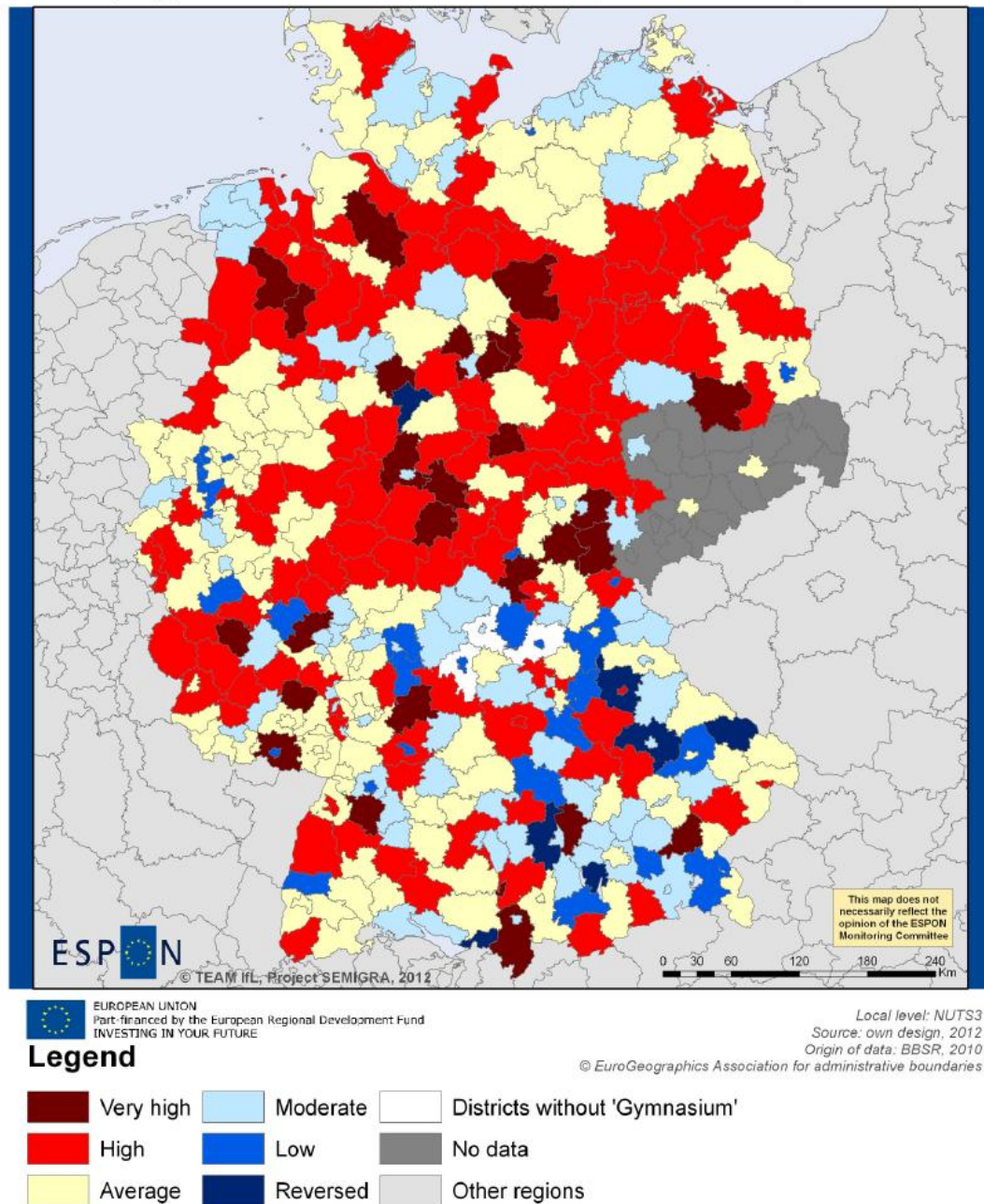
The high proportions of drop-outs as well as school leavers with higher education entrance qualification have to be put in perspective. Educational achievement and socio-economic status are highly correlated in Germany. According to the micro-census 2008, 68% of young people between 18 and 21 without a migration background who come from a family with a high socio-economic status obtained higher education entrance qualifica-

tions, but only 22% of the young women and men with a low socioeconomic background (AUTORENGRUPPE BILDUNGSBERICHTERSTATTUNG 2010). The latter group is over-represented in Sachsen-Anhalt where between one fourth and one third of all children receive social benefits ("Hartz IV") (BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT 2012). Against this backdrop, a high proportion of drop-outs is to be expected. A high percentage of pupils leaving school with "Hochschulreife", however, is not. Young people and their parents are obviously well aware that a good education is a precondition for occupational success and go to all lengths to obtain the "Hochschulreife".

Another aspect that needs to be put in perspective is the common prejudice that – to put it provocatively – female pupils are model students who eventually become rocket scientists while their male classmates are lost cases that drop out of school, join the right-wing extremist NPD and live from unemployment benefits for the rest of their lives. In order to assess whether the sex differences in educational achievement are really extraordinarily high in Sachsen-Anhalt and the other New Federal States, we have calculated the "gender gap" in the proportions of male and female Gymnasium graduates. This indicator is defined as the difference between the proportion of female and male school leavers with higher education entrance qualification divided by the percentage of all school leavers with a higher education entrance qualification. Map 25 shows that the education level of female school leavers is indeed considerably higher in Sachsen-Anhalt but not in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. A high "gender gap" in educational achievement is not an East German characteristic. The fact that the sex ratio and the rates of out-migration of young women are equally high in districts with a very high "gender gap" (e.g. Altmark Salzwedel) and in districts with rather small sex differences (e.g. Nordvorpommern) casts the assumption into doubt that differences in educational achievement are an important explanation for the unbalanced sex ratio in rural Eastern Germany.



## "Gender gap" among school leavers with 'Hochschulreife' (higher education entrance qualification) 2008



**Map 25: Gender gap among school leavers with Hochschulreife at the district level in 2008.**

Own calculations; data source: BBSR (2010)

### 1.6. The image of Sachsen-Anhalt

In recent years, the national press has repeatedly picked up on the "lack of women" in the former East German states, linking this with a dramatizing description of a situation in former East German towns and villages shaped by out-migration and shrinkage. As highlighted by ROLFES & MOHRING (2009) in their discourse analysis on press reports on East Germany, headlines such as *"Smart girls scarper"* or *"Empty East – only the*



*decrepit stay.*"<sup>14</sup>, convey "the impression that qualification- and age-selective migration depicts a type of negative selection, which [...] leads to socially ill structures in society and the population". Demographic groups that stay behind are then given particularly bad press, especially young men who are often portrayed as being right-wing, alcohol-dependant, unemployed and lacking in education.

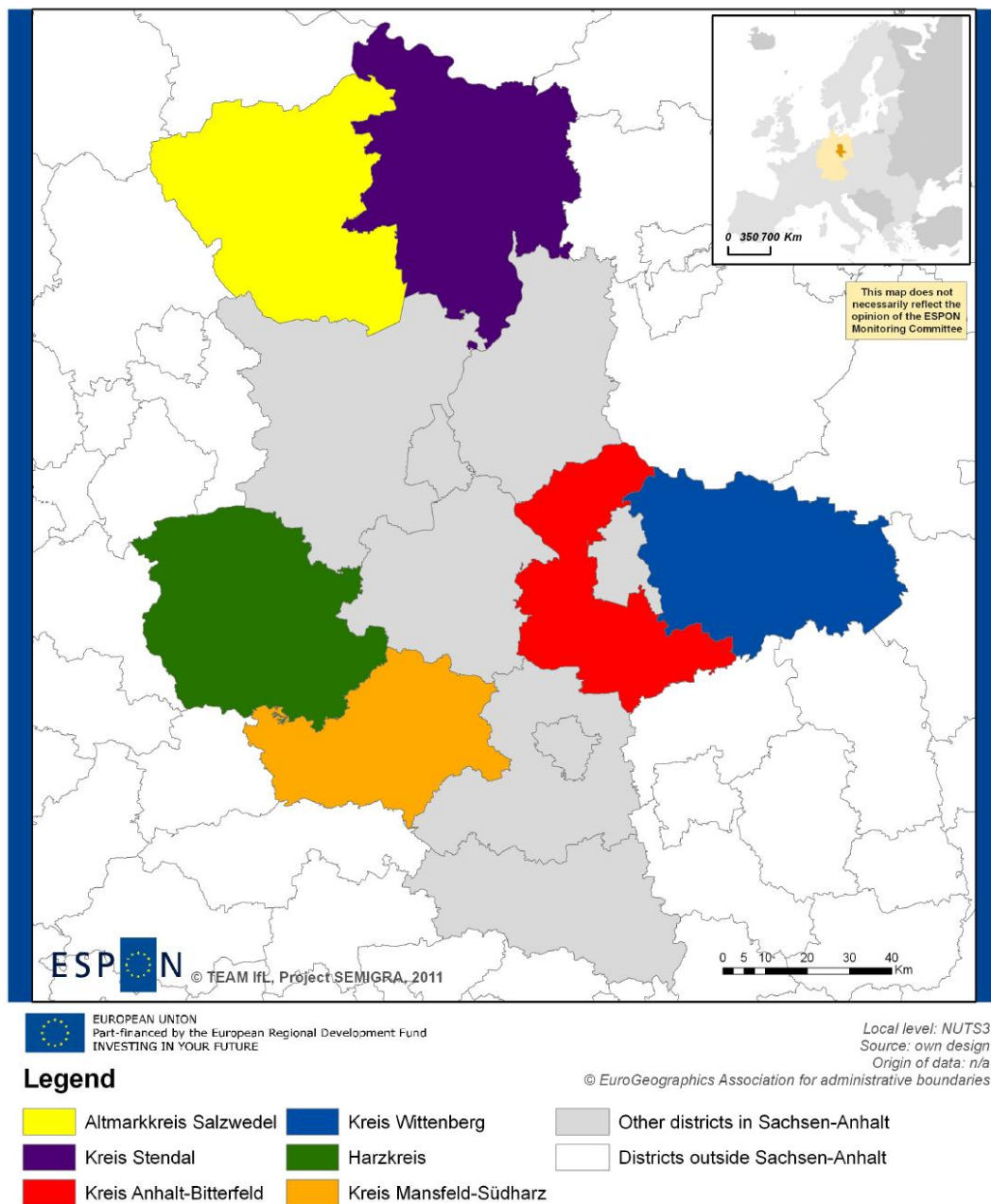
It is to be feared that the negative image of the state and the one-sided, scandalising media reports on Sachsen-Anhalt encourage the out-migration of young people. Studies in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern have shown that youths are mindful of what they read in the papers when it comes to making major life decisions, and that they have little faith in the future sustainability of former East Germany (BEETZ 2009). Against this backdrop, there is a risk that young people will leave Sachsen-Anhalt without even entertaining the thought of studying or doing vocational training in the state, despite favourable conditions for studying and a comparatively beneficial situation in terms of training and apprenticeship opportunities. It is therefore of top priority that the external perception of the state is improved, particularly from the western German perspective. A public, and also published, opinion which is shaped by reports of right extremism, alcoholism, poverty, devastation and desperation is of little help in reversing the present trend in the migration patterns of young people as is branding those youths who stay in the region as "*the stupid remainder*" (SPECK & SCHUBARTH 2009). There is a danger that the out-migration of young men and women in Sachsen-Anhalt to former West Germany will become an undisputed matter of course or even an unspoken expectancy. Young people increasingly rate the regional living and working conditions in former East Germany as being beyond hope, a feeling also reflected in the results of the pupil survey. Staying in the home region is often connected with the expectation of social decline (BEETZ 2006; 2009). As a majority of youths would be happy to stay in their home region, and as out-migration to former West Germany rather has the nature of forced mobility (SPECK et al. 2009), regional politics, working together with local businesses, have to ensure that creating future prospects for young people in Sachsen-Anhalt becomes a top priority; these prospects have to be marketed aggressively and innovatively, and must be geared towards specific target groups. These measures should not only be restricted to youths, but must also be aimed at parents, teachers and career advisers. It seems that many people do not feel especially attached to Sachsen-Anhalt and find it difficult to think of reasons why the state is an attractive place to visit or move to: „*At the moment there's a pro-*

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<sup>14</sup> Headlines quoted according to SPECK & SCHUBARTH (2009)

gramme on Radio Brocken<sup>15</sup> where they sum up the positive aspects of Sachsen-Anhalt. I wouldn't be able to think of many things that are better here than elsewhere. Why people should come here of all places? I wouldn't know. No" (Female entrepreneur, Wittenberg district). There is obviously an urgent need to foster pride in and attachment to Sachsen-Anhalt among the citizens of the state. How can potential in-migrants be convinced that Sachsen-Anhalt is a good place to live, work and start a family if not even the local population believes it?

### Location of the case study districts in Sachsen-Anhalt



**Map 26: Location of the case study districts in Sachsen-Anhalt.**

<sup>15</sup> Private radio station based in Halle (Saale)

## 2 Selection of case study districts for the interviews

Sachsen-Anhalt is the largest SEMIGRA case study region. The state consists of 11 rural and 3 urban NUTS 3 regions. The cities of Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg have around 230,000 inhabitants and differ from the rural districts in a number of ways, e.g. because they have a relatively stable population and because they are the only districts in the state without a considerable "lack" of young women. The problem of unbalanced sex ratios is, as shown above, very pronounced in all rural districts. Given the limited time and resources for the case study research, we found it necessary to limit the survey to pupils and the search for partners for the in-depth interviews to a total of six case study districts selected according to the following principles: The case study districts have to be rural and entirely located outside the suburban areas of Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg. Of the remaining districts, we have chosen the following:

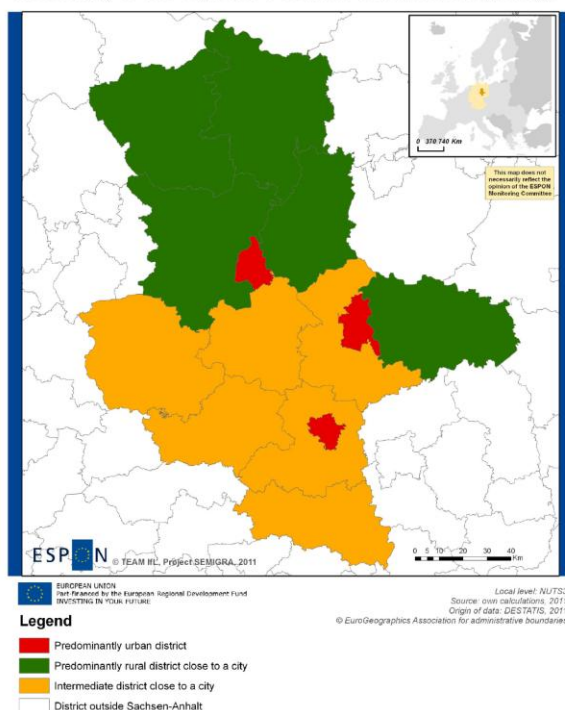
- Altmark Salzwedel, Stendal, Wittenberg: rural districts with a low population density (Table 3, Map 26);
- Anhalt-Bitterfeld: rural district with a higher population density;
- Harz, Mansfeld-Südharz: rural districts in urbanised areas.

The latter two districts have been chosen because they represent different socio-economic basic conditions. The Harz district is the most attractive tourist destination in Sachsen-Anhalt. We can therefore assume that the regional labour market is relatively 'women-friendly' because of the availability of service jobs in retail, catering and the hotel sector that are traditionally 'pink collar jobs'. Mansfeld-Südharz is, on the other hand, characterised by a very unfavourable economic and demographic development with high unemployment rates. The case study regions cover all types of rural regions of the EDORA structural typology and the DIJKSTRA-POELMAN urban/rural typology that are present in Sachsen-Anhalt, i.e. rural and intermediate regions, consumption countryside and districts with a diversified economic structure (Map 27, Table 3).

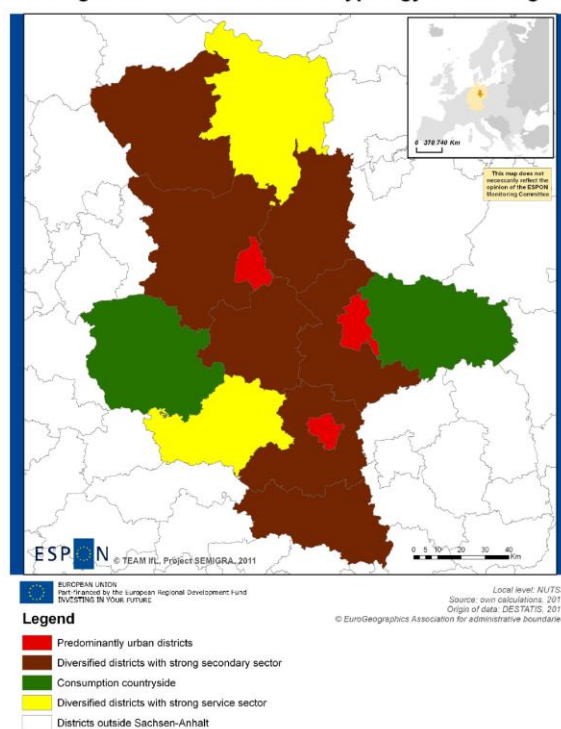
NUTS-Code	District	ESPON Territorial Typologies			BBSR-Type
		Urban/rural	Performance	Structural	
DEE01	Dessau-Roßlau		Urban		Rural district - higher density
DEE02	Halle (Saale)		Urban		Central city in urbanised region
DEE03	Magdeburg		Urban		Central city in urbanised region
DEE04	Altmarkkreis Salzwedel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

**Table 3: Urban and rural districts in Sachsen-Anhalt according to different typologies.**  
Source: Own design; data source: ESPON database and BBSR (2010)

**Classification of the districts of Sachsen-Anhalt according to the Dijkstra-Poelman urban-rural typology**



**Classification of the districts of Sachsen-Anhalt according to the EDORA structural typology or rural regions**



**Map 27: Classification of the districts of Sachsen-Anhalt according to the EDORA typologies.**

Source: Own design; data source: ESPON database



### 3 Key findings from the pupil survey

The pupil survey, which included 499 pupils, was conducted at nine Sekundarschulen and nine Gymnasien on year 9/10 pupils (Sekundarschule) and year 11 pupils (Gymnasium) during school time between mid-May and the beginning of July 2011 (see Table 1). Schools in the most rural and peripheral areas of the case study districts Altmark Salzwedel, Anhalt-Bitterfeld, Harz, Mansfeld-Südharz, Stendal and Wittenberg, or in communities with a particularly high level of youth unemployment or a strongly pronounced surplus of men, were targeted to take part in the survey. Therefore the schools involved were generally quite small and the number of respondents is thus relatively low, despite a high level of outlay in organising and conducting the survey.

District	Gymnasium			Sekundarschule		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	52	40	92	6	14	20
Kreis Anhalt-Bitterfeld	5	15	20	9	14	23
Harzkreis	30	19	49	10	18	28
Kreis Mansfeld-Südharz	15	27	42	24	37	61
Kreis Stendal	15	6	21	41	53	94
Kreis Wittenberg	8	13	21	16	12	28
Total	125	120	245	106	148	254

**Table 4: Survey with pupils: Number of interviewees per district, sex and school type.**

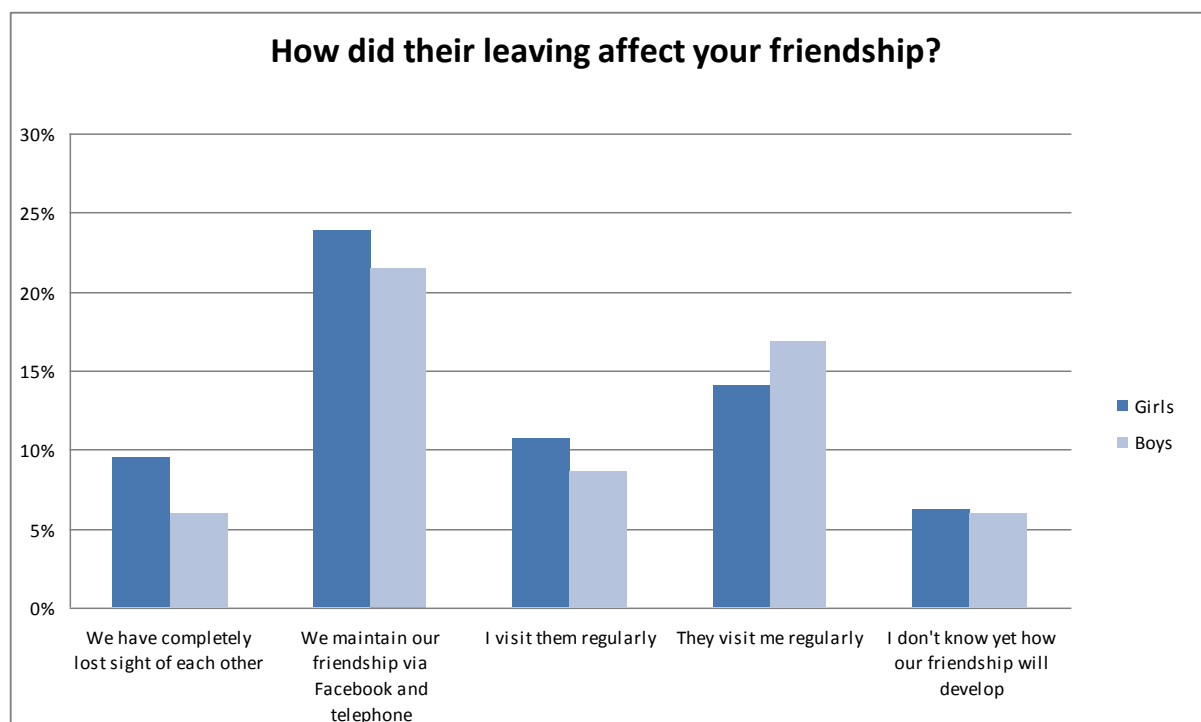
At one Sekundarschule in each of the districts Anhalt-Bitterfeld and Wittenberg, the survey could not be carried out before the state's summer holidays due to technical or organisational reasons. At one Gymnasium in both the Harz and Wittenberg district, the school administration was not prepared to conduct the survey despite prior authorisation having been obtained from the responsible state authorities. For this reason, the mentioned districts are therefore underrepresented in the sample. Online surveys could not be conducted at five schools; pupils instead filled out printed questionnaires. The quality of responses is generally rated as being good; no systematic differences were detected between the online and paper versions. Fortunately, a large proportion of pupils were also prepared to answer the open questions.

#### 3.1. Migration intentions and willingness to return

Out-migration is an everyday topic for the youths surveyed. Nearly 40% of respondents state that good friends or close relatives in their age group have already moved away. Reasons given for people moving away predominantly fell into the category "work and career prospects" (44%), with further reasons being training or apprenticeships (20%) and studies (22%). Family-related and personal reasons (7%) and reasons linked to the former place of residence<sup>16</sup> (6%) are of comparatively minor signifi-

<sup>16</sup> For example, lack of living space, long distances, lack of leisure opportunities and lack of prospects were stated.

cance. The out-migration of friends and relatives does not necessarily lead to contact breaking down. In most cases, friendships are successfully maintained despite out-migration (Figure 7).



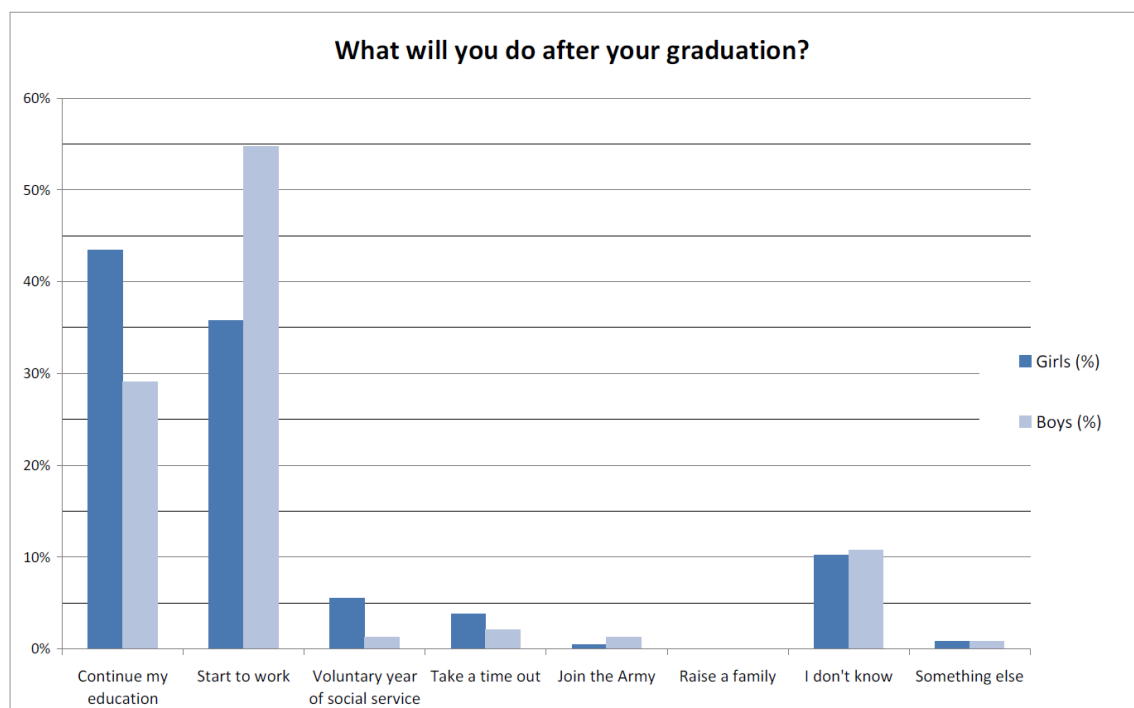
**Figure 7: Impact of the out-migration of close friends on social networks.**  
Source: Own survey.

It also became apparent in in-depth interviews that many out-migrants return to their home region on a regular basis and maintain close contact with family and childhood friends. Social networks established during adolescence therefore do not disappear, but can be kept up, even over a long period of time. Internet-based social networks are a great help to youths in this regard: *"Social networks à la Facebook because I'm always up-to-date, I have contact with friends who live far away, so to say involved in their lives despite not being able to be there in person. In this way I can, to some extent, stay in touch with people"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). The experiences gathered by out-migrants can also influence the decisions of those left behind with respect to education and training, and starting a career. The places good friends or close relatives have moved to can affect where youths choose to go for further education or training. Out-migrants are able to open doors and make settling down in a new area easier. Negative experiences, on the other hand, potentially strengthen the intention of those left behind to stay in their home region.

Will you move away after graduation?	Girls		Boys		Total
	Gymnasium	Sekundar-schule	Gymnasium	Sekundar-schule	
No, I'll stay here	7.1%	22.2%	8.2%	31.6%	17.8%
I'll move away, but stay in Sachsen-Anhalt	24.6%	39.4%	23.7%	25.6%	27.9%
I'll move to another federal state	23.0%	8.1%	22.7%	8.3%	15.4%
I will go abroad	15.9%	1.0%	12.4%	4.5%	8.6%
I don't know yet	29.4%	29.3%	33.0%	30.1%	30.3%

**Table 5: Plans to move away after graduation by sex and school type.**  
Source: Own survey.

28% of schoolgirls and 31% of schoolboys were not (yet) able to or did not (yet) want to answer the question of whether they planned to move away from home after completing their final school exams. Of those who had already formed an opinion, three quarters intend to move away (Table 5). In this response, clear gender differences can be seen. The boys predominantly tend towards moving within the state of Sachsen-Anhalt, whereas the girls are more willing to move to other federal states or abroad. The percentage of those wanting to stay in their home region is, however, the same among boys and girls. There are also pronounced differences with respect to school type. Gymnasium pupils are most likely to consider relocating to another federal state or going abroad while the majority of the Sekundarschule pupils plan on staying in Sachsen-Anhalt (girls) or even in their hometown (boys).



**Figure 8: Plans for the time after graduation by sex.**  
Source: Own survey.

The explanations for the differences by sex and school type are mostly related to the labour market and the spatial structure of higher education (Figure 8). A majority of the Gymnasium pupils wants to continue their

education (56% of the boys, 62% of the girls) while Sekundarschule pupils look for an apprenticeship position or want to start working immediately (81% of the boys, 62% of the girls).

As opposed to before, only a small minority of the Sekundarschule pupils (10% of the boys, 18% of the girls) wants to continue their education at a vocational school to obtain the 'Abitur', the German diploma from secondary school qualifying for university admission. In order to continue their education, the pupils have to leave their home region in many cases because the preferred subject of study is not available at the closest university<sup>17</sup> or 'Fachhochschule'<sup>18</sup> (university of applied sciences). The odds to find a job locally are better for those who want to work immediately or start in-company training. Several experts and young women interviewed in the in-depth interviews and the group discussion with pupils hold the view that boys adjust their career aspirations to the demand of the local labour markets while girls have a dream job for which they are willing to move. One expert told the interviewer: *"Boys are more rooted in their hometowns and they are less creative. The girls are increasingly stubborn to realise their occupational conceptions. They are more ambitious, want to get better jobs and move away."* In other words: Girls are not willing to settle for the local educational and occupational options if they do not meet their expectations. Boys, on the other hand, are characterised as unwilling to invest too much time, energy and creativity in planning their professional life if they feel that the local employment opportunities are acceptable.

The data shown in Table 6 and Table 7 supports this opinion and confirms the strong gender segregation in the German labour market. Only 4 professions (chef, saleswomen/salesman, retail management assistant and office administrator) are "unisex", the rest are careers for women or careers for men. The "top 10" professions for boys reflect the regional economic structure, while the "top 10" profession for girls are remarkably uniform across the 8 labour market districts of Sachsen-Anhalt. Moreover, the percentage of applicants competing for an apprenticeship position in the "top 10" professions is much lower among the boys than among the girls which underlines that the situation of male school leavers in the vocational training market is more favourable. The problem is, according to the expert interviews, rather that girls are not willing to apply for "male" jobs, not that employers are not willing to hire them.

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<sup>17</sup> There are 2 universities in Sachsen-Anhalt: The Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg in Halle (Saale) and the Otto-von-Guericke-Universität in Magdeburg.

<sup>18</sup> There are 4 Fachhochschulen in Sachsen-Anhalt: The Hochschule Anhalt with campuses in Köthen (Anhalt-Bitterfeld district), Dessau-Rosslau and Bernburg (Saale) (Salzlandkreis); the Hochschule Magdeburg-Stendal with campuses in Magdeburg and Stendal, the Hochschule Merseburg (Saalekreis) and the Hochschule Harz with campuses in Wernigerode and Halberstadt (both Harzkreis)



Male applicants	Dessau-Roßlau	Halle (Saale)	Halberstadt	Magdeburg	Merseburg	Sangerhausen	Stendal	Wittenberg
Automotive mechatronics engineer	4	2	2	1	4	1	1	3
Warehouse operator	2	1	9	2	1	3		1
Chef	1	3	1	6	5	2	4	
Salesman	10	4	7	3	2	6	3	
Retail management assistant	5	5	6	4			6	8
Industrial mechanic	9	9	4	5	6	7		5
Office administrator	8	6	5	8		10	7	4
Warehouse logistics assistant	3	8			3			9
Joiner			8			5	2	
Metalworker				9		4	5	
Construction mechanic							9	2
Mechatronics engineer		7		10			8	
Building and object coater					8			6
Cutting machine operator			3					
Painter & decorator				7		8		
Parts processor	6							
Machine and plant operator					7			
Bricklayer	7							
Chemical technician								7
Construction finishing worker						9		
Automotive service mechanic					9			
IT specialist		10						
Civil engineering worker					10			
Electronics engineer for operating technology								10
Machine and plant operator			10					
Farmer							10	
Percentage of applicants in top 10 qualified jobs	35.3	38.5	41.4	39.6	40.3	35.6	43.6	44.8

**Table 6: The 10 most popular apprenticed trades among young men 2010/11 by labour market region.**

**Source: own design; data source: BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT (2011a-h)**

Female applicants	Dessau-Roßlau	Halle (Saale)	Halberstadt	Magdeburg	Merseburg	Sangerhausen	Stendal	Wittenberg
Saleswoman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Office administrator	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Retail management assistant	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Local government assistant	4	5	6	5	4	5	6	5
Hairdresser	7	4	5	6	6	7	5	4
Chef	5	6	4	10	5	6	9	
Medical assistant		9	9	8	10	4	4	9
Bank clerk		8			9	8		7
Hospitality industry profession		7	10	7			8	
Dental assistant	6						10	6
Housekeeper				4	7			
Qualified restaurant employee	8		8			9		
Legal assistant			7				7	
Florist					8			
Management assistant in office communication								8
Animal keeper		10				10		
Chemical laboratory assistant	9							
Federal administration assistant				9				
Industrial clerk	10							
Hotel industry professional								10
Percentage of applicants in top 10 qualified jobs	52.7	49.2	55.6	54.4	56.9	48.7	56.3	54.9

**Table 7: The 10 most popular apprenticed trades among young women 2010/11 by labour market region.**

**Source: own design; data source: BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT (2011a-h)**

The segregation of the labour market in a “female” and a “male” segment, according to the interviewed experts, developed during the 1990s in Sachsen-Anhalt and has solidified ever since despite attempts to enthruse girls for “men’s jobs” such as “Girl’s Day”. One reason for this may be that a large proportion of girls think that a traditionally “male” job like automotive mechatronics engineer (71%) or industrial mechanic (64%) would hurt their image among their peers. The concern that their peers would look down upon them because of their occupational choice is also distinguishable among boys, although less pronounced (BUNDESINSTITUT FÜR BERUFSBILDUNG 2011).

Many school leavers are forced to migrate out of their home region to train for their desired job or to study, as the relevant education options are not available in rural Sachsen-Anhalt. Education and being open to spatial mobility are increasingly becoming important keys to occupational success (FINDLAY et al. 2009). The out-migration of young adults should consequently not only be evaluated negatively but can also be understood as an opportunity for regional development. This does, however, only apply if out-migrants return at a later point in time, bringing with them their skills, experience and knowledge acquired elsewhere and, in turn, generating value as company founders and entrepreneurs, or as highly qualified employees in their home region (ERDMANN & HAMANN 2012). The return migration of well-educated and innovative young people is extremely important, precisely for Sachsen-Anhalt, as its percentage of "creative class" and highly qualified employees in the working population is the lowest in Germany (KRÖHNERT et al. 2007). Regions which are home to a percentage of creative individuals boast a marked innovative economy and a high level of start-up companies (FRITSCH & STÜTZER 2007). An improvement in the human capital endowment of the working population is therefore of great significance for the future development of Sachsen-Anhalt. This begs the question of whether youths can imagine returning at all and, if so, under which circumstances.

At 55%, the school girls surveyed are less willing to return to their home region than their male counterparts (62%). Again, there are also differences by school type (Table 8). Among the Gymnasium pupils, the responses of girls and boys vary only gradually. The boys seem to be somewhat more certain that they will eventually return, but below the line the differences even out: 56% can imagine returning, 44% can not. This is not the case among the Sekundarschule pupils. Returning to the home region is imaginable for almost 70% of the boys, but only for 46% of the girls.

Can you imagine to come back later?	Girls		Boys		Total
	Gymnasium	Sekundarschule	Gymnasium	Sekundarschule	
Absolutely!	16.0%	12.9%	19.4%	20.4%	17.2%
Probably	40.0%	41.2%	36.6%	48.0%	41.4%
Rather not	37.6%	34.1%	38.7%	30.6%	35.4%
Absolutely not!	6.4%	11.8%	5.4%	1.0%	6.0%

**Table 8: Assessment of a possible return to the home region by sex and school type.**  
**Source: Own survey.**

Answers to the question, under which circumstances could you imagine returning to your home region, do however show that returning home is rather an indefinite and long-term option for many of those who had previously responded with "definitely", for instance in the context of starting

a family or planning retirement. For those who could “not really” imagine returning, coming back to their current home region is, for the most part, an abstract thought with negative connotations, as demonstrated by the following quotation: *“I could only imagine returning here if there was a catastrophe in the place I moved to which didn’t affect my home town”* (male Gymnasium pupil, Harz district).

The response to the question, under which circumstances could you imagine returning to your home region, shows that, for many youths, a number of high requirements must first be fulfilled before they would return to their home region. Furthermore, living in the countryside is not for everyone. Even under the most favourable circumstances, 17% of pupils surveyed cannot imagine returning on a permanent basis. They would – if at all – only return to their hometown temporarily, either to visit or for a holiday: *“I could only imagine coming back to visit my parents, not to live here”* (female Gymnasium pupil, Stendal district). A further 9% are not able to or do not want to provide information on the circumstances under which they would return to their home region.

Girls	School type		total
	Gymnasium	Sekundar- schule	
My parents advise me to...			
...stay here	15.0%	21.0%	17.6%
...move way	54.9%	42.0%	49.4%
They make no concrete suggestions	24.1%	24.0%	24.0%
We havn't talked about that topic yet	6.0%	13.0%	9.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
My friends advise me to...			
...stay here	8.3%	32.7%	18.8%
...move way	57.1%	33.7%	47.0%
They make no concrete suggestions	24.8%	16.8%	21.4%
We havn't talked about that topic yet	9.8%	16.8%	12.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
My teachers advise me to...			
...stay here	3.1%	10.9%	6.5%
...move way	20.6%	21.8%	21.1%
They make no concrete suggestions	24.4%	21.8%	23.3%
We havn't talked about that topic yet	51.9%	45.5%	49.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Table 9: Advice to stay or leave by parents, friends and teachers by school type. Female respondents.**  
**Source: Own survey.**

Of those who can imagine returning, a quarter states that they would want to return if they found an attractive position in their region of origin. For the youths it is not a question of whether they can find “any old job”, but one that pays well and offers career options. The distinct pay gap be-

tween former East and West Germany is frequently mentioned in this regard as a hindrance to returning: *"For me to return here there would need to be a balance between wages in the former eastern and western states"* (male Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). 7% of pupils stated that better economic prospects in their home region, an upgraded infrastructure or changes to where they live would be prerequisites for returning. Every twentieth pupil surveyed plans to return for financial reasons or to accept an inheritance.

Boys	School type		total
	Gymnasium	Sekundar- schule	
My parents advise me to...			
...stay here	14.0%	27.7%	21.9%
...move way	52.0%	37.2%	43.5%
They make no concrete suggestions	22.0%	14.6%	17.7%
We haven't talked about that topic yet	12.0%	20.4%	16.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
My friends advise me to...			
...stay here	11.0%	28.9%	21.3%
...move way	56.0%	26.7%	39.1%
They make no concrete suggestions	19.0%	15.6%	17.0%
We haven't talked about that topic yet	14.0%	28.9%	22.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
My teachers advise me to...			
...stay here	9.0%	9.8%	9.5%
...move way	21.0%	19.7%	20.3%
They make no concrete suggestions	16.0%	23.5%	20.3%
We haven't talked about that topic yet	54.0%	47.0%	50.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Table 10: Advice to stay or leave by parents, friends and teachers by school type. Male respondents.**

**Source:** Own survey.

The most significant reason for returning, however, lies in the pupils' social networks. 16%<sup>19</sup> of pupils said they would want to return for family reasons; for a further 6%, being near friends would be a decisive factor. 11% would consider returning to start a family, build a house, or if their future partner wanted to return. The home region is seen by this group of people as an attractive place to bring up children, as long as their livelihood is ensured: *"If I have children, I will come back here because I think younger children can grow up in a better environment here than they would in a large city"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Wittenberg district). 15% state that they would consider returning if they had a personal crisis, if there was a family emergency or if their parents became care-dependent.

<sup>19</sup> Multiple answers possible



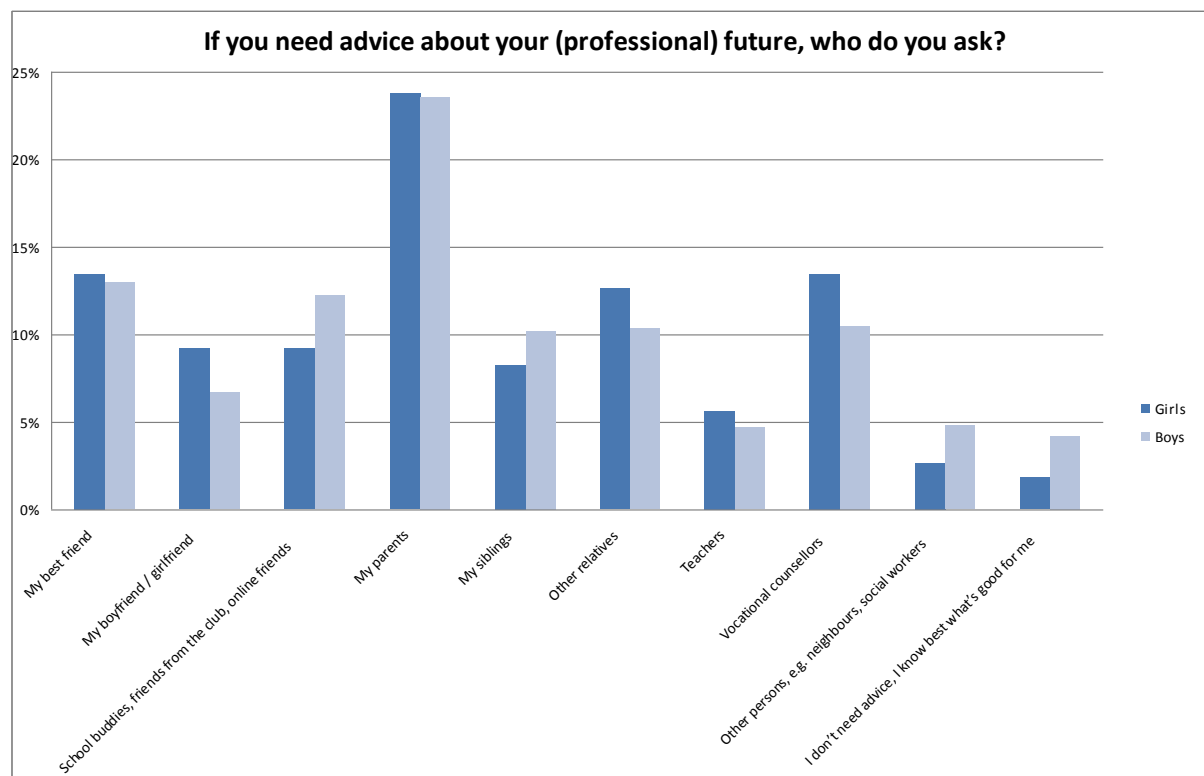
This primarily concerns pupils who are “not really” able to imagine returning. 7% of pupils would consider retiring in their home region, an example being this male Gymnasium pupil from the Harz district: *“Later on, when I’m older and I’ve perhaps already retired and want to retreat to a comfortable life in the countryside.”* Only 4% of pupils gave the love of their home region or homesickness as a reason to return.

Social networks, however, do not only play an important role in return migration, but also in keeping people in the region (JAIN & SCHMITTHALS 2009). Having said this, in rural Sachsen-Anhalt, signals from the youths’ social networks clearly point towards out-migration (Table 9, Table 10). The majority of friends and relatives advise pupils to leave their home region. An “out-migration culture” (Horváth 2008) thus already seems to have evolved, according to which moving away is a natural element of life and it is the decision to stay in the region that rather requires justifying. Statistical analysis shows that advice is gender-neutral. It may well be that more of the boys surveyed state that their parents and friends advise them to stay in their home region, but this difference is not statistically significant. The differences between the school types are, however, significant. If Gymnasium pupils ask for advice, they are mostly told to move away, especially by their friends. Among the Sekundarschule pupils, on the other hand, the percentage of students who report that they are encouraged to stay is considerably higher (Table 9, Table 10).

What is remarkable is that some parents advise their children to move away long before they complete secondary education, as can be taken from the following quotation of a mother currently looking for work: *“My daughter is eleven, an age at which you don’t really have to start planning for the future, but, as her mother, I tell her she won’t stay here. She has to move away at some point. Because she won’t be happy here. [...] Perhaps I’ll go to Berlin, she says, then you’re still nearby. That would be good, I tell her. And she accepts this. She’s eleven. So really she shouldn’t have to be thinking about these things yet. But as her mother I tell her she won’t stay here. I don’t want her to stay here. Just because it’d be nice to have her nearby? There’s more to it than that”* (Group discussion, Stendal district).

The low significance of teachers giving advice to youths may be explained to some extent by the timing of the survey clashing with the early onset of the summer holidays: meaning that only pupils who still had one year of school remaining were surveyed, rather than final year pupils as originally intended. Discussions surrounding “career choice” are presumably less present in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> classes than they are in the final year. Complaints have, however, been voiced by the experts surveyed, claiming that teachers presented their pupils with a negative image of local em-

ployment markets and do not sufficiently highlight job and training opportunities in the region.



**Figure 9: Persons asked for advice about one's professional future.**  
Source: Own survey.

Teachers do not seem to be the most relevant counsellors anyway. If young people look for advice about their professional future, they first and foremost ask family members, especially their parents, and their closest friends. Other people are consulted if they are considered "competent", i.e. vocational advisors and people who already work in the job in question or have studied the desired subject at university (Figure 9). Hence, it is of utmost importance to inform parents about local job and educational opportunities because they are the most important and very sceptical advisors. Unfortunately, they are also the most difficult to approach. Many parents and grandparents may also vividly remember the massive job losses in the early 1990s and the subsequent widespread job insecurity and mass unemployment. To convince them that Sachsen-Anhalt is becoming a promising labour market may be a very hard task.

### 3.2. Evaluation of the local living situation

Despite a clear relaxation on the employment and training market, young people regard the regional living and working conditions in Sachsen-Anhalt as still being practically hopeless. Staying in the home region is often associated with an expectation of social decline (BEETZ 2009). The opinions of pupils we surveyed show no exception to this. An overwhelm-

ing majority is of the opinion that it is difficult or impossible to find a job, earn a living, and be successful in rural Sachsen-Anhalt.

The opinion that there is no future in the home region and that out-migration is necessary if people want to make something of themselves is just as widespread. In this regard, clear differences can be observed both between the genders and between the different types of school background. Generally speaking, pupils attending the Gymnasium are more pessimistic than the students of the Sekundarschule and girls are more pessimistic than boys. Hence, girls attending the 'Gymnasium' are the group of interviewees most convinced that excelling professionally and making good money is only possible outside their home region. The bleak picture the students paint of the regional occupational opportunities is, however, inconsistent with the assessment of the regional job prospects by the experts which is much more optimistic.

Between 78% (female Gymnasium pupils) and 68% (male Sekundarschule pupils) of the interviewees believe that their home region has no future. Consequently, a large majority of the pupils agrees that moving away is a necessary precondition to succeed professionally. This attitude may prompt young people to plan their career without taking local options into account. At this stage, the economic power of peripheral regions in Eastern Germany is already threatened by a shortage of young employees, especially parts of the service sector, the metal industry and in the public health service. In the medium term, a skills shortage is also to be expected in "female occupations". The average age of employees in kindergartens, schools and public administration is for instance rather high in Eastern Germany. The proportion of teachers over 50 is, for instance, 53% in Sachsen-Anhalt, but only 42% in Rheinland-Pfalz (STATISTISCHES BUNDESAMT 2012). A specific problem of the new federal states is, however, that the job openings and the vacant apprenticeship training positions are often less attractive than in Western Germany because the remuneration is still far lower (ERDMANN & HAMANN 2012). A majority of the Gymnasium pupils seem to be counting the days until they can pack their bags while the male Sekundarschule pupils are least likely to yearn for leaving. One reason for the differences by school type is that female Gymnasium students are the most interested in getting to know new countries and cultures. At the same time, a large majority suffers from the remoteness of their hometowns and feels that the local population does not share their values and way of life. Many male Sekundarschule pupils, on the other hand, seem to fit in well in their home community: 54% agree with the statement "I like living here because people share my values and my way of life" compared to only 28% of the female Gymnasium pupils.

When responding to the question of what the youths consider to be the greatest problem in their home region, the employment market is a clearly dominating factor, both quantitatively (lack of work and training positions) and qualitatively (low earning potential, lack of career opportunities). The youths feel that they have no future prospects in their home region and that they are practically forced to move away if they want to be successful in their careers: *"There isn't a particularly large range of jobs or training positions in the area, which is why many people are forced to move away, [...] despite the fact that many people would prefer to stay in their hometown, near family and friends"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district).

Infrastructure deficits, the constructional and social decay of many towns and villages, as well as the financial hardship of the public sector are also frequently mentioned topics: *"The infrastructure is in an extremely poor state. Where I come from, there is nowhere to go shopping, hardly any social cohesion, cultural opportunities are barely seized, financial support flows into [the district's main town], there are no streets still intact, historical buildings are dilapidated and facilities which still exist, for example the local swimming baths, are becoming really run-down. There is a lack of financial support"* (male Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). The bad condition of many streets also troubles a number of those surveyed.

The youths are particularly disturbed by the lack, or poor accessibility, of leisure facilities and places to buy everyday necessities (discos, cinemas, shops). Nearly 90% are of the opinion that there should be more leisure opportunities for youths in their home region; the desire to have a youth club in their home region is mentioned particularly often. In view of these deficits, leisure activities are often associated with a high level of expense, as demonstrated by the following quotation: *"There is no cinema or disco here. To go to these places you have to take a taxi as they are relatively far away, and that also costs money"* (male Sekundarschule pupil, Mansfeld-Südharz). This results in a broadly perceived sense of boredom, the feeling that *"lots of people just laze around and don't really know what to do with themselves"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). Those surveyed feel that the difficulties in pursuing meaningful and satisfying leisure activities are an important reason for wanting to leave the region, and also a key explanatory approach to why so many young people move out of rural regions, as is demonstrated by the following quotations: *"[What annoys me about my home region is] that there is hardly anything happening here and that there's nothing to do. That's why I often get bored and would also like to move away,"* (female Sekundarschule pupil, Wittenberg district). *"What I like least about my home town is that hardly any events are organised and there is never anything going on at week-*



ends. You always have to travel a fair distance because there's nothing here, which I find a real shame. That's the main problem and reason why young people decide to leave the area, leaving behind an increasing number of older people," (female Sekundarschule pupil, Mansfeld-Südharz).

Proportion of households with access to a broadband connection in %				
Federal state	Bandwidth			
	≥ 1 Mbit/s	≥ 6 Mbit/s	≥ 16 Mbit/s	≥ 50 Mbit/s
Baden-Württemberg	98.4	87.6	80.1	75.5
Bayern	97.9	83.5	66.4	24.5
Berlin	100.0	98.6	95.0	77.2
Brandenburg	93.5	68.5	34.3	9.4
Bremen	99.9	97.8	94.3	66.1
Hamburg	100.0	99.0	97.3	78.0
Hessen	98.3	84.8	71.0	52.9
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	94.0	71.5	40.3	5.6
Niedersachsen	97.8	80.2	60.3	17.8
Nordrhein-Westfalen	99.3	89.4	77.9	58.4
Rheinland-Pfalz	97.3	80.9	62.4	7.1
Saarland	99.1	86.1	75.8	15.7
Sachsen	96.4	77.8	49.3	18.0
Sachsen-Anhalt	95.2	72.9	37.7	6.4
Schleswig-Holstein	97.8	82.1	64.3	24.9
Thüringen	94.6	73.6	42.4	6.6

**Table 11: Proportion of households with broadband access by federal state and bandwidth in 2011.**

**Source:** Own design; **data source:** BUNDESMINISTERIUM FÜR WIRTSCHAFT UND TECHNOLOGIE (2011)

The range of local public transport services is also seen as insufficient, especially in the evenings and at weekends: *"Buses only run during school time, there are no connection possibilities like at the train station"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Wittenberg district). This means that youths invest a lot of time and money in mobility. In the sparsely populated areas of Sachsen-Anhalt, the schools' catchment areas are extremely vast. Many youths have to travel long distances if they want to meet up with friends in their spare time; they therefore have to rely on their parents to drop them off and pick them up – due to the lack of alternatives: *"The most difficult thing is trying to meet up with friends who live somewhere else during the week. It's also difficult if you want to go somewhere in the evenings because you always need someone to drive you around"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). Besides this, many youths complain about the lack of high-speed internet connection where they live. The Internet has become a firmly established and highly significant part of life for those surveyed. More than three quarters are online every day and around two thirds chat with friends and acquaintances on a daily basis. Given the usually long

distances between friends and the inadequate local public transport options, the Internet will become an increasingly important way of fostering and maintaining social contacts: *"Where I live [there are] hardly any forms of public transport, which makes any communication difficult. The Internet then helps"* (male Gymnasium pupil, Mansfeld-Südharz). In this regard it is alarming that Sachsen-Anhalt falls behind most of the other federal states by a considerable degree when it comes to the availability of efficient broadband networks (Table 11). Most notably, the Altmark district is a region of "digital seclusion". 12% of private households have no access to a broadband network. After the region of Bitburg in Rheinland-Pfalz, this is the highest percentage in Germany (BUNDESMINISTERIUM FÜR WIRTSCHAFT UND TECHNOLOGIE & TÜV RHEINLAND 2011).

The fact that the region is insufficiently equipped with high-speed Internet is also considered to be one of the most pressing problems in the districts of Altmark Salzwedel and Stendal by experts who were interviewed from the Altmark district, and teachers who were involved in informal discussions alongside the pupil survey. Discussion partners expect that the low performance of available internet connections constitutes a substantial location disadvantage and hinders in- and return migration to the region. The absence of powerful internet connections also encourages out-migration, and not only that of young, well-educated people, but also of companies. There is a risk that rural, sparsely populated regions will become disconnected from the general development of knowledge-based society due to a lack of infrastructural features and a strengthened "brain drain" (SPELLERBERG 2008).

A further problem area can be summarised under the key phrase "social networks". The youths complain that there are *"few instances of social contact, no Internet, only old people"* where they live (male Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). In many of the severely ageing villages in the rural area of Sachsen-Anhalt, the different generations do not appear to coexist harmoniously. When there are *"more pensioners than trees"* (male Sekundarschule pupil, Mansfeld-Südharz) and *"it feels like there are 1,000 old people's homes"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district), many youths feel patronised and restricted. There is also a wide-spread feeling that local politics has little interest in the youths and that their needs – particularly regarding the creation of meeting places – are ignored: *"We don't have a youth club, we've collected signatures but the mayor doesn't give a shit"* (male Sekundarschule pupil, Stendal district). Around 60% of those surveyed are of the opinion that the needs of young people are rarely or never taken seriously where they live. This indifference, paired with the likewise frequently voiced accusation that things are only done for the elderly, is seen as another push factor causing young people to

leave the region. *"It doesn't happen very often that something is done with youths in mind. As a result, many move away and only older people stay, because facilities are built for their age group"* (male Sekundarschule pupil, Mansfeld-Südharz). What is more, there seems to be great potential for citizen involvement among the youths. Two thirds of boys and 60% of girls state that it would mean a lot to them if they were allowed to have a say in major decisions in their home town. A large minority have, however, already given up concerning themselves with problems where they live: *"I don't know. I don't care. If I really wanted to address major problems, no one would listen, and it doesn't interest me anyway as I'll be moving away soon"* (female Sekundarschule pupil, Wittenberg district).

Political or clearly location-related problems are only mentioned by a relatively low number of pupils. One exception surrounds the consequences of local government reorganisation which has been carried out in stages over the past few years. Under this reorganisation process, the number of communities in Sachsen-Anhalt was – often against the wishes of the public – reduced from 1,027 (2007) to 219 (2011). In this regard, fears are voiced that the interests of home towns which have been incorporated into bigger municipalities are "being quashed", and that investment and local services are increasingly being centred on the seat of the municipality, whilst hardly any money is being spent on individual districts. *"The problem is that the place where I live has been incorporated into [small town in the Wittenberg district] [which means] my home area now hardly ever has funds available and is therefore unable to do anything"* (male Sekundarschule pupil, Wittenberg district). The following quotation does, however, show that the municipal administration is not necessarily always at fault when the interests of a district are ignored: *"My home town generally [remains] unaffected by important decisions made by the newly structured municipality. But I think that has more to do with my area's local council than with the higher authorities"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). A second location-related aspect is the fact that the home region is partly perceived as being neglected, run down and dirty, which then makes it less appealing, as demonstrated in the following statement submitted by a male Gymnasium pupil from the Harz district who complains *"that the town is simply not restored or improved in the areas where it would be necessary in order to encourage more jobs, tourists, etc. to come here"*.

But what do the interviewees like about their home region? The pupils can agree on that they live in a beautiful landscape and that rural Sachsen-Anhalt is a great place to start a family and to raise children. They also think that it is easy to make friends and to find a boy- or a girlfriend in their native region. Around 70% of the interviewees – irrespective of sex

and school type - consider their current place of residence as 'home' and say that they will always feel connected to this place, wherever they may live.

In order to identify possible factors for staying in the region, pupils were asked to describe what they like best about their home town. Three themes become apparent here: peace and tranquillity, nature, and community and cohesion. Two groups can be differentiated with respect to the last theme. Some youths draw their feeling of community and solidarity from the village community, for example this male Gymnasium pupil from the Altmark Salzwedel district: *"What I like best is that I know everyone and that I get along really well with pretty much all the people in the village, and that there is a big community feeling and no one is excluded."* The village community is viewed as an extended family where people support and help one another: *"Everyone helps each other, i.e. with construction projects, in preparing for local festivities and if people have problems getting somewhere. You never feel like you're on your own"* (male Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). For others, however, it is family or the circle of friends which make up the community that is so valued at home: *"The fact that I have all my friends around me. There aren't always lots of things particularly going on but you can always have fun with friends"* (female Sekundarschule pupil, Wittenberg district).

With regards to the theme "community and cohesion" the youths' opinions are, however, very much split. Whilst some, as described above, speak highly of the sense of community in their home region, others complain that *"the local society [is] completely subverted"* (male Gymnasium pupil, Harz district) and that *"there is a particular lack of cohesion. We're not a proper community because everyone just thinks of themselves"* (female Gymnasium pupil, Harz district). Also the fact that "everyone knows everyone" is seen by a proportion of youths as a particular plus point, whilst others feel their privacy is violated or complain that there is a lot of gossip in their home town. For a number of youths, living in the countryside is not, in itself, attractive. This group would also not be able to be kept in the rural region on a permanent basis, even under the most favourable of conditions. On the flip side, there are youths who have a decidedly positive attitude towards their home town: *"I think my home town is marvelous. There is nothing I could complain about"* (male Sekundarschule pupil, Wittenberg district). It appears that a positive attitude towards the home town is most prevalent among male Sekundarschule pupils. 72% of them agree with the statements *"My home community is a great place to live"*, whereas male and female Gymnasium pupils (50% each) and female Sekundarschule pupils (54%) agree with this statement to a much lesser extent.

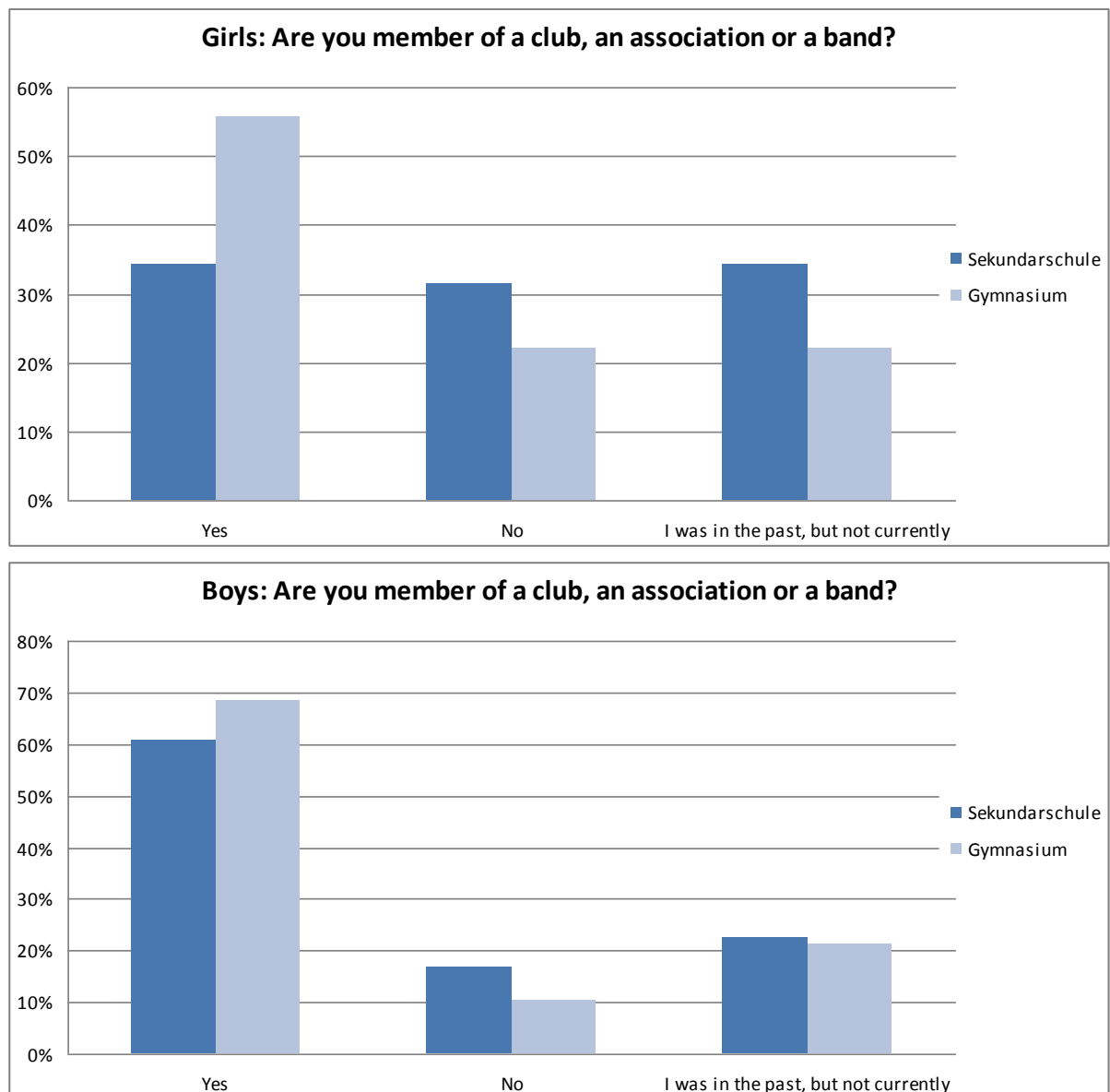


27% of female Gymnasium pupils and 24% of male Gymnasium pupils fear it could be difficult for them to settle down somewhere else. In contrast, 38% of female Sekundarschule pupils and as high as 44% of male Sekundarschule pupils expect that it would not be easy for them to settle down in another location. This may be due to the fact that male Sekundarschule pupils feel particularly rooted to their home region. Nearly three quarters of female Gymnasium pupils and around two thirds of female Sekundarschule pupils and male Gymnasium pupils state that they are not so strongly rooted to their home region and would therefore not be upset if they had to move away. In contrast, this figure only lies at 52% among male Sekundarschule pupils. With this in mind, the gender- and education-selective migration pattern in rural Sachsen-Anhalt are accounted for by the fact that Gymnasium pupils – irrelevant of gender – rate any future prospects in their home region very pessimistically, and Sekundarschule pupils feel very comfortable in their home communities. Sekundarschule pupils are also the group who appreciate living in the countryside most. A reason for that might be that a majority of them thinks that the other people in their home region share their values and way of life.

As there are no marked gender-specific differences in the evaluation of living in the countryside on the part of Gymnasium pupils, reasons for why there is such a big difference between boys and girls attending Sekundarschule requires particular explanation. One explanatory approach could lie in the fact that male Sekundarschule pupils are much more involved in local clubs and associations than their female counterparts. There is a much smaller gender difference when it comes to the club membership of Gymnasium pupils (Figure 10). Also, when compared with female Gymnasium pupils, female Sekundarschule pupils are only sparsely represented in local clubs and associations.

Those in a position of responsibility in the respective clubs and associations have a duty to reach out to young women, especially those attending Sekundarschule, more actively. In the group discussion held with final-year female pupils at a Sekundarschule in the district of Wittenberg, the topic of club membership was also raised. Three themes were brought up by these pupils illustrating why a comparatively low number of female Sekundarschule pupils get involved in clubs and associations. Firstly, there is a certain level of inhibition (*"youths don't dare go"*); secondly, activities are described as being too one-sided (*"only football"*) and not very attractive for young women. Thirdly, the fact that it is precisely female Sekundarschule pupils who are barely represented in local clubs and associations is possibly also due to financial reasons. Activities and types of sport which are particularly attractive to young women, such as horse-riding,

gives rise to costs that many families are not able to afford. In contrast to this, leisure activities which are particularly popular among boys, such as being in a football club or the youth fire service, appear to be affordable, even for socially weak families.



**Figure 10: Membership in associations, clubs and bands by sex.**  
**Source: Own survey.**

The results of the survey with pupils are inconclusive with regard to the question whether membership in a club or local association influences the notion to migrate. A negative connection between willingness to move away and being a member of a club or association cannot be established on the basis of the data collected from the pupil survey. Responses to the question *"Do you plan to move away from here after finishing school?"* show no systematic differences between youths who are members of clubs or associations and those who are not, irrelevant of gender and

school type. It does, however, appear that non-members already have a clearer idea of where they will end up after finishing school. This rings particularly true for Gymnasium pupils and female Sekundarschule pupils. In these groups, the proportion of people who do not yet know whether they will out-migrate after completing school education is ten percent higher among members of clubs and associations than non-members. In response to the question of whether the youths can imagine returning to their home region at a later stage in life, clear distinctions can be seen between club members and non-members. Club members generally regard the idea of returning more positively than non-members. Among Gymnasium pupils and female Sekundarschule pupils who do not belong to a club or association, the percentages of those who do not wish to return at a later stage are the highest at 53.3% and 51.7% respectively. Among female Gymnasium pupils, the percentage of those who “*definitely*” want to return lies at 21.1% for club-members, but only 9.4% for non-members. Sekundarschule pupils are an exception to this rule. In this group, willingness to return is higher among non-members. A trend in the connection between club membership and an inclination to return can, however, not be interpreted from the data. The decision not to join a club or association may be explained by the fact that the decision to move away has already been made. On the other hand, the desire to leave the home region may also arise from the fact that the youths have not managed to integrate themselves into local civil society.

## 5 In-depth interviews with young women

The main intention of the interviews with young women in the age group 20-35 was to learn more about the biographical aspects of female migration and to explore why young women are more likely to leave Sachsen-Anhalt (and maybe less likely to return) than young men. Questions targeting the reasons to return and possible problems in- and re-migrants might face are related to this.

To build up contacts to the target group of young women, personal contacts in the region and expert interviews in day care facilities as well as with majors were of particular importance. Beyond that, visits to local meeting points and announcements in local newspapers were used to contact interviewees. We were able to interview some re-migrants but only one in-migrant. Beyond that we also surveyed women that have already left the state and who are undecided about coming back or categorically exclude returning to rural Sachsen-Anhalt. All in all the interviews cover very different biographies related to diverse decision processes and reflect the territorial framework conditions of the home region in different ways (Table 12). Recruiting interview partners was rather difficult. A "shortage" of women does not seem to be a hot topic, which is surprising given the frequent media coverage and the extent of this demographic disequilibrium in rural Sachsen-Anhalt. The interviewees are obviously not aware that out-migration from rural Eastern Germany tends to be sex-selective as they were astonished about the unbalanced sex ratio in the age group 18 to 35 in their home towns. Some even questioned the accuracy of the statistical data. The perception that there is no "shortage" of women may be explained by the fact that young women spend their spare time in the company of other women. The "surplus" of young men might be obscured by the fact that many men are away on a (construction) job and that long-distance commuting is very common.

With regard to the women that **re-migrated** to Sachsen-Anhalt private reasons are very important motives, even though good education and a professional career are vital for the interviewees (see table 12). The return migration is influenced by the partner's career opportunities, the break-up of a relationship, the wish to come back to the family or the need to get the support of grandparents for child-care. Consequently, social networks are a very important factor when targeting young women to return to the home region. In one case taking over a family business and real estate ownership was a key motive. On the other hand in the case of women having already left their home region and moving to another place the focus is very strong on educational and professional motives. Also social life in rural communities and the intention to see the world are important drivers. Among the **out-migrants** ambitions to move back are weak



- efforts to attract this group would at least be dependent on an attractive job or training situation. When choosing a residential location, people consider aspects relating to work, family and lifestyle simultaneously: *"If the pull of the family and the draw of the lifestyle are missing, people do not look for ways of making a living in their previous rural town. Alternatively, if people move for family and lifestyle, they make substantial efforts in locating employment"* (VON REICHERT et al 2011).

When talking about migration the statement often contains an implicit or explicit reference to regions that are located in Western Germany or in bigger East German cities such as Leipzig and Berlin. These destinations are important points of reference for the evaluation of one's own decision: supposed wage differences and better job opportunities are crucial in this respect. Sometimes the conversations with **stayers** illustrate that women feel that they have to offer their conversational partner very convincing reasons why they (still) live in rural Sachsen-Anhalt.

Interviewee	Job situation	Age	Family situation	Migration biography	Key motives
Inmigrant 1	Employed		Partner, no children	Moved from Sachsen to Sachsen-Anhalt	Her partner
Remigrant 1	Employed	28	Married, 1 child	Moved to Western Germany, thought about going abroad	Her partner and starting a family
Remigrant 2	Employed	31	Married, no children	From Western Germany back to Sachsen-Anhalt	Return to original employer in a higher position, partner
Remigrant 3	Self-employed		Married, 1 child	Migrated back to Sachsen-Anhalt to take over the family business	Close family ties, real estate ownership, her partner
Remigrant 4	Self-employed	30	Lone mother, 1 child	"Travel fever", has lived in several large cities in Western Germany and abroad	Living conditions for her daughter, family and child care facilities
Remigrant 5	At home, maternal leave	31	Married, 2 children	Studied in Western Germany, happy to be back in the home-town	Job offer in Sachsen-Anhalt, ties to her family are very important, child care
Stayer 1	At home, maternal leave	30	Married, 2 children	Has thought about going to Berlin, but has never left	Reasons for staying: Job, partner, family and friends
Stayer 2	Training		Single, no children	On the brink of leaving, maybe to Berlin	Looking for a job, wants to make more of her life
Stayer 3	Training			Commuting within Sachsen-Anhalt	
Stayer 4	Employed	30	Married, 1 child	Has moved to a medium sized town but never thought about leaving the Harz region	Reasons for staying: Job, partner, friends, leisure activities (e.g. snowboarding)

<b>Out-migrant 1</b>	Student	26	Single, no children	Moved from Sachsen-Anhalt to Sachsen	Educational opportunities, but she wanted to move to a larger city anyway
<b>Out-migrant 2</b>	Employed	31	Single, no children	Migrated several times to Western Germany and abroad, re-migrated 2 times but cannot imagine coming back for ever	Lack of professional options as main reason for out migration, "travel fever"
<b>Out-migrant 3</b>	Student	Mid 20s	Partner, no children	Migrated several times to Western Germany and abroad, wants to move abroad again	Educational opportunities, job locations of her Czech boyfriend
<b>Out-migrant 4</b>	Training in health care sector	21	Single, no children	Moved to Sachsen, no intentions to come back	Away from home but not too far, still has many contacts in the home community
<b>Out-migrant 5</b>	Student	26	Partner, one child	Moved to Berlin, currently no plans to return but can imagine moving closer to her parents because of her child	Had wanted to leave her hometown since she was a teenager to escape "small town blues"
<b>Out-migrant 6</b>	Student	26	Partner, no children	Moved to Berlin, no intentions to come back	Political reasons, better opportunities for education and personal advancement in Berlin
<b>Out-migrant Male 1</b>	Student	25	Single, no children	Moved to Sachsen, no intentions to come back	Wanted to live in a big city and to get away from village life
<b>Out-migrant Male 2</b>	Student	28	Partner, no children	Moved to Berlin, can in principle imagine returning but assesses a return as rather improbable	Educational opportunities, cultural diversity and anonymity of Berlin, to become independent
<b>Out-migrant Male 3</b>	Employed	28	Partner, no children	Moved to Berlin, wants to come back	Wanted to "get out" after the "Abitur", wants to return due to the downsides of big city life (noise, congestion)

**Table 12: Profiles of the participants of the in-depth interviews.**

In some cases the decision between living in a more rural community in Sachsen-Anhalt and living in a city abroad or in another German region is interpreted as the decision in a women's biography between private life and professional ambitions. Consequently the family, children and a high standard of living in the countryside are emphasized as main reasons for living in the communities under investigation. On the other hand the very good supply of day-care facilities is very often highlighted as an important advantage of Sachsen-Anhalt – especially in comparison with Western Germany. Thus, it becomes clear that the quality of childcare is obviously perceived as a crucial locational factor of women who have children or intend to start a family. The interviews underscore that it is important to consider the very different needs of young women between the contradic-

tory contexts of educational achievement, career ambitions and family life when developing target group oriented strategies.

The results of the interviews lead to the following conclusions:

- The in-depth interviews reveal that the unbalanced sex-ratio structures in Sachsen-Anhalt are hardly noticed in everyday life and that they are not regarded as a crucial problem. However, the male interviewees do notice a shortage of women. They argue that young women are more likely to leave while young men are not only more likely to stay but are also more likely to return.
- Many interviewees – both young women and men – say that they were desperate to leave their home towns after they graduated from school because they wanted to see the world and get to know other people and cultures. They recall how difficult it was for young people to spend their free time in a rural region (e.g. long distances to cinemas, discotheques and places to “go shopping”).
- On the other hand the topic of employment and jobs dominates numerous conversations. In many interviews the low salaries and lack of job opportunities - compared to Western Germany - were emphasized as the main reason for the out-migration of young men and women.
- No interviewee has mentioned that there are cultural particularities in their home region that scare off young women like the “macho culture” or the hillbilly image of young rural men that were mentioned by the Swedish interviewees.<sup>20</sup> However, almost all interviewees – stayer, out-migrants and returnees alike – report that it is very difficult for newcomers to be accepted by the long-time residents. One interviewee mentioned that the only way for newcomers to be accepted is to abide by the unwritten rules and moral codes of the village. The interview partner agreed that recent arrivals need a local “door opener”, i.e. locals that introduce them into the village community.
- With regard to women’s needs the provision of childcare facilities in Sachsen-Anhalt is one of the outstanding regional potentials. Women evaluate this supply very positively when reflecting on their own living situation, especially in comparison to Western Germany where the childcare system is perceived as inflexible and expensive. One interviewee has the impression that children are only “stored”

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<sup>20</sup> One interviewee mentioned political reasons, namely a racist atmosphere, as one of the reasons why she left

in crèches in Western Germany, but educated and supported in Sachsen-Anhalt.

- For many people living in rural Sachsen-Anhalt, migration is perceived to be crucial to make more of one's life and to raise one's social prestige. At the same time it became clear that the perception of Sachsen-Anhalt being a disadvantaged region is very widespread. Contrary to other case study regions it cannot be taken for granted that the local people are proud to live in Sachsen-Anhalt. Developing concepts that aim at enhancing the image of the region and at improving the self-esteem of the population is regarded as a very important policy task. Concepts that are targeted on improving the perception of the home region should also be geared towards teachers and parents.

The interviews point out two explanations for gender-related differences in migration behaviour: (1) Women have a more critical perception of their rural home region, they are more impaired by poor accessibility and they are more interested in experiencing (new) contacts/cultures. This may explain a tendency towards moving to urban centres in the younger age groups. The men, on the other hand, show a stronger orientation towards money and material values. They also tend to be more rooted. The interviewees offered two important explanations for the lower likelihood of young men leaving. On the one hand, sons are more likely to inherit the family home and/or the family business and are expected to carry on family traditions. On the other hand, there seem to be more options for young men to get involved and to spend their free time. Several interviewees highlighted that membership in local clubs (e.g. soccer clubs, shooting associations or carnival societies), outdoor activities (e.g. line fishing) and activities with friends contribute to the rootedness and place attachment of young men.

(2) Out-migration is mainly forced by educational and job possibilities. It is important to take personal relations into account when explaining female re- and in-migration behaviour. Even if employment and career opportunities are crucial for gender equality, women often follow the professional ambitions of their male partners. Consequently, concepts to attract young women should also consider the local career opportunities of men.

## 4 Key results of the expert interviews

During the lifetime of the SEMIGRA project, 17 experts from different professional and geographical backgrounds were interviewed (Table 13).

Expert	Organisation/ occupation	Municipality
Mr. Bette	Principal of secondary school	Bad Schmiedeberg
Mr. Brammer	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Sachsen-Anhalt	Magdeburg
Mr. Klitzge	isw Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Beratung und Dienstleistung	Halle (Saale)
Mr. Schmidt	Mayor of the city of Annaburg	Annaburg
Mrs Meinschien	Principal of secondary school	Havelberg
Mrs. Bratzke Mrs. Majewski	Federal Labour Office Halle (Saale)	Halle (Saale)
Mrs. Evers	Chamber of Commerce IHK	Salzwedel
Mrs. Jenichen	Head of child-care facility	Annaburg
Mrs. Kerz	Head of child-care facility	Annaburg
Mrs. Koch	Head of child-care facility	Hettstedt
Mrs. Lähns	Head of child-care facility	Havelberg
Mrs. Mehr	Non-profit association „Wir e.V.“ Landfrauen helfen sich selbst	Jessen
Mrs. Mogdans, Mrs. Janausch	Bildungswerk der Wirtschaft Sachsen-Anhalt e.V. (Educational Institute of Industry and Commerce)	Magdeburg
Mrs. Zembrod Mrs. Karl-Sy	Ministry for Justice and Equal Opportunities Sachsen-Anhalt	Magdeburg

**Table 13: Expert interviewees**

With regard to the **female labour market** in Sachsen-Anhalt, the interviewees highlighted the positive framework conditions for entering the professional world due to the shortage of skilled labour. Yet, these tendencies seem to be hardly reflected by the young people who tend to hold the view that it is very difficult to find a good job, to earn a living and to be successful in rural Sachsen-Anhalt. Nevertheless, a certain re-



orientation seems to be taking place. The experts report that Western Germany has been replaced by the Eastern metropolises, in particular Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig, as the most important destination for rural school leavers in Sachsen-Anhalt. With regard to the process of ageing job opportunities for women in the health care sector were pointed out as an important and growing sector. Beyond that, schools and day-care facilities are important employers for women living in rural communities. The future employment opportunities in this segment are determined by generational changes in staff and by the development of the number of children. The experts think that a "mismatch" between the locally available employment opportunities and individual job preferences is the main reason for the still relatively high youth unemployment rate in Sachsen-Anhalt. An additional problem is the fact that a large proportion of school drop-outs and about one tenth of the school-leavers with Hauptschulabschluss are not prepared for vocational training. These young people usually come from families that depend on welfare payments, especially in rural areas where a reinforcement of social problems can be witnessed in many municipalities. The experts also mentioned that the young people, their parents and teachers are often ill-informed about the local job opportunities. Pessimistic press reports about the allegedly hopeless job situation in rural Sachsen-Anhalt are taken at face value. An additional problem, especially with regard to re-migration is the low level of income in Eastern Germany. Re-migrants are in many cases willing to accept certain limitations, but they usually expect that re-migration is at least a zero-sum game in terms of remuneration and that they find a job with good working conditions that matches their qualification profile. Family formation is, according to the experts, an important reason to return to Sachsen-Anhalt. Child care in the state is characterised as "exemplary". Other motives for returning include the desire for living near friends and relatives, problems with the different mentality in Western Germany and homesickness. The experts conclude that family-friendly companies with a good corporate culture will not be affected by the upcoming shortage of skilled labour. The impression that there are no attractive employers in Sachsen-Anhalt and worries that jobs in the often small and medium-sized companies are not safe form the major obstacles to return (or move) to Sachsen-Anhalt.

Referring to the **social networks and infrastructure for young women** several discussions with heads of day-care facilities were conducted. This target group is in very close workaday contact with local women with children - sometimes the interviewees were women concerned with migration decisions themselves. On the other hand kindergarten teachers are personally affected by the consequences of demographic shrinkage and the question of closing-down social infrastructure for young women. These institutions are not only important employers for women in

rural communities, but also places for socialising. As schools, day-care facilities are also important for the social cohesion of rural settlements because they organise activities for the local community. Missing opportunities to meet and chat were emphasised in several interviews as a specific problem in shrinking rural municipalities and a threat to social cohesion because other places for the inhabitants to socialise (e.g. post offices, shops) were closed after the reunification. This thought is reflected in the idea of child-parent-centres which have been established in Sachsen-Anhalt since 2007. In the federal state the dense network of day care-facilities is considered as suitable to foster social networks in the community, initiate civic engagement, support families and cross-generational cohesion. In the frame of the interviews with managers of day-care facilities and the initiator of a non-profit organization for rural women, social problems of families like unemployment, poverty and the fact that public or voluntary engagement in rural communities often lacks skills and money were mentioned.

Expert interviews with school head teachers and representatives of the Federal Labour Office and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce were conducted to collect information on the **future prospects of young people**. The experts agreed that the employment prospects of school-leavers have improved considerably in recent years. Cooperation between local enterprises and schools to improve the vocational training and professional orientation has already been established. The experts also mentioned that the local companies are much more interested in entering cooperation with schools than in the past. Many entrepreneurs use the mandatory professional practical training for pupils to recruit apprentices. The experts also called for an improvement of occupational orientation in school because the proportion of apprentices and trainees that terminate an apprenticeship contract ahead of time is quite high in Sachsen-Anhalt.

The experts highlighted the importance of (individual) mobility for young people. Given the poor public transport in rural Sachsen-Anhalt, it was stated that it is more difficult for young people without a car and a driving license to find an apprenticeship training position. Against this backdrop, one expert demanded that the minimum age to get a driver's license should be lowered to 17. It was also mentioned that the low density of the broadband network in rural regions may prompt young people to move away.

In addition to the individual expert interviews valuable information could be supplemented in the frame of the regional workshop titled: "Should I stay? Should I go? Let's make a difference!" taking place in Köthen (Anhalt) on 25 January 2012. Some 55 participants from Sachsen-Anhalt and other Federal States attended the conference.

Expert	Organisatio/ Projects presented	Municipality
Mr. Evers	Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Project "Prologe")	Halle (Saale)
Mr. Kendscheck	Komet Empirica	Leipzig
Mr. Zander	Lord Mayor of the city of Köthen (Anhalt)	Köthen
Mrs. Böttge	Equal opportunity commissioner, Anhalt-Bitterfeld district	Köthen
Mrs. Bratzke	Federal Labour Office Halle (Saale)	Halle (Saale)
Mrs. Harnapp	Representative of local enterprises: Com- pany "BlecTech"	Jessen
Mrs. Köhler	JUEX: Association of young female entre- preneurs	Magdeburg
Mrs. Lüdemann	Mayor of the collective municipality Beet- zendorf-Diesdorf (Project "Kita mobil")	Beetzendorf
Mrs. Mehr	Non-profit association "Wir e.V. Landfrauen helfen sich selbst"	Jessen
Mrs. Ruge	Deutsche Kinder- und Jugendstiftung, Regionalstelle Sachsen-Anhalt (Project: "Gründerkids")	Magdeburg
Mrs. Scurell	Foundation: Bauhaus Stiftung	Dessau- Roßlau

**Table 14: External speakers at the regional workshop in Köthen (Anhalt)**

The event consisted of a mix of open discussions between labour market experts, planners and policy makers, the presentation of SEMIGRA project results and input by external speakers (Table 14). The presentation of a number of different projects was intended to illustrate the existing activities in Sachsen-Anhalt to raise awareness for networking possibilities between different projects and offer a platform for exchange. Examples for initiatives are the project "JuEx" which coaches young female entrepreneurs and supports them with starting their own businesses. The project "Kita-Mobil" targets accessibility problems in a very sparsely populated rural area in the Altmark and gives an example how the challenge to adjust the rural infrastructure to demographic change without compromising the quality of life of young families could be managed in practice. The project provides a demand-responsive transport system for children to carry them safely to events and leisure facilities. The non-profit association "Wir

e.V.” provides an example of how committed women in rural areas provide educational opportunities and leisure activities for the whole community and especially for poor and disadvantaged citizens based on voluntary work. From an educational point of view, the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg targets girls and young women to provide them with insights into professional life and to attract them to studying in Sachsen-Anhalt.

Mrs. Bratzke, the representative of the Federal Labour Office Halle (Saale), confirmed the positive trend for young women and men in the labour market since 2008 which is mostly caused by the combination of a low number of school-leavers and a relatively high number of older jobholders that will retire in the near future. She pointed out that “pink collar jobs” in the public sector are more resistant to crisis than “male” jobs in the manufacturing trade. A problem is that many women looking to work full-time only find poorly paid part-time jobs. Mrs. Harnapp, the CEO of a medium-sized enterprise in the metal processing industry stressed family friendly framework conditions to make young women stay in the region and help counteract the upcoming skills shortage. She also pointed out that strategies to attract skilled labour have to be comprehensive in a sense the target group should not only be the skilled workers themselves, but also their families. Mr. Kendscheck who coaches districts and municipalities in dealing with demographic change, stressed that a cautious sensitising for the causes and consequences of the out-migration of young people from rural regions is necessary and that the problem should be tackled in a rational and goal-oriented manner as “alarmism paralyses”. Mrs. Scurell presented thoughts and theses on how “doing economy” the female way could be a solution for the problems of the post-Fordian economy. She called for the development of a new post-industrial welfare state based on the universal caregiver model, i.e. overcoming the “traditional” gender role model that assigns paid productive work to men and unpaid reproductive work to women.

The main conclusion of the regional workshop is that there are clear signs for a “culture of migration”. Leaving rural Sachsen-Anhalt has become a biographical matter of course for many school-leavers. Their parents and close friends encourage them to move away. Overcoming this “culture of migration” will be a protracted and difficult task. The state needs more openness towards in- and re-migrants, a “welcoming culture” – and people that believe that Sachsen-Anhalt is the perfect place to life, work and raise a family.

## 6 Results of the SWOT analysis: What are the influences on the migration patterns of young women in Sachsen-Anhalt?

The SWOT analysis below is based on scientific literature on Sachsen-Anhalt, the results of the statistical analysis and the questionnaire survey with pupils as well as the in-depth and expert interviews and the presentations at the regional workshop. The SWOT analysis includes a close review of the region's most important internal strengths and weaknesses as well as the external characteristics and trends – identifiable either as opportunities or threats – responsible for or able to stop the (re)production of the unbalanced sex ratio in the age group 18 to 35 in the rural regions of Sachsen-Anhalt. It identifies the factors (weaknesses and threats) that should be altered to stop the deterioration of the sex ratio and to reduce the out-migration of young people in general and young women in particular. Finally, the analysis also lists the factors (strengths and opportunities) which could, and should be used in the future to change these negative demographic trends as they have the potential to decrease out-migration and increase in- and re-migration. The outcome of the SWOT analysis can be summarized as shown in the following table (Table 15).

<b>Indicators influencing migration</b>	<b>Strengths: internal factors, what makes women stay in the region</b>	<b>Weaknesses: internal factors, what is driving young women to move away from the region?</b>	<b>Opportunities: influenced by external impacts (economy, policy)</b>	<b>Threats: influenced by external impacts (economy, policy)</b>
Economic structures	Attractive range of training opportunities	Male-dominated employment structure (agriculture, technical professions and skilled tradesmen more appealing to young men); (Female) entrepreneurship has no traditional base – financially weak, small and medium-sized businesses with low proportion of entrepreneurs more common in former East German regions; women have oriented themselves towards typical female professions; Low wages Inflexible administration which impedes rather than enables	New opportunities in the female employment market due to: - general shortage of skilled workers as a consequence of demographic change - location-independent employment opportunities (teleworking) - generation change in companies - more healthcare and nursing positions due to increase in older generation - generation change in schools and kindergartens - tourism	Reduction of population of an employable age  Lack of qualified professionals (i.e. teachers, doctors, ...)  Lack of young employees  Factory closures



Social structures	High percentage of school leavers with a university entrance qualification (particularly girls)	High percentage of youths who did not complete secondary education	<b>Brain gain</b>	<b>Brain drain</b>
Educational infra-structures	Universities as important location factor; universities in the former east currently popular with German youths from the west	Badly equipped schools	Universities as focal point for emergence of innovative milieus	Risk of school closure/ centralisation; improvements in quality, partly with a view to the interests of young parents, partly with a view to the young generation.  Risk to universities: reform of inter-state financial equalization system and the expiry of funding to the former East in 2018
Gender-specific sharing of roles	Female jobs are firmly established in local culture, gainful employment of mothers is generally accepted, egalitarian family models	Alignment of career choice attitudes towards west German models with gender segregation	Further measures to improve compatibility of family and career  Promotion of women	Reactionary trends, traditional gender role models arising from a lack of career prospects, children as a replacement for career prospects = push factor for more highly qualified women
Landscape, nature as capital	Regional beauty strengthens identification with home region	Sachsen-Anhalt is not associated with regional beauty, but with environmental pollution and destruction (i.e. "chemical triangle")	Tourism secures "critical mass"	Dismantling of infrastructure endangers quality of life and tourism
Image depending on the different target groups		Facets of a negative image: "no future", "loser region", "stupid", "only old people", "right extremists", lack of identification	Negative image undergoes re-evaluation	Negative image continues to be reinforced  Means of identification (for young women) are diminishing
Identification				
Housing market, cost of living	Affordable cost of living, reasonable properties/living options		Rate of building vacancies and low cost of living as spaces of opportunity for individual pioneers  In isolated cases: rural "gentrification" due to spill-over effects	Pull factor for less qualified individuals, impoverishment, segregation → negative effects on purchasing power, among other things
Accessibility, technical infrastructure, internet access		Inadequate in many rural regions	Proximity to Berlin and Leipzig (urban centres)	Thinning and dismantling of infrastructure
Cultural and leisure opportunities, care in general	Regional, strong structures of civil society	Few/no leisure opportunities for young people, particularly for girls/young women, male-dominated clubs and associations	Development of opportunities potentially supported by voluntary involvement	No cultural opportunities due to further dismantling and a lack of critical mass, affects women in particular, isolated milieus, inability to secure young skilled labour, lack of public funding
Infrastructure for young women (young families)	Child care: tight-knit network, relatively good facilities, many good educational care concepts	Lack of meeting places (cafes) for girls	Improvement of facilities, preservation of existing infrastructure (i.e. flexible solutions, creating social opportunities in rural areas, spanning the generations to also include senior citizens)	Dismantling of social/cultural infrastructure without replacement, facilities increasingly outdated

#### Table 15: Results of the SWOT analysis

The most important results of the SWOT analysis can be summarised as follows:

**Image** has to be viewed as one of the strongest push factors (weaknesses) at present for young women in Sachsen-Anhalt. In this regard, significant determining factors are:

- Media coverage, which particularly fuels the image of dreary, depleted regions that are behind the times,
- Influence of parents and also partly of teachers who have experienced the transformation process first-hand and who generally advise youths, whether implicitly or explicitly, to move away due to a (supposed) lack of career prospects.

Here, measures could be applied which are tailored towards pupils and which critically question the image portrayed by the media, whilst at the same time providing youths with targeted information regarding their career and educational options in their home region.

A central building block of these measures should include strategies for a stronger presence of female public role models such as business women or women who are politically (i.e. mayoresses), artistically or socially active and successful to counter the feeling that “women with ambition and intelligence leave the region”.

The rural region of Sachsen-Anhalt is also perceived as being a “right extremist” stronghold. On the one hand, this gives reason to expect a negative influence on young, well-educated women (push factor). On the other hand, this exercises a deterring effect on potential in-migrants and investors. Dealing with these problems openly and sending out clear signals on a regional level that such a disposition is unacceptable is, at the very least, essential to shape perception and set objectives to prevent young, well-educated women from leaving the region, and even attract them to the area. In doing this, the public sector is required to establish, maintain and develop youth work structures, also in rural areas, to counteract the strategy deployed by right-wing parties and organisations which recruit new members by means of targeted youth work and the infiltration of local clubs, associations and civil society and which gain (local) political influence (SIMON 2007). Local decision makers are called on to listen to the needs of youths, particularly of young women, and to include them more in local decision-making processes. The survey undertaken with school children showed that representatives of local politics are, more often than not, perceived as being preventative and restrictive rather than constructive and receptive partners.

Aims to improve the image of rural areas in particular and the federal state in general, with a particular focus on the target group of young women, can initially be applied to the pro-women aspects of Sachsen-Anhalt: the awareness of living in a region where female employment and compatibility of family and career are already firmly established, and the fact that affordable child care is ensured, may appeal as significant pull factors for young women. On the part of regional politics, it should be clearly communicated that maintaining the national number one position in child care and upholding the compatibility of family and career is regarded as a central political priority.

The **universities** can also act as a significant draw with respect to their range of courses and affordable cost of living in university cities. They can attract students to Sachsen-Anhalt and keep young women from the region at university cities which are, at least, in Sachsen-Anhalt (see campaign "Studying in the Far East"). Strategies could also be more oriented towards typical "female" university courses. Furthermore, it is essential to create prospects for people once they have completed a university course. Also in the case of out-migration after completing a university course in Sachsen-Anhalt, young women (and men) can act as "image ambassadors" in other regions.

The **job market** and employment situation are principally recognized as being the most significant reasons for out-migration. On this point, the lack of knowledge about the actual situation on the job market can be counteracted through more intensive collaboration between employment agencies, schools, universities, businesses and professional associations. Various projects are already paving the way here and should continue to be expanded on (i.e. work experience, or the "Gründerkids" initiative which sees school children setting up their own businesses).

Initiatives and approaches intended to strengthen the entrepreneurial spirit in general, with a strong focus on women, are already in place (i.e. the young entrepreneur initiative "JuEx"; the "Landesfrauenrat", a non-profit umbrella organisation of women's organisations and associations in Sachsen-Anhalt; and businesses run by female students). Here the aim should be to network existing initiatives and projects better and to use synergy effects. Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial spirit are particularly crucial prerequisites for successful endogenous development in structurally weak rural regions. This is why the encouragement of entrepreneurs and innovative business ideas should also be more highly prioritised within the framework of commercial policy. If nothing else, this is absolutely vital when considering the imminent generation change in many medium-sized businesses. In this connection, measures should also be developed to make administration more flexible and more citizen and

business friendly. The work of the administration in Sachsen-Anhalt (especially when compared with other federal states) has been notably criticized by discussion partners active in both civil society and business.

The fact that many people view the **pay gap** between “East” and “West” as a serious drawback should be rectified, among other things, by presenting more specific comparisons between pay on the one hand and living and housing costs on the other. This should be substantiated in more detail and communicated to members of the community.

Due to the lack of critical mass and skilled employment offers in the rural areas of Sachsen-Anhalt, the promotion of different forms of teleworking can also evolve into a positive location factor. With a view to the promotion of women, this is also an interesting aspect when contemplating the improved compatibility of family and career. For this purpose, it is crucial that the respective requirements pertaining to labour law and technology are brought into being and any reservations regarding this type of employment are eliminated among employees and companies. At present, many rural areas of Sachsen-Anhalt do not have access to a quick internet connection, which is one of the biggest hindrances to a stronger prevalence of teleworking.

**Social infrastructures** provided in Sachsen-Anhalt would have to be rated as being ambivalent: whilst the range of child care options can quantitatively (and often qualitatively) be considered as outstanding, at least when compared on a national level, leisure and cultural opportunities are inadequate. Efforts are already being made to develop child care options with regard to usage and over-ageing in the rural areas of Sachsen-Anhalt and to strengthen their multiplier function; these efforts should continue to be fostered (i.e. mobile day-care centres, parent and children centres). The equipment used by these facilities is partly outdated and needs updating.

The range of available leisure opportunities, associations and clubs are predominantly of key significance with regards to the out-migration of young people. Strong social networks are reasons for people to stay and should be further expanded. In doing this, the interests and needs of girls and young women should be especially addressed. In this regard, the importance of citizen involvement also comes into effect, which can create opportunities for positive identification. The promotion and strengthening of a “culture of self-responsibility” is particularly central for the rural region; ultimately, however, it cannot justify the state withdrawing its support, nor can it replace public investment.

Beyond this, it is important that **demographic strategies** are reflected upon critically:

- The problem is not chiefly that of the out-migration of young women, but rather the lack of return migration and in-migration to Sachsen-Anhalt. The promotion of in-migration is closely linked to the development of employment opportunities and the improvement of the region's image. The lack of openness on the part of the local population concerning in-migration and return migration should be perceived as a problem and tackled using appropriate methods. If people moving to the region do not feel comfortable or welcome, sooner or later they will move away.
- The focus on return migration requires a differentiated treatment of re-migrants, whose reasons for migrating and whose qualifications may be considerably varied. It should also be noted that return migrants may, too, have problems integrating.



## 7 Scenarios: Sachsen-Anhalt at the cross-roads

Three explorative scenarios for Sachsen-Anhalt will be outlined here: (1) **status quo scenario** in which the present processes continue without policy intervention; (2) a **competitiveness-oriented scenario** in which the principle of competition replaces the principle of solidarity in regional development; and, finally, (3) a **cohesion-oriented scenario** in which a modernised welfare state empowers people and fights poverty and social exclusion.

The aim of the scenarios in the frame of SEMIGRA is to better assess the potential of different policy strategies with regard to overall demographic, societal and economic future trends. The explorative scenarios are based on the SWOT analysis, qualitative assumptions derived from document analysis, other ESPON projects (EDORA, DEMIFER, ESPON 3.2), expert and stakeholder discussions as well as the results of the survey with pupils and the in-depth interviews. The explorative elements of the scenarios target the question "What can or will happen to rural regions affected by age- and sex-selective out migration and unbalanced sex ratios?" In the following the dimensions "policy/governance" and "economy/labour market" are perceived as the most important drivers for the evaluation of the future development of rural Sachsen-Anhalt. The dimensions "distribution fairness" and "economic governance" are also considered in the following scenarios.

### ***Status quo scenario: Sachsen-Anhalt at the crossroads***

Geographically, Sachsen-Anhalt is located in the heart of Germany. Demographically, Sachsen-Anhalt is an internal periphery with a very unfavourable population development. The state is one of the most rapidly ageing and shrinking regions of the entire EU. Out-migration from Sachsen-Anhalt is age- and – at least until the very recent past – sex-selective. This has resulted in highly unbalanced sex ratio structures with a pronounced "deficit" of women in the age group of 18 to 35 in all rural districts. The expert and in-depth interviews conducted within the SEMIGRA project have the situation on the regional labour market is to a large extend responsible for the magnitude and selectivity of the out-migration from rural Sachsen-Anhalt. The unemployment rate and the youth unemployment rate in the state are well above the German mean (Figure 2, Map 3) and the district with the worst employment situation in the whole country (Mansfeld-Südharz) is located in Sachsen-Anhalt. People of a working age in Sachsen-Anhalt are not only more likely to be unemployed or underemployed, they also earn significantly less than jobholders in Western Germany (BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT 2010).

A large proportion of Sachsen-Anhalt inhabitants – one fifth of the working-age population and a quarter to a third of the children under 15 – depend on welfare payments (BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT 2012). The living conditions in rural settlements are worsening. Shops, restaurants, hospitals, schools, post offices, bank branches and railway lines have been closed in large numbers in the last two decades. Given the negative population development, budget constraints and the rather low purchasing power of large segments of the population, the path to further cutbacks in services of general interest is set. Against this backdrop, there is a risk that people with limited financial resources and/or without a car – this includes young women and men – are increasingly excluded from participating in social and economic life which will in turn lower their general life satisfaction. It is hence no surprise that Sachsen-Anhalt falls to the bottom of the list when people are asked to assess their satisfaction with the regional quality of life (TZSCHASCHEL 2010).

The external and internal image of Sachsen-Anhalt is negative, the state is perceived – to quote some of the most common prejudices - as an impoverished place with no jobs and no future, dilapidated towns and empty villages, a boring landscape and frustrated young men who are unable to find a girlfriend and drown their sorrows in alcohol.

Number of overnight stays per inhabitant 2010					
Federal States		Rank	Districts		Rank
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	16.8	1	Rügen (Maximum)	90.2	1
Schleswig-Holstein	7.5	2	Harz	9.9	38
Bayern	6.2	3	Wittenberg	4.4	145
Berlin	6.0	4	Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	3.4	180
Hamburg	5.0	5	Burgenlandkreis	3.2	188
Niedersachsen	4.9	6	Börde	2.3	259
Hessen	4.6	7	Magdeburg	2.2	272
Rheinland-Pfalz	4.6	8	Mansfeld-Südharz	2.1	280
Brandenburg	4.3	9	Dessau-Roßlau	2.0	287
Baden-Württemberg	4.0	10	Stendal	1.9	307
Thüringen	4.0	11	Salzlandkreis	1.8	319
Sachsen	3.9	12	Saalekreis	1.6	333
Sachsen-Anhalt	2.9	13	Halle (Saale)	1.3	362
Bremen	2.7	14	Jerichower Land	1.3	364
Nordrhein-Westfalen	2.4	15	Anhalt-Bitterfeld	1.1	380
Saarland	2.2	16	Pirmasens (Minimum)	0.0	412
<b>Germany</b>	<b>4.7</b>		<b>Germany</b>	<b>4.7</b>	

**Table 16: Number of overnight stays per capita 2010. Source: STATISTISCHE ÄMTER DES BUNDES UND DER LÄNDER (2012)**

Sachsen-Anhalt has few locational advantages, the most important of which is the excellent child care system (LEIBERT 2012). Sachsen-Anhalt is also a very scenic state. According to the attractiveness index calculated

by CHEN et al (2000), the beauty of the landscape is well above the German average in large parts of the state, especially in the Altmark, the Harz mountains, the region between the rivers Elbe and Havel in the districts Jerichower Land and Stendal as well as the eastern part of the Wittenberg district. There are also several World Heritage Sites in Sachsen-Anhalt: The Collegiate Church, Castle and Old Town of Quedlinburg (Harz district), the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz (Districts of Dessau-Roßlau and Wittenberg), the Bauhaus sites in Dessau and the Luther Memorials in Lutherstadt Eisleben (Mansfeld-Südharz district) and Lutherstadt Wittenberg. Naumburg Cathedral and the landscape of the rivers Saale and Unstrut (Burgenlandkreis) as well as the Francke Foundation Buildings in Halle (Saale) are on the German tentative list and may become World Heritage Sites in the future (LOSANG 2012). Regrettably, the potential for tourism in Sachsen-Anhalt is largely untapped in many rural regions of the state. The number of overnight stays per capita is well below the German average in all districts except the Harz district (Table 16). Intensifying tourism in Sachsen-Anhalt could be an option to reduce the out-migration of young people in general and young women in particular in a number of ways: Tourism creates and saves jobs for people with all kinds of qualifications not only in the catering industry and the hotel business but also in other areas of the service sector, tourists add to the critical mass of users necessary to maintain services of general interest in rural regions and they are important agents to propagate a more positive image of the region if they enjoy their stay. Having said this, the Luther Decade 2008-2017 and the Reformation anniversary in 2017 are a unique chance to promote Sachsen-Anhalt as a tourist destination, especially to foreign visitors and to burnish the state's image. However, tourism is not the magic bullet. Sachsen-Anhalt is somewhat off the beaten path and has to compete with more established tourist destinations in Germany. The example of the districts along the Baltic Coast in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern shows that growing up in a tourist centre does not prevent young people and especially young women from moving away (Map 1, Map 5).

In the status quo scenario, we assume that these aspects do not change in the years to come. It is nevertheless difficult to predict the future of Sachsen-Anhalt because the state is currently at a crossroads. The employment prospects of young people have improved considerably in recent years, out-migration from Sachsen-Anhalt is becoming increasingly less sex-selective and the state's universities are increasingly attractive for students from Western Germany. It is currently too early to tell if these positive developments are simply temporary or a shift in long-lasting trends. There is reason for cautious optimism, yet not for euphoria. Depopulation will continue due to an unfavourable population age-structure,

young people will continue to leave the state because wages and career opportunities are still better in Western Germany and the negative image of Sachsen-Anhalt, which is one of the most important reasons why so many young people leave and only few come back, is unlikely to change in the short term. We have also to bear in mind that the driving forces behind the "rural youth exodus" are not unique to Sachsen-Anhalt or Eastern Germany. A more or less pronounced "rural youth drain" can be witnessed in most industrialised states. As ALSTON (2004) points out the *"outmigration of young people is linked to the need to seek higher education and also the loss of full-time jobs for young people. The loss of these jobs is the result of changes in agricultural production, labour market restructuring and a withdrawal of public and private sector services"*. If the outmigration of young people in general and young women in particular is the consequence of a general structural crisis of rural regions outside the area of influence of the large metropolises, a reversal of the trend would require an economic reinvention of the countryside which is not conceivable at present.

### ***Competitiveness-oriented scenario: The end of solidarity?***

In this vision the principle of competition will replace the principle of solidarity in regional development. State money shall be invested where the expected returns are highest and not where it is most needed. With regard to peripheral, rural and sparsely populated areas in Sachsen-Anhalt this scenario is related to cuts in the public sector and the retreat of the state. Under favourable conditions the strengthening of local communities and civil society in rural areas can emerge regardless of the retreat of the state if the local population succeeds in developing ideas and measures to break the vicious circle of shrinkage and disinvestment. Civic engagement and self-help would in this case replace services provided and/ or funded by the state.

More likely are, however, pronounced vicious cycles. Civic engagement has to develop from within a rural community and cannot be decreed from above. WOOD (2008) argues that in rural regions affected by depopulation there are *"four necessary elements for a town's survival: leadership, a town council that is generally supportive, local people who are willing to invest their own money in the community, and a school"*. However, even if a community finds successful strategies for self-help it is not ensured that this success will be sustainable because *"progress is dependent on a handful of people and companies"*. If one of the four elements is no longer available, e.g. because a leader retires or the citizens are no longer willing to pay, the whole self-help strategy is called into question.

The radical narrowing of public budgets and the increasing competition for funds between regions and municipalities will limit the regional actors'

ability to maintain social and technical infrastructures in particular in economically weak and sparsely populated regions with severe social problems that further strain local budgets. Cuts result in a lower quality of life and hence fuel out-migration or curb re- and in-migration. Women will react especially sensitively to the downsizing of services of general interest because the public service and private providers of social infrastructure are very important employers for rural women. A consequence of job cuts in the public sector will be an increasing concentration of women in regional centres. In addition, women as primary caregivers are more vulnerable to service cuts which have to be counterbalanced with more mobility. Distance, lack of time and lack of transport can prevent women (and children) from participating in social and economic activities (NOACK 2011). Beyond that young families will be strongly affected by a shortage of services of general interest, namely the supply of child care facilities and schools. If the national and regional rural policy were altered along the competition-oriented principles sketched above, one of the strongest locational advantages of Sachsen-Anhalt, the excellent child care system, would be scrutinised. Rural youth (and senior citizens) in particular would suffer from cuts in public transportation and an increasing loss of leisure facilities. Social infrastructure would only be available in central places and not accessible for the youngest and the oldest. With the absence of clubs and associations it would be more difficult to establish ties to the home region which in turn would reduce the prospects for returning. It would be virtually impossible to encourage skilled workers to move to Sachsen-Anhalt. As a consequence, the poor infrastructure and the low human capital of the local population would frighten off investors and endanger existing businesses; mass unemployment, impoverishment and social exclusion would be the likely consequences.

The drafted downward spiral would result in a strong out-migration of young people, especially the "best and brightest". Given the missing employment opportunities for women, it is likely that the out-migration would be increasingly sex-selective and that the sex ratio of rural Sachsen-Anhalt would further deteriorate. High unemployment, hopelessness and "brain-drain" could result in an irreversible loss of human capital (EBENRETT et al 2003). Depopulation and ageing would intensify. The state and local governments would have little leeway for future-oriented investments due to the high cost for welfare programmes and the retention of a limited level of services of general interest would tie up a considerable proportion of the budget. As a consequence of the increasing socio-economic peripherisation and the dissolution of rural communities a "stagnating regionalism" (KEIM 2006) blocking innovation and creating isolated milieus would emerge. The image of Sachsen-Anhalt would change for the worse. The state would be perceived as Germany's poorhouse, an



economic hopeless case with no future. In combination with the negative public image the “stagnating regionalism” would obstruct in- and re-migration and encourage young people to leave. It cannot be ruled out that impoverished and discouraged rural communities would become a breeding ground for right-wing extremism, drug abuse, alcoholism and deviance. This would further compromise the state’s image and scare away potential investors and visitors. Endangered regions and increasing selective migration leading to socio-spatial polarisation are a likely consequence of competitive-oriented policies without measures for disadvantaged regions. This scenario contradicts the aim of territorial cohesion in regions affected by female out-migration and the risk of rural marginalisation is.

Is this scenario – which, to a certain extent, implies a break with the German tradition of guaranteeing comparable living conditions in all parts of the country – realistic? Some experts already recommend discontinuing government aid for “lost spaces”, rural regions in Eastern Germany where *“no innovators can be found that try to create a future”* (WEBER & KLINGHOLZ 2009). Given the high costs of providing and maintaining social and technical infrastructures in rural regions, it is suggested that residents should be encouraged to move to urban agglomerations (STEFFENS & KRÖHNERT 2009). Besides fiscal arguments, proponents of such disinvestment strategies argue that it is morally questionable that the public (i.e. the taxpayers in the core regions) subsidises the residential preferences of rural residents. In this view, the “user-pays” principle should be implemented to cut infrastructural costs in rural areas (HOLZ-RAU et al. 2010). One suggestion is to divide rural regions into “guarantee areas” around central places where the provision of services of general interest is secured and “self-responsibility areas” where the population has to accept a lower standard of living or move away (KRÖHNERT et al 2011). However, these recommendations ignore the individual social and psychological costs and possible long-term consequences of “benign neglect” and planned shrinkage strategies. Neglecting disadvantaged regions will only aggravate their problems and cause high social costs. It looks doubtful that rural Eastern Germany has the self regulating forces to turn the retreat of the state into a win-win-situation. This would require an active civil society able to fill the gaps left by the receding state and a certain critical mass. The local civil society in communities inhabited by an older, discouraged and poor population may be unable to cope with the need to succeed in the competition for funds, organising transport, founding and running a multifunctional community centre and transforming a dying village into a prospering producer of bioenergy to name just a few of the – in principle good – ideas for semi-autonomous rural development sug-

gested by WEBER and KLINGHOLZ (2009).<sup>21</sup> OSTI (2010) gives other reasons why approaches based on self-help are not necessarily the silver bullet: *"Reciprocal help among neighbours encounters the problem of the progressive ageing of the population. Moreover, self-help services require a certain scale if they are to work; if the population is too scattered there is insufficient critical mass to organise even minimal voluntary services. [...] In very small villages, even a multifunctional shop is unable to survive. Furthermore, a multifunctional service requires various abilities that are not always present in the same person or in the small local enterprise."*

The example of rural counties in the sparsely populated and remote "heartland" of the USA proves that the possible consequences of the competition-oriented scenario we have sketched above are not far-fetched, but alarmingly realistic. Authors like WOOD (2008) or CARR and KEFALAS (2009) have analysed the causes and consequences of selective out-migration from small-town America and demonstrated that it is difficult (although not impossible) to prevent rural settlements from becoming ghost towns. EGAN (2002) shows that *"rural ghettos"* are emerging in the USA as a result of *"a generations-old downward spiral in the countryside"* and *"decades of economic decline"*. A major problem in these regions is the methamphetamine epidemic – meth users tend to be poor, white and rural – that has caused a surge in serious crime in many rural states.

### ***Cohesion-oriented scenario: Revitalising the welfare state***

The key issues of the cohesion-oriented scenario are policies in favour of families, education, employment, immigration and integration. In this vision a further liberalisation and privatisation of the public services is not intended. The public sector would remain an important employer – which is important for the female population in rural areas. Associations and leisure facilities targeting young people, in particular young women, would support ties to the home region in case of out-migration and offer points of contacts for coming back. Local governments would see young people as an enrichment, not as a burden. Their voice is heard and their needs are taken seriously.

The shrinking labour force and the skills shortage would remain key problems of rural regions that should be counteracted by innovative family policies. Regional opportunities for (higher) education and vocational training are extended to attract young people, especially in-migrants from Western Germany that come to Sachsen-Anhalt because of the good learning conditions. The education in the fields of health care, tourism and

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<sup>21</sup> See also HAUSS et al (2006) who give reasons how the specific situation in post-socialist rural Eastern Germany (high unemployment, weak social networks, depopulation, infrastructure disinvestment) compromises the ability of individuals to solve their problems themselves.

the social and environmental sectors would be adjusted to regional job opportunities. The close and productive cooperation of schools, universities and local companies would be one of the specific strengths of the business location Sachsen-Anhalt and result in the implementation of measures that facilitate the reconciliation of employment and childcare which in turn support female labour force participation. The good availability and high quality of childcare would be another strength of Sachsen-Anhalt and help to attract re- and in-migrants. The wage gap between Sachsen-Anhalt and Western Germany would have narrowed due to the shortage of skilled labour but would not yet be level.

The population of Sachsen-Anhalt would still be declining, although at a slower pace. Young people would continue to leave the rural districts, but the out-migration would be less sex-selective because young women would have better job prospects due to the high number of retiring employees in the public sector. The university cities Halle (Saale) and Magdeburg would be attractive places to study and attract young women and men from Sachsen-Anhalt, the rest of Germany and other countries. As a consequence, a creative and innovative milieu would develop in these cities. There would also be a certain re- and in-migration of women in their 30s to rural areas. This "re-feminisation" would, however, be weaker than in Western Germany because the unemployment rate in Sachsen-Anhalt would still be above the German average – although only moderately, not dramatically as in the 1990s and early 2000s. The external image of Sachsen-Anhalt would have improved. It is very difficult to overcome the "loser image", so Sachsen-Anhalt would still be one of the least popular federal states. The internal image, on the other hand would be considerably better than in 2012. The inhabitants of Sachsen-Anhalt would be proud of their home and would have started to believe that the state has a future and is a good place to live and start a family.

The accessibility of rural Sachsen-Anhalt would have improved considerably after the completion of important infrastructure projects such as the Altmark motorway and the high-speed railway line Berlin-Munich. The long neglected regional railway service would have been enhanced. The fast, comfortable and reliable trains would be the backbone of a comprehensive public transport network that also includes regional bus services and demand-oriented transport systems. In terms of information and communication technology infrastructure development, progress is made with the dispersion of broadband infrastructure even in remote and sparsely populated areas like the Altmark. This is considered as an important opportunity to ensure the access to and supply of goods and services in rural regions. The improved access to ICT would also have an important impact on the supply and organization of labour in rural regions. With re-

gard to the needs of women and the reconciliation of family and employment, possibilities of teleworking would be supported and further developed. ICT is a precondition to keep up with the social and economic development in a knowledge-based society particularly in sparsely populated and rural regions. In the light of the foreseeable increasing importance the “digital divide” between those who are online and those who are not could become a new dimension of inequality and marginalization.

Summing up this scenario is more favourable for the regions affected by out-migration of young women but at the same time difficult to finance and realize especially in the German context where austerity measures and job cuts in the public sector are perceived as being without any alternative by all major political parties and large parts of the population. The cohesion-oriented scenario may also be too “top down” and focused on the state and not sufficiently account for “bottom up” solutions and strategies developed and implemented by the market or civil society.

## **8 Conclusions and policy recommendations**

Policy measures aimed at breaking the vicious circle that leads to age- and sex-selective out-migration should focus on strengthening the forces for persistence and weakening the forces for loss. This is, however, a difficult task not least because these forces operate at different levels and not all of them can be influenced by policy measures at the state level. The forces for persistence like place attachment and social network density mostly act on the local or even individual level while the drivers of out-migration like job opportunities and wage differences are frequently the structural problems which are difficult to solve.

### **Female labour market**

The starting point of rural downward spirals is the lack of jobs for young people in general and young women in particular (WEBER and FISCHER 2010). Basic problems that have to be tackled in this respect are the small and financially weak local markets as well as the lack of qualified labour as an obstacle in attracting investors. On the other hand it needs to be emphasized that a simple focus on one large employer is highly sensitive to global shifts of financial capital. Basically it is vital for the future of Sachsen-Anhalt, that ways are found to create and maintain attractive “pink collar jobs” and to develop a diversified, knowledge-based economy.

Attractive jobs for women in rural areas are mostly found in the public service. Policymakers should be aware that job cuts in this sector will fuel the out-migration of young women. A precondition to reduce the out-migration of young women from rural Sachsen-Anhalt is to take their job preferences into account. Labour market experts agree that the sex segregation in the labour market is unlikely to change and it is difficult to motivate girls to choose a “male” occupation despite efforts like the “Girl’s Day”. Apart from this also the possibilities of reconciliation of job and family as well as new flexible forms of working like e.g. teleworking have to be considered thoroughly. Important is also the option to promote self-employment. There is already a range of best practise examples dealing with business coaching for women or assistance for start-ups (Tab. 17). Beyond helping women (and men) to find start-up financing these projects should also counselling on the specific problems related to starting a business in remote, depopulating regions with low purchasing power.

### **Accessibility and social exclusion**

The most desirable rural development for Sachsen-Anhalt would be the “networked society”, close-knit, well-accessible rural communities that have transformed disadvantages into opportunities (OSTI 2010). To achieve this goal, the local civil society has to be strengthened and the accessibility of rural regions has to be improved. The survey with pupils

highlighted that especially girls suffer from the remoteness of their hometowns. People without a car are “*effectively locked into the local spaces of the village for significant periods of time*” (MILBOURNE 2004). As a result, they are faced with a higher cost-of-living, fewer job opportunities and time constraints because it is more difficult and hence time-consuming to organise daily life. Mobility-related social exclusion is not the only form of disadvantage that rural residents are subject to. There are other aspects of poverty and social exclusion that are specifically “rural”, e.g. long-term unemployment, lack of employment options especially for women, an economic structure dominated by the low-wage sector (OEDL-WIESER 2005). Fighting social exclusion and rural poverty are also important preconditions for slowing down the depopulation of rural Sachsen-Anhalt, for increasing the quality of life of the rural population and for enabling rural communities to activate self-regulating forces. In particular for rural regions ICT is a precondition to keep up with the social and economic development in a knowledge based society. Additional rising consciousness for the possibilities the internet has to offer and improving the skills to deal with these new technologies are a further task.

### **Place attachment and participation**

It has been shown that emotional factors, place attachment and a strong identification with the home region are important reasons to stay and preconditions to return. If young people are embedded in the social life in their home communities, attractive clubs and associations are available and they have the possibility to get involved, their sense of belonging is strengthened. Giving young people a say in the local decision-making processes and to promote dense social networks is hence an important tool to foster the attachment to and identification with the home region (ERDMANN & HAMANN 2012). Considering the precarious financial situation in many communities, and the questionable sustainability of private leisure and shopping facilities against the backdrop of the low number of potential users, it is unrealistic that the cultural infrastructure will see the types of improvements desired by many youths. It would, however, be of great help if the local youths felt they were taken seriously where they live.

With respect to place attachment, it is necessary to include young people in local decision-making processes and to inform the public about the consequences of demographic change and give them a say in finding the right solutions (ERDMANN & HAMANN 2012). The municipal administrations have a duty to foster and promote the process of “internal unity” in the new municipalities after the local government reorganisation, applying the highest possible level of commitment. Taking young people seriously and giving them a say in local affairs could be a key to promote the “internal unity”.



It is hence alarming that such a large proportion of pupils are of the opinion that the concerns of young people are ignored by those in a position of responsibility.

### **Services of general interest and local governments**

A high quality of life is the precondition that young women stay in their home regions or move (back) to rural Sachsen-Anhalt. Preserving the social and technical infrastructure, especially crèches, kindergartens and schools as well as programmes for young people are vital for rural regions (ERDMANN & HAMANN 2012, see YURA project). Here significance of flexible and unorthodox solutions as well as the promotion of voluntary work and social initiatives is to emphasise. Local governments should be given more say (and a higher financial scope) in decisions concerning vital public facilities, especially schools. After the administrative reforms, the new municipalities and districts have the size – with respect to territory and population – but often not the means to assume more responsibility with respect to the provision of services of general interest.

Policy measures in Sachsen-Anhalt should run through a **triple mainstreaming process**: gender mainstreaming, youth mainstreaming and rural mainstreaming. Sachsen-Anhalt needs a regional development and population policy that is a unified whole as the state's budgets are too tight for contradictory policies. It is untenable that the tax-payer's money is spent on measures preventing out-migration from or promoting immigration to rural regions as well as policies leading to a further depopulation of rural areas. The goal to only implement policies in Sachsen-Anhalt that do not contradict the objective to make rural regions an attractive place to live for young women cannot be reached by the state government alone. The best solution for this problem would be to strengthen local self-government. It would also be helpful if such a mainstreaming could also be initiated at the federal level.

### **Transformation process in Eastern Germany and social practices**

In order to explain and understand the unbalanced sex ratio structures in Eastern Germany, it is also necessary to take the recent past into account. Sachsen-Anhalt and the New Federal States are still post-socialist societies. SCHÄFER (2010) argues that *"values and norms developed in the past and in the context of transformation continue to be relevant for how people experience and interpret present conditions"*. The direct and indirect experience of the "Wende", the collapse of communism and the German reunification, is an important key to understanding the unique sex-ratio imbalances in rural Sachsen-Anhalt: the comparison of Sachsen-Anhalt (Eastern Germany) with the supposed living conditions in Western Germany and the traditional occupational orientation of women.

A further key to a better understanding of rural youth migration patterns would be to analyse the role of local schools and the local civil society in the migration process. Research on rural out-migration suggests that *“teachers, parents, and other influential adults cherry-pick the young people destined to leave and ignore the ones most likely to stay or return”* (CARR & KEFALAS 2009) and that the “smart kids”, especially the smart girls are *“learning to leave”*, i.e. they get the message that they are supposed to leave when schooling is finished (CORBETT 2009). Also the local atmosphere is worth to be considered: Even the interviewees in Sachsen-Anhalt did not mention a rural sub-culture that scares off young women<sup>22</sup> some of the pupils expressed concern about a de-diversification of and a growing influence of right-wing ideas and values in their home region’s youth culture. A topic for further research would be if and if yes to which extent regional (youth) (sub-) cultures influence migration patterns and contribute to the sex selectivity of out-migration from rural Sachsen-Anhalt.

### **Different target groups and culture of welcome**

In order to succeed, the strategies have to be adapted to the specific needs and characteristics of the different age groups, qualification profiles and migration biographies. Strategies simply targeted at keeping young people in their home region are not advisable. Rather strategies should focus on those wanting to stay and enable them to utilise their talents and skills. Therefore awareness rising for local job opportunities is required. Beyond that it is also crucial to explore how in- and return-migration can be enhanced. In this regard, possible obstacles for return migration have to be overcome. It has been argued in the literature that people who have left feel like they have become foreigners in their own home community (STOCKDALE 2006). This is due to developing differences between the migrants and their family and “staying” friends, e.g. in cultural tastes and preferences, personal and political outlooks, or lifestyle (GABRIEL 2006). Hence, a lack of openness to new ideas and lifestyles on the part of rural communities may be a major obstacle for return- and in-migration. The participants in the in-depth interviews share this view. Out-, in-, re-migrants and stayers alike criticise that their home communities are not “open” and that it is very difficult for newcomers to be accepted and to make friends. This problem has to be solved by the local civil societies. It is difficult for the state government to increase the “openness” of the Sachsen-Anhalt’s inhabitants vis-à-vis newcomers to rural areas. Creating a welcoming climate for in- and re-migrants and a positive atmosphere for the stayers is at least a task for everybody. Openness to diversity and a

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<sup>22</sup> Like e.g. the “macho culture” mentioned in the Västernorrland case study report.

welcoming culture towards newcomers are essential for the future of rural communities!

**Table 17 Policy recommendations for different fields of actions and different target**

<b>Field of action/ target group</b>		<b>Policy recommendations</b>	<b>Actors, coopera- tions and levels of implementa- tion</b>	<b>Best practice ex- amples in Sach- sen-Anhalt</b>
Different fields of action	Labour mar- ket	Raise consciousness for local job opportu- nities, Foster a female friendly labour market, support female careers and networks, Foster openness to flexible, innovative forms of employment, Develop diversified, knowledge based eco- nomic structures	Labour market policy  State government in cooperation with local businesses and the Federal Employment Agency	"PFIFF" agency "JUEx", "AMU" "Lan- desfrauenrat" and others are supporting female networks and entrepreneurship
	Education	Universities as drivers ("female subjects") Ensure accessibility and high quality of schools Improve skills to make use of communica- tion technologies	Cooperation schools -universities Cooperation universi- ties - local busi- nesses	
	Social infra- structure	Ensure good quality of child care facilities, Promote voluntary work of young people, Offer meeting places for girls	Municipalities, local associations and citi- zens (Active citizen- ship)	e.g. Kita "Elbspitzen" Zahna, e.g. "WIR e.V." Jessen
	Internal and external Image	Awareness raising for local and regional assets (nature, heritage, culture) Promote female-friendliness as locational factor, Promote female role models	All public and pri- vates actors in Sach- sen-Anhalt	several "LEADER pro- jects" in Sachsen- Anhalt
	Place at- tachment	Promote attractive services of general interest and cultural activities; consider the needs of different target groups (women, young people), Stimulate active citizenship, foster political participation	State government in cooperation with fed- eral authorities, mu- nicipalities, local businesses and asso- ciations, citizens	
	ICT & Accessibility	Improve the technical infrastructure in particular ICT Ensure the provision of public transport, support flexible and innovative transport solutions (e.g. shuttle to childcare facili- ties)	State government in cooperation with EU, federal authorities and municipalities	e.g. "Kita mobil" Beet- zendorf
Specific target groups	Age group <18 years	Raise awareness for local job possibilities Foster place attachment, Foster ties to the home region (attractive social clubs, social and political participa- tion and engagement) Give young people a say in local affairs	Education policy Municipalities and local civil society Cooperation: Schools - local busi- nesses; schools - local clubs	"Gründerkids"; Several projects at schools
	Age group 18-29 years	Offer studies at regional universities, foster social networks („leave the door open" for possible returnees) Keep in contact with out-migrants and provide information about the situation on the labour market in Sachsen-Anhalt	Education policy Cooperation: local businesses- universities Associations- municipalities	"Prologe" MLU Halle- Wittenberg,
	Age Group 30-35 years	Promote in- and re-migration by develop- ing cultures of welcome, offer incentives for cultural and innovative projects Improve the reconcilability of job and fam- ily, Assistance for (female) business start-ups, Business coaching for rural women	Labour market policy State government in cooperation with EU, federal authorities, municipalities, local businesses and local associations	e.g. JUEx, PFIFF

As closing remark it has to be clear that measures to reduce out-migration from rural regions are not free of charge. In times of tight budgets this means that every additional euro spent in rural regions has to be counter-balanced by cuts in other sectors. It may be difficult to justify cuts that affect large parts of the population in Sachsen-Anhalt and beyond to fund measures that only a small number of people profits from. It is therefore necessary to discuss the question: *"How much are we willing to pay to support rural regions?"* Answering this question is important not only to create a consensus on the future of rural Sachsen-Anhalt but also because it has to be recognised that the goals and needs of rural communities and rural young people are not always congruent and sometimes even contradictory (JENTSCH 2006, MUILU & RUSANEN 2003).

Summing up, we want to highlight the following recommendations:

- Try to attract innovative and female friendly businesses. Raise awareness for local (job) opportunities. Support entrepreneurship!
- Raise consciousness of the local population for the interrelations between wage differences and costs of living.
- The quality of life in and the accessibility of rural areas have to be preserved and if possible enhanced. For the future economic development of rural Sachsen-Anhalt it is vital that every settlement has access to broadband internet.
- Sachsen-Anhalt is female friendly and family friendly due to the exemplary childcare system and the tradition of employed women. This should be communicated!
- Invest in social networks and sociocultural activities for young people (clubs, associations) to foster bonds to the home region in the young ages.
- Support the establishment of meeting places and leisure facilities for women (e.g. girls, mothers) in rural areas.
- Support participation and civic engagement: enlarge opportunities for young people and in particular for young women to participate local development.
- Support projects that counteract a culture of out migration and stimulate a positive perception of the home region (improve the external and internal image).
- Identify female role models. Publicise information about successful women living in or originating from Sachsen-Anhalt in the local media and general public.

- Think about implementing “female” studies at the universities. Improve communication between universities and local businesses.
- Don’t forget the boys! Gender sensitive policy should also consider the needs of young men.
- Integrate gender and youth issues to existing strategic policy concepts.

The findings of SEMIGRA are suitable to supplement strategic concepts of the state government in Sachsen-Anhalt. In the frame of the “demography coaching” and the “demography check” gender aspects should be picked up as an additional task. With regard to the “Handlungskonzept für eine nachhaltige Bevölkerungspolitik” (strategic concept for a sustainable population policy) key issues targeting “youth” and “gender” should be added. A number of initiatives in Sachsen-Anhalt are already under way that support businesses and start-up initiatives that target in particular women as well as networking activities of women on the labour market. On the other hand projects that target the perception of the region and promote participation are rare. In this context existing networks and activities could integrate or support some key ideas of SEMIGRA like for example the promotion of female role model in the region or projects stronger intended to stimulate a positive perception of the home region. Beyond that the SEMIGRA results could basically provide additional input to the Leader+ programme with regard to the particular topics “gender”, “youth” and “place attachment”.

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