Quantitative analysis of the objective and subjective aspects of youth migration in the Danube region

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1. Introduction

The YOUMIG project was launched in 2017 with the participation of 19 partners from the Danube region, including research and statistical institutes, and municipalities. A clear objective of the project is to support local policymakers and enhance their ability to tackle the challenges arising from the process of youth migration, which affects, and in turn is also affected by the local socio-economic development contexts. In this paper, we address some of the insights from the quantitative data collected within the project, and illustrate their relevance to policy decisions in the sphere defined by the ‘youth-migration-local development’ triad.

When migration processes are placed high on the political agenda, the mission of research – both empirical and theoretical – is to provide a solid base for evidence-based and well-targeted policies. The role of empirical research – quantitative in our case – for policymaking is threefold: descriptive, evaluative, and conceptualizing. For the first, high-quality data on the trends of socio-economic development are required in order to identify fields for policy intervention. For the second, longitudinal data are required in order to evaluate the performance of the policies implemented, e.g., changes in the behavior of the target population. For the third, empirical research can, sometimes indirectly, support the conceptualization of processes impacted by the policies to identify and explain the factors that can alter – provoke or inhibit – human behavior.

First and foremost, the YOUMIG Project aimed to play the first, descriptive role of empirical research. The project only included elements of the longitudinal approach for evaluation purposes, namely a collection of data extending back over an entire decade for some of the indicators. Within the framework created, we encourage municipal partners to continue data collection exercises beyond the relatively short time span of the project. In addition, YOUMIG has indirectly addressed some conceptual concerns of migration research. We hope that,
although it is rather descriptive in nature, the present text can contribute some of the missing empirical pieces of the theoretical puzzles to be solved in future scholarly debates.

An important unique feature of YOUMIG is its focus on the local level. While both quantitative research and policymaking are generally conducted at the national level, during the implementation phase, multiple challenges and opportunities related to migration appear at the local level. Yet, local level data collection are fragmented and often non-systematic, as our project confirmed based on the example of the Danube region. In this sense, subnational level indicator development, data collection and production should be seen, first and foremost, as a means of creating data for the purposes of describing – and only indirectly of conceptualizing – local processes.

The present YOUMIG Working Paper builds on previous phases of the project. First, an agency-based conceptual basis – an updated version of the push and pull model called “push-pull revisited” – was proposed by the University of Vienna, which would guide consequent project activities (YOUMIG Working Paper No.1). In particular, it accommodates for the subjectivities of migration decision-making; the embeddedness of migration processes in meso-level (that is, in already existing configurations of social networks) and macro-level structures of broader socio-economic and political determinants; and the life course transitions that might play a significant role in migration decision-making. Second, we have incorporated the most important insights from YOUMIG Working Paper No.2, aimed at synthetizing the findings of local status quo analyses from a perspective that complements the original agent-based Conceptual Framework with a historical-structuralist view, by introducing the notion of developmental hierarchies and their individual perceptions as related to migration decisions and also to policymaking.

The double-faced basis on which YOUMIG quantitative research (the object of the present working paper) was built – the conceptual framework and local level qualitative analyses (the objects of the previous working papers) – suggests that more effective and well-targeted youth migration policies in the Danube region should be made only with a clear understanding of migration as the outcome of an interplay between historically formed hierarchical socio-economic structures, the social grounding, individual perceptions as well as the discursive contexts of developmental hierarchies in which migration decisions are made, and the agency of individuals in line with their life-course situations. Having in mind the local level focus of the project, we searched for answers to

1 Fassmann, Gruber, and Németh (2018).
2 Kiss (2019).
questions as to how individual migratory experiences are embedded in local development contexts, and what the roles of perceptions on and satisfaction with local development processes were in the formation of migration aspirations. As regards data sources, we used indicators developed as part of the YOUMIG project for six municipalities of the Danube region, namely Bratislava-Rača (Slovakia), Burgas (Bulgaria), Kanjiža (Serbia), Maribor (Slovenia), Sfântu Gheorghe (Romania), and Szeged (Hungary). Wherever possible, data were produced at the municipal level (LAU 2) or at the smallest geographical level available (NUTS 3 or NUTS 2), as well as at the national level in order to assure comparability with country-level results. In addition, we used the datasets collected as part of six small-scale YOUMIG surveys which were partially based on a common questionnaire.3

The present working paper is structured as follows. In Chapter 2, we briefly review the conceptual and empirical background of our analysis as provided by YOUMIG Working Papers No.1 and No.2. It underlines the “subjective turn” in migration literature and its impact on policymaking. In Chapter 3, we summarize the methodological details of the indicator development and data production processes. In Chapter 4, we present a descriptive analysis of the processes in six YOUMIG municipalities, and elaborate on the factors underlining subjective wellbeing and migration intentions of young people. Finally, Chapter 5 briefly discusses the implications of the analysis and provides concluding remarks.

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3 Although, as Danube region countries, both Germany and Austria participated in YOUMIG, no German municipal partner joined the project and in Austria, the municipality of Graz did not use the common questionnaire. For this reason, the present paper focuses exclusively on the six municipalities where comparable data was produced.
1. Introduction

YOUMIG at a glance

Full name: YOUMIG – Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration
A project of the Danube Transnational Programme
Start date: 01-01-2017
End date: 30-06-2019
Budget: 2,718,853 EUR (ERDF Contribution: 2,055,179 EUR, IPA Contribution: 255,846 EUR)
Call number: Call 1
Priority: 4. (Well-governed Danube region)
Specific objective: 4.1. (Improve institutional capacities to tackle major societal challenges)
Project partners:
Lead partner: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HU)
Work package leaders: University of Vienna (AT), Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (DE), Maribor Development Agency (SI), INFOSTAT - Institute of Informatics and Statistics (SK)
ERDF partners: Municipality of Szeged (HU), City of Graz (AT), Institute for Economic Research (SI), Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (RO), Municipality of Sfântu Gheorghe (RO), National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria (BG), Burgas Municipality (BG), Municipality of the City district of Bratislava- Rača (SK)
IPA partners: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (RS), Institute of Social Sciences (RS), Municipality of Kanjiža (RS)
Associated Strategic Partners: Statistics Austria (AT), City of Karlsruhe (DE), Federal Institute for Population Research (DE)

YOUMIG, in which 19 partners from 8 countries work together, wishes to support local governments in using the developmental potential of youth migration, which will lead to a better governed and more competitive Danube region. The project aims at boosting their institutional capacities to enhance the scarce local evidence of youth migration and contributing to improved policymaking with a focus on human capital. Statistical offices and academic organizations team up with local governments in a complex and customized multi-level and transnational cooperation to create local developmental strategies based on improved impact indicators of youth migration and to introduce transnationally tested tools for managing local challenges. As a result, institutions and stakeholders obtain increased capacities through an intensified cooperation.

YOUMIC’s work is structured in six work packages (WPs). Aside from management (WP1) and communication (WP2) issues, the thematic work is distributed as follows. In line with the Conceptual Framework, all partners contribute to the development of improved evidence of youth migration and its developmental impacts on the EU, national and local level by elaborating local status quo analyses for the
local partners (WP3). Through a comprehensive evaluation of the locally available indicators of youth migration, the project identifies the shortfalls of measuring local challenges and elaborates and tests new or improved indicators of youth migration (WP4). On the local level, the project improves capacities to manage related processes by jointly testing and introducing good practices and institutional units, tailored to local needs (WP5). The project concludes in transnationally tested tools for all governance levels contributing to better strategies, policies and services related to the issue of youth migration (WP6).

YOUMIG’s outputs are uploaded to
http://www.interreg-danube.eu/youmig/outputs

Location of the YOUMIG project partner institutions
2. Conceptual and Empirical Background

2.1. Conceptual bases of YOUMIG – A revised push and pull model (Working Paper No. 1)

With the aim of establishing a common understanding of youth migration for project partners, the University of Vienna meticulously explained who young migrants were and the potential determinants of their migration decisions (YOUMIG Working Paper No. 1). Most importantly, the Conceptual Framework provides a view on how youth migration is related to the local development of municipalities characterized by immigration, emigration, or return migration. The framework also identifies the policy areas affecting or affected by migration processes, which are, therefore, potential fields of action for local policymakers.

The target population of the project – young people aged 15–34 – comprises what is often referred to as “Generation Y” or “Millennials”. This group is characterized by a series of distinctive traits (both personal and environmental) that make them different from other generations and affect the propensity to migrate. These traits include living among unprecedented quantities of information, a fast changing environment, cheaper and faster global transportation, global consumption aspirations, and exaggerated individualism.

The starting point of the YOUMIG Conceptual Framework is the agent approach: the push and pull model of migration. In the basic neoclassical version of this approach, individuals objectively evaluate the attractive and unattractive characteristics of their home and potential destinations in economic terms and choose a place where benefits exceed costs by the biggest margin. This simple approach – though criticized for oversimplifying human behavior – is still useful due to its easy-to-understand conceptualization of migration.
### 2. Conceptual and Empirical Background

**Table 1**

| Immigration/Emigration – challenges and potentials for policy fields |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Challenges** | **Potentials** | **Challenges** | **Potentials** |
| **Immigration** | **Emigration** | **Immigration** | **Emigration** |
| **Society and demography** | Different values; weakening social cohesion; increasing demand for welfare state services | Diversity; solidarity and inclusion; population stability/growth; compensation of fertility decline | Depopulation; ageing; loss of political elites and perspectives; lost taxes; demographic challenges, families left behind (children, grandparents), transnational families | Return social remittances; gain of social innovation |
| | Oversupply of work force (esp. in certain sectors); brain waste; discrimination of foreign work force; wage dumping | Covering under-supply of work force; innovation through human capital gain | Lack of work force and taxes; lost innovation | Alleviation of high population growth |
| | Increase of informal employment | | | |
| **Labor market and economy** | Integrational measures (language) | Exchange, innovation, brain gain and brain circulation | Graduates leaving (brain drain) | Exchange, innovation, brain circulation through returning migrants |
| | Need for new infrastructure and services (potentially with diverse demands); challenges of urbanization | New innovators; economic growth and investment | Keeping up services of general interests in de-population areas | Concentration at growth poles |
| **Health and care** | Demand for multi-lingual services | Potential workforce for the health care sector; | Lack of work force for the social sector (care drain); loss of potential caregivers; | Return of health care professionals |

*Source:* YOUMIG Working Paper No. 1
The updated framework expands the scope of the neoclassical decision-making model. First, the updated version recognizes the limitations of rational choice theories and introduces the notion of subjectivity in the act of choice (e.g., concepts from psychology such as perceptions, aspirations, and satisfaction). Second, the new Conceptual Framework lists theoretical enhancements that enrich the analysis with meso- and macro-level perspectives, e.g., the historical-structuralist approaches that explain how migration processes are embedded in historically formed, unequal macro-economic and macro-political structures. Third, it introduces elements of the life course model into the push-pull framework, thus underlining that certain events and transitions, especially at a young age, might systematically affect migration behavior. The most relevant for YOU MIG are education-induced youth migration, e.g., diploma mobility; labor-motivated youth migration, especially at the stage of transition from education to labor market; and youth migration related to family formation, e.g., finding a more peaceful neighborhood with better education and health services.

The developmental consequences of migration – emigration, immigration, and return migration – include maintenance of transnational ties, creation of diasporas, brain drain, and encouragement of return migration. Each type of migration flow brings both challenges and potentials (see Table 1), and creates opportunities for policy interventions. The clear message of the Conceptual Framework is that “a paradigmatic shift of the perception of migration is very much required, which would push the whole topic in a more positive direction.”

2.2. Local status quo in YOU MIG municipalities – Developmental hierarchies, perceptions, and discourses (Working Paper No. 2)

The local status quo analyses – as related to youth migration and socio-economic development in YOU MIG municipalities – used a mixed quantitative-qualitative methodology.

First, as a data exchange exercise, relevant and available quantitative information was gathered and exchanged between partners in order to describe migration and development processes at the local level; and to prepare local level population projections. Second, qualitative interviews – based on common interview guidelines – were carried out among institutional actors to identify related public discourses. Further, semi-structured narrative-biographical
2. Conceptual and Empirical Background

Interviews were conducted with young migrants in order to get information on their perceptions and self-representations; and focus group interviews with young migrants were carried out concentrating on migrant experiences with local and, to a lesser extent, national level administrative bodies and authorities.

YOUMIG Working Paper No.2 analyzes this quantitative and qualitative information from a comparative, historical-structuralist point of view. Specifically, this approach defines migration as “flows between places with different positions in a socio-spatial hierarchy” characterized by unequal economic exchanges and uneven development, and forged historically alongside the different national (and subnational) developmental pathways. The public discourses and subjective perceptions of hierarchical positions strongly impact the individual migration decision-making mechanisms.

In this classification, Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia are categorized as semi-periphery countries with stable out-migration patterns, while Slovenia, Hungary, and Slovakia are positioned as semi-core countries where both emigration and immigration are typical. Further, Bratislava-Rača, Maribor, Burgas, and Szeged are defined as “main regional poles”, while Kanjiža and Sfântu Gheorghe are classified as “zonal urban centers”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional developmental position of the country</th>
<th>Semi-periphery (labor frontier, countries of emigration)</th>
<th>Semi-core (reconstructing core, countries of both emigration and immigration)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zonal urban centres</td>
<td>Kanjiža, Sfântu Gheorghe</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main regional poles</td>
<td>Burgas</td>
<td>Bratislava-Rača, Szeged, Maribor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic processes at municipal level</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Sfântu Gheorghe Maribor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stagnation</td>
<td>Burgas</td>
<td>Szeged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Bratislava-Rača</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration based on YOUMIG Working Paper No.2
Using Skeldon’s (1997) terminology, 1) Bulgaria, Romania, and Serbia belong to the labor frontier of the Western European core, sending out-migrants while unable to attract immigrants (leading to a significant population decline); 2) Slovakia, Slovenia, and Hungary are classified as “restructuring core countries”, which might become immigration countries due to increasing labor shortages. It is important to note that municipalities might adhere to a pattern that differs from the national one (Table 2).

2.3. Background to YOU-MIG quantitative research

2.3.1. The conceptualization of migration decision and policy implications

The YOU-MIG conceptual and analytic background has two sides: Individual agency in line with life course transitions is complemented by historically formed developmental hierarchies that are decisive for migration phenomena. Public discourses and subjective perceptions of socio-economic hierarchies help to bridge these opposing points of view. The present working paper attempts to conduct a dual contextualization of local development processes and subjective views and perceptions.

National migration policies aim to influence the behavior related to different aspects of migration, e.g., in- and out-migration, return or circular movements of the skilled or less skilled (see Figure 14), which reflect a similarly optimistic view of migration and development to that depicted in the Conceptual Framework (see also Kapur, 2004; Castles, 2008; De Haas, 2010; Gamlen, 2014).

These types of migrant behavior are seen as “key ways to increase the contribution of international migration to development” that bring net gains for receiving and sending communities as well as for individual migrants (UNECE, 2016). In this set-up, migrants – as development agents – are responsible for the development of their communities, while the role of governments is to create the “right conditions”. This was described as “the new optimism” by Gamlen (2014).5 Harvesting the benefits of triple-win situations of this kind is something


5 Indeed, the evolution of migration theories is often described using the image of pendulum-like shifts between the optimistic and pessimistic extremes of the agency-structure dichotomy: Whether the individual behavior or the influence of broader structures is decisive when interpreting migration and development (see Spaan et al., 2005; Faist, 2009; De Haas, 2010, 2012; Gamlen, 2014). The new optimism might be considered as an attempt to narrow the gap between opposing views. However, as Gamlen (2014) added, a new pessimism is about to enter migration research.
policymakers increasingly count on. However, such solutions are not without challenges (Castles, 2004; Czaika and De Haas, 2011, 2013; Triandafyllidou, 2013). Besides the shortcomings of national (and local) political systems in developing and implementing migration strategies, a lack of high-quality empirical data and adequate theoretical framework to design “theoretically sound and empirically validated models of such behaviour” are apparent (De Jong and Gardner, 1981).

Contemporary migration theories are criticized for their excessive categorization and dichotomization of diverging forms of migration (Arango, 2000; Castles, 2004; Erdal and Oeppen, 2018). As the United Nations’ Human Development Report (2009) pointed out, migrant categorization “obscures rather than illuminates the processes underlying the decision to move, with
potentially harmful effects on policy-making” (UNDP, 2009; see also Carling and Talleraas, 2016; Carling and Collins, 2018).

The need for a new approach is anything but a recent development. As early as 1977, Findley concluded that an ‘aspiring behavior’ is “assumed to be a purposeful and rational search for a better place to live and work” and ‘frustration mobility’ reflects “a reaction to dissatisfaction and unhappiness.” The two “often blend together in practice, and research designs should incorporate aspects of both”, she added. What has happened since Findley’s work was published?

The emergence of happiness research in economics and sociology also penetrated migration studies and resulted in a series of theoretical and methodological advances regarding subjective processes of migration decision-making and relevant policy interventions. A report by Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2009), for example, claimed that the gap between objective, macro-level indices and individual perceptions in Western countries “undermined confidence in official statistics [...] with a clear impact on the way in which public discourse about the conditions of the economy and necessary policies takes place”. Knowledge about both subjective measurements of satisfaction and perceptions became essential for policymakers.

A line of research examined the effects of migration on the subjective well-being of those moving (Knight and Gunatilaka, 2007; Bartram, 2010, 2012; Nowok et al., 2011; Czaika and Votkhnecht, 2012; Gokdemir and Dumludag, 2012; Melzer and Muffels, 2012; Olgiati et al., 2013), while others analyze the happiness of potential migrants as a determinant of migration (Graham and Markowitz, 2011; Cai et al., 2014; Chindarkar, 2014; Otrashchenko and Popova, 2014; Simpson and Polgreen, 2011; Ivlevs 2014a, 2014b), or the effects of migration on the well-being of the family back home in the country of origin (Borraz et al., 2008; Jacka, 2012; Ivlevs, Nikolova and Graham, 2019). However, the directions of causality, whether “happiness causes (or inhibits) migration, or migration affects happiness” are still unclear (Simpson, 2013). Csányi (2018) questioned the need for such a causal distinction and, in line with the literature on the cognitive aspects of subjective well-being (Michalos, 1985; Van Raaij, 1981; Veenhoven, 1991), proposed a model of migration behavior in which well-being is defined as a set of subjective evaluations of the discrepancies between one’s previously existing aspirations/expectations and the actual results of behavior. Consequently, subjective well-being does not cause/inhibit migration, but neither does it result from migration. Instead,

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6 Please note that in this sense, staying behavior should also be considered as the outcome of a – sometimes unconscious – migration decision.
2. Conceptual and Empirical Background

it precedes migration and is equal to the level of individual satisfaction with the actual results of staying, that is having not migrated (yet), in terms of the immediate and general socio-economic contexts of staying (see also Moyano-Díaz and Palomo-Vélez, 2018). Further, following the act of migration in time, subjective well-being should be understood as a cognitive evaluation of what has been achieved by means of migration, contrasting against pre-migration aspirations and expectations. This idea raises further questions about the temporality of sequential migration decisions, i.e., when decisions are made on return, re-migration, or circularity that are the desired types of migration behavior in pursuit of the triple-win solutions of the new migration-development optimism.

Approaching migration behavior – "without having to resort to overly structural or individualistic explanations" – Carling (2002) elaborated a two-step model that describes migration as the combination of 1) migration aspirations and 2) the ability to migrate (see Figure 2), where both stages are determined by individual level characteristics and macro-level contexts of emigration and immigration. While not directly using the concept of subjective well-being, the model still leaves space for us to develop an understanding of how individual characteristics of satisfaction affect/are affected by aspirations. The structural forces in the model are distinguished on the basis of whether they impact the pre-migration aspirations in the form of a “particular macro-level emigration environment encompassing the social, economic and political context in which particular social constructions of migration exist” or the immigration interface in destinations that “comprises a range of possible modes of migrating, either in compliance with or defiance of the various migration regulations, such as legal labor migration, family reunification, asylum migration and visa overstaying”. In this model “each mode is associated with a different set of barriers and requirements, reflected in person-to-person variation in the ability to migrate” (Carling and Schewel, 2018). Again, a series of questions arise here, regarding, for example, how structural forces are connected to individual characteristics.

In search of factors that “might be influenced by policy measures”, Carling and Collins (2018) criticized the term “(root) causes”, which was widely used among policymakers (see also Carling and Talleraas, 2016), and instead referred to newer theorization of the concept of “drivers of migration”. Van Hear, Bakewell, and Long (2018) argued that an excessively individualistic view on migration “tends to obscure how individuals’ ability to act depends on the social milieu”; and created a framework called push-pull plus, proposing the analytic categories of objective driver complexes, that is, of “structural elements that enable and constrain the exercise of agency”. The push-pull plus framework
might be considered as the theoretical foundation on which conceptualizations of individual level satisfaction, aspirations, and abilities to migrate should be based – even when we speak about return or multiple migrations.

*Figure 2*

**Carling’s aspiration/ability model (2002)**

![Diagram of Carling's model](image)

*Source: Carling (2002)*

2.3.2. **YOUMIG research questions and data needs**

Although the main objective of YOUMIG was not to resolve age-old theoretical dilemmas as of agency or structure, but to help local policy makers in their efforts of tackling challenges of youth migration, we hope that the project also made some minor advances in that regard. Based on the conceptualization of migration decisions described in the previous subsections, we focus on the interplay between objective macro-level factors and individual subjective opinions and intentions, in the sense that they are embedded in local development contexts, and they are further transformed into future aspirations and migratory intentions.

The data we use for this – both objective and subjective – were gathered as part of YOUMIG’s indicator development exercise. A set of 16 indicators were developed at the national level, as well as at the smallest geographical level available (i.e., LAU 2, NUTS 3, or NUTS 2), responding to the prioritized data needs of local policymakers and stakeholders (see Section 3.3, Table 4...
2. Conceptual and Empirical Background

for more details). At the local level, in particular, we aimed to close existing gaps in information collection techniques and to gather data that could not be drawn from the existing sources, or to provide a basis for comparison with some of the sources that were only gathered sporadically. Additionally, small-scale surveys were carried out in six YOU Mig municipalities using a block of uniform questions on migration experiences, migration aspirations, and similar, as a core. The addition of a (partially) joint question allows us to examine the relationship between local people’s perceptions and developmental hierarchies across six countries in the Danube region.

During the process of prioritizing the indicators for their inclusion in the final dataset – and in the local status quo analysis – it became clear that the needs of the municipalities to understand the phenomenon and interdependencies between its dimensions might lay in rather distinct spheres. Two big topics can be identified as the most pressing: first, returnees and their situation and second, the role of education and training for success in the labor market.

In Burgas, one of the biggest spheres of interest is the environment in which local small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) operate. In the context of migration, this interacts with aspects of the phenomenon of return migration, e.g., the likelihood of a return migrant establishing a business. In Sfântu Gheorghe, return migration poses challenges met by the ‘transnational family’ and discrimination of returnees in the labor market. The need for establishing subjective well-being measures has been voiced.

The most pressing challenges in Maribor relate to the labor market performance of individuals with different levels of education, particularly those who dropped out of education. In Szeged, the barriers in the labor market appear among native and foreign populations. Lack of educational opportunities for foreigners hinders their chances for employment at local firms.

In Bratislava-Rača, the gap between student preferences and labor market demand, as well as the increase in outbound student mobility results in a potential loss of specialists in spheres that are already suffering from a shortage of skilled labor.

In Kanjiža, information to help local stakeholders better predict how well different sectors of the labor market are served is crucial, especially for low skilled workers who have a higher propensity to migrate.

When the joint questionnaire was created, we tried to address the needs voiced for the collection of specific data. In particular, we focused on the identification of returning migrants through previous migration experience, and included several questions to evaluate individual intentions to leave (emigrate) among individuals with and without returnee experience.
In our simple analysis (presented in Chapter 4), we aim to shed light on the following:

– we investigate the differences in life satisfaction across domains, countries, and population groups,
– we compare (between countries) information related to the experiences of returnees (length, reasons for return),
– and in line with the YOUMIG Conceptual Framework and Section 2.3.1, we investigate whether personal and subjective influences impact individual intentions to move or stay in a municipality.

We rely on subjective well-being and, in particular, on satisfaction (with life, its domains, and the living conditions in the municipality) as the main synthetic measure that already incorporates preferences, subjective opinions, and views in evaluating the current living situation and the quality of living conditions. The latter can be represented by a combination of push and pull factors in a municipality, and thus reflects the level of local development. As we cannot observe which factors an individual is directly confronted with and evaluates in day-to-day life, a variety of well-being measures serves as an index that already incorporates the objective and subjective sides of the situation.

The data collected using the small-scale surveys are only cross-sectional and thus represent only one point in time, and the surveys also include a limited number of questions (e.g., they do not include personality traits). However, they still enable us to draw some important conclusions on the experiences of returnees and the circumstances in which the migration intentions are formed. In particular, we are interested in identifying the life and living condition dimensions that can be addressed by policymakers to reduce the negative and amplify the positive consequences of individual migration decisions on the local development context.
3. Data - Indicator development in YOUMIG

Development of a comprehensive set of indicators to enable evidence-based policymaking is a multi-stage procedure that requires significant resource inputs; the main development stages, among others, include (e.g., based on Rubin et al., 2001):
- Definition of the audience and the purpose of measurement;
- Choice of priority areas and selection of indicators;
- Measures specification, including the unit of analysis, exact definitions of the indicators, and data sources listing;
- Development of indicators;
- Evaluation.

3.1. Definition of the audience and the purpose of measurement

The informed use of the data collected is intended first of all for the local decision-makers involved in dealing with the challenges and benefits directly and indirectly linked to changes of (a municipality) population due to international migration of youth within the region. Within the joint collaboration of statistical and research institutes and six partner municipalities in YOUMIG, we aimed to develop a (core) set of indicators that would be relevant to the contexts of the countries characterized by immigration, emigration or return migration, with a special focus on young migrants. As the problems addressed by each municipality might differ, our framework allows for an amendment of the core set of indicators by an additional sub-set relevant to the local challenges; a wide range of the possible indicators and their availability are listed in YOUMIG Deliverable D4.1.3. The current selection of the core indicators represents the result of the step-by-step discussion with the partners and stakeholder involvement in the partner-municipalities.
3.2. Choice of priority areas and pre-selection of indicators

Both migration management and urban sustainable development constitute a multidimensional concept, with a system of indicators needed to provide insights into the different domains of the both, or to evaluate the ongoing processes. In YOUMIG, the choice of dimensions was first of all determined by the relevant policy fields proposed in the YOUMIG Conceptual Framework, the goals and recommendations issued by the European Commission, and other national and international bodies in the areas of youth policy, migration management, integration and social cohesion policies, rights of migrants, sustainable development, and urban development.\(^7\)

Unsurprisingly, the main policy domains and focus of action often overlap across these areas. So the European Pact for Youth\(^8\), an integral part of the Lisbon Strategy for promoting growth and jobs, places its main focus on human capital potential, sustainable growth, and innovations. Globalization and technological change penetrate each of the issues mentioned. The EU priorities for a youth policy\(^9\) lay in the encouragement of the youth to participate in the society, e.g. through voluntary activities; and of policymakers to provide more and equal educational and labor opportunities for young people. The “Sustainable Development Goals and Migration”\(^10\), as envisaged by experts of the United Nations, calls for similar measures in relation to migrants, namely equal rights in education, health, and decent work.

Further, we made an attempt to account for the opinions of the youth, using the conclusions of the Urban Millennial Survey 2016 undertaken among young Europeans aged 15–34. From one side, the survey revealed that 45.8 percent of the respondents planned to move away from their city in less than ten years. From the other side, it also pointed out that urban development is one of the important factors of the attractiveness of an area and hence crucial in a decision to stay or to leave.\(^11\) For our goal of the indicator domains selection, it...
is important that education and labor market spheres, though appearing within the first third of the list, do not lead the ranking.

Based on the recommendations collected above we proposed two main YOUMIG priority areas for the collection of indicators. These are ‘Population and society’ and ‘Economy, living conditions and the environment’. The sub-dimensions included in each of the two areas are summarized in Table 3. The change in the attitudes and values among Millennials should be reflected in the spheres receiving special attention from policymakers. Thus, the proposed dimensions and sub-dimensions of the indicators mirrored the potential policy areas of local and national significance identified in the Conceptual Framework, such as ‘Society and demography’, ‘Labor market and economy’, ‘Education and research’, ‘Infrastructure, planning, and regional development’, and ‘Health and care’.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population and society</th>
<th>Economy, living conditions, environment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demography and population:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Economic development:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Characteristics of population</td>
<td>• Macroeconomic performance</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Historical involvement in migratory process</td>
<td>• Trade and external financing</td>
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<td>• Population reproduction</td>
<td>• Sustainable public finances</td>
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<td><strong>Health:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income and living conditions:</strong></td>
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<td>• Health status</td>
<td>• Economic activity and inactivity</td>
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<td>• Health risks</td>
<td>• Flexibility</td>
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<td>• Precariousness</td>
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<td>• Entrepreneurship</td>
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<td><strong>Education:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Urban and regional development:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Accessibility</td>
<td>• Information and communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Quality</td>
<td>• Cultural, sports, and health facilities</td>
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<td>• Housing market</td>
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<td>• Health threats</td>
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<td>• Safety</td>
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<td><strong>Social development and social capital</strong></td>
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<td>• Social cohesion, tolerance, trust</td>
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<td>• Integration, incorporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Spatial segregation</td>
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<td>• Civil society</td>
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Source: YOUMIG Deliverable D4.1.3.
Development in the policy spheres can be described by a set of objective indicators, e.g. macroeconomic performance by the GDP, and urban development by availability of medical services. However, personal characteristics and perceptions have been playing an increasingly important role in undertaking a migration decision. Hence, we included a block of individual perceptions, or subjective indicators, under the ‘Social development and social capital’ dimension of the ‘Population and society’ priority area.

At the end of this preparatory stage, a list of 214 indicators – with a variety of possible definitions and disaggregation variable proposals – was composed (see Deliverable D4.1.3.).

3.3. Selection of core indicators, specification, definitions

Relevance of each of the 214 indicators (and their variations) to one (or several) of the three main migratory phenomena – Immigration, Emigration and Return migration – was indicated. Together with stakeholders, we followed a step-by-step design in selecting the indicators that are most relevant to the country and sub-national context the decision makers from partner municipalities operate in.

**Step 1.** At first, experts from the participating statistical and research institutions, and representatives of the partner-municipalities, followed several rounds of discussion both via email and in person during the Partner Meeting in Belgrade (June 2017) to assess the degree of the relevance of each indicator to the national and sub-national-level context of the partner countries and municipalities. Based on the partners’ feedback, each of the 214 indicators was classified as “not relevant”, “complementary”, “important”, or “very important”. By leaving the “not relevant” indicators out of consideration, the original broad list was reduced to about a 120 indicators-long list that represents the spheres considered most relevant from the partners’ perspective. The expert workshops, and the Local Status Quo Analyses based on biographical-narrative interviews and focus groups with related stakeholders in seven participating municipalities represented an important source of information on the most urgent life and policy dimensions to address at the local level (see YOUMIG Local Status Quo Analyses and YOUMIG Working Paper No.2).

The content of the indicators was also discussed: several new indicators and several modifications of indicator definitions were suggested by experts from statistical bureaus and research institutes. The desired geographical level of data collection (national, sub-national) and the desirable disaggregation categories (e.g. by age groups) complement the relevance of indicator evaluation. All experts suggested introducing the gender and native/non-native
dimensions in the desirable disaggregation of indicators (when sensible), in order
to assess potential discrimination practices during the transition of youth from
education to work, and difficulties of incorporation of immigrants in a society. YOUMIG experts also recommended the introduction of a number of relative indicators, e.g., enabling comparison between youth and the whole population.

**Step 2.** In the second step, the shorter list of roughly 120 indicators was assessed by partners regarding their availability, separately at national and sub-national levels (see YOUMIG Deliverable D4.1.1.). The following classification of indicators was introduced:

- The indicator is available;
- A proxy of indicator is available, not exactly the indicator requested;
- The indicator might be available via statistical services;
- The indicator is not available (n.a.) or not reported.

As part of this step, a preliminary assessment of potential data collection methods was carried out. (For more details see YOUMIG Deliverable D4.2.4.)

**Step 3.** In the third step, partners assessed the shortened (120 indicators) list of indicators – already classified as “available” or “unavailable/maybe available” – from the point of view of the local needs and most pressing challenges. During this activity, partners focused, first of all, on the unavailable indicators to assess whether any of them would be (a) important to collect in the local context, and (b) methodologically possible/feasible to collect. The national level indicators were assessed by the national statistical office/research institutions. The subnational level indicators were assessed by the local project managers, after consulting (a) the local thematic expert, (b) other relevant departments at the municipality, (c) the statistical office/research institute. The result of this activity, Deliverable D4.1.2., illustrates (1) an evaluation of the importance of currently unavailable indicators, (2) an assessment of the methodological difficulty of collection of the currently unavailable indicators.\(^\text{12}\)

**Step 4.** In the fourth step, via email and in person during the Regensburg Partner Meeting (November 2017), partners discussed which of the indicators constitute the most relevant 15–20 indicators, the so-called YOUMIG core indicators, to be collected/developed across all the YOUMIG partner countries. Both the relevance (rational for collecting) and economic rationale (data collection costs) were taken into consideration at this step. The indicator specifications were refined by partners from statistical offices. As a result, 16 Core indicators were selected. On the availability/priority and for an interpretation of Core indicators in the theoretical framework proposed in this project, see Table 4.

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\(^{12}\) Partners were asked to indicate a maximum of 20 indicators of “high importance” per national and 20 “high importance” per subnational levels.
### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demography and population: Population policy, family policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicator availability/priority</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Population by sex, age, urban/rural, CoC, CoB</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Out-migration, internal/international</strong></td>
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### Demography and population: Population policy, family policy

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOP5 sending countries</strong></td>
<td>Knowledge on the origin and size of the largest immigrant communities and diasporas of foreign citizens in a municipality/region/country – based on the number of arrivals per year or number of residents from a given sending country – is indispensable for decision makers while preparing for policy measures aiming at strengthening social cohesion and enhancing the social and labor market integration of immigrants. The change of the most important diasporas in time (whether a diaspora is getting larger or smaller) anticipates which immigrant groups should be necessarily taken into account in a future local development strategy and how important the relations with sending countries will be at the policy level in order to enhance the potential benefits of the strengthening transnational economic and social ties.</td>
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| Number of returnees registered, sex, education level | Return migration, and especially return migration of the skilled and highly educated is seen as one of the most beneficial forms of migration. It is usually interpreted as a triple win solution where both sending and destination countries, as well as the migrants themselves profit from the experience: 1) the migrants had an opportunity to earn higher wages than would have been possible in their origin countries; 2) destination countries in need of migrant labor can benefit from the immigration of foreign workers without the costs of integration policies; 3) origin countries might benefit from receiving remittances, while return migration reduces the costs of losing population. Returners might also bring home financial, human and social capital that can be used in a productive way in origin countries. When outmigration and return migration of a person occur repeatedly, we speak about re-migration, circular migration, etc; in the case of skilled workers ‘brain circulation’ is also often mentioned. This circularity of migrant workers is commonly thought to be the most beneficial and desirable form of migration. |

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### Education: Education and science policy

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<tr>
<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Completed education of persons aged 15-34 by education levels, sex, age groups, native/foreign (CoC)</strong></td>
<td>The educational attainment of the population is relevant in countries characterized by immigration, emigration and return migration as well. People with higher education are more productive at work, their earning potential, life expectancy and general health tend to be better and their life satisfaction is also higher than that of the less skilled. Thus, while improving the educational attainment of the population is clearly an issue for education policies, beyond its economic and labor-related outcomes it affects also the national health system as well as the individual and psycho-social characteristics. Educational attainment clearly affects economic growth positively. People with higher levels of educational attainment are more productive and more creative, thus contributing to (local) development. Further, they earn and consume more, further enhancing the economy. They even pay more taxes and because it is less likely that they are unemployed, they use the social welfare system less. Their health and well-being is also higher, that is they less frequently use the healthcare system. In general, improving the educational attainment of the population – including natives and foreigners – is generally desirable.</td>
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### Data – Indicator development in YOUMIG

#### Education: Education and science policy

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Student outbound mobility ratio at tertiary level, by sex</strong></td>
<td>Student migration is a common form of moving abroad among young people, thus it is relevant for the whole Danube region, in countries characterized by immigration, emigration or return migration as well. Temporal stays abroad with the aim of studying (e.g. 1-2 semesters, or full educational programs) are beneficial for sending communities, however students might decide to stay in destinations and use their newly obtained skills and knowledge there instead of returning home. Students might decide to study abroad with the expectations of learning new languages, profiting from better educational opportunities and better job offers, creating international social networks that might be useful for professional life or others. Having studied abroad is usually highly valued in hometowns. However, convincing well-educated young professionals to return to their sending communities is often not an easy task, when most of the newly obtained knowledge can be better used in destinations that generally offer higher wages, higher living standards and jobs better suited to the aspirations of young professionals.</td>
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#### Social development and Social capital: Diversity management

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective well-being in the population</strong></td>
<td>A high level of the SWB indicator suggests that life and living conditions are favourably perceived by individuals. A growth of the indicator not only signalises an amelioration of the individual situation, but also an improvement of the socio-economic and political environment, e.g., high level of interpersonal trust in a society, high living standards and the others. Modifications of the survey question allows for an assessment of the satisfaction (and thus, opinion of individuals) on specific life domains and issues, e.g., satisfaction with local services. The SWB indicators at national levels, the EU-27(or 15), can be used as a SWB benchmark in a municipality. The SWB can be evaluated for different subgroups of a population. Often, life satisfaction of women is on average lower than that of men; the age-life satisfaction relation is most often U-shaped; nationals of post-communist states are on average less satisfied with life than populations of Western European countries. Immigrants are often less satisfied with life than the local populations - especially at the first stage after the arrival - due to difficulties with integration, working in occupations that require lower skills than migrants possess, loneliness, and so on. Thus, when drawing conclusions on the differences in SWB between locals and immigrants, it is recommended to disaggregate data for immigrants by the length of stay.</td>
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Social development and Social capital: Diversity management

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tolerance towards foreigners (foreign workers)</td>
<td>Low levels of trust towards migrants as a whole, or towards particular ethnic groups, not only negatively impacts the success of integration of the immigrant group, but also worsens the chances of second-generation migrants (children of immigrants) in such spheres as education and the labor market; discrimination can be based on the visible characteristics such as the differences in the appearance and/or names. One of the possible consequences of discrimination is an outflow in immigrants from their host country, potentially associated with the loss of human capital, labor force, lower income tax collection and similar negative consequences. High levels of trust towards migrants signalise the readiness of a society to support integration of migrants at the local level, active introduction of migrants to the local community, as well as the popular support towards the national projects and directives promoting the integration.</td>
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Intentions to migrate within next 5 years, intended destination, duration of absence

Not all intentions to migrate will be realised, however, an increasing share of the youth that is planning to migrate can signalise that the social, economic and sometimes political conditions in the country of origin do not match the ambitions of the youth, e.g., unavailability of jobs, low wages, low satisfaction with local educational programs. To better understand which population subgroups are more likely to emigrate, additional information is needed. Those who reported that they undertake active measures, such as looking for a job abroad, and make specific plans are more likely to emigrate than those who just hypothetically consider this option. Intended temporary migration (i.e. planning short term migration) raises such questions as reintegration of returnees, educational diploma recognition, increasing the number of transnational families, and (in case of return at later stages of life) pension system sustainability. Disaggregation by educational level helps to assess the risk of brain drain and lost innovations; with a supplement of information on the qualifications demanded by the labor market, one may draw conclusions on: (dis)balancing effect of potential migration on the skill mismatch and unemployment in the labor market; adequacy of the remuneration (income) for specialists in highly demanded professions; lack of possibilities for the youth with specific qualifications, and so on.

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Economy, living conditions, and environment

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td>Regional product (Regional GDP) per capita</td>
<td>Countries with higher GDP per capita on average experience higher rates of net migration per 1,000 population, namely the difference between the incoming and leaving flows of migrants is positive, and the rate of this difference to the population numbers is higher in countries with a higher GDP. The GDP figures, however, should be interpreted in comparison to those of the neighboring, or other reference, countries. A country with a relatively higher GDP per capita, and a high GDP growth rate, is likely being perceived as a country with a strong economy and good economic prospects, and thus to be a magnet for immigrants. The indicator assumes “an equal division” of the GDP figures in the population; inequality of the income and wealth distribution across population groups is not accounted for. The high figures of GDP do not always coincide with high levels of subjectively perceived living standards; the indicators of SWB and trust should supplement the analysis.</td>
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## 3. Data – Indicator development in YOU Mig

### Economy, living conditions, and environment

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Business demography: number of active enterprises, by size, ownership (local/foreign)</strong></td>
<td>The indicators of business demography, in analogy to the human demographic processes, reflect the total number of active enterprises in the business economy, their birth rates and death rates; in other words, it describes how big the population of firms is, what share of the firms are closed and what share is created every year. The information on the number of employees, type of legal organisation, and industry, is collected. The figures help to analyse the propensity to start a new business and the contribution of newly-opened firms to the creation of jobs. The disaggregation by industry helps to assess which sectors of economy are growing or contracting, and where the labor force with specific skills will be soon requested or redundant. Information on the size and the nationality of the owner can be used to address the discussion on ethnic entrepreneurship; in some cases entrepreneurship becomes the major way of labor market integration for migrants and thus such analysis should be amended by a discussion on the discrimination of immigrants, educational qualifications recognition, and measures of the promotion of local language proficiency.</td>
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### Income and living conditions

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<tr>
<td><strong>Disposable household income per capita</strong></td>
<td>The indicator figures should be discussed in relation to a measure of living standards in the society/municipality. On the lower side, the disposable income can be compared to the national/regional poverty thresholds to evaluate if the household belongs to a poor population strata. Poverty is one of the conditions that prevent individuals from living a healthy and fulfilling life, and being socially included in a society. In the recession conditions, women and youth (including children), and populations with a migratory background, are likely to be more vulnerable to poverty. Poverty may also stimulate household indebtedness, which was shown to have a positive impact on household consumption in the short run, but in the case of long-term debt, accumulation led to negative consequences for the economy and GDP growth. The lower the disposable household income in the population, e.g., in comparison to the income of neighboring countries, the higher the chance of emigration (or temporary out-migration) as a coping mechanism, with widespread divided families and children left behind.</td>
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**Labor market**

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<th>Indicator availability/priority</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Population by activity status, by sex, 5 year age intervals, national/foreign</strong></td>
<td>The economically inactive population includes school children, students, pensioners, and housewives or husbands, provided that they are not working at all and not available or looking for work either; some of these may be of working-age. In case of the youth, the NEET part of the population, ‘young people neither in employment, education or training’, should receive a special attention due to the productivity and human capital losses it creates. The part of the economically active population can serve as an approximation of the labor supply in a country/region/municipality. This is the labor force and also the part of the population that is involved in the production and distribution of goods and services or searches for employment and is ready to start working. Disaggregation by the country of citizenship – and additionally by sex – allows for a comparison of the labor market behavior of the native and foreign population, e.g., whether native and foreign women have the same chances and desire to work in the labor market. A growing share of the inactive segment of the working age population might indicate a shrinking labor force, and thus slower economic development and productivity losses, leading to a higher burden on the social services instead of the income tax revenue collection. Separate estimation for the age group can help to identify the age groups with low activity shares, and thus the groups disproportionately hit by the labor market segmentation. In the case that the youth is the disadvantaged group, measures stimulating the acquisition of the skills demanded by the labor market and facilitation of the study-to-work transitions should be undertaken.</td>
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**Urban and regional development**

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<tr>
<td><strong>Work force in health care/Shortage of work in healthcare</strong></td>
<td>On one side, the indicators of the healthcare provision characterise the urban development and attractiveness, as they directly impact the quality of life at the local level (a pull factor that attracts migrants, and a factor that stimulates the native population to stay). On another side, the gaps in the healthcare provision and the accompanying migration schemes stimulating immigration of healthcare and medical professionals serve as a mighty pull factor directing the relevant migration flows into more economically stable and rich countries of the region. For the sending countries, the gaps in the relevant segments of the labor market appear, and the attractiveness of the areas is further confirmed. An increasing number of doctors per 1,000 of inhabitants is associated with an increasing quality of life in a municipality/region and a higher healthcare coverage for the population.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<th>BG</th>
<th>HU</th>
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<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>MED</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Note: AV – available, LOW – low necessity, MED– medium necessity, HIGH – high necessity of the indicator collection.*
3. Data – Indicator development in YOUMIG

3.4. Development of indicators and data sources

The partner institutions within each participating country collected information regarding the 16 ‘Core indicators’. Given the differences in the data availability, up to 5 ‘Extra’ indicators were added to the national indicator lists; this measure aimed at balancing the amount of work across partner countries, and at enabling the municipality partners to add the “non-core” indicators related to the Pilot Projects undertaken pro loco.

First, all partners filled in the so-called Feasibility reports, including the following information for each indicator:

– General information on the indicator;
– Guidelines for description of the data sources (List of data sources, description of data sources);
– Guidelines for description of methodology for indicator development;
– Summary for methodological strategy;
– Practical implementation of chosen methodology.

Based on the guidelines developed in the Feasibility reports, the data collection was undertaken as follows:

(1) collection of indicators from available official statistics, administrative sources or representative surveys that were identified in the Feasibility reports, was either performed from the open online sources, or upon request from the national statistical or administrative bodies.

(2) collection of unavailable indicators was performed with help of a small-scale survey undertaken in six participating municipalities.

As regards data sources of type (1), during the indicator development we distinguished between categories of:

a) indicators readily available in the databases of national statistical bureaus and can be accessed in public, online databases free of charge or upon request,

b) indicators readily available in online databases of the UN, Eurostat, or other organizations (generally at levels not lower than NUTS 2),

c) indicators that are not readily available and require calculations and/or statistical estimation based on the information available in the databases of national statistical bureaus or administrative bodies.

For assuring the comparability of results obtained through small-scale surveys described in (2), the activity leader, IOS, and YOUMIG Lead Partner, HCSO, proposed to use a common questionnaire across municipalities with blocks of relevant themes such as migration experiences, migration aspirations, satisfaction, trust, perceptions on local development and socio-demographic
characteristics, with options to add municipality-specific questions to cover the collection of ‘extra indicators’ or other local data needs (see the common questionnaire and a summary of YOUMIG survey methodologies in the Annex and see Output O4.3. for further details of data production).

3.5. Evaluation

In parallel with the indicator development tasks carried out by YOUMIG partner statistical and research institutes, the work package leader (IOS) and YOUMIG’s Lead Partner (HCSO) discussed the possibilities of evaluating the set of new or improved indicators on several occasions. On these occasions the IOS and the HCSO expressed concerns about the difficulties of creating a common framework for evaluating the varying results of indicator development carried out in diverse statistical systems, in diverse national contexts, and using very different data sources. As was explained in previous sections of this document, the diverse data sources used for indicator development include:

a) a primary data source, that is the YOUMIG small-scale survey (based on a common questionnaire, but using country-specific sample sizes and sampling methods); and

b) already existing secondary sources that, again, show a high level of diversity from the administrative data sources owned and maintained by national authorities, through international databases of Eurostat or the World Bank, to available national and international surveys that in many cases were created for purposes other than those of the YOUMIG indicators.

At the centre of our discussions was the idea that an evaluation framework for assessing YOUMIG indicators should take the perspective of users, that is, municipal level stakeholders and policymakers. From this perspective – due to the fact that municipalities generally use evidence created by others – the YOUMIG survey might be seen also as a secondary source. Since for the assessment of secondary sources almost all national statistical authorities have developed their own quality evaluation systems, YOUMIG should make use of such systems. Several international projects and statistical networks were created with the aim of collecting good practices, standardizing national quality evaluation frameworks and proposing recommendations for the international statistical community. Among them, we found the work of the Statistical Network Responsible for Developing Methodologies for an Integrated Use of Administrative Data in the Statistical Process (SN-MIAD)\(^\text{13}\) especially valuable.

Through synthesizing the quality evaluation systems for assessing secondary data sources developed by several countries and several international projects, the SN-MIAD network proposed its own recommendations.

The YOUMIG work package leader, IOS, and the YOUMIG LP, HCSO, agreed to use the “six usual dimensions of quality”, proposed by SN-MIAD, once adapted to the context of YOUMIG indicator development. For this purpose, the quality dimensions were redefined as follows:

- **Relevance**: An assessment of the relevance of a given indicator in the context of youth migration and local development (“why are we measuring this?”)
- **Accuracy**: An assessment of whether our measurements are correct (“are we measuring what we wanted to measure?”)
- **Timeliness**: An assessment of the time lag between producing data and using data (“can we produce data when users need it?”)
- **Accessibility**: An assessment of how difficult it is to access data for data users (“how to access data?”)
- **Interpretability**: An assessment of how to interpret data in the context of youth migration and local development (“what does the data mean?”)
- **Coherence**: An assessment of whether data can be compared with other national or international sources (“is the data comparable?”).

In order to make it possible to also add information or comments that are outside these six quality dimensions, a seventh aspect was added: “Further critical comments” (on the evaluation of YOUMIG indicators see Output O4.3.).
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration in the Danube region

4.1. Descriptive analyses

In this section we provide a brief outline of some of the insights we have gleaned from the data collected within the YOUMIG Project. Our main focus will be on the data gathered from the small-scale surveys conducted in six partner municipalities; where possible we complement and expand on the descriptive analysis using data collected from official sources in the Core Dataset (see Output O4.2 for more details).

For each municipality, we start with a short introduction to the context, comprising brief information on the municipality and on recent migration flows and their composition. We then summarize the details of the data sampling and collection methodologies, socio-demographic characteristics of the sample, satisfaction with life, municipality development, perceptions of future prospects, migration experience, and migration intentions.

4.1.1. Bulgaria – Burgas

Context
Bulgaria belongs to the labor frontier (or semi-periphery), and as such is characterized by out-migration and population decline. In contrast, the

Due to the absence of a municipal partner in Germany, no survey data was collected there. The dataset collected in Graz, Austria had only foreign students as a target group; for the insights based on the data collected, please contact the University of Vienna.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

population of Burgas has stagnated and has even slightly increased in the last decade. The province of Burgas is the largest, by area, of Bulgaria's 28 provinces, and accounts for more than 411,000 inhabitants. The city of Burgas, with its over 200,000 inhabitants, is the fourth largest city in Bulgaria and home to one of the biggest oil refineries in Southeast Europe. Due to its role as one of the main regional poles in Southeastern Bulgaria, between 2011 and 2017, internal migration from and to Burgas was more typical than international migration. During the whole period, a total of 16,731 persons immigrated from and 17,400 persons emigrated to other parts of the country. In the same years, a total of only 5,529 persons arrived in Burgas from abroad (of which 882 were return migrants) and 4,886 emigrated to another country. As can be seen in Figure 3, the number of international immigrants arriving in Burgas each year increased more than tenfold between 2011 and 2017. In parallel, the annual emigration flows peaked in 2014 when 1,272 persons moved abroad, then fell to less than 800 persons in 2016 and 2017. During the same period, however, despite the significant increase, the number of returners remained relatively low.¹⁵

Figures

Flows of international immigration, emigration and return migration in Burgas, 2011–2017 (number of persons)

¹⁵ Data from the National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.
International migration to and from Bulgaria show quite different patterns (see Figure 4). While emigration flows have been steadily growing and more than tripled between 2011 and 2017, immigration trends (including return migration) were not as clear. During this period, the size of immigration flows rate fluctuated but always remained below the level of out-migration.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Figure 4}

\textbf{Flows of international immigration, emigration and return migration in Bulgaria, 2011–2017 (number of persons)}

![Bar chart showing flows of international immigration, emigration and return migration in Bulgaria, 2011–2017](image)

Among the top sending countries by citizenship in Burgas – based on stock data – are Russia (1,852 persons), Ukraine (453 persons), and Syria (182 persons), while in Bulgaria as a whole, these are Russia (22,141 persons), Turkey (12,817 persons), and Syria (12,774 persons).\textsuperscript{17}

Figure 5 shows the education completed by Bulgarian and foreign citizens aged 15-34, as of 2011, in Burgas and in Bulgaria as a whole.\textsuperscript{18} While in Burgas, 4 percent of national citizens and 2 percent of foreigners only attended

\textsuperscript{16} Data from the National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.

\textsuperscript{17} Stock of foreign citizens 2017, December 31, National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.

\textsuperscript{18} Data from 2011 Census, Bulgaria.
primary education or less, the corresponding shares at the national level were 8 percent and 2 percent. Further, 69 percent of Bulgarian and 63 percent of foreign citizens in Burgas completed secondary education, while the figures for Bulgaria as a whole were 73 percent and 72 percent, respectively. As regards the shares of the tertiary educated, these were 26 percent of the Bulgarian and 34 percent of the foreign population at the municipal level, while the respective figures at the national level were only 20 percent and 26 percent.

Figure 5

Educational attainment of Bulgarian citizens and foreign citizens, aged 15–34, in Burgas and Bulgaria, in 2011

Regarding the economic activity status of the adult-age population, the share accounted for by the economically active varied, but on average it increased between 2010 and 2017 both in the NUTS 3 level region of Burgas and at the national level (see Figure 6). However, while between 2010 and 2012 the shares were higher in Bulgaria as a whole than at the NUTS 3 level, from 2013 the share accounted for by the economically active population at the regional level exceeded the corresponding share at the national level.

As regards the economic development of Burgas and Bulgaria as a whole, the number of active enterprises increased by approximately 10 percent, both at the municipal and the national level. Further, while GDP per capita in the

\[^{19}\text{Data from the Labor Force Survey, National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.}\]
NUTS 3 level region of Burgas remained slightly lower than at the country level, it increased at both levels between 2010 and 2017 by 38 percent at the NUTS 3 level and 42 percent at the national level (see Figure 7).20

**Figure 6**

Share of economically active adult-age population at NUTS 3 level (Burgas) and at national level, 2010–2017

![Graph showing the share of economically active adult-age population at NUTS 3 level (Burgas) and at national level, 2010–2017.](image)

**Figure 7**

GDP per capita in the NUTS 3 level region of Burgas and in Bulgaria as a whole, 2010–2017 (PPP, international USD)

![Graph showing GDP per capita in the NUTS 3 level region of Burgas and in Bulgaria as a whole, 2010–2017.](image)

Data from the Business Register, National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.

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20 Data from the Business Register, National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.
Another question, which is crucial for the well-being of Bulgarian households, is how economic growth in terms of GDP per capita manifests itself at the household level in the form of income. There is no straightforward answer to this question. While annual disposable household income per capita increased during this period (with varying interannual values) by approximately 5 percent at the NUTS 3 and 38 percent at the national level\(^{21}\), weight as a share of national level GDP per capita decreased between 2010 and 2017 (see Figure 8). This decline is more striking in the NUTS 3 level region of Burgas, where disposable incomes were equal to 55 percent of GDP per capita in 2010 and to just 40 percent in 2017. At the national level, these shares were 47 percent and 45 percent, respectively. According to our interpretation of the data, this means that households, first and foremost in Burgas, but also in Bulgaria as a whole might not perceive the effects of economic development on their lives as positively as data on GDP per capita would suggest.

Finally, one positive aspect of the population’s well-being is that the number of inhabitants per physician decreased both in the municipality of Burgas (from 248 persons to 204) and in Bulgaria as a whole (from 268 persons to 234).

\(\text{Figure 8}\)

Disposable household income per capita at the NUTS 3 and the national level, as a share of national level GDP per capita, 2010–2017

\(^{21}\) Data from EU-SILC, National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria.
A. Small-scale survey: general details
The small-scale survey was undertaken in Burgas in October/November 2018 with a target population of individuals aged 15-34. A sample of 200 respondents was selected by the National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria to represent the overall population of Burgas municipality. The interviewers – recruited by TSINO TIM-8 Ltd., consulting company – used a face-to-face paper-assisted interview method.

Approximately half of the interviewees selected were students in high schools and universities, and a further half were young people who had graduated and were either working or looking for a job. The students were approached via institutional channels – administration departments in schools, colleges, and universities, who kindly agreed to cooperate for the purpose of this study. A network of youth workers was used to access the young people who had already graduated; the members of the network volunteered to identify and invite young people to participate in the survey, and once they had consented, to then put them in touch with the interviewers. Thanks to the personalized way of contacting the potential interviewees, only a small portion – less than 10 percent – declined to fill out the questionnaire. The interviewers provided the necessary support to ensure that everybody who agreed to participate was able to complete the questionnaire properly.

In terms of the territory covered, the survey was only conducted in the city of Burgas and does not cover the villages that belong to the municipality. However, some of the young people from the neighboring villages were included in the sample as they studied in the schools and colleges located in the city, and after graduation they also tend to stay and work there. The survey therefore only has limited representativeness. No sample weight was provided to ensure the representativeness of the sample.

B. Small-scale survey: socio-demographic characteristics of the sample
The dataset collected in Burgas included 198 observations, 85 male and 113 female respondents aged 15-34 (birth years 1984-2003). 189 respondents reported to be Bulgarian, seven had Russian citizenship, and two had citizenship from another country. The majority of respondents (152) were born in Burgas, and the second largest group (17) was born in Pomorie, a town 20 kilometers away from Burgas.

The average age of the respondents in the sample was 24.5 years. However, the age distribution was bimodal due to the respondent selection procedure, namely, half of the respondents being students and the other half already working after completing their studies. In fact, the biggest age groups in the sample were the 17-year-olds (12.9 percent of respondents) and the 30-year-olds (8.8 percent).
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Figure 9

Age and household size distribution of respondents in Burgas

(a) Age distribution

(b) Household size distribution

An average family consisted of three to four people (28.1 percent and 33.9 percent of the sample, respectively), one-person households only accounted for 6.7 percent of the sample, and two-person households for 15.1 percent. In 57.3 percent of cases, respondents lived in the same household as their parents, and in 25.8 percent of cases, respondents reported that they had children.

Seventy-eight respondents (of 198) reported that they were students at the moment of the survey, and 88 were enrolled in an educational program. The survey includes the self-reported labor market status of the respondents. The youngest and the largest group were students (average age 19; 78 people, 40 percent); the oldest group were the self-employed (average age 29; 23 people, 11.7 percent). Fully 34.5 percent of respondents identified themselves as employed.

Nearly half of the respondents (46.2 percent) had completed the ISCED 3 level of education, which corresponds to upper secondary education. The second biggest group in the sample had completed ISCED educational level 6 to 8, and thus a range of programs from bachelor to doctoral studies. The three largest groups by field of completed degree were: business, administration and law (19.4 percent), engineering, manufacturing and construction (18.5 percent), and information and communications technology (13.6 percent).
In order to evaluate one of the extra indicators relevant to the migration context – ‘average/median cost of rent, in euro and as a share of average/median household income’, an additional question was included in the Burgas small-scale survey: “What is the monthly rent you pay for the dwelling where you live?”. This question can, *inter alia*, provide a benchmark for evaluating the local standard of living (basic cost of living).

The respondents were also asked to evaluate their personal and household income after taxes. The individual incomes ranged from BGN 200 to BGN 3,535, with 812.9 being the mean individual income in the sample. Similarly, the household income ranged from BGN 350 to BGN 5,000 (mean of BGN 1,680.6). An evaluation of per capita income from the reported household income ranged from BGN 116.67 to BGN 1,767.5 (mean of BGN 556.85).
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Information on the rents paid by the households was collected separately.\textsuperscript{22} The majority of respondents (73 percent, or 135 people) lived in their own housing (with no mortgage, or with the mortgage already paid off). The second largest group (20.5 percent, or 38 people) comprised people renting an entire property. The remaining respondents were either paying a mortgage (3.8 percent) or living in a property for free (2.7 percent). The “middle half” of the observations fell in the range from BGN 300 to BGN 420; with a median of BGN 350 and a mean of BGN 366.

![Box plot of rents paid by respondents in Burgas, (BGN)](image)

*Figure 11*

Rents paid by respondents in Burgas, (BGN)

Note: The box plot illustrates the minimum, first quartile, median, third quartile, and the maximum of the variable.

The price-to-income ratio – current (monthly) rent of the occupied dwelling relative to the median household disposal income – was estimated at 21 percent. This figure is significantly higher than the price-to-income ratio estimated at the national level over the previous six years. Although this increased during this period, it always remained below 20 percent.

The household disposable income information was also used to evaluate the debt-to-income ratio.\textsuperscript{23} The respondents reported to be spending, on average,

\textsuperscript{22} The price-to-income ratio, indicator 202, was collected for Burgas, Bulgaria and Szeged, Hungary, only.

\textsuperscript{23} Debt-to-income ratio, indicator 129, was collected for Burgas, Bulgaria and Szeged, Hungary.
BGN 366 per month on mortgage repayments. Apart from this category, BGN 813 went on the other debt repayments (e.g., mortgage on another property, consumer credit, student loan). With an average self-reported household income – after deductions – of BGN 1,681, the average reported monthly debt payment reached up to 70 percent of the average income.

Figure 12

Monthly rents as a share of median household disposable income per capita in Bulgaria

C. Small-scale survey: satisfaction with life and the living environment

There is a very limited amount of information available on the level of life satisfaction in Bulgaria. The European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) provides us with the national level of life satisfaction for the Bulgarian population in 2013; the average level is 4.8 on a scale of 0 to 10 and thus roughly equal to the neutrality level.

The figures for Burgas from the end of 2018, i.e., 5 years later, demonstrate a more optimistic perspective. In fact, about two-thirds of respondents reported a higher than neutral level of life satisfaction in general. On average, life satisfaction was 6.34. Three life dimensions were questioned separately. These were: financial satisfaction, quality of accommodation, and personal relationships. All three life dimensions received average satisfaction scores that were higher than neutral, financial satisfaction being the worst (6.15), and personal relationships receiving the highest average score (7.38). Similarly, 58.1 percent of respondents were at least slightly positive about their financial
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

situation, while 79.3 percent were at least somewhat positive about their personal relationships.

Figure 13

Satisfaction scores of respondents in Burgas and share of satisfied
(satisfaction score of at least 6)

(a) Satisfaction scores (198 respondents)  (b) Share of satisfied (satisfaction score of at least 6)

Life satisfaction, if examined for separate population groups, confirms findings from the previous literature, such as women being, on average, more satisfied with life than men, there not being a linear relationship between age and the satisfaction scores, and lower life satisfaction of families with children. In our case, we can also see that, on average, more satisfied individuals have past migratory experience. This finding mirrors the idea of emigrants being, on average, more satisfied in comparison with the total population. This higher life satisfaction of returnees also indirectly confirms a positive view of migration episodes (migration followed a planned pattern, migration as a positive experience).
As well as individual satisfaction with different dimensions of personal life, the survey also covered satisfaction with the living environment. For Burgas, satisfaction with the living environment was 6.32. Further, 65 percent of respondents believed that life has improved in recent years (score higher than 5). As the status quo analysis undertaken in the municipality showed, Burgas is an attractive place to live due to its natural attributes, such as the mild climate, warm and friendly population, and flourishing infrastructure and cultural life. However, disorganized administration, corruption, lack of economic opportunities, and poor social welfare were mentioned as factors that reduce its attractiveness.

We should also note the differences in satisfaction with the local environment among individuals with different labor market statuses and professional paths. Students were the most satisfied with their living environment (score of 7.5), followed by the self-employed (score of 6), the employed (5.5), and finally unemployed people who are looking for a job (4.2). Among the three most frequently mentioned fields of study, the most satisfied with the local
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

environment were those who studied business, administration, and law (score of 7.8), followed by those who studied information and communications technology (6.8), then the engineers (score of 5.8, similar to that of individuals with a diploma in social services). The latter, together with the estimated over-qualification rate\textsuperscript{24} of 36.0 percent – indicating a share of high-skilled persons (with a completed tertiary education level, ISCED 5-8) employed in occupations that do not require tertiary education (ISCO 2008 major groups 4 to 9 – suggests a very limited number of professional opportunities for the respective occupations. The over-qualification rate, as estimated for 2018 for Burgas, was significantly higher than the Eurostat estimates for the province under examination and much higher in comparison to the national figures.

Figure 15

\textbf{Over-qualification rates in the NUTS 3 region of Burgas and in Bulgaria as a whole}

![](chart.png)

It is unclear which direction the respondents feel the changes are going in the future. When asked about their perceptions of the future, respondents might have been relying on different factors/domains when evaluating the future. Thus, 27 percent believed that the situation would deteriorate in the future (when asked if things in Burgas were moving in a negative direction); and 27 percent believe that the situation will improve. The correlation between the two answers is $-0.21$.

\textsuperscript{24} Over-qualification rate, indicator 159, was only collected for Burgas, Bulgaria.
Figure 16

Satisfaction with living environment and development of quality of life of respondents in Burgas

(a) Satisfaction with living environment

(b) Life has improved over recent years

Figure 17

Perceptions of respondents in Burgas of the municipality’s future development

(a) Things moving in a negative direction

(b) Things moving in a positive direction
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Students are the most optimistic group with regard to the future development of Burgas (the lowest average score was 2.9 in reference to “moving in a negative direction”, the highest average score was 4.5 in reference to “moving in a positive direction”. Surprisingly, the self-employed had the biggest concerns when evaluating whether the city is “moving in a negative direction” (5.3).

D. Small-scale survey: migration experience and migration intentions

Of nearly 200 respondents, only 23 (11.6 percent) reported having lived outside Bulgaria continuously for at least one year. The destination countries Great Britain (7 people), Germany (3), and Spain (3) were mentioned most often.

Interestingly, those who moved to Great Britain and Germany reported the longest (4 and 3.6 years, on average) and most widely dispersed periods of permanence in those countries. Great Britain was cited predominantly as a work destination, and Germany as an education destination. Among the respondents who worked in Great Britain, there was an IT specialist, personal service worker, personal care worker, a protective service worker and a construction worker. All but one respondent considered their experience abroad to be positive, e.g., because of the acquisition of new skills.

Figure 18

Duration of stay abroad by destination country (in years) of respondents in Burgas
Eight reasons for returning were evaluated by respondents, each reason receiving a score from 1 (“Not at all important”) to 5 (“Very important”). The top 3 reasons – with average scores over the neutral level of 3 – were termination of an employment contract or study program (score of 3.5); absence of a social network/friends in the foreign country (score of 3.4), and family reasons (score of 3.28). The average scores, however, should be interpreted with caution due to the low number of observations. Several problems were also reported on return, the biggest being obtaining health insurance and access to healthcare facilities.

**Evaluation of reasons for return to Burgas**

- **Never wanted to stay**: 3.05
- **Hostile environment**: 2.33
- **Housing conditions**: 2.24
- **Family reasons**: 3.28
- **Absence of social network**: 3.40
- **Better opportunities in Bulgaria**: 2.94
- **Economic difficulties**: 2.89
- **Termination of program/contract**: 3.50

*Note: Response scale ranges from one (not important at all) to five (very important)*

All respondents were questioned on their future migration intentions. Specifically, 62.63 percent reported their intention to continue living in Burgas, 15.15 percent intended to move to another municipality, and 22.22 percent expressed their intention to move to another country. Interestingly, 85 percent of those with a degree in the business and law field would like to remain in Burgas. The same applied to 47 percent of the engineers and 71 percent of the IT specialists. These shares, however, should be interpreted with caution as the respective groups are relatively small.

In 2011, there was a battery of questions on migration intentions in the National Census (national sample survey on migration behavior). In 2011, 12.2
percent of Bulgarian respondents reported that it was, at least to some extent, likely that they would go abroad for several months to work or study, 10.1 percent reported that they intended to go abroad for more than a year, and 7.3 percent said they would like to live in another country (or return to their country of origin). When asked about their intention to move to another location in the same country within the next one to three years, the majority (87.1 percent) stated that they had no such plans, 7.6 percent said they would hesitate to do so, and 5.3 percent said they intended to move abroad.

Among the 22.22 percent of people from Burgas who said they would like to move abroad in 2017, the most sought-after migration destinations were Great Britain and Germany. Sixteen (of the 44) respondents envisaged that their move is most likely to happen within the next 12 months; and 12 respondents have already made preparations for this move with work and study in mind, e.g., by collecting information about a country and searching for a job.

**Short summary: Burgas**

Burgas witnessed considerable deindustrialization and economic downturn following the collapse of the former communist state’s centralized economy, and has still not fully recovered. Despite this, the municipality is perceived as one of the best developing cities of Bulgaria today. Contrary to the country as a whole, Burgas’ population increased over the last decades. The boom in tourism and related sectors – construction and services – and the EU accession in 2007, counterbalanced the lasting negative effects of the transition, and resulted in a growing need for labor force encouraging internal and international migration. The migration exchange of Burgas with foreign countries – and return migration – has been on a sharp increase, sending migrants mainly to European countries, and receiving from Russia, Ukraine, and Syria.

Today, while the share of the economically active population in Burgas exceeds the national level, and the number of active enterprises is also growing, the regional GDP per capita at the Burgas province level lags behind the national level. Simultaneously, disposable incomes are growing while their share of the regional GDP is declining.

As YOUmig survey results show, a large proportion of young people in Burgas possess a high education degree, often in business, engineering, or IT. Simultaneously, 36 percent of workers are overqualified for their current employment position. These figures reflect the low satisfaction with the quality of living environment among IT specialists and engineers (similar to the situation in social services).
In general, satisfaction with the financial situation is low, at 6.15 (on a 0 to 10 scale). Up to 21 percent of the median household disposal income is spent on paying rent for a median household. This figure, probably due to Burgas’ role of the main regional pole in Bulgaria, is significantly higher than the national ratio, which has remained below 20 percent for the last six years. This relatively high rent payment affects about 20 percent of young people; the majority – nearly three out of four – live in their own housing and have paid off the mortgage; nearly 40 percent are still paying a mortgage. Housing ownership is not seen as a constraint for migration, although it does have a significant impact on life satisfaction. Moreover, the “stayers” constitute the poorest group, but are more satisfied than those who would like to migrate. Higher life satisfaction is linked to personal relationships; one-quarter of the young people questioned has children.

Recommendations to local policymakers would include facilitating the creation of enterprises that require highly qualified labor, improvement of the city’s attractiveness, especially for digital specialists, and also improvement of social support for families with children.

4.1.2. Hungary – Szeged

Context
Although both Hungary and Szeged, as parts of the Western European semi-core (or restructuring core), show simultaneous patterns of immigration and emigration, the differences in socio-economic development should also be highlighted. The most important distinction is that, contrary to Hungary as a whole, the population of Szeged (the main regional pole of Southeastern Hungary) did not decrease between 2010 and 2017, but rather stagnated. In Szeged, annual international immigration flows increased significantly, from 1,011 persons in 2010 to 1,956 persons in 2014, and then stagnated at around 2,000. Although emigration and return flows increased from 540 and 47 in 2010, to 1,063 and 504 in 2017, respectively, they remained at a low level (see Figure 20). The internal migration balance of Szeged was also clearly positive during the same period: Between 2010 and 2017, a total of 5,736 persons more immigrated to Szeged from other parts of Hungary than left the municipality. During the same period, international immigration flows to Hungary increased from 25,519 to 68,070 persons, while emigration tripled from 13,365 to 39,829, and return migration increased more than eightfold from 2,507 to 20,906 (see Figure 21).

Data from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Demographic Database.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

**Figure 20**

Flows of international immigration, emigration, and return migration in Szeged, 2010–2017 (number of persons)

**Figure 21**

Flows of international immigration, emigration, and return migration in Hungary, 2010–2017 (number of persons)
The top citizenships of foreigners – based on stock data – also vary: While the largest immigrant groups by citizenship\textsuperscript{26} residing in Szeged are German (877 persons), Iranian (295 persons), and Chinese citizens (248), at the national level, the top groups are Romanian (22,747 persons), Chinese (19,905 persons), and German citizens (17,879 persons). However, the results are quite different when, instead of citizenship, we use country of birth categories. In this case, the most important sending countries\textsuperscript{27} in Szeged are Serbia (8,563 persons), Romania (2,780 persons), and Germany (1,223 persons). At the same time, most foreign-born people in Hungary as a whole came from Romania (207,423 persons), Ukraine (76,224 persons), and Serbia (43,823 persons). Differences between data on immigration by country of birth and by citizenship (e.g., 22,747 Romanian citizens versus 207,423 Romanian-born) show that a high number of immigrants acquired Hungarian citizenship before or after immigrating. The fact that many immigrants gained this status by taking up Hungarian citizenship, and that many of them are from neighboring countries, both at the national and local level, suggest that immigration from these countries has an ethnic Hungarian character.\textsuperscript{28} In the case of Szeged, the proximity of the Serbian and Romanian borders play an obvious role in immigration patterns (e.g., almost 20 percent of all Serbian-born immigrants in Hungary reside in this municipality).

As regards the top destinations for Hungarian emigrants,\textsuperscript{29} most emigrants from Szeged live in English-speaking countries such as the UK (2,160 persons, 41.76 percent), the USA (568 persons, 10.98 percent), and Ireland (563 persons, 10.89 percent). In contrast, of all Hungarian emigrants, most live in Germany (83,031 persons, 38.49 percent), in the UK (65,268 persons, 12.88 percent), and in Austria (37,050 persons, 7.23 percent). Such differences might be explained by Szeged’s relatively large distance from Austria (compared to other parts of the Hungary) and consequently, the fact that knowledge of the German language is generally less common in Eastern Hungary than in the country as a whole.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{26} Stock of foreign citizens, January 1, 2018; data from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Demographic Database.

\textsuperscript{27} Stock of foreign-born population January 1, 2018, Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Demographic Database.

\textsuperscript{28} For more information on national Hungarian ethnic minorities in neighboring countries and the option of simplified naturalization processes offered to them, see HCSO, 2017.

\textsuperscript{29} Stock of Hungarian citizens abroad in 2016, based on data from the 2016 Hungarian Microcensus (weighted estimate).

\textsuperscript{30} 7 percent of emigrants from Szeged reside in Germany and less than 5 percent in Austria, based on data from the 2016 Hungarian Microcensus 2016 (weighted estimate).
The populations of Szeged and Hungary as a whole also differ in terms of educational attainment. Figure 22 shows the completed education of Hungarian and foreign citizens aged 15-34, as well as of Hungarian-born return migrants in Szeged and in Hungary.\textsuperscript{31} On average, people in Szeged are higher educated than at the national level: While the share of those with primary education or less is much lower in Szeged, among both Hungarian and foreign citizens, (24 percent and 12 percent compared to 41 percent and 22 percent in Hungary), and to a lesser extent the same also applies to returners (21 percent in Szeged and 27 percent in Hungary), the share of the secondary educated is much higher (50 percent, 71 percent, and 32 percent in Szeged and 40 percent, 45 percent, and 29 percent in Hungary, respectively). As regards the tertiary educated, 26 percent of Hungarian citizens, 16 percent of foreigners, and 47 percent of return migrants in Szeged belong to this group, while the corresponding shares are 19 percent, 33 percent, and 44 percent in Hungary.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{31} Data from the 2016 Hungarian Microcensus (weighted estimate). Please note that no age restriction was applied to returners.

\textsuperscript{32} Data from the 2016 Hungarian Microcensus (weighted estimate).
The fact that more than 60 percent of adult-age foreign citizens in Szeged are economically inactive (see Figure 23 – as opposed to 49 percent in Hungary as a whole – is probably due to the fact that many foreigners come to Szeged in order to study (this might also explain why the share of the tertiary educated is relatively low among foreigners in Szeged). Among Hungarian citizens, 57 percent were economically active both in Szeged and in Hungary.

As regards the economic development of Szeged and of Hungary as a whole, a sharp decrease can be observed in the number of active enterprises at both territorial levels after 2010, followed by a slow recovery from 2013. By 2017, their number had still not reached the 2010 level. Further, although, between 2010 and 2016, GDP per capita increased by 37 percent in the NUTS 2 region of Southeastern Hungary and by 25 percent in Hungary, the economic development of the former lagged behind that of the latter for the whole period: GDP per capita in Southeastern Hungary was only 65 percent of the national-level GDP in 2010 and, reflecting a process of catching up,

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33 Data from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Business Register.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

71 percent in 2016 (see Figure 24). Another question, which is crucial for the well-being of Hungarian households, is how economic growth in terms of GDP per capita manifests itself at the household level in the form of income. There is no straightforward answer to this question. While annual disposable household income per capita (mean as well as median values) increased during this period by approximately 20 percent at both the national and NUTS 2 levels, their weight as a share of national level GDP per capita decreased in all cases (see Figure 25). According to our interpretation of the data, this means that Hungarian households might not perceive the effects of economic growth on their lives as positively as the data on GDP per capita would suggest.

Finally, a further factor that has a negative impact on the well-being of the population is that the number of inhabitants per general practitioner and family paediatrician increased in both Szeged and in Hungary as a whole. The figure for the former is lower than in the latter, however.

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Data from Hungarian Central Statistical Office, National Accounts.

Data from Hungarian Central Statistical Office, EU-SILC (weighted estimate).
A. Small-scale survey: general details

The small-scale survey was undertaken in Szeged among individuals aged 15–34. The sample of 800 individuals was selected based on a random starting point random walk,\textsuperscript{36} using quota sampling (quota based on HCSO urban audit data, 2016). Exact quotas by gender and age group were maintained.

The interviews were collected by the BOSSAWA Trade and Service Limited Liability Company in September 2018. Those households that could not be reached (i.e., nobody answered the door) were ignored. For the households that were successfully contacted, but where the relevant family member(s) were not at home, the interviewer returned up to two more times to the same household. Information on non-responses was not provided.

The representativeness of the dataset was achieved with the random starting point and random walk method, using quota sampling.

\textsuperscript{36} This means that first, an arbitrary location in the city was designated as the starting point. Once the starting point selection had been made, the interviewers travelled to the street and applied the “right hand rule”. In other words, interviewers only went to one side of the street, turned right at the intersections, and continued until the circle was completed. Next, a new starting point was selected and the query was continued.
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During the data imputation phase, staff had the opportunity to red-flag data that seemed 'wrong' to them. In the data file, valid values (and associated labels) were defined and the database was scrutinized in order to identify non-valid data or outliers.

**B. Small-scale survey: socio-demographic characteristics of the sample**

The dataset collected in Szeged includes 801 observations: 396 males (49.4 percent) and 405 females (50.6 percent), with an average age of 25.4 for each gender. The majority, namely 98.61 percent of respondents are of Hungarian citizenship; only 19 persons were born outside of Hungary. Among those born in Hungary, the top 3 municipalities of birth were Szeged (518 people), Makó (26 people; 36 km away), and Budapest (23 people; 175 km away). Half of the respondents born in another municipality moved to Szeged after 2006.

![Figure 26](image)

**Age and household size distribution of respondents in Szeged**

The average age of the respondents in the sample is 25, however, the biggest shares of the sample are individuals aged 33 (7.38 percent) and 34 (9.39 percent). An average household consists of two or three people (28.76 percent and 34.41 percent of the sample, respectively), while one-person households are relatively rare and constitute less than 10 percent of the sample. Two-person households make up 28.76 percent of the sample. 73.82 percent of respondents reported that they had children of their own living in the household (see Figure 26).
Fully 408 respondents reported that they were employed, 32 were self-employed, 28 were unemployed (and looking for a job); 180 identified studies (being a student) as their main activity. One third of the employed respondents worked in services and sales (33.48 percent), about one-fifth (21.09 percent) in crafts and related trades, and 13.04 percent were clerical support workers. 18.48 percent were in highly skilled occupations, such as managers, professionals, technicians, and associate professionals. 20.81 percent of respondents held a tertiary diploma. The biggest group (64.97 percent) held a secondary education qualification. The most popular fields of study were generic programs and qualifications (25.22 percent), education (16.10 percent), engineering, manufacturing and construction (15.46 percent), and services (12.29 percent) (see Figure 27).

Figure 27

**Completed level of education of respondents in Szeged**
(includes 302 respondents currently studying) and their field of study
The respondents were asked to calculate their disposable income, i.e., income after deducting income tax, national insurances, and subsidies. This information, in combination with the additional question on the cost of apartments and rent, was used to evaluate the ratio of median house prices to median familial disposable incomes. On average, the reported disposable income of a household was HUF 301,000; median disposable income was of HUF 275,000. Similarly, the respondents calculated the monthly rent they were paying or would be expected to pay if they were renting their own apartment. On average, rent accounts for HUF 74,000, or 25 percent of an average disposable income. The share is slightly lower for the comparisons at the median, namely HUF 60,000, or 22 percent of the median disposable income.

![Rent-to-income ratio graph](image)

**Figure 28**

Rent-to-income ratio (monthly rent as a share of median household disposable income) at the NUTS 2 region level of Dél-Alföld and at the national level, by number of bedrooms, based on EU-SILC data, 2010–2016

According to the OECD Affordable Housing Database, the median proportion of disposable income accounted for by rent payments for tenant households is highest in Northern Europe, e.g., 32.1 percent in Norway, while for Central and Eastern Europe, the figure is often under 20 percent (latest

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37 Price-to-income ratio, indicator 202, was collected for Burgas, Bulgaria and Szeged, Hungary.
figures available for 2014). The figure for Hungary is about 22 percent. The EU-SILC survey suggests that the median ratio of rent to disposal income at the country level and at the NUTS 2 level of Dél-Alföld is under 20 percent for both one- and two-bedroom apartments (see Figure 28).

*Figure 29*

**Housing price-to-income ratio (median housing prices compared to median household disposable income) in Szeged, at the NUTS 3 level region of Csongrád megye and at the national level, by number of bedrooms, based on tax data and EU-SILC data, 2010–2016**

The National Tax and Custom Administration reports the median house price dynamics compared with EU-SILC data on median disposable household income (see Figure 29). At the national level, in 2016, an individual would need an amount equivalent to 34 monthly disposable incomes in order to buy a one-bedroom apartment, while in Szeged the corresponding figure would be as much as 37 months. For a two-bedroom apartment, a person would need the equivalent of 44 or 58 disposable monthly incomes, respectively. According to the YOUMIG small-scale survey estimates, the housing price-to-income ratio in Szeged is, on average, 59.88, or a median of 54.55; the average estimate approximates the estimates provided by the national administration.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

One of the metrics enabling us to identify the ability of individuals to manage monthly payments and repay debts is the debt-to-income ratio.\(^{39}\) The OECD places Hungary among the countries with the lowest debt-to-income ratio (43 percent of disposable income in 2017).\(^{40}\) The data collected using the YOUMIG small-scale survey reveal that the households that were part of the sample pay an average of HUF 52,800 (or HUF 50,000 as a median) in monthly home loan repayments. In addition, households pay HUF 46,900 (of HUF 20,000 as a median) each month on mortgages on another property, consumer credit, and student loans. Based on these data, the debt-to-income ratio in Szeged is estimated to be 33.18 percent and 25.45 percent, on average and as a median, respectively. The figures are significantly higher than those reported by the HCSO estimates at the higher territorial level; based on the EU-SILC data at the NUTS 2 level (Dél-Alföld) the ratio is 16.16 percent as an average (and 16.22 percent as a median), and at the national level, it is 18.37 percent on average (and 18.13 percent as a median).

C. Small-scale survey: satisfaction with life and the living environment

Unlike in the other partner countries, the YOUMIG Szeged small-scale survey investigated the life priorities of the young people interviewed. The respondents were asked to sequentially choose the most important values and views to create a personal ‘top 3’. Interestingly, the ability to afford things led among the first-choice options (45.99 percent); for respondents selecting this as their first option, their second choice was also individualistic and often linked to material conditions, e.g., ‘being personally fulfilled’ (34.80 percent), ‘being successful in my career’ (27.27 percent), and ‘owning my own home’ (14.42 percent). The two other largest first-choice groups were ‘being personally fulfilled’ (26.36 percent), and ‘being there for others’ (13.18 percent) (see Figure 30).

The Hungarian Household Survey on Incomes and Living Conditions provides information on the life satisfaction of the total population at national and NUTS 2 level (Dél-Alföld). On the 11-step scale from 0 to 10, the national level life satisfaction is just one point higher than the neutrality point at 6.09; the regional figures are slightly higher. The figures for only the foreign-born population are slightly higher, e.g., 6.63 at NUTS 2 and 6.40 at national level, respectively (see Figure 31).

\(^{39}\) Debt-to-income ratio, indicator 129, was collected for Burgas, Bulgaria and Szeged, Hungary.

\(^{40}\) OECD data, household debt, [https://data.oecd.org/hha/household-debt.htm](https://data.oecd.org/hha/household-debt.htm)
Figure 30

Life aspirations of respondents in Szeged

- Being able to afford things
- Being personally fulfilled
- Owning my own home
- Being there for others
- Having a happy marriage/relationship
- Having children
- Seeing the world and/or travelling

Figure 31

Overall life satisfaction at the NUTS 2 level (Dél-Alföld) and at the national level, based on EU-SILC data
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

The YOUMIG small-scale survey collected life satisfaction data in Szeged in 2018. On average, in 2018, young people in Szeged were about one point (on the 11-step scale) happier than the total Hungarian population was in 2017. More than four out of five considered themselves to be at least mildly satisfied. The questionnaire also included three questions to evaluate different life dimensions, and the ‘worthfulness’ of life. Over 85 percent stated that their lives had at least some worth; on average this question was a score of 7.66. With the different life dimensions, the ranking starts with personal relationships (8.02), then quality of accommodation (7.52), and finally the financial situation (6.90). The latter might be a reflection of the major importance of material conditions (the ability to afford things) to nearly half of the respondents (see Figure 32).

As well as personal life, the progress of the municipality – Szeged – was also assessed. Currently, the living environment in Szeged is rated positively (average score of 7.64). The changes over the last few years were rated slightly positively (average score of 6.34).
Figure 33

Satisfaction with living environment and development of quality of life of respondents in Szeged

(a) Satisfaction with living environment

(b) Life has improved in recent years size distribution

Figure 34

Perceptions of respondents in Szeged on the future development of the municipality and the country

(a) Things moving in a negative direction

(b) Things moving in a positive direction
The future prospects of the municipality are rated more neutrally. So the alternative “things are moving in a negative direction” received an average score of 3.57 (rather disagree), while the alternative “things are moving in a positive direction” received a score of 5.21 (neither agree nor disagree). The individual answers to both questions are connected with a moderate correlation of –0.27.

In order to better understand the satisfaction with quality of life in Szeged, a municipality-specific set of questions related to different spheres of urban development was added. While the living environment on the whole received a score of 7.64 on average (or a median score of 8), only one of the dimensions questioned, safety, received a similarly high score (average of 7.60, median of 8). A one point lower median score was received by dimensions such as ‘green and recreational areas’ and ‘public transportation’ (6.84 and 6.99 on average, respectively). The sphere which received the lowest satisfaction score was ‘healthcare and relevant services’ with a median score of 6 and an average score of 6.12 (see Figure 35).

*Figure 35*

Satisfaction of respondents in Szeged with different aspects of urban development

*Note:* The box plot graph provides information on the minimum, first quartile, median, third quartile, and the maximum of a variable

41 A similar block of questions was also included in the YOUMIG small-scale survey for Sfântu Gheorghe, Romania.
The Szeged small-scale survey also included a battery of questions on trust, and in particular trust in people (generalized trust), and trust in a range of institutions, e.g., the political system, legal system, and the police. The generalized trust among respondents is slightly higher than neutral (average of 5.63, median of 6). Interestingly, the political system received a neutral trust score (average of 4.97, median of 5), while the legal system and police are trusted more (average of 5.53 and 6.37, and median of 6 and 7, respectively) (see Figure 36).

**Figure 36**

Levels of trust among respondents in Szeged (with respect to other people, the legal system, political system, and the police)

![Box plot graph showing levels of trust](image)

*Note: The box plot graph provides information on the minimum, first quartile, median, third quartile, and the maximum of a variable.*

### D. Small-scale survey: migration experience and migration intentions

Unlike in the joint questionnaire, in Szeged, previous migration experience was assessed for both short-term (3 to 12 months) and long-term (more than a year) episodes. As for the short term, only 8.4 percent (65 respondents) reported to have had an experience of living abroad for at least 3 (but not more than 12) months. 36 respondents working in the service sector, e.g. as a waiter, mentioned work as the main reason for migrating. Study was the main motive for 15 respondents, family-related issues – childcare, elderly
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

care, housekeeping – for four, and an internship or volunteer activities was the reported reason for three other respondents. Less than two thirds (57 percent) of respondents evaluated the skills acquired during their migration episode positively. The top three most frequently mentioned destination countries were Austria (15 respondents), Germany (15), and the UK (12). The short-term migration episodes were rather uniformly distributed from 1998 up to mid-2017.

As for the long term, an even smaller number of respondents, 47, answered that they had had such an experience; and less than a half of those (48.7 percent) rated the skills and experience acquired positively. More than half of the respondents (18 or 51 percent) reported to have stayed abroad for two years, seven for one year, three for three years, and the rest for a longer period. Three out of four respondents worked abroad, while the remainder studied. Similar to the short-term migration episodes, the top three destination countries were the UK (16), Austria (9), and Germany (7).

Eight reasons for returning were evaluated by respondents, each reason receiving a score from 1 (“not at all important”) to 5 (“very important”). The top three most important reasons for return were family reasons (average of 3.87), absence of social networks (3.78), and the absence of a desire to stay in the country (“Never wanted to stay longer”) (see Figure 37).

**Figure 37**

Evaluation of reasons for return to Szeged

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never wanted to stay</td>
<td>3.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile environment</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing conditions</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reasons</td>
<td>3.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of social network</td>
<td>3.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better opportunities in Bulgaria</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic difficulties</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Termination of program/contract</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* The response scale ranges from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important)
The biggest problems experienced on return included obtaining health insurance, access to healthcare, and – to some degree – various issues with the registration of status and conditions, e.g., registering a change of residence, change of marital status, birth of a child, registration of property or a vehicle.

All the respondents were questioned on their future migration plans. More than half (57.34 percent) reported that they would ideally prefer to continue living in Szeged. 13.03 percent of respondents stated that they would like to move to another municipality in Hungary, and about one-third of respondents (29.63 percent) expressed their desire to move abroad (see Figure 38). Among the 232 respondents who would like to move abroad, 86 respondents (37.2 percent) were planning to move to another country within the next 12 months. These figures are similar to the findings of the 2016 Hungarian Microcensus, which revealed that 8.4 percent of the population would like to move abroad in the next two years.

Figure 38

Migration aspirations of respondents in Szeged

Of the 86 respondents with short-term migration intentions, 62 had already made some preparations for the move (53 percent had searched the Internet for information on their destination countries, 50.8 percent had looked for information via personal contacts. 56.3 percent had contacted friends and relatives, 51.6 percent had looked for a job. Contacting a job agency (15.9 percent) and searching for accommodation (12.9 percent) were relatively
unpopular choices. A job was the main motivation for 98.5 percent of those who were planning to migrate. The most sought-after destination countries were the three favorites already mentioned above: UK (63, 7.9 percent), Germany (41, 5.11 percent), Austria (34, 4.2 percent), and two additional countries: Switzerland (17, 2.1 percent) and the Netherlands (12, 1.5 percent).

Figure 39

Planned duration of stay abroad among those in Szeged aspiring to emigrate

Four out of ten of those planning to move abroad (41.5 percent) did not exclude the possibility of permanent emigration, two out of ten planned to stay abroad for between two and five years, one-quarter gave “don’t know” as their answer (see Figure 39).

Short summary: Szeged
Szeged is one of the largest and most developed cities of Hungary and the second largest educational center after Budapest. While Szeged is clearly the most important regional pole in Southeastern Hungary, this region is relatively underdeveloped compared to the country as a whole, and especially in comparison to some of the western and central regions.

Unlike Hungary as a whole, where immigration flows cannot counterbalance the natural losses, the population of Szeged has not fallen since 2010: both internal and international migration balances have been positive during this
period. On one hand, important differences appear between immigration figures both at the national and the local level when accounted for by country of citizenship and country of birth, suggesting that a high number of immigrants acquired Hungarian citizenship before or after immigrating. Many immigrants gaining Hungarian citizenship are from the neighboring sending countries which points to an ethnic Hungarian character of immigration. In the case of Szeged, the proximity of the Serbian and Romanian borders (8 and 18 kilometers away, respectively) play an obvious role in shaping the immigration patterns. Emigrants from Szeged, on the other hand, preferred English-speaking countries.

In 2018, young people in Szeged were on average about one point (on the 11-step scale) more satisfied with life than the overall Hungarian population was in 2017. However, migration episodes often have a scarring effect on life satisfaction. Those with migratory experience most frequently worked in the service sector. Having in mind the relatively high educational attainment of Szeged’s inhabitants, this is likely related to a skills mismatch experienced by the young people who worked abroad. Besides employment, the financial situation received the lowest satisfaction scores.

About one-quarter of the average disposable family income in Szeged is spent on renting an apartment, which is much higher than the “under 20 percent” that is the Central and Eastern European average. In comparison to the national averages, apartment prices in Szeged are growing faster. Ownership of an apartment not only boosts life satisfaction, it is the third most popular life goal mentioned after being personally fulfilled and being successful in one’s career. Similarly, apartment ownership has a significantly positive impact on the desire to stay in the municipality. Over 29 percent of respondents would like to move abroad. Moreover, families with children have higher propensity to declare a desire to move away/abroad.

Recommendations to local policymakers would include the development of programs facilitating acquisition of housing by young people, especially by families with children, as well as improvement of healthcare services, public transportation, and recreational areas.

4.1.3. Romania – Sfântu Gheorghe

Context

Romania belongs to the labor frontier (or semi-periphery), and the municipality of Sfântu Gheorghe is a zonal urban centre in the central region of the country. As such, both the country as a whole and the municipality are characterized by
out-migration and population decline. Since official migration statistics measured significantly higher levels of immigration than emigration at the national level between 2012 and 2017, there is reason to doubt the reliability of official data on migration flows. For this reason, we preferred to use the Eurostat data on immigration, emigration, and return migration flows at the national level (see Figure 40). Although data on emigration are only available from 2015, it is clear that immigration and return migration cannot counterbalance large emigration flows. While immigration flows more than doubled between 2010 and 2017, the number of returners decreased. As a result, the balance of international migration at the country level was negative with approximately –70,000 persons each year since 2015. As regards the internal migration balance of Sfântu Gheorghe, between 2010 and 2017, a total of 2,609 persons more left the municipality than arrived from other parts of the country.42

Figure 40

International immigration, emigration and return migration flows in Romania, 2010–2017 (number of persons)

Source: Eurostat

In 2017, the top citizenships of foreigners at the national level were Italy (14,912 persons), Moldova (9,250 persons), and Turkey (8,350 persons). No data are available for the lower territorial levels. As regards the top destinations

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42 Data from NIS Tempo database.
for Romanian emigrants, most of them moved to Italy (1,168,552 persons), Spain (683,797 persons), and Germany (507,062 persons)\textsuperscript{43}

In terms of educational attainment, according to the data from the 2011 Romanian Census, 3 percent of the population aged 15–34 only completed primary education or less, while 64 percent had secondary, and 32 percent had tertiary education.

Figure 41 shows the shares of the economically active population by citizenship (Romanian and foreign) and age group in 2011\textsuperscript{44}. On average, a high share of both the Romanian and foreign population aged 25-64 was economically active and, while among those younger than 44 years of age, more Romanian citizens were active than foreigners, above the age of 45 the opposite was true, with foreigners being more active than Romanian citizens.

\hspace{1cm} \textbf{Figure 41}

\hspace{1cm} \textbf{Economic activity status of Romanian and foreign citizens in Romania, 2011}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{activity_status.png}
\caption{Economic activity status of Romanian and foreign citizens in Romania, 2011.}
\end{figure}

As regards the economic development of the NUTS 3 level Covasna county, of which Sfântu Gheorghe is the administrative center, and Romania as a whole, a sharp decrease can be observed in the number of active enterprises after 2010 in the former and, to a lesser extent, also in the latter. By 2016, in Covasna county, the number of active enterprises was still lower than it had

\textsuperscript{43} Stock of Romanian citizens in European countries, based on Eurostat data.
\textsuperscript{44} Data from 2011 Census, Romania.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

been in 2010 (only 92 percent), while at the national level, this number had even increased (to 113 percent).\textsuperscript{45} Further, while GDP per capita in the NUTS 2 Center Region of Romania – to which Sfântu Gheorghe belongs – remained slightly lower than at the country level, it increased by more than 20 percent at both levels between 2012 and 2016 (see Figure 42).\textsuperscript{46}

Another question, which is crucial for the well-being of Romanian households, is how economic growth in terms of GDP per capita manifests itself at the household level in the form of income. While annual disposable household income per capita increased by almost 25 percent at both levels during this period,\textsuperscript{47} their weight as a share of national level GDP per capita stagnated at around 35 percent (see Figure 43).

Finally, the number of healthcare workers per one thousand inhabitants increased by 28 percent in Sfântu Gheorghe and 18 percent at the national level, which had a positive effect on the well-being of the population.

\textsuperscript{45} Based on NIS TEMPO database.
\textsuperscript{46} Based on NIS TEMPO database.
\textsuperscript{47} Data from NIS Household Budgets Survey.
A. Small-scale survey: general details

The small-scale survey was undertaken in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy between October 2018 and January 2019. 807 questionnaires were completed during the fieldwork conducted by TRANSOBJECTIVE S.R.L, a firm specializing in opinion polls and social research in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual environments. 590 of the questionnaires were completed in Hungarian and 217 in Romanian.

Data collection targeted the adult population of age 18 and above with residence in Sfântu Gheorghe, regardless of nationality. A stratified multi-level random sampling method was used to achieve a representative sample of the municipality’s total population and the population aged 18-34. In a first phase, a random sample of streets was chosen, while in a second phase, the households were selected according to a ‘starting point and statistical step method’, which meant that the interviews were conducted along a pre-fixed pathway. Gender and age quotas were used to select the respondents from among the members of the households that had already been selected.

The questionnaires were conducted exclusively at the respondents’ homes. Only one person per household was interviewed. If an interview was unsuccessful, this was recorded, including the reason for the failure: refusal, uninhabited flat, nobody fitted the (missing) quota categories.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

B. Small-scale survey: socio-demographic characteristics of the sample
The dataset collected in Sfântu Gheorghe contained 807 observations (590 interviews conducted in Hungarian, and 217 in Romanian) for individuals aged 17 to 89. We will focus on 17- to 35-year-olds (352 observations); weighted averages and proportions will be reported to represent the population group in the town. The group of interest is represented by 48 percent of females and 52 percent of males, with an average age of 26.7, though the age distribution is bimodal. The biggest shares are accounted for by the group of 18-year-olds (18 percent) and 31-year-olds (8.5 percent).

All respondents interviewed were born in Romania. Sfântu Gheorghe is the administrative center of Covasna county. 90.3 percent of respondents were born in the county, and the second biggest group of 3.9 percent in the neighboring Brașov county. Half of the population originally not born in Sfântu Gheorghe (69 people) moved there before 2003. Of the interviewed persons, 75 percent identified themselves as Hungarian, 24.10 percent as Romanian, and 0.62 percent as Roma.

An average household consists of three members with households consisting of three or four members being the most numerous (37.07 percent and 26.91 percent, respectively; weighted estimates) (see Figure 44).

Figure 44: Age and household size distribution of respondents in Sfântu Gheorghe

More than half of the respondents reported that they were employed (57.65 percent) and self-employed (6.91 percent). 5.42 percent were unemployed and
looking for a job, while 1.87 percent stated that they were unemployed and not looking for a job. The second biggest group – one in five (19.68 percent) – were students.

*Figure 45*

**Completed level of education of respondents in Sfântu Gheorghe (includes 69 respondents who are currently studying) and their occupation category**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completed level of education</th>
<th>Occupation category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary (1–4 grade)</td>
<td>Professional and technical occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary (5–8 grade)</td>
<td>Manager/office holder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational or high school (9–10)</td>
<td>Clerical occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school (9–12 grades)</td>
<td>Sales occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational college</td>
<td>Service occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>Armed and security forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>Skilled worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate (MA, PhD)</td>
<td>Semi-skilled worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unskilled workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farm workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When analyzing the completed education levels, it is important to bear in mind the differences between the old communist education system and the modern one. This means that 9-10 years (grades) of completed education can mean different things for the older and the younger strata of the population. For the former, this probably meant the first step of high school within the “communist system”. For younger people, 9-10 years of education completed probably indicated that they finished professional/technical training without a baccalaureate (post-secondary non-tertiary education). Since we are analyzing young people here, it is the second interpretation that is correct for
our purposes. About 45 percent of respondents completed high school (new system, 9–12 years), 15.21 percent completed a vocational course of study (or 9–10 grades in the old, communist education system), and about 30.85 percent have a university degree (22.42 percent – BA, 6.43 percent – MA or PhD). One quarter of respondents worked in professional and technical occupations, 14.41 percent in sales occupations, and 13.63 percent were skilled workers (see Figure 45).

Respondents also reported the level of disposable household income, which, if converted into a per capita category, accounted for RON 1,463.94, on average, and RON 1,250.00 as a median. These figures are comparable to the data collected by the NIS Household Budgets Survey (Tempo database) at the higher territorial levels, such as the central region (NUTS 2) and the whole of Romania. It is important to note, however, that the latest data from the Tempo database refer to 2017, while the survey was conducted in late 2018/early 2019, and incomes in Romanian have since increased.

\[ \text{Figure 46} \]

\[ \text{Disposable household income per capita at the NUTS 2 level of the central region and at the national level, 2011–2017} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{2011} & : 639.53 \\
\text{2012} & : 861.15 \\
\text{2013} & : 895.85 \\
\text{2014} & : 937.65 \\
\text{2015} & : 1,010.67 \\
\text{2016} & : 1,112.22 \\
\text{2017} & : 1,290.9
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{NUTS 2 Center region} \quad \text{Romania} \]

\[ \]

\[ \text{C. Small-scale survey: satisfaction with life and the living environment} \]

The Romanian Election Studies (RES) survey provides a glimpse into the national level life satisfaction over the last few years: The average level has steadily risen from 6.04 in 2012 to 6.56 in 2016. In line with this positive trend, the average level of life satisfaction in Sfântu Gheorghe is as high as 8.05.
Additional questions revealed differences in satisfaction with different life domains. The most satisfying life dimension was personal relationships with an average score of 8.40 (this is also significantly higher than the 6.5 score for satisfaction with social life, recorded by the RES in 2012). The second-ranked life dimension was the quality of accommodation, with an average score of 7.71 (the level also demonstrated a positive improvement in comparison to the national level of 6.77 in 2012 (see Figure 47).

Figure 47

Satisfaction scores of respondents in Sfântu Gheorghe and share of satisfied (satisfaction score of at least 6)

The battery of questions on urban development contained items referring to several dimensions including green spaces and parks, and safety. The best satisfaction scores were recorded for the categories of parks and green spaces, as well as recent changes in the town; these are also the categories that display the lowest variance of scores. The biggest variance – from 0 to 10 – was recorded with regard to the category of satisfaction with healthcare

48 A similar block of questions was also included in the YOUMIG small-scale survey for Szeged, Hungary.
services, though the average score was neutral (median of 5, average of 5.16). The public transportation system was rated somewhat more positively, (median of 6, average of 6.01), while public safety was perceived slightly more positively (median of 7, average of 6.68). The categories with the highest scores were green spaces and parks in the town, and the ongoing changes (median of 8 for both, average score of 7.5 and 7.56, respectively) (see Figure 48).

Another block of questions captured important components of social capital such as generalized and institutional trust. Additionally, trust in the EU was measured. The level of generalized trust (trust in other people) and in the town mayor earned the highest median scores of 6 (5.88 and 5.74 on average, respectively). Interestingly, median trust in the mayor’s office was one point

Note: The box plot graph provides information on the minimum, first quartile, median, third quartile, and the maximum of a variable

A similar block of questions was also included in the YOUMIG small-scale survey for Szeged, Hungary.
lower at 5 (average of 4.87), i.e., the neutrality point of the 0 to 10 scale. Trust in the EU, on average, was also at this neutral point (4.94). However, respondents showed very low distrust with the Romanian political system (average score of 2.20) (see Figure 49).

Figure 49

Levels of trust among respondents in Sfântu Gheorghe (with respect to other people, the judicial system, the anticorruption agency, the EU, the national political system, the mayor’s office, and the mayor)

Note: The box plot graph provides information on the minimum, first quartile, median, third quartile, and the maximum of a variable

D. Small-scale survey: migration experience and migration intentions
Respondents in Sfântu Gheorghe were asked to report their short-term (3 to 12 months) and long-term (more than a year) migration experiences. 13.5 percent of respondents reported to have had an experience of living abroad for a period from 3 to 12 months with work being the main motive (68.6 percent), followed by study (14.5 percent), and family (11.7 percent). The top three destinations for short-term migration were Hungary (30.7 percent), United Kingdom (19.3 percent), and Germany (17.16 percent). The most frequently
reported occupations were in agriculture and services (restaurants), with a total of approximately 15 percent.

10.4 percent (or 29 individuals) had experience of living abroad for periods of longer than one year, with the countries most frequently mentioned being Hungary (18.0 percent), Italy (13.8 percent), England (11.0 percent), and Germany (11.12 percent). Work is still a predominant reason for long-term migration (61.8 percent). The most important reason for returning to Romania was connected to family (average score of 3.17 on a scale of 1-5). This was followed by inadequate housing conditions or difficulties finding housing (2.74), and termination of an employment contract or a study program (2.72) (see Figure 50).

The return to Romania did not always go entirely smoothly, the most frequently reported problems being encountered with regard to acquiring official personal documents (ID card, passport, driving license; reported 17 times), obtaining health insurance, access to healthcare (reported 17 times); and enrolment in an educational institution (tertiary, language or other course; reported 15 times).

As already mentioned, 90.3 percent of young respondents were born in Covasna county. About 59 percent (weighted estimate) of respondents would
like to remain in the municipality, 17.12 percent would like to move to another municipality within Romania, and 21.64 percent would like to move abroad; the most sought-after countries for potential emigration were Hungary and Germany. England is the second most popular choice of destination country. Approximately one-third of respondents who reported an intention to leave Romania would like to stay abroad indefinitely; one in five respondents would like to go abroad for at least five years.

Two-thirds of those who declared an intention to move, were planning to find a job abroad. However, only 16.7 percent of those who would like to move abroad plan on doing this within the next 12 months; an even lower share has already undertaken various preparations for the move.

The inter-ethnic climate in the Romania survey allows us to assess the dynamic of migration intentions in comparison with the national level in 2014. Previously, 7.70 percent of respondents saw themselves moving abroad.

50 The original sample, including all the adults interviewed, reveals that young people have migration intentions more frequently than the total population. For example, only 13.40 percent of the total population would like to move abroad, while the figure for young people aged 18-34 was 19.30 percent (unweighted estimates).
permanently. 20 people, or 5.7 percent (of 352 youth respondents) checked this option in the YOUMIG small-scale survey. Nowadays, the share of those who would like to go abroad for temporary work is higher than in 2014 where it was measured at 15.80 percent at the national level.

**Short summary: Sfântu Gheorghe**

Sfântu Gheorghe, a zonal urban center of Covasna county in semi-peripheral Romania, has a rural character. As with the country as a whole, the municipality is characterized by out-migration and population decline. The balance of international migration at the country level has been negative every year since 2015. Beyond considerable out-migration flows, immigration to Romania more than doubled between 2010 and 2017, while the number of returners decreased.

Since the economic and financial crisis of 2008 hit Romania particularly hard right after its EU accession in 2007, the GDP per capita has been steadily increasing both at the country and the regional level. However, unlike at the national level, the number of active enterprises in Covasna county in 2016 was still lower than it was in 2010. Simultaneously, the annual disposable income per capita has been increasing, though its share of GDP per capita has been stagnating. The relatively low growth of wages in Sfântu Gheorghe and in Romania as a whole appear as main push factors for potential (e)migrants.

As YOUMIG results show, wealthier respondents would like to continue living in Sfântu Gheorghe. One out of five respondents would like to go abroad to work. Among those who declared a desire to emigrate, women constitute the majority. In particular women aged 20 to 30 are less likely to report that they want to stay.

At least one in ten respondents had had a migration episode in the past. Most of them worked abroad in agriculture. Migration episodes with a planned return, short term, have no scarring effect on life satisfaction. Those with migration experience – returnees – were more likely to declare that they would like to go abroad for work for a period of more than five years or indefinitely. They were also the least satisfied with life. The most sought-after countries for emigration were Hungary and Germany.

Recommendations which could be made to local policymakers include putting significant effort into revitalizing economic activity, and facilitating the operation of enterprises as well as the establishment of new ones. Simultaneously, investment in health services and public transportation could increase the attractiveness of the municipality for the population.
4.1.4. Slovenia – Maribor

Context
Slovenia, as part of the restructuring core, and Maribor, the main regional pole of Northeastern Slovenia show patterns of both immigration and emigration (see Figure 52 and Figure 53),\(^{51}\) while the populations are stagnating. In the latter, the population even slightly declined in recent years.

Flows of international immigration, emigration, and return migration in Maribor, 2010–2017 (number of persons)

Note: Data on immigration flows include return flows

\(^{51}\) Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Figure 53

Flows of international immigration, emigration, and return migration in Slovenia, 2010–2017 (number of persons)

Note: Data on immigration flows include return flows

Figure 54

Educational attainment of Slovenian citizens, foreign citizens, and Slovenian-born return migrants in Maribor and Slovenia, 2017
Most immigrants to Slovenia come from other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. The top sending countries to Maribor by citizenship\(^52\) – based on stock data – are Bosnia and Herzegovina (4,113 persons), Serbia (1,121 persons), and Kosovo\(^53\) (1,118 persons), while at the country level these are Bosnia and Herzegovina (50,378 persons), Kosovo (14,397 persons), and northern Macedonia (10,835 persons). By country of birth, the top sending countries\(^54\) to Maribor are Bosnia and Herzegovina (6,305 persons), Croatia (3,859 persons), and Serbia (2,339 persons). In Slovenia, the considerable discrepancies between the data on immigration by country of birth and by citizenship (e.g., 50,378 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina versus 104,738 persons born in Bosnia and Herzegovina) suggest immigrants’ adoption of Slovenian citizenship.

Generally, the population of Maribor mirrors Slovenia in terms of educational attainment, though the shares of secondary and tertiary graduates is slightly higher in the former, with the exception of returnees (Figure 54\(^55\)).

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\(^{53}\) Under UN Security Council Resolution 1244.


\(^{55}\) Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia. Please note that no age restriction was applied to returners.
The share of economic activity accounted for by foreign citizens in Maribor and Slovenia exceeds that of Slovenian citizens by up to 50 percent at both territorial levels (Figure 55\textsuperscript{56}).

Locally and nationally, the number of active enterprises grew by 10 percent in Maribor and 20 percent in Slovenia between 2010 and 2016.\textsuperscript{57} Gross Regional Product (GRP) per capita in Podravska – the NUTS 3 region containing Maribor – increased by 20 percent, though its level has remained at about 83 percent of the national average (see Figure 56).\textsuperscript{58} At the household level, the annual disposable household income per capita increased by approximately 8 percent at both the national and NUTS 3 level,\textsuperscript{59} between 2010 and 2017, but their share of GDP per capita decreased (see Figure 57). Thus, Slovenian households might not perceive the impact of economic development on their quality of lives as positively as the GDP indicator might suggest.

\textbf{Figure 56}

\textbf{GDP per capita in the NUTS 3 region of Podravska and in Slovenia as a whole, 2010–2016 (PPP, international USD)}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{gdp_per_capita.png}
\caption{GDP per capita in the NUTS 3 region of Podravska and in Slovenia as a whole, 2010–2016 (PPP, international USD).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{56} Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia.
\textsuperscript{57} Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Statistical Business Register.
\textsuperscript{58} Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia.
\textsuperscript{59} Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, EU-SILC.
A. Small-scale survey: general details
The YOUmIG small-scale survey in Slovenia was conducted in the territorial location of the municipality of Maribor from August to October 2018, and targeted the population aged between 15 and 34; to exclude minors, the minimum age was reset to 18 after data collection commenced. The sample was set at 500 persons, which represents almost 2 percent (1.99 percent) of the total city population of this age. In order to conduct the survey, Maribor Development Agency (PP5) hired external expert, PAMETEN, Center znanja, vizij in uspešnosti. Pameten hired a subcontractor, STATISTIKUM, statistične in marketinške raziskave ter izobraževanja to conduct the telephone survey.

In September, the first wave of survey data was acquired both online and by phone; the desired sample size was not reached, however. In October, the second wave was conducted online and in person. In both waves, Statistikum made 3,000 telephone contacts, which resulted in 355 responses being collected. The online surveys in both waves were also conducted by PAMETEN using the 1ka online system, with 500 emails sent out, and 75 collected. In total, 501 surveys (one invalid) had been carried out by the end of second wave, therefore no third wave was initiated.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

B. Small-scale survey: socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

The dataset contains 500 respondents aged from 18 to 34; 54 percent are female and 46 percent male. The majority (98.19 percent) have Slovenian citizenship, with the other nine respondents coming from Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Czech Republic, and Germany. More than half of Slovenian respondents were born in Maribor, about 6 percent in Slovenj Gradec (about 70 km away), and 3 percent in Ptuj (about 30 km away).

Importantly, although the share of foreigners is relatively low in Maribor, the foreign population is more likely to live in the same neighborhood than is the case in Slovenia in general. In Maribor, therefore, the segregation index by neighborhood is estimated to be 0.22 (or 22 percent), while in Slovenia, the index is 0.13. For Maribor the index suggests that 22 percent of foreigners would need to be redistributed across the different neighborhoods in order to achieve a similar share of foreigners in all neighborhoods. At the regional level, segregation between municipalities – and not neighborhoods – is evaluated; and at the national level, between regions.

The average respondent in the sample is 26 years old, with 30-year-olds being the most frequent age group. Households are most frequently composed of three (25.5 percent) or four (25.1 percent) members. 20.8 percent of respondents have their own children (see Figure 58).

Figure 58

Age and household size distribution of respondents in Maribor

(a) Age distribution

(b) Household size distribution
Among the small-scale survey respondents, students compose the biggest group (37.84 percent), followed by the employed (36.15 percent), the self-employed (8.78 percent), and the unemployed who are currently looking for a job (6.76 percent). It is important to underline that the above-mentioned shares are based on respondents' primary self-reported status. In particular, 40 working students (students often work in Slovenia) were counted as students rather than employees (see Figure 59).

Figure 59

Employment status of respondents in Maribor

Among both the young people who are studying and those already working, about one-third had completed upper secondary education (35.66 percent, ISCED 3); over 56 percent of the sample had at least a BA degree (ISCED 5 or higher). The most popular fields of study include business, administration, and law (29.34 percent), followed by generic programs and qualifications (13.13 percent), health and welfare (11.58 percent), social sciences, journalism, and information (9.65 percent) (see Figure 60).
Among the employed, the top occupational groups are professional and technical occupations such as: doctor, teacher, engineer, artist, accountant (27.51 percent); sales occupations such as: sales manager, shop owner, shop assistant, insurance agent (19.33 percent); service occupations such as: restaurant owner, police officer, waiter, caretaker, barber, armed forces (16.36 percent); clerical occupations such as: secretary, clerk, office manager, bookkeeper (14.50 percent). The Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia provides data on the top five economic sectors where immigrants are employed: Manufacturing (the biggest employment group since 2011 across national, NUTS 3, and Maribor levels), construction (ranked a stable second since 2011); the other three sectors most frequently employing immigrants are administrative and support service activities, transportation and storage, and wholesale and retail services and retail.
C. Small-scale survey: satisfaction with life and the living environment

The EU-SILC data suggest that the (mean) life satisfaction values in Slovenia have been stable since 2012 (the first year of data availability). In the Podravska region (NUTS 3) the level of satisfaction increased slightly from 6.8 in 2012 to 7.1 in 2017 (on a scale from 0 to 10). The YOUMIG small-scale survey conducted at the end of 2018 revealed a high(er) level of life satisfaction in Maribor (on average 7.32 on the 0 to 10 scale). The data suggest, *inter alia*, that young people in Maribor are satisfied with their personal relationships (average score of 7.94), rather satisfied with the quality of accommodation (average score of 7.19), and satisfied to a certain extent with their financial situation (average score of 6.05). Over 80 percent of young people rated their life satisfaction in general and in different domains positively (see Figure 61).

![Figure 61](image)

Satisfaction scores of respondents in Maribor and share of satisfied
(satisfaction score of at least 6)

Apart from satisfaction with their own lives and its domains, the respondents were asked to evaluate how the quality of the living environment in Maribor progressed over recent years, and the perceived direction of future changes. The quality of the living environment is seen positively (average of 6.97) by
young people, as well as the changes in the municipality over the last few years (average of 6.17) (see Figure 62). One of the factors defining the quality of (local) urban development is healthcare provision. However, we should caution against misinterpretation of some relevant indicators, such as the number of people employed in healthcare. The data collected within the YOUMIG project suggest a much larger number of doctors in Maribor, namely 1.02 doctors per thousand inhabitants, in comparison to the national average of only 0.65. This finding is unlikely to reflect the actual situation in Maribor due to the recent administrative border changes that led to the creation of new municipalities in the territories that previously belonged to the municipality of Maribor. Thus, for an accurate interpretation of the local development characteristics, we should not only rely on the time series for Maribor, but also pay particular attention to the territories the indicators are related to.

**Figure 62**

**Satisfaction with the living environment and the development of the quality of life of respondents in Maribor**

Future prospects are less clear. When asked if things in Maribor are moving in a negative direction, respondents slightly agree (average of 4.82, one point higher than the neutrality point). The answer is the same (average of 4.12) when the opposite question is asked, namely whether things in Maribor are moving in a positive direction (Figure 63).

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60 Administrative data on employment in healthcare collected by the National Institute of Public Health.
**Perceptions of respondents in Maribor on the future development of the municipality and the country**

**D. Small-scale survey: migration experience and migration intentions**

Among the respondents, 59 people or 14.6 percent of the sample reported having stayed abroad for at least one year, with Austria being the most popular destination option.

A total of 345 valid answers were collected on the topic of migration intentions. 47.54 percent of young people declared they would like to continue living in Maribor, 22.90 percent would like to move to another municipality within Slovenia, 29.57 percent, or 98 people, would like to move abroad. The most sought after immigration country is Austria (62 respondents), followed by Germany (18), Spain (16), Switzerland (12), and Australia (11). The most popular second-choice countries are Switzerland, Germany, and Austria. Only 14.12 percent of people (25 respondents; including 18 respondents wanting to move within Slovenia) planned to move within the next 12 months, 16 had started with their preparations to move, mainly by looking for a job abroad. The option mentioned most frequently was the desire to take up permanent residence abroad (50 percent of respondents that would like to move abroad), the second-biggest group did not know how long they would like to stay abroad (22.92 percent).
# Short summary: Maribor

Slovenia, as part of the Western European semi-core, occupies a relatively high position – in terms of the economic development – among the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, as well as among the New Member States that joined the EU since 2004. However, Slovenia as a country and the municipality of Maribor both show patterns of emigration and immigration, alongside modest population growth or stagnation. Maribor, the second largest city and a main regional pole in this country, mainly attracts immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. A significant number of immigrants have acquired Slovenian citizenship.

Maribor was one of the strongest industrial centres in Yugoslavia until the late 1980s. Today, after the dramatic deindustrialization processes in the nineties, and the economic and financial crisis of 2008, the economic situation of Maribor still leaves much place for improvement. On one hand, the number of enterprises and GDP per capita are growing locally and nationally. On the other hand, the share of GDP per capita accounted for by household disposable income has been declining.

According to YOUMIG results, the youth of Maribor are more satisfied with life than an average Slovenian. However, neither recent changes nor future prospects in Maribor are seen as very positive. Among young people in Maribor, the student and employee groups are similarly large, at about 37 percent, though many students also participate in the labor market part-time. The top three preferred study fields include business and law, but also health and welfare. Simultaneously, a relative shortage of healthcare labor force per thousand is observed. While one-third of Slovenian workers are in professional and technical occupations, immigrants tend towards manufacturing, support services, and transportation.

While only 14 percent of respondents have experience of living abroad for at least one year, about a third would like to move to another country in the future, with Austria and Germany being the two most sought-after destination countries. Less than half of all respondents would like to stay in Maribor, with women being more eager to move than men. The stayers are, on average, more satisfied with their lives and the quality of the local environment. Ownership of housing is the most important factor increasing the desire to stay.

Recommendations to local policymakers would include facilitating the acquisition of housing, improving the economic attractiveness of health-related occupations to prevent graduates from leaving, improving the attractiveness of the municipality for young women, and also better informing the population about the positive changes being implemented in Maribor.
4.1.5. Slovakia – Bratislava-Rača

Context
Slovakia, as part of the restructuring core, and the Rača district of the capital city of Bratislava – a main regional pole – show patterns of both immigration and emigration (Figure 64 and 65). They have enjoyed a positive international migration balance since 2010, and Rača has also had a surplus through internal migration exchange. As a result, the populations have been growing.61

The top sending countries to Slovakia, by citizenship,62 include the Czech Republic (13,525 persons), Hungary (10,248 persons), and Romania (6,521 persons). In contrast, the largest immigrant group in Bratislava-Rača, by citizenship, is from Vietnam (122 persons), followed by the Czech Republic (98 persons), and Romania (61 persons).

61 Data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Figure 65

Flows of immigration, emigration, and return migration in Slovakia, 2010–2017 (number of persons)

Figure 66


Note: *Data with limited reliability due to small sample size
Bratislava-Rača is home to a higher share of tertiary graduates than Slovakia as a whole, relatively speaking (Figure 66\textsuperscript{63}). Additionally, 75 percent of returnees to Rača have secondary education compared to the 50 percent at the national level. In Rača, foreign citizens are not only on average higher educated, but also have a 15 percentage point higher economic activity rate than Slovak citizens\textsuperscript{64} (Figure 67).

![Economic activity status of Slovak and foreign citizens in Slovakia, 2017](image)

Between 2015 and 2017, the number of active enterprises increased at all levels, by 20 percent in Okres Bratislava III (LAU 1), and by 13 percent in the country as a whole\textsuperscript{65}. Similarly, between 2010 and 2016, GDP and GRP per capita growth of more than 20 percent was registered in Bratislavský kraj (NUTS 3) and in Slovakia (Figure 68).\textsuperscript{66} At the household level, annual disposable household income per capita increased annually by 7 percent at NUTS 3 and 9 percent at NUTS 0 level between 2010 and 2017,\textsuperscript{67} while their share of GDP per capita declined (Figure 69). Thus, economic development might not have

\textsuperscript{63} Data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. Please note that no age restriction was applied to returners.

\textsuperscript{64} Data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Labor Force Survey. No comparable data are available at subnational levels.

\textsuperscript{65} Data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Business Register.

\textsuperscript{66} Data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

\textsuperscript{67} Data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, EU-SILC.
as positive an effect on households as the GDP figures suggest. Similarly, healthcare provision (proxied by the number of doctors per hundred thousand inhabitants) improved at the national level, but not in Rača between 2010 and 2016.

**Figure 68**

GDP per capita in NUTS 3 region of Bratislavský kraj and Slovakia as a whole, 2010–2016 (PPP, international USD)

**Figure 69**

Disposable household income per capita (mean) as a share of the national level GDP per capita, 2010–2017
A. Small-scale survey: general details
The YOUMIG small-scale survey was collected in September-November 2018 by INFOSTAT – the Centre for Social Research (CSR) supported by the Department of Human Geography and Demography – Faculty of Natural Sciences (Department), Comenius University and government of city quarter Bratislava-Rača.

The sample in Bratislava-Rača was based on a random sample of the dwellings from all three boroughs: Krasňany, Rača, and Východné. The sample was proportional to the size of the population in each borough and covers 150 dwellings, which represent 1.7 percent of all permanently occupied dwellings. The basic unit of the small-scale survey was the private household and its current members, who were living in Bratislava-Rača at the time of data collection.

The online questionnaire was used as the main method of data collection. In rare cases, an offline paper questionnaire was also used for data collection, e.g., for the elderly with limited access to the Internet. In cases where no one could be reached in the selected household and there was no other way of contacting him/her (e.g., email), a substitute household on the same street was chosen according to the selected criterion.

Data from the small-scale survey for all persons who were willing to cooperate were weighted by demographic data as of January 1, 2018. Extrapolation to the population was done at the level of the individual. Each person in the sample represents several persons in the population of Bratislava-Rača. The population and the sample were subject to post-stratification, performed by gender and five-year age groups.

B. Small-scale survey: socio-demographic characteristics of the sample
The sample includes 508 observations: 211 males and 297 females, but only 72 observations belong to the group of 17- to 34-year-olds.

99.55 percent of the sample has Slovak citizenship, with the two rare exceptions (observations) being a Serbian and a Russian citizen. All young people up to the age of 34 were of Slovak citizenship. The majority of respondents were born in Bratislava, or in towns that are part of the Bratislava agglomeration. Some of the most visible groups (28 observations each) come from Čadca (approximately 200 km away) and Košice (around 300 km away). Half of the respondents who were born in other municipalities than Bratislava-Rača moved there before 1998.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

**Figure 70**

Age and household size distribution of respondents in Bratislava-Rača

(a) Age distribution

(b) Household size distribution

**Figure 71**

Completed level of education of respondents in Bratislava-Rača and their field of study

(a) Completed level of education

(b) Field of study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISCED 2AB</th>
<th>ISCED 3A</th>
<th>ISCED 3C</th>
<th>ISCED 4</th>
<th>ISCED 5</th>
<th>ISCED 6</th>
<th>ISCED 7</th>
<th>ISCED 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Agriculture, forestry, fisheries and veterinary
- Arts and humanities
- Business, administration, and law
- Education
- Engineering, manufacturing and construction
- Generic programs and qualifications
- Health and welfare
- Information and communication technologies (ICTs)
- Natural sciences, mathematics and statistics
- Social sciences, journalism and information
Nearly 44 percent of the young people surveyed reported that they were employed, 2.8 percent were unemployed and looking for a job; 30.4 percent were on maternity leave. One in five (22.8 percent) was studying. Of the total sample, 34.8 percent had an ISCED 3 (upper secondary education) or lower level diploma, 18.3 percent had ISCED 4 (post-secondary non-tertiary education), 36.18 percent had ISCED 7 (an MA diploma), and 5 percent had ISCED 8 (PhD). Among youths, ISCED 7 and ISCED 8 categories together accounted for nearly 54 percent of the group. The most frequent fields of education completed were education (31.45 percent), business, administration, and law (17.07 percent), and natural sciences, mathematics, and statistics (10.45 percent) (Figure 71).

C. Small-scale survey: satisfaction with life and the living environment

As a baseline, we can use the national level life satisfaction reported in the ad-hoc module on subjective well-being, EU-SILC 2013 where the whole country level of life satisfaction was estimated as 7 (on a scale of 0 to 10).

**Figure 72**

Satisfaction scores of respondents in Bratislava-Rača and share of satisfied (satisfaction score of at least 6)

(a) Satisfaction scores (455 respondents)

(b) Satisfaction by age group

Note: Weighted averages reported.
The respondents are most satisfied with their personal relationships and accommodation; the satisfaction with their financial situation varies the most, though the median value is still in a positive range (more than 5, the neutral point). Youths under the age of 35 are, on average less satisfied than those older than 35, e.g., 8.12 against 6.44 for the quality of accommodation, respectively. The worst category for both age groups is the financial satisfaction, with the satisfaction score for the younger group being just slightly over the neutral value of 5.

**Note:** The box plot graph provide information on the minimum, first quartile, median, third quartile, and the maximum of a variable.
Figure 74

Mean opinion scores for perceptions of the future development of the municipality of Bratislava-Rača by age groups, gender, and employment situation

Note: Opinion scores range from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).

The current living environment in Bratislava-Rača is rated slightly positively at 6.60. In terms of the perceptions of future prospects, male respondents are, on average, slightly more pessimistic than female, as is the group of 30- to 34-year-olds in comparison to 25- to 29-year-olds, and employed people versus students. However, none strongly supported the statement that the situation was moving in a negative direction.

D. Small-scale survey: migration experience and migration intentions

Fully 8.66 percent of respondents report having lived outside Slovakia for at least one continuous year: 11 (of 31) had lived in the Czech Republic, seven in Great Britain, and four in the USA. Other countries mentioned were Switzerland, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Israel, and the Russian Federation.

The motives for migration are different combinations of study and work, e.g., as an actuary manager, marketing specialist, administrative worker, and member of scientific staff at a university; 20.69 percent mentioned family reasons as the main driver.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

92.3 percent reported having accumulated skills that can be capitalized on in Slovakia. Four respondents mentioned that they had experienced difficulties registering their change of residence, two reported problems with the recognition of educational certificates, and two with obtaining health insurance and access to healthcare.

In 2009, 64 percent of Slovaks reported they could not imagine working abroad. While 23 percent were considering such a possibility, only 11 percent would consider a move within the year following the interview. The most sought after countries for immigration were the United Kingdom (30 percent), Germany (29 percent), and Austria (26 percent); destinations further afield, such as Australia and Canada earned 11 percent and 5 percent, respectively.

At the end of 2018, the vast majority (84.2 percent) of respondents stated they would prefer to continue living in Bratislava-Rača, 6.1 percent would like to move to another municipality, and 5.3 percent to another country, such as Australia or Canada (Figure 75).

Figure 75

Migration aspirations of respondents in Bratislava-Rača

- No, continue living in Rača
- Yes, move to another municipal
- Yes, move abroad

68 The Special Eurobarometer 337: Geographical and labor market mobility.
Of the 31 respondents who said they would prefer to move to another country, eight wanted to do it within a year, and at that point had already looked for information about the destination countries and jobs there. Half of the respondents reported that they would like to spend at least five years abroad but would not like to stay there forever.

**Short summary: Bratislava-Rača**

Rača, the city district 8 kilometers away from the center of Bratislava, still preserves a character of a vineyard area. The typical village appearance was altered by big factories that came to Rača in the second half of the 20th century. After the wave of privatization at the end of the 1980s, many big factories fell apart into smaller ones or disappeared. House estates filled the land freed from productive facilities. The EU accession in 2004 brought about positive changes, especially through investments in infrastructure, education, and social areas. The country’s and Rača’s competitiveness improved, for the latter, in such sectors as viticulture and winery. GDP in Bratislavský kraj (NUTS 3) doubled from 2010 to 2016. Healthcare provision improved at national level but not in Rača. Educational and childcare facilities increased their supply. Contemporaneously, the quality of local services and housing policies are poor, and cultural events targeting young residents are rare.

Youths under the age of 35 are up to two satisfaction points (on an 11-point scale) less satisfied with different life domains than the older population. The latter are the most satisfied with the quality of their accommodation (8.12), while the former report a score of just 6.44.

The current living environment in Bratislava-Rača is rated slightly positively at 6.60. As for perceptions of future development, male respondents are, on average, slightly more pessimistic than females, as is the group of 30- to 34-year-olds in comparison to the 25- to 29-year-olds, and employed people versus students. However, none strongly support the statement that the situation is moving in a negative direction.

Slovakia and Bratislava-Rača show patterns of both immigration and emigration. Bratislava-Rača enjoys a positive migration balance in international and internal migration exchange; youths – including foreign citizens and returnees – in Rača are, on average, higher educated than at national level. Foreign citizens are also about 15 percentage points more economically active. Top sending countries to Slovakia (by country of citizenship) are Czech Republic, Hungary, and Romania; in Rača, the number one sending country is Vietnam.
8.66 percent of respondents lived outside Slovakia for at least one year, studying or working in occupations such as actuary manager, marketing specialist, and scientific staff at a university. Currently, 84.2 percent of respondents would like to continue to live in Rača, (younger) males being slightly more prone than women to migrate, e.g., to Australia and Canada. Home ownership diminishes the desire to leave the municipality.

Recommendations to local policymakers would include ensuring availability of affordable housing for young people, as well as the introduction of measures enabling both a better school-to-labor market transition and improving the attractiveness of the labor market for highly educated professionals.

4.1.6. Serbia – Kanjiža

Context

Serbia belongs to the semi-periphery of Western Europe, and Kanjiža, located about 15 kilometers from the border with Hungary, is a zonal urban center in the Severnobanatska oblast (region). Both the country as a whole and the municipality witness significant out-migration and population decline. Since data on international migration are only available for 2011 (based on the Serbian national census), we will draw on UNPD estimates. Since 2010, when the stocks of both Serbian emigrants abroad and immigrants in Serbia each exceeded 800,000 people (partly due to the Yugoslav wars), the former has increased and the latter decreased significantly into 2017, thus making out-migration more visible (Figure 76). Despite a significantly negative internal migration exchange of Severnobanatska oblast (NUTS 3) with other parts of the country, the internal migration balance of the municipality of Kanjiža became positive in 2013 (Figure 77).

69 Including Kosovo.

70 In accordance with census data, in 2011, the top sending countries by citizenship at the country level were Croatia (134,014 persons), Bosnia and Herzegovina (96,375 persons), and Montenegro (20,061 persons).

71 Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.
Figure 76

Stocks of Serbian emigrants abroad and immigrants in Serbia (including Kosovo), in 2010, 2015, and 2017 (number of persons)

Source: UNPD total migrant stock mid-year by origin and major area, region, country, or area of destination, 1990–2017

Figure 77

Internal migration balance of Kanjiža and the NUTS 3 region of the Severnobaranatska oblast (region), 2010–2017 (number of persons)

Source: UNPD total migrant stock mid-year by origin and major area, region, country, or area of destination, 1990–2017
In 2011, a low level of education was widespread among youths aged 15–34: The share of Serbian and foreign citizens with primary education or less at municipal level exceeded the corresponding share at the country level by about 15 percentage points (Figure 78). Similarly, in 2017, the level of economic activity in Severnobanatska region was lower than at the country level, for foreign citizens even as low as just 44 percent (Figure 79).

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72 Data from 2011 Census, Serbia.
73 Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, LFS survey (no data on foreign citizens are available at subnational level).
From 2010 to 2017, both GDP per capita and disposable household income per capita increased at the national level (the former by 52 percent and the latter by 41 percent). However, the share of annual disposable household income per capita in GDP per capita decreased both in Vojvodina, the NUTS 2 region surrounding Kanjiža, and at the national level (Figure 80). This translates as a lower positive impact of economic growth on the living standards of Serbian households than GDP per capita might suggest. Healthcare provision based on the number of doctors per hundred thousand inhabitants decreased by more than 3 percent at the country level.

74 Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, National Accounts (no data at subnational level are available).
75 Data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, Household Budget Survey.
76 Eurostat data (no data at subnational level are available).
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Figure 80

Disposable household income per capita (mean) as a share of the national level GDP per capita, 2010–2017

A. Small-scale survey: general details

The YOUMIG small-scale survey in Kanjiža covered young people aged 18–34 residing in the municipality, regardless of their nationality. The data were collected by an IT company, PONT system, from Subotica, which developed an online survey in the Serbian and Hungarian language.

Data collection took place on September 20–28, 2018, based on quota sampling. The interviewers were given the location (settlement) where they should conduct the survey, the required number of completed questionnaires (according to the number of inhabitants), and the sample requirements (according to the structure of the population of the municipality of Kanjiža):

- By nationality: Hungarians – about 90 percent, Serbs – about 10 percent;
- By gender: men and women – about 50 percent each;
- By age: 18–21 years, 22–25, 26–29, 30–34 years – about the same share of 25 percent each;
- By economic activity: Students (students, students attending college or university) – 25 percent, employed (registered employment) – 25 percent, unemployed (looking for a job) – 25 percent, other (entrepreneurs, farmers, those who work but are not registered) – 25 percent;
- In connection to migration: Born in the
municipality of Kanjiža, living there, not having lived abroad for more than a year – about 70-80 percent, foreigners – born abroad, but moved to the municipality of Kanjiža and now living there – about 0–10 percent.

In most cases, the interviewers performed face-to-face interviews with help of a computer or a mobile phone. In cases where a personal interview was not possible, the interviewees filled in the online questionnaire while being guided question-by-question via telephone or Skype by an interviewer.

Household and individual weights were calculated to adjust sample values to the target population. For individuals, we adjusted to the population values according to the demographic estimates for 2017, based on the vital statistics and internal migration for the municipality of Kanjiža, considering single age and gender. The quota sample was used as a basis, and selection probabilities for the individuals are unknown. The weights for households were calculated according to the distribution of households with individuals aged 18-34 according to the 2011 Census, by the number of persons in the household (six classes).

**B. Small-scale survey: socio-demographic characteristics of the sample**

The sample contains 579 observations, 55.6 percent of which were females (322) (weighted 48 percent of female); 85 percent of respondents were born in Kanjiža, 5 percent in Senta (about 20 km away), 3.3 percent in Subotica (40 km away). Half of those born in other municipalities had moved to Kanjiža before 2005.

The majority of respondents (558) were born in Serbia, 16 in Hungary, three in Germany, two in Croatia. Further, 153 individuals were identified as second generation migrants, or persons who were born in and are residing in a country that at least one of their parents previously entered as a migrant or person with migratory background.

The sample covers individuals aged 18–34, with the average age being 26.3 (weighted estimate). The majority of respondents live in a 3-4-person household (33.91 and 32.47 percent, respectively). 38.43 percent of respondents had children. About 37 percent of the families in Kanjiža are what we might refer to as ‘transnational families’, e.g., a migrant spouse/partner and a non-migrant spouse, migrant parents and their non-migrant children who remain at ‘home’, and migrants and their elderly non-migrant parents and siblings. 62 people reported that they had relatives living abroad. Transnationalism of families in Kanjiža is a contemporary phenomenon, which is also rarely addressed by migration and integration policies.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

47.40 percent of respondents reported that they were employed, 7.88 percent stated they were self-employed. About 10 percent were unemployed, 7.73 percent were looking for a job, and 3.12 percent were not looking for a job. About one-third of respondents (29.42 percent) declared that they were students.

At the time of the survey, 27 percent of respondents had a university degree (at least a BA). The biggest group (42.44 percent) had completed upper secondary education. The most frequently mentioned fields of study were generic programs and qualifications (15.99 percent), agriculture, forestry, fishery (12.98 percent), education (12.61 percent), business, administration, and law (12.60 percent), engineering, manufacturing, and construction (11.80 percent).

On average, the monthly disposable income of a household is RSD 65,768. This is the equivalent of RSD 21,844 of disposable income per capita. The Household Budget Survey suggests that the national figure is just slightly higher at RSD 22,743 for 2017.
Half of the respondents (53.85 percent) live in their own accommodation and 7.30 percent are still paying a mortgage for the accommodation in which they are living. 18.14 percent live for free in a relative’s or friend’s property. Renting an apartment is relatively rare: 8.96 percent rent an entire property and only 3.09 percent rent part of a property. Less than 1 percent of respondents live in social housing.

C. Small-scale survey: satisfaction with life and the living environment
Serbian data on life satisfaction are rare. Eurofound reports a national level of life satisfaction of 6.3 (on a scale from 1 to 10) for 2012; and that 60 percent are optimistic about the future. Six years later in Kanjiža, we observe very similar levels of life satisfaction – 6.69 on average – among young people.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

The most satisfying life dimension is personal relationships: Not only is the average satisfaction score 7.47,77 but the share of those who rate their personal relationships as positive is also the highest (83.2 percent). Financial satisfaction is the lowest of the dimensions studied, with the average score being only half a point higher than the neutrality point of 5 (Figure 83).

\[\text{Figure 83}\]

\textbf{Satisfaction scores of respondents in Burgas and share of satisfied (satisfaction score of at least 6)}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lcc}
\hline
& Life & Financial satisfaction & Accommodation & Personal relationships \\
\hline
(a) Satisfaction scores (579 respondents) & 6.69 & 6.79 & 7.47 \\
(b) Share of satisfied (satisfaction score of at least 6) & 76.2 & 55.4 & 72.9 & 83.2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Similarly, youths are only slightly satisfied with the current living environment in Kanjiža (average score of 6.26), and mildly disagree that life improved in recent years (score of 4.12) (Figure 84).

In Kanjiža, the opinion on future changes is unclear (average score of 5.43), while the situation in Serbia is definitely not seen as positive (the average score of 3.08; disagreement with the statement that the country has positive prospects) (Figure 85).

\[\text{77 In this section, weighted estimates are reported.}\]
Satisfaction with the living environment and development of quality of life of respondents in Kanjiža

Figure 84

Perceptions of respondents in Kanjiža of the future development of the municipality

Figure 85
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

D. Small-scale survey: migration experience and migration intentions

Only 8.12 percent of Serbian citizens reported that they had lived abroad for at least one year.\(^78\) Of the 47 respondents, 33 (70.2 percent) had lived in Hungary, nine (19.2 percent) in Germany, two (4.26 percent) in Austria, and one respondent each in Belgium, UK, and Malta. Over half of the migration episodes happened in the last five years (since 2014); in half of the cases the length of stay abroad was one or two years. As their main activity abroad, 23 of the 47 respondents were working, 16 were studying, and eight were abroad for family reasons. Only half (49 percent, or 23 respondents) of Serbian youths with a long-term migration experience considered this experience as having given them valuable skills.

None of the eight reasons for return scored high in importance; however, the most popular drivers for return were family reasons and an absence of social network and friends.

![Evaluation of reasons for return to Kanjiža](image)

The most frequently experienced administrative difficulties on return were obtaining health insurance (11 cases) and recognition of educational certificates (seven cases).

According to a study entitled “Migratory Potential of Serbia”, 68.2 percent did not think about leaving Serbia in 2009. Currently, 65.37 percent of youth

\(^{78}\) Of the non-Serbian citizens (23), only three had lived outside of Serbia for at least one year (two in Hungary and one in UK).
respondents would like to continue living in Kanjiža, while 5.42 percent would like to move to another municipality, and 29.21 percent to other country: 63.4 percent (109) to Hungary, 11.6 percent (20) to Germany, 13 (7.6 percent) to the UK, and 11 (6.4 percent) to Austria. The most popular second-choice countries were Germany (28.5 percent), Austria (19.2 percent), and Switzerland (9.3 percent).

Of those who would like to move abroad, 51.8 percent would like to do that within a year, and four out of five of these respondents had already started preparations for the move (searching for a job in the destination country, making contact with friends and relatives, looking for contacts in the destination country). The vast majority, 85.6 percent, plan to work abroad, while only 8.33 percent plan to study.

As for the intended length of stay, the most popular option (39 percent) was “Maybe forever”.

**Short summary: Kanjiža**

After the fall of the Yugoslavian communist regime, Kanjiža faced privatization of its most successful factories by foreign investors. Nevertheless, the industry deteriorated, as foreign firms focused on agriculture and trade. Significant reduction of employee numbers followed, leading to dramatic figures of the long-term unemployed across all ages, and especially among those older than 50. Both the country as a whole and the municipality have witnessed significant out-migration and population decline. By 2016, nearly one out of five in Kanjiža was older than 65.

Recently, both GDP per capita and disposable household income per capita have been growing, though incomes in Kanjiža are below the national level. The most dynamic sectors include production of construction materials, and food processing. The major share of the GDP in Kanjiža is produced by private companies. The YOUMIG survey respondents do not have the same views of the possibility of positive future changes in the municipality; though the situation in Serbia is definitely not viewed positively.

The (most) satisfying life dimension is personal relationships. Over one third of families in Kanjiža are what could be referred to as ‘transnational families’; their specific challenges are rarely addressed by migration and integration policies.

While the municipality is often seen only as a “stopover on the way to the European Union”, the internal migration balance of the municipality of Kanjiža became positive in 2013. According to YOUMIG results, only about 8 percent of the youth (Serbian citizens) lived abroad for at least one year, predominantly for work and study, in Germany, Hungary, or Austria. Only half of these respondents considers that experience to have given them valuable skills. Currently, over 29
percent of respondents would like to move abroad, half of those within a year; the majority had been already searching for a job or looking for contact persons. Over half of the respondents live in their own accommodation, 7.30 percent are still paying a mortgage. Owning a house and having children are two strong factors increasing the desire to stay in the municipality. On the positive side, those with higher levels of education are also more prone to stay.

Recommendations to local policymakers include the recognition of specific challenges faced by transnational families, facilitation of housing acquisition, and improvement of the living conditions of the low educated groups.

4.2. Comparative analysis

In this chapter, we investigate the correlates of variables such as satisfaction and intention to migrate. Each of the two subchapters starts with a short literature review followed by an explanation of how the data collected within the small-scale surveys align with the findings suggested by the literature.

4.2.1. Satisfaction with life and urban development

**Previous literature**

Subjective well-being (SWB) studies is a relatively new branch of research in economics, though significant effort was put into identifying and classifying the economic, as well as demographic, institutional, and social determinants and moderators that made up the ‘happiness equation’. In the literature, the terms ‘subjective well-being’, ‘happiness’, ‘life satisfaction’, and even “utility” are sometimes used interchangeably. Despite being closely related, the measures can lead to different conclusions (Galinha and Pais-Ribeiro, 2008), e.g., while the presence of children increases the happiness level of the parents, it decreases their life satisfaction. Subjective well-being is usually understood as a more general, umbrella term encompassing its three components: life satisfaction (LS), positive, and negative affect. Life satisfaction refers to the possibility of satisfying own (economic, objective) preferences (Diener, 1984). Further, in this text we will use the notion of SWB and LS as synonymous.

The candidates for the SWB determinants constitute the so-called “Big Seven”, formulated by Layard (2005): family relationships, financial situation, work, community and friends, health, personal freedom, and personal values.

In the last ten years, a number of studies appeared highlighting the differences in SWB patterns between postcommunist countries and the more advanced economies (Selezneva, 2011, Selezneva, 2015). The answer to whether money brings happiness depends on the nature of the data. In
cross-sectional settings, both in advanced and postcommunist countries, for instance, a higher level of income is likely to be associated with a higher level of SWB. In the labor market sphere, unemployment does negatively affect the individual SWB across all countries, both in the short and long term. The impact of employment is unclear, however, especially in transition countries, due to the more widespread informality and wage arrears in the latter. The self-employed are more likely to be more satisfied than employees. While relatively rarely studied for the countries of Eastern Europe, family relationships often earn the highest satisfaction scores of all the life dimensions, especially during the tumultuous years of crisis and transition.

The literature continues to reconfirm the existence of what has been coined the “iron curtain of unhappiness”, namely a gap in SWB that still exists between advanced and postcommunist transition countries (Lelkes, 2006). The existence of the “iron curtain” is often linked to relatively high unemployment levels, political and economic instability, and income volatility.

**YOUMIG results**

We start with a simple comparison of life satisfaction levels across municipalities. However, it is important to underline that the results of such a comparison should be interpreted with caution due to the differences in the sample selection methods as well as some differences in age structure.

*Figure 87*

**Satisfaction with life domains across partner municipalities**

![Graph showing satisfaction with life domains across municipalities](image)

*Note:* A response scale from 0 (completely unsatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied) is used.

In Slovakia, the LS figures are estimated for the whole population.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

The six municipalities under consideration are all located in transition countries. In keeping with the findings from the previous literature, of the different life domains, personal and family relationships earn the highest satisfaction scores, while financial satisfaction is persistently the lowest. If we plot the average satisfaction figures in partner municipalities against the national level GDP per capita, we observe, on average, a higher LS among young people (with the exception of Slovakia, all ages included) in wealthier countries.

*Figure 88*

**GDP per capita and life satisfaction across partner municipalities**

![GDP per capita and life satisfaction across partner municipalities](image)

*Note:* GDP per capita, Purchasing Power Parity (current international USD); *Data source:* International Comparison Program database, World Bank. Life satisfaction: YOUMIG small-scale survey in partner municipality, response scale 0-10.

If we estimate the life satisfaction for different population subgroups and run simple regressions, we find that women are, on average, more satisfied with life than men (with the exception of Romania and Slovakia) (Table 5, and Table A1 in the Appendix). A comparison of averages suggests that families with children are more satisfied, while the regressions show mixed results. Higher per capita income is associated with higher life satisfaction, as well as higher levels of education (with the exception of Slovakia). As in previous studies, unemployment status can result in up to 2.5 satisfaction points loss. Also in Slovenia and Slovakia we note a slightly negative impact of employment, which
indirectly signals the low quality of employment (e.g., insecurity, precariousness, low pay). The coefficient for students is significantly negative in Maribor (where most students work at the same time as studying) and significantly positive in Bratislava-Rača (the most sought-after municipality to remain living, where students are optimistic about the future prospects of the municipality). A similarly positive effect on LS comes from ownership of accommodation where the family also lives (if the mortgage is already paid off).

There is mixed evidence regarding the impact of previous migration experience. From the examples of Hungary and Romania, we can see that short-term and long-term migration episodes can have different consequences for individual well-being (Table A1 in the Appendix). The differences may be rooted in the levels of education/occupations of the migrants abroad and their reasons for return. Regarding short-term migration, Hungarian respondents reported mainly having worked in the service sector (e.g., as waiters), while Romanian respondents were employed as seasonal workers in agriculture. The former are less satisfied with life than those without migration experience, while the latter are more satisfied. The differences might be due to the more widespread lack of success of the migration episodes among Hungarian respondents, and the expected return (due to the seasonality of work) of the Romanian workers. As for the long-term migration episodes, for Hungary, the most frequently cited reasons for return were family reasons and the absence of a desire to stay longer; the relative neutrality of the reasons for moving to the country of destination might explain the similarity of the LS scores for those with and without long-term migration experience. For Romania, returnees from a long-term migration spell are the least satisfied with life when compared to those with short-term experience or those with no experience. The reasons for return, unsurprisingly, are different: Family issues are at the top, followed by inadequate housing conditions and difficulties finding housing, and termination of the working contract or study program. The latter two reasons suggest an “involuntary” return.

Additionally, respondents were questioned on their satisfaction with their living environment. Among the six participating municipalities, the highest satisfaction with the living environment was reported in Szeged (at 7.64) and Maribor (6.97). The most neutral evaluation of progress over the last year was in Maribor (5.17) and Bratislava-Rača (5.24). The lowest scores for both the current living environment and the recent changes can be observed in Kanjiža (6.26 and 4.12, respectively). Most interestingly, there was no clear indication that positive changes were expected in the six municipalities.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Table 5

Regression results for determinants of life satisfaction across partner municipalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) BG</th>
<th>(2) HU</th>
<th>(3) RO</th>
<th>(4) SI</th>
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<td>-0.335***</td>
<td>-0.135</td>
<td>-0.285**</td>
<td>0.078*</td>
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<td>(0.135)</td>
<td>(0.131)</td>
<td>(0.042)</td>
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<td>0.282</td>
<td>-0.171</td>
<td>0.401**</td>
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<td>(0.437)</td>
<td>(0.162)</td>
<td>(0.252)</td>
<td>(0.230)</td>
<td>(0.191)</td>
<td>(0.186)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Children (dummy)</td>
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<td>-0.207</td>
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<td>1.589***</td>
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<td>(0.256)</td>
<td>(0.263)</td>
<td>(0.222)</td>
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<td>Education completed, ISCED</td>
<td>0.426*</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>0.076</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>-0.181**</td>
<td>0.156**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.239)</td>
<td>(0.048)</td>
<td>(0.086)</td>
<td>(0.077)</td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td>(0.061)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>0.195</td>
<td>-0.166</td>
<td>0.546</td>
<td>-0.952**</td>
<td>-0.530**</td>
<td>-0.186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.841)</td>
<td>(0.305)</td>
<td>(0.432)</td>
<td>(0.409)</td>
<td>(0.240)</td>
<td>(0.305)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-0.769</td>
<td>-1.996***</td>
<td>-0.224</td>
<td>-2.525***</td>
<td>-0.603</td>
<td>-2.004***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.097)</td>
<td>(0.530)</td>
<td>(0.642)</td>
<td>(0.562)</td>
<td>(1.343)</td>
<td>(0.423)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>-0.361</td>
<td>0.249</td>
<td>1.247*</td>
<td>-0.134</td>
<td>-0.498</td>
<td>0.169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.932)</td>
<td>(0.593)</td>
<td>(0.634)</td>
<td>(0.527)</td>
<td>(1.253)</td>
<td>(0.416)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>1.460</td>
<td>0.132</td>
<td>0.500</td>
<td>-0.765*</td>
<td>4.289***</td>
<td>0.259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.016)</td>
<td>(0.371)</td>
<td>(0.548)</td>
<td>(0.421)</td>
<td>(1.131)</td>
<td>(0.334)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive (base category)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income per capita, national currency</td>
<td>0.002**</td>
<td>0.004**</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own accommodation</td>
<td>0.928**</td>
<td>0.749***</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>0.306</td>
<td>0.907***</td>
<td>0.452**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.456)</td>
<td>(0.173)</td>
<td>(0.257)</td>
<td>(0.273)</td>
<td>(0.184)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.606*</td>
<td>7.955***</td>
<td>7.750***</td>
<td>7.946***</td>
<td>6.099***</td>
<td>5.510***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.433)</td>
<td>(0.529)</td>
<td>(0.620)</td>
<td>(0.599)</td>
<td>(0.625)</td>
<td>(0.423)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obs.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.222</td>
<td>0.160</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.131</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>0.133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Standard errors are in parenthesis, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Dependent variable: Life satisfaction (from 0 (not at all satisfied) to 10 (very much satisfied)). Income categories are in national currencies. No data on incomes are available for Slovenia. In Slovakia, respondents of all ages are included, in other countries the age range is between 15 and 34. The five-year age groups are: 15–19, 20–24, 25–30, and 31–34. The number of observations may be lower due to missing values.
Table 6

Satisfaction with the living environment and perceptions of past and future changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Satisfaction with living environment, ((0 – 10))</th>
<th>Changes in municipality in recent years, ((0 – 10))</th>
<th>Perception of future changes, ((1 – 5))</th>
<th>Additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>– Burgas</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>Negative direction (3.50) Positive direction (3.55)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>– Szeged</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>Negative direction (3.57) Positive direction (5.21)</td>
<td>Green and recreational areas (6.84), safety (7.60), healthcare (6.12), public transport (6.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>– Sfântu Gheorghe</td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>(ongoing changes) 7.56</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>Green and recreational areas (7.55), safety (6.68), healthcare (5.16), public transport (6.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>– Bratislava-Rača *</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>Negative direction (3.29) Positive direction (n.a.)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>– Maribor</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>Negative direction (4.82) Positive direction (4.12)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>– Kanjiža</td>
<td>6.26</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>Negative direction, Kanjiža (5.43) Positive direction, Serbia (3.08)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In Slovakia the estimations are for the total sample. Weighted averages are given when the weights are available.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Similar to life satisfaction, perceptions of quality of life are positively associated with being a woman, having a higher income, and home ownership. The impact of educational levels is mixed (e.g., positive in Burgas, and negative in Szeged and Rača). The younger age groups are more satisfied than the older age groups. Only in Bratislava-Rača were the economically active respondents more optimistic about the future development of the municipality than the economically inactive.

4.2.2. Migration intentions

Previous literature

While a number of theories from different disciplines seek to explain the decision of individuals to migrate (Massey et al., 1993, Arango, 2017), the YOUMIG Conceptual Framework relies on a revised ‘push and pull factors’ perspective (Fassmann et al, 2018). On the one hand, there are what are referred to as ‘push and pull factors’, namely a range of unattractive (e.g., unemployment, negative environmental conditions) and attractive (e.g., high wages, good climate) circumstances or factors. On the other hand, there is the individual evaluating possible places of residence while ‘summing’ the push and pull factors in different locations and ultimately choosing to live in a location with the biggest ‘positive-sum’ of the factors. While originally, when the theory was formulated by Lee (1966), the living conditions in a location were mainly perceived as the labor market conditions, this understanding was recently revised to accommodate a wider range of circumstances. In YOUMIG, we rely on an updated push and pull model, namely we assume that “people evaluate the circumstances very differently depending on age, life-cycle stage, thus the situational perceptions of pull and push factors may vary significantly from one individual to another” (Fassmann et al., 2018: 21). In other words this means the individuals do not just ‘sum’ the circumstances but ‘weight’ them with weights that vary according to socio-demographic characteristics. Thus, in the updated framework, the attractiveness of a location is likely to be different for a young woman than for an elderly man.

However, it is not only the individual characteristics that are significant for the decision, but also the way individuals form their expectations about the conditions they would be faced with abroad (or in a different municipality). The role of social (gender) norms in how the expectations translate into behavior should not be underestimated (De Jong, 2000). A new strand of research has revealed that, since individual perceptions of circumstances can modify the “strength” of the impact of objective factors on migration decisions, indicators
of subjective well-being can help to predict migration decisions. Using data from 27 EU counties (a region with relatively low legal barriers for internal migration), Otrachenko and Popova (2014) discover that individuals with higher life satisfaction are less prone to migrate. As Ivlevs’ review (2014a) points out, a small number of studies reveal the possibility of reverse causality, namely an intention to migrate making individuals more satisfied with life.

A variety of legal, societal, and financial constraints are among the reasons why the declared intentions to migrate might be relatively poor predictors of future (e)migration. While poorer individuals would be expected to move to the areas with a higher potential income, legal and financial constraints on movement will prevent the poorer and less educated individuals from migrating (Ivlevs, 2014a).

The probability of long-term migration (longer than a year) is likely to be partially predicted by the declared migration intention, but is also likely to vary due to factors such as age, marital status, health, employment status, and previous migration episodes. Similarly, a decision to stay is strongly connected to property (housing) ownership, the presence of children, and high levels of satisfaction with the dwelling or neighborhood (Clark and Lisowski, 2017).

**YOUMIG results**

In order to observe and explain the conversion of a migration intention into migration itself, we need a longitudinal panel dataset that records individual characteristics and actions over time. Often only the actions themselves but not the particular circumstances of decisions are recorded. A lack of data hampers studies of both the process of undertaking migration decisions and the change of perceptions and subjective well-being experienced by individuals before and after the migration act (Bartram, 2013).

Of the YOUMIG partners, Bratislava-Rača reveals itself as the most sought-after municipality in which to remain: 84.2 percent of respondents would like to continue living there (Table 7). The least desirable is Maribor: 47.5 percent of respondents would like to stay, 22.2 percent wanted to move to another municipality, and 30.3 percent wanted to move to another country. Two other municipalities with over 29 percent of respondents expressing the wish to move abroad are Szeged, and Kanjiža. Szeged is also the municipality with the highest share of returnees. As expected, the most desirable destination countries are frequently those in the Danube region, namely Austria, Germany, and Hungary; other dream destination countries are the UK (England), Spain, Switzerland, and Australia.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Table 7

Migration intentions and experiences: some descriptive statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality (observations, age range)</th>
<th>Migration intentions</th>
<th>Migration experiences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No, would like to stay</td>
<td>Yes, would like to move to another municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria – Burgas (198 obs., Age: 15-34)</td>
<td>62.63%</td>
<td>15.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary – Szeged (802 obs., Age: 15-35)</td>
<td>57.34%</td>
<td>13.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania – Sfântu Gheorghe (352 obs., Age: 17-35)</td>
<td>59.17%</td>
<td>17.12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia – Bratislava-Rača (500 obs., Age: 15+)</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia – Maribor (508 obs., Age: 18-34)</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia – Kanjiža (579 obs, Age: 18-34)</td>
<td>65.37%</td>
<td>5.43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Weighed means and shares are reported if weights are available

Due to the cross-sectional nature of the YOUMIG dataset, we can only explore the differences in the intensity of migration intentions along socio-economic dimensions (Table A2 in the Appendix). We would like to underline that, due to the differences in sample selection procedures, and in the age spans covered, direct inter-country comparisons should be conducted with caution.
The previous literature suggests that women are, on average, more likely to stay (and thus not migrate). We assume that an individual makes a choice between staying and moving (to another municipality or abroad), and estimate logistic regressions for each country to model this choice (Table A3 in the Appendix). As the gender coefficient is only significant in the case of Szeged, we hypothesize (as the CF predicts) that the impact of gender on migration intention may vary along the age and life satisfaction dimensions.

If we plot predictions for the probability of an individual declaring that they want to stay in municipality from the logistic regression (Table 3A) for both genders at different ages, we might see the following differences. Older individuals and especially females are more prone to stay (e.g., see Figure 89a for Slovakia; the result is similar for Bulgaria, Hungary, and Serbia). In Romania and Slovenia, the probability curve either has an inverted U shape or is rather flat (Figure 89b). In the latter case, for example, in the group of 20- to 24-year-olds there is about a 40 percent chance that a female (or a male) respondent will declare a desire to stay.

Figure 89

**Adjusted prediction of probability of staying between genders along the life span**

- **(a) Slovakia**
  - **(b) Slovenia**

*Note:* The probability of staying is based on the estimates of the logistic regression (stay in the municipality vs. leave municipality) in Table 3A and calculated based on age for the two genders, with 95-percent confidence intervals included.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

Support for this evidence can be found in the descriptive statistics (Table A2): In Bulgaria (of those who declared they would like to continue living in Burgas, over 60 percent were women and of those who wanted to go abroad, 56.8 percent were women), in Szeged (56.1 percent against 42.4 percent), and in Kanjiža (57.7 percent against 50.6 percent). In Sfântu Gheorghe, women represent the largest share of those who would like to move abroad; in Maribor and Rača they are the largest share of those who want to move to another municipality.

As predicted in the literature, home ownership creates a mild constraint on migration. However, this evidence becomes apparent (though not for Bulgaria and Romania) in the regression if life satisfaction is excluded from the explanatory variables set; this resonates with our earlier conclusion that owning a house is of great importance for life satisfaction across postcommunist countries. Contrary to expectations, for respondents in Szeged, the presence of children in a family is associated with a desire to move out. As far as income per capita is concerned, the impact is unclear: In Burgas the poorest have the greatest desire to stay, while in Sfântu Gheorghe it is the wealthiest. The latter result is only visible again when LS is excluded. On average, those with migration experience are slightly more favorable towards repeating a migration experience; this effect is found in all countries when no control for LS is introduced, and only for Slovakia with the LS in the specification. Thus, among those with migration experience (returnees), the most satisfied with life are more likely to prefer to stay than those who are less satisfied (Figure 90). Due to a relatively low number of observations, the tendency can be seen more clearly when evaluated on average. Across partner municipalities, it is the most satisfied who tend to want to stay; the less satisfied want to move to another municipality, and the least satisfied would like to move abroad.
Figure 90

Predicted probability of staying, or with no migration intention, along the life satisfaction scale for those with and without migration experience, Hungary

With several minor exceptions, e.g., Burgas and Sfântu Gheorghe, the variable life satisfaction and satisfaction with quality of life in the municipality essentially coincide (Figure 91, Table A4). This suggests that a significant share of satisfaction with life is determined by the quality of the living environment, at least in the countries with transition experience.
4. Analysis: The objective and subjective aspects of youth migration

89. Life satisfaction and satisfaction with the quality of the living environment by migration intention

Note: Migration intentions are coded as three categories: Would like to stay in the municipality (Stay), would like to migrate to another municipality within the country (M.: within), would like to migrate abroad (M.: outside).
5. Conclusion

Back in history, when nation states first began to emerge, the idea of homogeneous nations prevailed thus eliminating the need for a local level perspective on the implications of migration. Nowadays, this view is challenged by global migration processes. While the cultural homogeneity discourse often still prevails, we believe that modern migration processes (both sending and receiving) directly affect the development of local communities. Thus a local level understanding of the phenomenon is now of crucial importance.

Something else illustrated by discussions in the context of the YOUMIG Working Papers is that scholarly debates on migration suffer from several drawbacks. First, they represent the dialectic of conflicting approaches in social theorization on agency and structure. As Carling and Collins (2018) pointed out, while today’s political rhetoric on “managing” migration (as also advocated by YOUMIG Working Paper No.1) insists on the concept of rational agency, critical researchers (as in YOUMIG Working Paper No.2) have long highlighted the shortcomings of this approach, and emphasized “migration’s complexity and the manner in which it is embedded in social relations, imaginations of the world, economic settings and opportunities and political controls”. Second, the lack of the relevant data – both longitudinal datasets and smaller sets of local information – hinders the advancement of research and evidence-based policymaking.

YOUMIG, particularly Working Paper 3, aimed only peripherally to solve theoretical dilemmas. Instead, the project concentrated on selecting a limited set of indicators that would still provide interested stakeholders with a range of information on the past and present of the social and economic development in their municipalities within the context of larger territorial entities. While, in the first part of the current working paper we provide an overview of the process of creating the dataset and the related challenges, in the second part, we
demonstrate how the dataset can be used to illustrate ongoing phenomena in a municipality with a range of objective indicators. Simultaneously, we emphasize the need to collect a range of subjective indicators, including satisfaction with life and its domains, quality of the local environment, and opinions on the success of local development. Building on the Conceptual Framework (Working Paper No.1) and the Local Status Quo Analyses (Working Paper No. 2), we aimed to illustrate how the subjective measures already incorporate the subjective process of individual decision-making, usually not observable by policymakers, and alongside objective characteristics make it possible to predict certain migration-related phenomena, such as migration intentions. Life satisfaction is admittedly difficult to impact in spheres like personal relationships. However, the other domains, such as quality of accommodation (and affordability of housing), as well as the various components of satisfaction associated with quality of the living environment, including green spaces and public transportation, become the first targets for interventions by policymakers with a view to retaining the youth population in a municipality. The close relationship between satisfaction with life and satisfaction with the living environment suggests that even collecting data on one of the subjective indicators already creates significant potential for improving policy decisions. Moreover, even simple cross tabulation of the subjective measures against the socio-economic characteristics of a population can provide insights on the existing vulnerable groups, where vulnerability is understood as a wish to migrate out of the municipality.

We hope that this paper will not only be used by the municipalities as a basis for verbalizing requests for a better (and harmonized) data collection across countries, but will also help to further promote the idea that migration and local development are closely connected when seen through the eyes, and thus subjective perception, of individuals.
References


DENSTAG, F. Y (2009), Youth Policy Manual: How to develop a national youth strategy, Council of Europe.


## Appendix

**Table A1**

### Satisfaction with life and life domains across partner municipalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Life</strong></th>
<th><strong>Financial situation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Quality of accommodation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Personal relationships</strong></th>
<th><strong>Life satisfaction in subgroups</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bulgaria – Burgas</strong></td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td>Female: 6.55, Male: 6.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children: 5.81, No children: 6.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration experience, 12+ months: 6.78,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No migration experience: 6.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hungary – Szeged</strong></td>
<td>7.53</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>Female: 7.71, Male: 7.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children: 7.41, No children: 7.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration experience, 3-12 months: 7.02; 12+ months: 7.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No migration experience: 7.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Romania – Sfântu Gheorghe</strong></td>
<td>8.05</td>
<td>7.60</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td>8.39</td>
<td>Female: 7.96, Male: 8.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children: 7.74, No children: 8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration experience, 3-12 months: 8.38; 12+ months: 7.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No migration experience: 8.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slovakia – Bratislava-Rača</strong></td>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td>Female: 6.90, Male: 7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children: 6.96, No children: 7.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration experience, 12+ months: 8.24,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No migration experience: 7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slovenia – Maribor</strong></td>
<td>7.32</td>
<td>6.05</td>
<td>7.19</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>Female: 7.04, Male: 6.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children: 7.13, No children: 6.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration experience, 12+ months: 6.83,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No migration experience: 6.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Serbia – Kanjiža</strong></td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>5.55</td>
<td>6.79</td>
<td>7.47</td>
<td>Female: 6.89, Male: 6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children: 6.73, No children: 6.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration experience, 12+ months: 6.31,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No migration experience: 6.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* In Slovakia, the life satisfaction figures are estimated for the total population.
## Table A2

### Means of individual characteristics by migration intentions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No, would like to stay</th>
<th>Yes, would like to move to another municipality</th>
<th>Yes, would like to move abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burgas – Bulgaria</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life satisfaction (0-10)</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with living environment</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>5.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>25.01</td>
<td>26.14</td>
<td>22.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females, %</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with children, %</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Yes, would like to move to another municipality</td>
<td>Yes, would like to move abroad</td>
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### 7. Appendix

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<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td><strong>Kanjiža – Serbia</strong></td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Student, %</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>Migration experience, %</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
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**Table A3**

Intention to continue living in the municipality: logistic regression results

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Bulgaria – Burgas (1)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Hungary – Szeged (2)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Romania – Sfântu Gheorghe (3)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Slovakia – Bratislava-Rača (4)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Slovenia – Maribor (5)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Serbia – Kanjiža (6)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life satisfaction (0-10)</td>
<td>0.142 (0.101)</td>
<td>0.586*** (0.086)</td>
<td>0.148 (0.100)</td>
<td>0.330*** (0.096)</td>
<td>0.691*** (0.170)</td>
<td>0.467*** (0.058)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.134 (0.240)</td>
<td>0.066 (0.163)</td>
<td>0.560*** (0.186)</td>
<td>-0.159 (0.167)</td>
<td>0.782*** (0.210)</td>
<td>0.411*** (0.136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (dummy)</td>
<td>0.019 (0.460)</td>
<td>0.552** (0.254)</td>
<td>0.070 (0.340)</td>
<td>-0.455 (0.286)</td>
<td>0.310 (0.644)</td>
<td>-0.118 (0.220)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children (dummy)</td>
<td>0.895 (0.596)</td>
<td>-1.093*** (omitted)</td>
<td>0.399 (0.317)</td>
<td>-0.679 (0.904)</td>
<td>0.602** (0.267)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, ISCED</td>
<td>0.139 (0.263)</td>
<td>-0.088 (0.077)</td>
<td>0.020 (0.121)</td>
<td>0.046 (0.096)</td>
<td>-0.055 (0.162)</td>
<td>0.114 (0.075)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income per capita, in national currency</td>
<td>0.000 (0.001)</td>
<td>-0.000 (0.002)</td>
<td>0.000 (0.000)</td>
<td>n.a (0.001)</td>
<td>0.001 (0.000)</td>
<td>-0.000 (0.000)</td>
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<tr>
<td>House ownership (dummy)</td>
<td>0.418 (0.485)</td>
<td>1.040*** (0.257)</td>
<td>n.a (omitted)</td>
<td>0.404 (0.315)</td>
<td>-1.098 (1.126)</td>
<td>0.293 (0.213)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employed (dummy)</td>
<td>-0.097 (0.955)</td>
<td>-0.970 (0.647)</td>
<td>0.268 (0.574)</td>
<td>0.227 (0.497)</td>
<td>-0.238 (0.775)</td>
<td>-0.299 (0.414)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (dummy)</td>
<td>0.202 (1.239)</td>
<td>-1.546 (0.960)</td>
<td>1.534 (0.996)</td>
<td>0.015 (0.726)</td>
<td>(omitted) (omitted)</td>
<td>-0.061 (0.537)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-employed (dummy)</td>
<td>-0.425 (1.049)</td>
<td>-1.372 (1.001)</td>
<td>0.011 (0.873)</td>
<td>0.751 (0.643)</td>
<td>(omitted) (omitted)</td>
<td>0.248 (0.565)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student (dummy)</td>
<td>-0.462 (1.106)</td>
<td>-1.101 (0.708)</td>
<td>-0.014 (0.714)</td>
<td>-0.632 (0.513)</td>
<td>(omitted) (omitted)</td>
<td>-1.028** (0.436)</td>
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<td>Migration experience, 12+ months (dummy)</td>
<td>-0.367 (0.655)</td>
<td>-0.245 (0.582)</td>
<td>0.706 (0.732)</td>
<td>-2.494** (1.095)</td>
<td>(omitted) (omitted)</td>
<td>-0.319 (0.375)</td>
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<td>Migration experience, 3 -12 months (dummy)</td>
<td>n.a (n.a)</td>
<td>0.591 (n.a)</td>
<td>-0.135 (n.a)</td>
<td>n.a (n.a)</td>
<td>n.a (n.a)</td>
<td>n.a (n.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.570 (1.569)</td>
<td>-3.026*** (1.098)</td>
<td>-2.797** (1.164)</td>
<td>-2.158** (1.039)</td>
<td>-5.478*** (1.852)</td>
<td>-3.636*** (0.645)</td>
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<td>Obs.</td>
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<td>404</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>577</td>
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<td>Pseudo R-squared</td>
<td>0.0539</td>
<td>0.2632</td>
<td>0.1000</td>
<td>0.1142</td>
<td>0.4139</td>
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Standard errors are in parenthesis *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Note: The following choice is modeled: the intention to stay in municipality vs. the intention to move away (to another municipality or abroad).
## Table A4

Pairwise correlations between the desire to stay, life satisfaction and satisfaction with quality of living environment

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<th>RO</th>
<th>SI</th>
<th>SK</th>
<th>RS</th>
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<td>LS</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>0.387*</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.260*</td>
<td>0.266*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quality of living environment</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.278*</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>0.245*</td>
<td>0.299*</td>
<td>0.348*</td>
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</tbody>
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*Note:* * shows significance at the .01 level