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Mapping Female Rural Flight

A Spatial Analysis of Swedish Youths' Intended Migration

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Abstract. Previous research into women's patterns of migration suggests a female flight from the European weaker peripheral regions to its urban cores, due to women's experience of being economically, socially, culturally, and normatively hampered compared to men in rural space. 'The thesis' attempt to corroborate these results on the municipal level, with the use of survey data from Swedish youth age 16-18, was not able to recreate the proposed trend that women migrate from the countryside to a larger degree than men. However, results did support the fact that certain migrational push- and pull factors are gendered and geographical along the urban-rural dimension.

Keywords: Human Geography, Migration, Municipality, Female Flight, Urban-Rural

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Introduction

In the face of the current global trend of increasing gaps between individuals, groups, and places, migration can be seen in the most abstract of definitions as a way for those misfortunate to cope by seeking better opportunities elsewhere. What factors drive people to uproot themselves - either permanently or temporarily - can range from simple economic advantages, feelings of hopelessness regarding the future of the home region, or even to the most extreme cases of displacement caused by war, poverty, or natural disasters. Intranational migration in a European context is dominated by young adults ages 18-25 originating in the low-density rural and heading in the direction of the high-density urban. This age span of heightened mobility (also called learning mobility) in a young adult's life can often be attributed to an ambition for higher education or even searching for work, with a higher percentage of women rather than men aspiring for high-skilled jobs (Wiest et al. 2013:17). Furthermore, while a good percentage return to the home region when it is time to settle down and start a family, the urban labor market tend to anchor a great many by providing better opportunities for those with a university or college degree and higher salaries. This drop-off in return-migration, compared to the initial out-migration, has the effect of gradually building a deficit of women in the rural space (Wiest et al. 2013:7).

While research and case studies on the international migration of women – often as refugees – have a considerable amount of literature devoted to it (Copus & Johansson 2010, Copus et al. 2006, Haugen & Villa 2006, Johansson 2011, Milbourne 2007, Bryant & Pini 2011, Buller & Hoggart 2004, Goverde et al. 2004, Morell & Bock 2008, Pini & Leach 2011) the same cannot be said for their patterns of migration within a nation. The largest source of information on the subject is the SEMIGRA project (Wiest et al. 2013), which brings together statistics for the entire European Union as well as the results of several case studies into imbalanced regions. The European rural space has an average sex ratio of 97 women per 100 men, with underrepresented regions tending to be somewhat peripheral, sparsely populated, or structurally weak. Such a deficit of women was shown to result in unfavorable socio-economic effects for the region, such as damaged social cohesion, staggering demographic development, and a skewed labor force. These effects can be especially devastating to smaller communities, as the imbalance can trigger a downward spiral within the existing structure of economic inequality and skewed age- or sex-ratio, spurring further out-migration (Wiest et al. 2013:4).

Breaking the overall trend of women's rural flight can be a momentous task, especially for smaller, remote, localities. These communities in the rural space have historically been dominated by what can be considered traditionally masculine industries within the primary and secondary sectors, such as agriculture, mining, assembly, and construction (Bye 2009). The accompanying culture of male-

breadwinners, in turn, dictated that the kind of leisure activities available were mainly those favored by men (Wiest et al. 2013:32). Meanwhile, women are statistically shown to be more drawn to the high-skilled service-work of the tertiary sector – such as health-care, education, and media - which historically have had a more significant presence within core territories and urban space (Wiest 2016:2). The failure of rural communities in providing women with suitable workplaces, leisure, and other activities attractive to them means missing out on essential pull-factors and giving away competitive advantages to urban cores. The downward spiral will continually self-reinforce unless countermeasures are implemented, as the resulting female flight further nudges local companies to adapt by increasingly catering to the excess of men permeating the new customer and labor base (Johansson & Rauhut 2012).

Aim and Research Question

The thesis aims to investigate whether women's voluntary, intranational migration, based on the relationship between outside factors and personal preferences, may have effects that are expressed spatially. This aspect does not seem to have been included yet in existing research at the time of writing. The fundamental research question is whether there is a spatial pattern to known migration factors of young women. Are dissatisfied young women clustered in such a way that a pattern emerges? Two essential components in answering the research question will be solving two subqueries; (1) whether there are any notable variance in the circumstances surrounding migration between municipalities, and (2) if any such variances possibly correspond to a core-periphery relationship between municipalities.

The analysis will be quantitative and achieved by processing existing municipal-scale data collected in a survey form by the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society. The survey, along with other topics, collects data on young women's self-reported reasons for migration and rating of the opportunities provided in their home municipality. These factors will be used as an indicator of willingness to migrate and measured through the average opinion of the survey respondent. By then crossing the results with a spatial dimension through the use of GIS analysis techniques and software, a mapping of the data will be possible. To the best of my knowledge, no previous study exists which maps migration-prone young women and their reasons for migrating in such a manner.

Disposition

The thesis will be organized in the following disposition. Chapter Two will take a more thorough look into the previous literature on the subject, with emphasis on the SEMIGRA project. Known factors and outcomes to sex ratio imbalances, as well as essential concepts and theories centered around the subject of migration, will be presenting in greater detail and employed to construct a theoretical

framework. The method will be the focus of Chapter Three, providing a guide to the data chosen for analysis, such as how it was collected, by whom, from where, and a short explanation of the techniques used for processing and visualization. Chapter Four will provide an overview and tables of the results of the processed data along with the visualizations produced in the form of choropleth maps. The subsequent analysis of these results then follows in Chapter Five in tandem with a discussion of the implications. Finally, Chapter Six will round everything off by summarizing the thesis and the conclusion that was reached.

Previous Research

While patterns of migration and their demographic effects have been heavily researched and scrutinized, the specific effects of female migration have relatively received only minor attention until a decade ago (Wiest 2016). The works that do exist will be the focus of this chapter, where the conclusions regarding (1) the causes, (2) the effect, and finally (3) countermeasures to both will be summarized.

The Literature

The most extensive study made on the subject in recent times is the SEMIGRA project, which is a rapport on the Selective Migration and Unbalanced Sex Ratio in Rural Regions as a part of the European Spatial Planning Observation Network program (Wiest et al. 2013). The project aims to investigate the cause of why certain (rural) regions suffer from a heightened exodus of young women and if this deficit is a possible indicator of socio-economic disparities embedded in the regional structure. It concludes this by:

"highlight(ing) gender-related differences that lead to different migration patterns and to learn more about the expectations, aspirations, and visions of the life of the rural young and young women." (Wiest et al. 2013:7)

The project is structured into one EU-wide analysis as well as five case studies of different regions located both in the core and periphery in a European context; Sachsen-Anhalt in North-Western Germany, Västernorrland in Northern Sweden, Kainuu in Mid-Eastern Finland, Eszák-Alfold in Eastern Hungary, and Eszák-Magyarország in North-Eastern Hungary. Each part was written by authors in their respected countries and was then brought together into one main report written by Karin Wiest and Tim Leibert of the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography. The main rapport then summarizes the results and discusses it with regards to the results of previous authors on the topic, such as Copus & Johansson (2010), Copus et al. (2006), Haugen & Villa (2006), Johansson (2011), and Milbourne (2007) among others. The results include migratory push and pull factors, possible effects of the sex ratio imbalance, and lastly, policy suggestions to counteract the adverse effects (Wiest et al. 2013).

Three years later, Wiest (2016) would come to edit a volume that consolidated the results of the SEMIGRA report and additional works on the topic which were previously not included. The volume, called *Women and Migration in Rural Europe*, would come to include authors from seventeen different universities in five different countries, such as Bryant & Pini (2011), Buller & Hoggart (2004), Goverde et al. (2004), Morell & Bock (2008), and Pini & Leach (2011). These authors discuss, among other

things, perceptions of and women in rural space, gendered rural labor markets, women's living situations in rural space, and gender-related policies in rural space.

The remaining part of this section will be devoted to the conclusions reached by these two sources. It will act as this thesis' theoretical and conceptual framework and will present what factors are of importance as well as the theoretical background for why they are of importance.

Base Theories and Concepts

The gender-specific aspect of migration, while traditionally given little thought relative to the migration topic as a whole, has increasingly been gaining political attention for two reasons. The migration decisions of women are viewed as an essential indicator of unequal spatial development, and gender-targeted policies are studied as a way to promote regional development and counteract regional shrinkage. Moreover, since women are considered carriers of social cohesion and initiators of cultural innovation within the overall field, any bolstering of their socio-economic stature is seen as a powerful policy strategy (Fischer & Weber 2014, Little 1997). Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will focus on how women were brought to the forefront of migration studies alongside men, which theories came to treat women as a group with agency, and concepts essential to the field.

Early Migration Theories

Early neo-classic economic and migration theories, such as the works of Ranis & Fei (1961), Todaro (1976), and Lee (1966), were mainly written by men and about men since they were considered the prototypical migrant, traveling for economic reasons such as wage differences. Women (and children) in this context were mainly considered to be so-called 'trailing-migrants' passively following the path braved by the male figurehead and with little involvement in the decision-making process (Bock & Shortall 2006:156).

This belief has, since then, been challenged. Recent studies have been able to point out that female migrants both today and in the past migrated independent of any male authority, sometimes as a way to escape oppression and control, but commonly as a strategic livelihood decision to support their family at home by transferring money. Female migrants were and are active agents, even if they are limited by ideological, cultural, and socio-economic constraints in ways that vary across class, nation, and ethnicity. In contexts where they are severely bound, women's migration can become a last resort in the aftermath of the death, desertion, illness, or severe unemployment of the traditionally male breadwinner, or even political conflicts and natural disasters with severe displacement effects. These cases have either been missed or left out by early migration researchers (Bock & Shortall 2006:156, 158).

Another criticism of the early neo-classical theories is that of the reductionist manner in which they would attribute migration to almost exclusively economic factors. The idea that social aspects are essential to capture the complex migration process fully was not considered mainstream until the 1970s. During this period, it was spearheaded by neo-Marxist authors who critiqued capital-owners' use of coercion and dependency to attract and control migrant workers (Bock & Shortall 2006:156). More recent studies have since then come to show that complex social phenomena act as factors in an individual's geographic mobility, and how traditional push-pull migration models need to be understood in the context of culture, community, and agency (Corbett 2005). The impact of gender roles and the perceived rural image are two aspects which will be discussed further later on.

Life Cycle Theory

When discussing urbanization and rural flight, it is exceedingly vital to adapt a wide lens and examine the factors behind an individual's migration from a long-term perspective, since patterns of migration change throughout one's life. Childhood is usually characterized by immobility, in that the youngling stays with and follows their parent's migration and do not usually move on their own until their late teens. From there-on, as the young adult finishes high school, the graduate is faced with the decisions of either start working early or pursue an academic career, and whether to stay in the home region or to leave. The extent of workplaces in the municipality matching the interest and skill range of the graduate, as well as whether it harbors institutes of higher learning, will be sharply limiting factors in the matter. The tendency to migrate peaks for both sexes in the age range of 18-25. Higher education can carry some students far within the nation or internationally, as they are usually eager to create distance to the home and lack any firm commitments that anchor them. This out-migration of young adults has the potential to be problematic for weaker rural regions if not properly counteracted, or if the region fails to re-attract these people as return-migrants when they are older (Wiest et al. 2013:17)

Many migrant women who maintain close ties with their home return in their 30s in conjunction with family-making and the birth of their first child. The social safety net of the family in terms of support and parental experience is usually the top factor for returning. At the same time, the countryside is perceived as a safe place for raising kids is also commonly reported (Wiest et al. 2013:40-41). The most significant asset these women provide for the region is not only that of sustaining the population, but the knowledge, female entrepreneurial spirit, and urban lifestyle they bring with them. Despite this, there are still many who stay in the urban-cores and their suburban hinterlands. This significant drop-off between in- and return-migrants is noticeable for both sexes but consists of more women than men. Such a gendered exodus worsens the harmful effects of depopulation by causing indirect erosion of the regional image and a thinning out of social networks (Wiest et al. 2013:32).

Gendered Labor Market Theory

The local labor market structure is viewed as a significant influencing factor on who decided to migrate and for what reason. In *Individual Migration as a Family Strategy: Young Women in the Philippines* (Lauby & Stark 1988), the authors ask themselves:

"why is it that in many societies the family usually decides to send a son, while in the Philippines (and, for that matter, in many Latin American countries too) a daughter is most often sent?"

The reason for this believed to be mainly due to international differences in women's position in agriculture, the demand for female labor in urban labor markets, and the cultural emphasis of socio-cultural. For rural communities in developing countries where manual labor such as farming and manufacturing are strictly male jobs, typical women's labor is often devalued and pay less. This depreciation incentivizes sending young (unmarried) women to the city, where "feminine" jobs are more common and well paid (Lauby & Stark 1988).

Workplaces that are common in the urban environment, such as domestic service jobs, sales jobs, and clerical jobs, tend to have a high ratio of female workers. Manufacturing within garment factories is also typical in countries where labor is inexpensive, as traditional gender roles of women sewing and repairing apparel at home provide a readily available and skilled labor base for this labor-intensive work. Research (Morokvasic 1984; Lauby & Stark 1988) shows a prevailing attitude among factory employers that women are preferable to hire, as they are perceived as more docile, compliant, and thus are less likely to unionize or demand higher salaries. However, despite lower salaries, women can often end up with higher annual incomes than men as the products they make are in demand throughout the year. Meanwhile, men's jobs in construction and dock work are more seasonal and can leave some unemployed for long periods of time.

Sending women to work abroad can be another sound financial strategy for families in specific communities. Even with a steep upfront cost of transportation, meager employment opportunities at home and the shortage of labor at the destination can result in such a surge in income that the early investment pays off long-term. Especially in those cases where the point of origin is a developing country, and the destination is a developed, young female labor-migration (legal or illegal) can become one of the most critical "exports" of a community. The money transferred back is often, in turn, used by the families to hire local women to take up the responsibilities of domestic work that otherwise would have been the obligation of the migrant. Migrating to perform unskilled labor can become a sound economic strategy even for educated women, essentially de-skilling a country's female labor base. However, this practice is exceptionally uncommon outside of distant international migration as it requires an extensive income gap between the origin and destination (Bock & Shortall 2006:157).

There are dangers of exploitation when women from developing countries migrate abroad for work.

The risk of being taken advantage of socially or economically by their employer can be severe in foreign settings where these women have little to no knowledge of their rights. The phenomena can be further analyzed intersectionally through the lens of class and ethnicity. In exploiting immigrant workers, women of the white, western, middle-class can emancipate themselves from unpaid care work and enter wage labor at the expense of their ethnic non-white, working-class cohorts (Bock & Shortall 2006:157).

There is a clear divide between different European territories concerning the impact of family-forming on women's opportunities in the labor market. A more traditional family model and low degrees of labor participation are typical for the conservative countries in southern and eastern Europe. At the same time, the more progressive welfare states in the north have an extensive policy strategy lessening the disruptive impacts of family life (Glockner et al. 2014). The Scandinavian countries have the longest tradition to date in regards to providing policy tailored to promote simultaneous career- and family-making, and not making them mutually exclusive to all women except those of strong socio-economic background (Bock 2004).

Regional migration was mainly considered to be rural men's search for employment in the urban-centers during the industrialization and modernization period. This trend would reverse in the second half of the 20th century due to rising levels of crime and the costs of living in the cities. The countryside was additionally perceived as safe and family-friendly (Bock & Shortall 2006:158).

Regional levels of employment among females are a useful indicator of women's degree of integration into the labor markets. This factor is strongly connected to the region's type of economic structure and how far it has managed to transition out of industrial manufacturing to a postindustrial knowledge- and service-based economy (Wiest 2016:8). The classical jobs within the primary and secondary sectors have traditionally been male-dominated, especially in countryside economies with a heavy focus on manufacturing and agriculture (Wiest et al. 2013:32, Bye 2009). Moreover, while young men perceive these options as pull-factors to stay in the home region, young women experience the regional economic structure as a factor for out-migration. The reason for this is that masculine labor market structures place women at a disadvantage relative to men by limiting both their perceived career opportunities and real opportunities, regardless of the local cultural acceptance of women's labor participation (Wiest 2016:11). The resulting in-migration and surplus of women to the urban-cores and their hinterlands can thus be seen as an outcome of their more attractive employment opportunities and a higher allocation of tertiary educational facilities (Wiest 2016:4, Bock 2004).

The impact of marriage and starting a family has a more significant economic impact on women relative to men, as societal norms such as the Male Breadwinner model creates a clear gender divide concerning the division of work at home. These gender roles assign women more responsibility for the

home and wellbeing of the family, compelling them to reallocate more time for housework (Wiest et al. 2013:32). In practice, increasing women's obligations at home impairs their mobility. It shrinks their effective spatial reach for day-to-day commuting, with a lack of efficient commuting infrastructure, further exacerbating the problem. The struggle to commute long distances, along with a shortage of skilled jobs, raises the difficulty for highly educated women to find a job in rural space. The result comes down to a choice between taking low paying jobs they are overqualified for, doing unpaid family work, or migrating from the region (Noack 2011, Glockner et al. 2014).

Rural labor markets and social life in the local communities are slowly changing in tandem with globalization spreading further into rural space, suggesting a re-feminization of the countryside that is particularly prominent in Western European rural regions (ESPON & IfL 2012). Furthermore, the pervasive image of the rural as less hectic, safe, and natural, is notably attractive to women in their 30s who are considering settling down and raising a family. The shifts in the labor market result in new opportunities for women by diminishing the importance of agriculture and the growth of the service and creative sector in the archetypical rural economic structure. The expansion of employment opportunities in the countryside is in many regions mainly noticeable in the hotel and restaurant industry, as well as the general tertiarisation of jobs. The resulting in- and return-migration of women is often a much-needed help to weak regions in the European periphery (Wiest 2016:8, 12).

Two additional concrete strategies policy-makers can follow is the decentralization of education to weaker regions and ensuring the existence of commuting infrastructure (Wiest 2016:16, Bock 2004). Decentralized universities not only stimulate regional development but also raises the quality of life in rural regions, attracting young women to stay or return-migrate later in life (Wiest et al. 2013:47). Also, ensuring female representation among policy-makers is an essential precondition for making sure women's concerns are raised and dealt with (Wiest 2016:17).

Concepts of Rurality and the Rural Woman

Gender and rurality have received considerable attention in academic research (Bryant and Pini 2011, Buller and Hoggart 2004, Goverde et al. 2004, Morell and Bock 2008, Pini and Leach 2011). However, in order to connect the two of them, one needs to redefine rural space not only as a spatial unit but as a construct. The countryside and its world of social, moral, and cultural values, simmers in the public consciousness as a socially produced and consistently reproduced category of thought (Bock & Shortall 2006:183). The deconstruction of the various preconceived traits of rurality is a part of social constructivism. The tradition believes shared understandings spring forth as a result of continuous, collective negotiation and renegotiation, and it is essential to understanding and explaining female migration patterns (Haugen and Lysgard 2006, Halfacree 1993, Mormont 1990, Cloke 2006). However,

even though perceptions of the countryside are mutually constructed, that does not mean that all participant's image of rurality is the same, that each image is equally influential, or that everyone has equal authority to mold that image. Media, history, and public discourse are potent forces in shaping contemporary stereotypes of what rural space is and what rural women should be (Woods 2011). Personal experiences, lifestyle, age, and ethnicity of women then form a basis for how they relate to and identify with that contemporary image, resulting in many contradictory and conflicting ways to assess and perceive rurality (Bock & Shortall 2006:182).

The migration to and from rural space is, as previously mentioned, structured differently at different stages of life. It is common for priorities to shift as the migrant who left ages, completes their education, and finds a partner. Perceived disadvantages with rural life that previously might have seemed impossible to cope with tend to shrink, and advantages previously unimportant suddenly take center-stage. Calmness, social cohesion, and a tight-knit community defined by rules, habits, and customs are often experienced as dull and overtly controlling for a high school graduate (Leibert 2014). An interview study on the perception of young adults in rural space showed that social control was experienced as especially harsh by young women. 69% of interviewees mentioned, loss of freedom, gossip, and rumors as prominent factors for their own choice to migrate, compared to only 14% for the boys (Bock & Shortall 2006:182, 187-188). However, once they have grown older and consider settling down and having kids, these qualities, which at one point felt constraining, might suddenly become attractive (Wiest et al. 2013:41).

There are mainly two persistent, influential, and competing imaginations about rural space. The positive image is the idea of the rural idyll, which has had somewhat of a resurgence as the modernity of the urban-cores becomes increasingly associated with high levels of crime, pollution, and stress. The countryside becomes synonymous with a more natural way of living and symbolically tied to the regional or national identity, with each nation's unique take on class, feminist policy, and history expressing itself in each construction of the rural idyll (Bock & Shortall 2006:186). Common positive aspects in each different image are of a healthy and problem-free country with a caring, peaceful, middle-class community, as well as a vision of a vast natural environment with fresh air, safe for children to play in and for adults to hike in (Cloke and Milbourne 1992:59).

The more negative image associated with rural space is with it as a backward place. Scandinavian media are known to picture their rural space as dull, strange, and old-fashioned, and rural people as sturdy but peculiar and one-dimensional. Such portrayals are exemplifications of a prevailing negative image of rural inhabitants as being intolerant of any people and customs that challenge the ruling hegemony (Bock & Shortall 2006:182). The otherwise vast and splendid nature is also given a more sinister twist, being characterized as dangerous, isolating, and far from the safety and opportunities of

civilization.

Countryside feminine and masculine gender roles stem from expectations set by the different facets of the rural idyll, and the notions of family life and gender relations they imply (Wiest 2016:13). These, traditional, rural femininities are usually tied to the notion of the "natural" woman, a concept that emphasizes domesticity, motherhood, dependency, and community while de-emphasizing women's role within the public sphere and wage labor (Little 1997:13). This old hegemony still has significance today in influencing women's everyday labor situation, career prospects, and life plans. However, it is increasingly being challenged by highly educated return-migrants from the urban-cores who do not identify with the established image of the typical rural woman. This new, more publically, and economically active femininity is bringing significant changes to the rural social life and workplaces, which even forces a re-evaluation of the traditional concept of rural masculinity (Forsberg & Stenbacka 2013).

Concepts of Urban Core and Rural Periphery

Migration literature commonly refers to the dualistic relationship between the rural and urban within the intraregional context as a way to characterize the migration trends. Men tend to surpass in overall migrant numbers, while women dominate the urbanization movement from the countryside to the urban centers. The makeup of the intra-rural migration is roughly equal, but the reasons for intra-rural migration differ between the sexes. Men tend to migrate following seasonal variance in demand for labor (Bock & Shortall 2006:159), while women tend to migrate for social reasons such as marriage or their partner switching their place of employment (Bailey et al. 2004; Wiest et al. 2013:52)

Viewing the region as a dualistic relationship between rural and urban is, in many ways, too simplistic. Characterizing such vast stretches of space under the same labels implies internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity when, in reality, intra-rural differences can be enormous, and rural-urban similarities can be sharp. Employing a strict dichotomy provides slim prospects for capturing the full length of the spectrum between each extreme, which has inspired different theories for categorizing and diversifying it (Hoggart 1990:245).

The SEMIGRA report employs two different typology theories -Dijkstra & Poelman typology (D-P typology) and one version of the EDORA typologies. The D-P typology is based on the OECD typology, a categorical method employed by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy. It divides the core-periphery spectrum into Predominately Urban, Intermediate, and Predominately Rural, while also diversify the Predominately Rural category through combining rurality and accessibility/remoteness (Intermediate Accessible, Intermediate Remote, Predominately Rural Accessible, and Predominately Rural Remote). EMORA is a typology defined by

regional structure through the use of 13 economic and labor market indicators. The measurement of these variables defines rural regions as either Agrarian, Consumption Countryside, Diversified with a Strong Secondary Sector, and Diversified with a Strong Market Service Sector (Dijkstra & Poelman 2008, Copus & Johansson 2010). The strength of EMORA over the D-P typology is that it includes the state of regional economic sectors. However, both have the disadvantage of being almost exclusively concerned with diversifying the rural while neglecting the urban. Additionally, adapting typologies intended for regional analysis to the municipal level, as well as taking the time to investigate the necessary variables to classify 40 municipalities, is beyond the scope of this thesis. For these reasons, neither D-P nor EDORA typology is suitable in serving as the method of rural-urban classification.

Fortunately, there exists several, readily available, rural-urban typology system designed and pre-applied to Swedish municipalities by the Swedish government and their agencies. Many of them are, similarly to the OECD typology, three-type category systems that classify based on population majority either living in rural space, urban space, or transitionally between both. However, the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (Tillväxtverket) has designed a six-category system that divides the three standard categories further through the use of accessibility/remoteness, much like the D-P typology but across a more significant portion of the core-periphery scale (Tillväxtanalys 2014). The six typologies and each of their threshold values are in the table below. Also, note that the category of Urban Centre Municipalities also has the requirement that the aggregated population of the municipality and neighboring municipalities exceed 500'000 people.

Table 1. The six category typologies and their thresholds values

	Population living in rural space	Population living within commuting distance from urban space	Length of Commute to urban space
Urban Centre Municipalities	< 20%	-	-
Densely Populated Municipalities near an Urban Centre	< 50%	> 50%	< 45 min
Remote, Densely Populated Municipalities	< 50%	< 50%	< 45 min
Rural Municipalities near an Urban Centre	> 50%	> 50%	< 45 min
Remote, Rural Municipalities	> 50%	< 50%	< 45 min
Very Remote, Rural Municipalities	100%	-	> 90 min

Urban Core and Rural Periphery are labels that can be devoted to much conceptual discussion. However, the discussion if urban and core, as well as rural and periphery, equal, partly overlap, or differ from each other, will not be covered within this thesis. The concepts will instead be treated as synonymous.

Summary

Pinpointing which factors influence women's migrational behavior is challenging due to cultural, religious, and socio-economical disparities between women of different nations. However, some factors are found to be more frequent and established than others.

Youth in the older age bracket, and especially women, experience rural space as confining due to stricter and more traditional norms, lack of leisure activities, and stronger social control through gossip and a tighter social community. Simultaneously, limited access to institutions of higher education and male-gendered labor markets are more common in municipalities grouped among the categories on the rural end of the core-peripheral spectrum. These factors have the effect of limiting young women's perceived options in terms of a career and a future life in the countryside and act as a pushing mechanism to migrate to localities typologically associated with the urbane.

Preferences shift as people's circumstances change with age, and the same applies to women. As they age, complete their education, and consider the possibility of starting a family, women come to view aspects associated with the countryside more favorably. Social control and a tight community are seen as a safety mechanism, which alongside lower crime rates, a perceived stress-free environment, and close access to nature, are thought of as positive qualities for raising children. Women are still expected to take on more responsibility and allocate more of their time to the different chores of family life than men. Alongside the countryside infrastructure generally having fewer options for commuting, these expectations have the effect of shrinking the effective reach of possible jobs women can take. Furthermore, they are also compelled to pick sub-optimal work-places in terms of matching it to their education and receiving lower salaries.

The factors presented by established concepts and theories in the field provides a framework for what kind of data will be required in order to investigate geographical patterns of young women's migration in Sweden. Youth distributed nationally along a spatial core-periphery dimension will need to be inquired if they consider established push- and pull-factors as influential to their choice of migration. How this kind of data is to be collected and processed will be covered in the following chapter.

Methods and Data

In this section, the method employed for answering the research question will be presented in greater detail, including the data, how it was collected, by whom, how it was processed, and known imperfections. The thesis takes a positivistic approach in answering the question of whether there exists a spatial pattern to known migration factors of young women, employing quantitative analysis to through objective measurements produce results that are intended to reflect a worldly circumstance. With the known migration factors presented in the literature review section firmly in mind, the author was subsequently able to estimate what kind of data would be required and how it could be analyzed in order to bring light to the research question and the two subquestions. In order to answer the first subquestion regarding the existence of spatial differences in migrational factors, the data would need to cover women's attitudes regarding migration. It would also need to include the plethora of circumstances that act as push and pull factors such as labor-market structure and gender roles. A core-peripheral analysis was required in order to answer the second subquestion regarding whether any municipal variances corresponded to the six-category core-periphery system. Subsequently, the data would need to be processable so that it could be displayed geographically on the municipal level.

About the Data

Fortunately, there already existed a complete dataset that covers many of the factors included in the theoretical framework. The LUPP-survey (Local Follow-Up on Youth Policy) is an annual inquiry into the lives of young people and is administered by the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society (MUCF). The survey aims to capture the experiences and opinions of Swedish youth ages 13-15, 16-18, and 19-25, in order to keep state and municipal policy-makers informed with current developments. The agency administers and calculates the LUPP-results, while each municipality voluntarily signs up to participate and distribute the survey among their schools. Participation is also voluntary for the pupils, who each either must give consent personally or receive parental consent if under the age of 15.

The LUPP is divided into nine sections A-H which each cover a facet of youths' lives: 'A - You and your Family,' 'B - Hobbies,' 'C - School,' 'D - Politics and Society,' 'E - Safety,' 'F - Health,' 'G - Employment,' and 'H - Future Prospects.' Among these nine sections, there are two which are of interest to this research, namely 'A - You and your Family' and 'H - Future Prospects.' The A-section covers, among other things, Socio-Economic and Cultural background, Gender Identity, and a rating of the different aspects of the pupil's life. Gender will be crucial to the data analysis in order to identify differences between the sexes, and how the pupil rates their life will enable the results to indicate any possible links between (dis-)satisfaction with life and migration. The H-section covers what the pupil

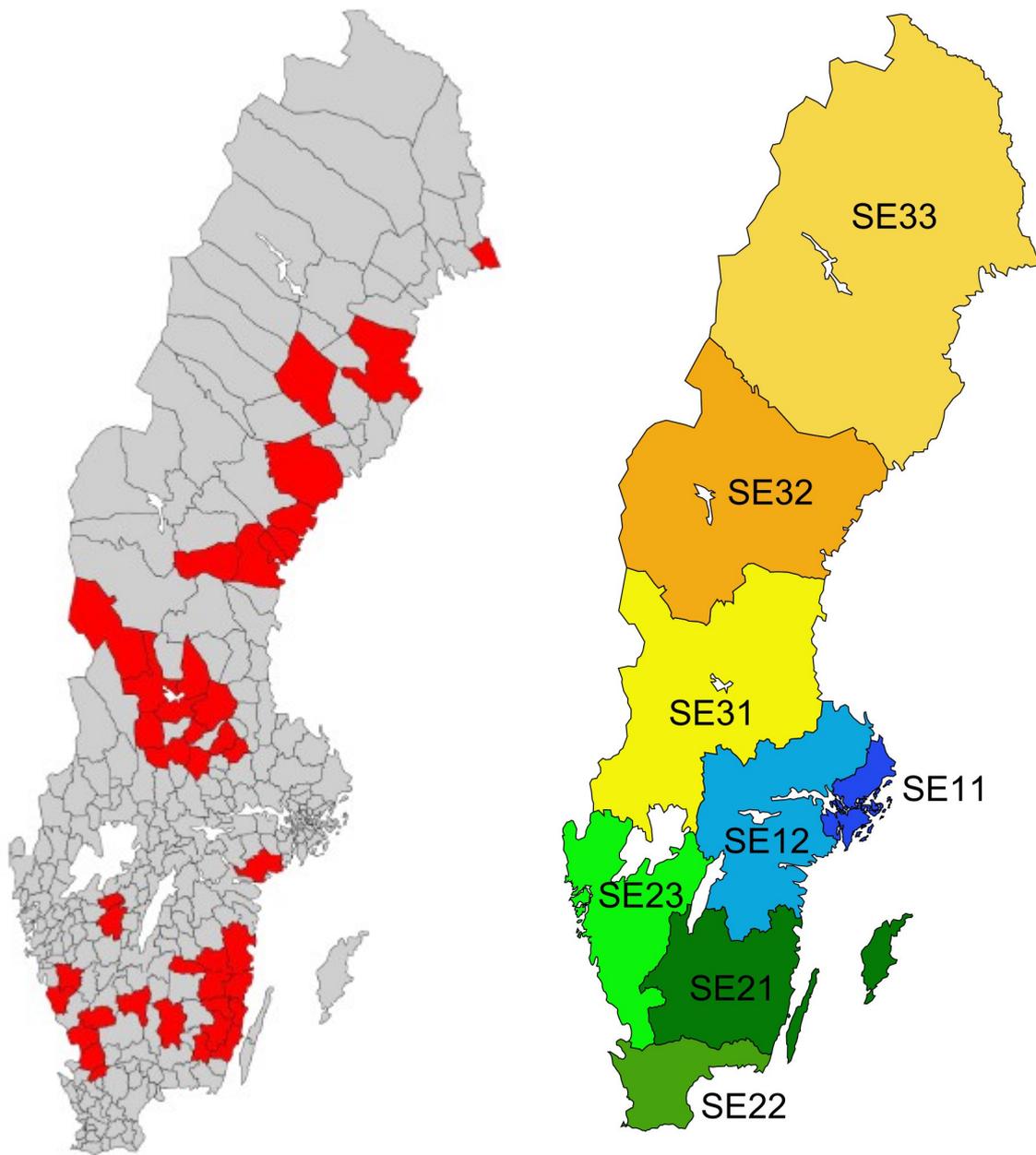
intends to do after graduation, if they foresee themselves migrating and why, and what they appreciate the most about their home municipality. The information from this section will provide the main body of data, such as migratory push- and pull-factors and stay/leave ratios for each municipality.

Out of the three different age ranges (13-15, 16-18, and 19-25) surveyed, I chose 16-18 as the most suitable dataset for this thesis. There are several reasons for this. In a Swedish context, 18 years is the age limit for when Swedish (and most European) children come of age in the eyes of society, meaning the respondents in this age range are at the cusp of adulthood and independence. Along with the emerging maturity in the late teenage years, this can spawn sophisticated thoughts regarding aspects of their future. Such thoughts can include ideas of identity, personal values, and career, and while they seldom have all the answers at this point, it makes them prime candidates for this kind of study.

In contrast, 84,4% of primary school students ages 13-15 are eligible for high school entry (Skolverket 2018), with many programs providing both skills that make them eligible for a job but also grades required for higher education. That means that the choice of high school might be an early indication of the pupil's plans for the future, but not one which will entirely - or necessarily even partly - lock-in the student into a particular path. It is this author's opinion that the more crucial and thought-through decision is associated with what the pupil will do post-high school graduation.

The 19-25 age range is a type of survey the MUCF offers, but one for which few municipalities volunteer. The agency, therefore, compiles no yearly summary or dataset for this age group due to the lack and irregularity of participants (Cecilia Ilhammar: Chief of Development MUCF, personal communication, 25 October 2019), making the available data smaller and harder to process. The 19-25 age range were for these reasons discarded as a viable option for this thesis.

The chosen dataset was collected as part of the 2018 LUPP-survey. It consists of data from 10'001 respondents, 4'714 Women, 5'075 Men, 134 young people who identified as Other, and 78 respondents that did not report their gender, from 40 municipalities across Sweden (See Appendix I). The data on respondents who categorized themselves as Women were the most important, while the data on the category Men were kept in order to compare differences. The category Other could include respondents who were assigned female sex at birth, but there is no way of identifying this in the data. Furthermore, focusing on the respondents who self-identify as women allow for clearer contrasting with the findings of the previous research.



Map 1. Municipalities participating in LUPP 2018 and their corresponding NUTS2 regions

When investigating the geographical distribution along with the European NUTS2 regional division, it is noteworthy that the two regions of SE11 and SE22 are severely underrepresented in this year's survey. Breaking down the participants into six core-periphery category groups and their number of respondents as per Table 2, it is vital to highlight that municipals of category five are the most frequent, with decreasing numbers as the municipalities become more distant and rural. Additionally, there is only one participant municipality in category one - which also has very few respondents – and no municipality of category six at all. The outcome is a severe limitation of the possible application of the eventual results to the most inaccessibly rural, and highest populated urban areas in Sweden.

Table 2. The percentage and number of municipalities and respondents per rural-urban typology

	Municipalities	Respondents
Very Remote, Rural Municipality	1 (2.5%)	10 (0.1%)
Remote, Rural Municipality	5 (12.5%)	464 (4.6%)
Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	8 (20%)	705 (7.0%)
Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	11 (27.5%)	3348 (33.5%)
Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	15 (37.5%)	5474 (54.7%)
All Municipalities	40	10001

The data came with several imperfections, some common to large datasets and others a bit more unique. The first notable imperfection is that of incomplete cases, a common problem when processing data where a survey response is partially or utterly incomplete. There are different solutions in dealing with these cases. One could either remove all incomplete responses or keep them, but there is a spectrum of possible solutions in between. Since the purpose of this thesis is to analyze migration factors geographically, it was decided that the presence of geodata was to be the minimum requirement for incomplete cases to be included in the analysis. Any missing data from variables beyond that would show as null and not be used in the calculations and analysis.

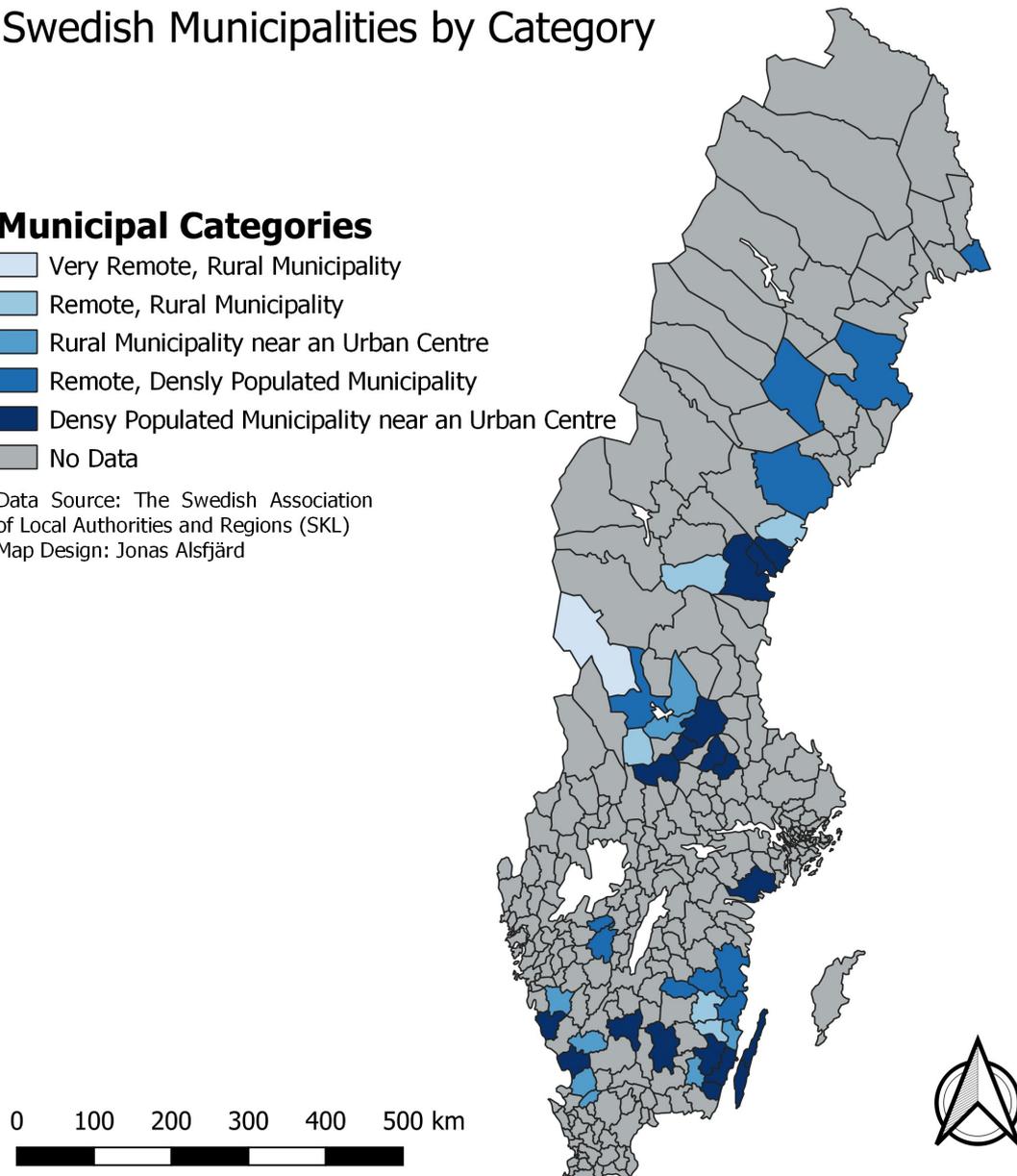
A more particular problem in the dataset was flawed geodata. While 39 of the 40 geographical units listed correspond to existing municipal territories, the 40th unit corresponds to a geographical area that is made up of several municipalities. The reason is that the 40th unit is a private enterprise called Kalmarsunds Gymnasieförbund (Kalmarsund's Highschool Coalition), employed by twelve different municipalities to run highschools in their territories but then wrongly denoted as a "municipality" in the dataset. To further complicate things, eight of the twelve municipalities which employ Kalmarsund also run schools locally, some of which participated in the LUPP simultaneously as the coalition schools. In practice, this means that eight municipalities are represented twice, once by the cases that are uniquely attributed to them, and once more as part of an aggregation of cases from twelve different municipalities that cannot be isolated from each other.

Swedish Municipalities by Category

Municipal Categories

-  Very Remote, Rural Municipality
-  Remote, Rural Municipality
-  Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre
-  Remote, Densely Populated Municipality
-  Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre
-  No Data

Data Source: The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL)
Map Design: Jonas Alsfjård



Map 2. Swedish municipalities per the six typology system

The author chose to let these eight municipalities be represented by the data that were unique to them, and for the remaining four Kalmarsund municipalities to be represented by all the data provided by all twelve municipalities. This resolution had benefits and detriments of its own. A positive involves that of not needing to exclude any additional cases, which would have entailed the choice of either losing around 900 responses from the unique municipal data or around 500 responses from the Kalmarsund aggregated data. The act of letting only four municipalities be represented by data aggregated from twelve is a definite downside, but any skewing effect this might have on the result of the analysis is bound to be small as it only applies to 5% of all cases.

Data Processing

In order to enable inter-municipal analysis and geographical visualization of the data, it needed to be processed into municipal averages and index variables. While the refinement degraded the diversity and plethora of possible uses of the data, caution was taken in order not to diminish the data to such a degree that it did not meet the requirement of the theoretical framework. The primary method for achieving this was a combination of Excel, which allowed for hyper-specific data editing through formulas – and SPSS, which has powerful functions for data manipulation and indexing.

Intention to depart home municipality was a variable that required minimal amounts of processing in order for it to be displayed geographically and analyzed based on gender and municipal averages. Other variables required much more work. Reasons for Departure, Factors Appreciated with the home municipality, Future Prospects, and Life Satisfaction were compiled into indexes displaying the most frequent answer for each municipality. However, early results implied that the most and second-most frequent reason for departure in almost every municipality was either Work or Education. In order to highlight the inter-municipal variance in the other six departure factors, a second index was forged from this variable. The secondary index displayed the most common factor when excluding Work and Education, allowing the variance in more factors suggested by the theoretical framework, such as access to nature and social relations, to be examined. These secondary factors will from here on be referred to as secondary reasons for departure. Lastly, the data on whether the pupil had experienced social control in regards to whom they could marry were compiled into a single variable. The previous structure allowed for a more complex answer, such as whether they were disallowed due to the partner being the same gender, of different religion, or cultural background. In order to alleviate the analysis and visualization of the data, while still meeting the framework requirements of investigating social control, the newly compiled variable binned these multiple choices to a binary choice of yes or no. A similar binning method was employed for the Intentions Post-Graduation variable, which previously specified what the pupil intended to do after high-school and where. After processing, this variable grouped the earlier responses into either Work, Education, and Other.

The data analysis was exclusively performed with SPSS's analysis tools. Crosstables and Chi-tests were used to display the processed data and how it varies geographically and by gender, as well as ensure that any differences were statistically significant. The fact that the data were not of normal bell-curve distribution put specific demands on which tools could be employed in the analysis. Spearman's Rho was chosen as a method for calculating the correlation coefficient for this purpose and for the fact that Spearman enables correlation tests of ordinal-type data (Yule & Kendall 1968:268).

The data was exported and processed into maps using QGIS. All maps presented in the thesis are subsequently designed by the author, while the data is produced by MUCF and Tillväxtverket.

Results

This chapter will present the findings assembled from the MUCF survey data. While much was able to be gleaned from such a large dataset, only the results of each survey question that was deemed relevant will be presented. Relevance was subsequently based on whether the results provided information on essential migrational factors that were previously established by the theoretical framework, such as life-cycle migration, gendered labor-market structures, and rural norms.

The results of the calculations presented in this chapter were made with a 95% confidence interval. This level of confidence determines statistically significant relations at a level that is viewed as standard across all academic fields that does not require excessively low degrees of uncertainty. The interpreted strength of the correlation relationships was based upon general agreed-upon intervals among researchers in the field of statistics.

Young Adults' Aim Post High-School Graduation

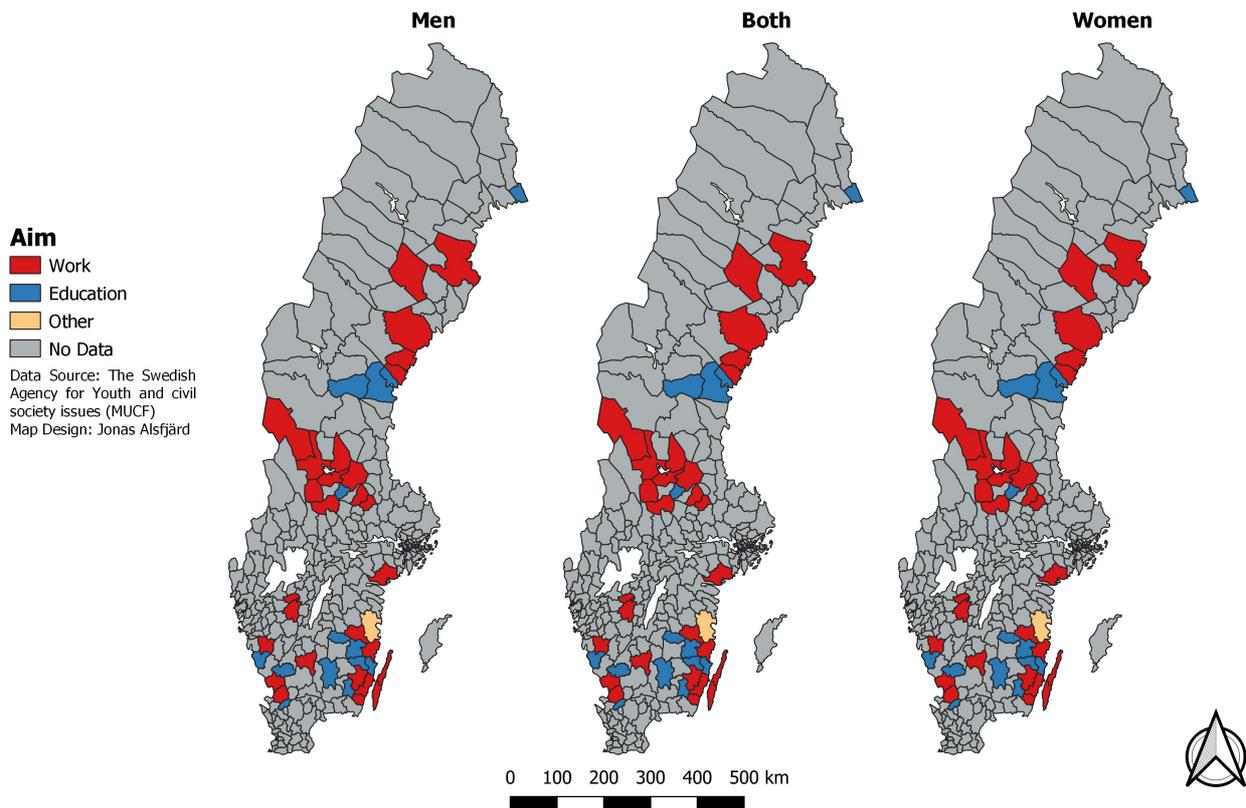
The aggregated responses to the question regarding what the students intended to do post-high-school graduation are visualized in Map 3 and indicate Work being the most frequent response by both sexes. Table 3 shows 43.5% of women and 47.4% of men giving this answer. The second most frequent response was Education, with 34.8% of women and 29.4% of men. Chi-tests show a significant difference between the intentions of each sex.

The combined core-periphery and gender crosstable show differences between the different categories and are confirmed as statistically significant by a Chi-test. However, neither Work nor Education showed any statistically significant correlation with the core-periphery and gender dimensions.

Table 3. The percentage and frequency of response regarding pupil's intentions post-High-School graduation

	Work	Education	Other	Total
Women	2051 (43.5%)	1641 (34.8%)	1022 (21.7%)	4714
Men	2404 (47.4%)	1494 (29.4%)	1177 (23.2%)	5075
All Respondents	4498 (45.3%)	3170 (31.9%)	2255 (22.7%)	9923

The Aim Of Young Adults Post High-School Graduation



Map 3. Most frequent intention post-High-School graduation in each Swedish municipality.

Life Satisfaction and Future Prospects

The results of the variables Life Satisfaction and Future Prospects are considered to be associated with the pupils' outlook on their present and expected future circumstances. Map 4 shows the most frequent response for both sexes being Somewhat Satisfied with their current life, while Map 5 shows most students having a Somewhat Positive outlook on their future prospects. From Table 4, it is possible to glean that women were overall less satisfied with their present life, while Table 6 shows them more cynical about their future than men. Table 5 and Table 7 show that Swedish youth were over-all equally satisfied with their present life and equally positive regarding their future prospects across municipalities of different rurality and urbane, with only a few points in differing percentages. The only exception was that of youth from the most rural end of the spectrum, who inhabited a considerably more dissatisfied and cynical outlook. All gendered and geographical differences were statistically significant.

There was a statistically significant correlation between life satisfaction and the core-peripheral dimension, suggesting a positive but significantly weak correlation (+ 0.032) between higher degrees of urbanness and higher degrees of satisfaction.

There was a statistically significant correlation between satisfaction with the present and having a particular outlook for the future. The relationship was positive and moderately strong (+0.468), meaning that the more satisfied a pupil was at the moment, the more likely they were to have a positive outlook on the future.

Table 4. The percentage and frequency of response regarding the life satisfaction of Swedish High-School students.

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Women	277 (5.9%)	687 (14.7%)	2480 (52.9%)	1245 (26.6%)
Men	288 (5.7%)	541 (10.8%)	2196 (43.8%)	1994 (39.7%)
All Respondents	605 (6.2%)	1250 (12.7%)	4711 (47.9%)	3269 (33.2%)

Table 5. The percentage and number of respondents regarding the life satisfaction of Swedish High-School students, divided upon municipal typology

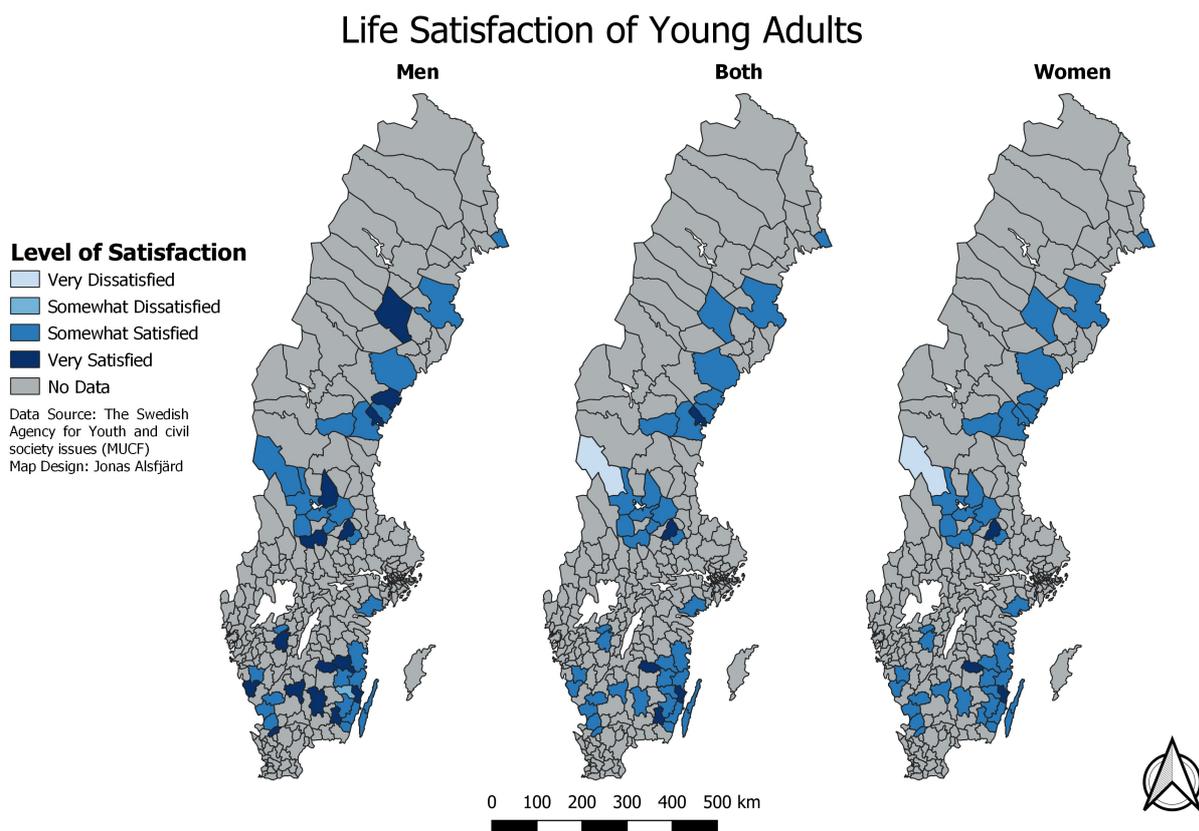
	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Very Remote, Rural Municipality	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)
Remote, Rural Municipality	30 (6.6%)	65 (14.3%)	216 (47.7%)	142 (31.3%)
Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	51 (7.3%)	95 (13.6%)	329 (47.3%)	221 (31.8%)
Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	224 (6.8%)	408 (12.3%)	1628 (49.1%)	1054 (31.8%)
Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	301 (5.6%)	684 (12.6%)	2563 (47.4%)	1862 (34.4%)
All Municipalities	609 (6.2%)	1255 (12.7%)	4738 (47.9%)	3281 (33.2%)

Table 6. The percentage and frequency of response regarding the outlook on future prospects of Swedish High-School students

	Very Negative	Somewhat Negative	Somewhat Positive	Very Positive
Women	91 (2.0%)	314 (6.8%)	2456 (53.1%)	1764 (38.1%)
Men	143 (2.9%)	317 (6.5%)	2290 (47.0%)	2118 (43.5%)
All Respondents	259 (2.7%)	645 (6.7%)	4704 (49.4%)	3913 (40.7%)

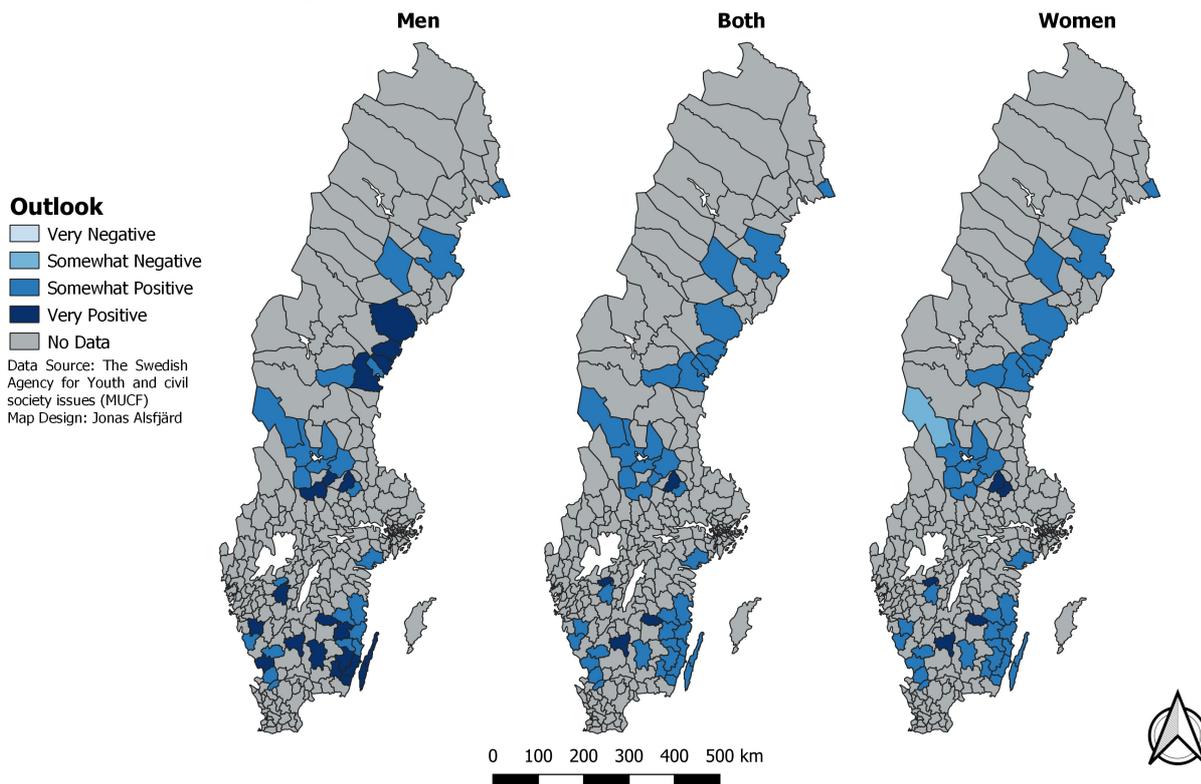
Table 7. The percentage and number of respondents regarding the outlook on future prospects of Swedish High-School students, divided upon municipal typology

	Very Negative	Somewhat Negative	Somewhat Positive	Very Positive
Very Remote, Rural Municipality	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	1 (10%)
Remote, Rural Municipality	12 (2.7%)	34 (7.6%)	223 (49.7%)	180 (40.1%)
Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	17 (2.5%)	46 (6.7%)	357 (52.3%)	263 (38.5%)
Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	100 (3.1%)	238 (7.4%)	1657 (51.3%)	1233 (38.2%)
Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	132 (2.5%)	329 (6.2%)	2575 (48.6%)	2259 (42.7%)
All Municipalities	262 (2.7%)	650 (6.7%)	4817 (49.8%)	3936 (40.7%)



Map 4. Average Life Satisfaction of High-School students in Swedish Municipalities.

Young Adults' Outlook On Their Future Prospects



Map 5. Average outlook on future prospects of High-School students in Swedish Municipalities.

Departure of Home Municipality

A significant majority of Swedish youth intended to depart their home municipality post-high school graduation. Table 8 shows 79.1% of women and 70.4% of men giving this response. The percentage of all youth intending to migrate varied between 70-80%, as visualized by Map 6. The differences in both the core-peripheral and gendered axis were statistically significant, but not when testing the departure rates of each gender geographically. Neither visual inspection of Table 9, or the correlation test, show any indication of the tendency to leave for the different sexes correlating with the core-periphery dimension.

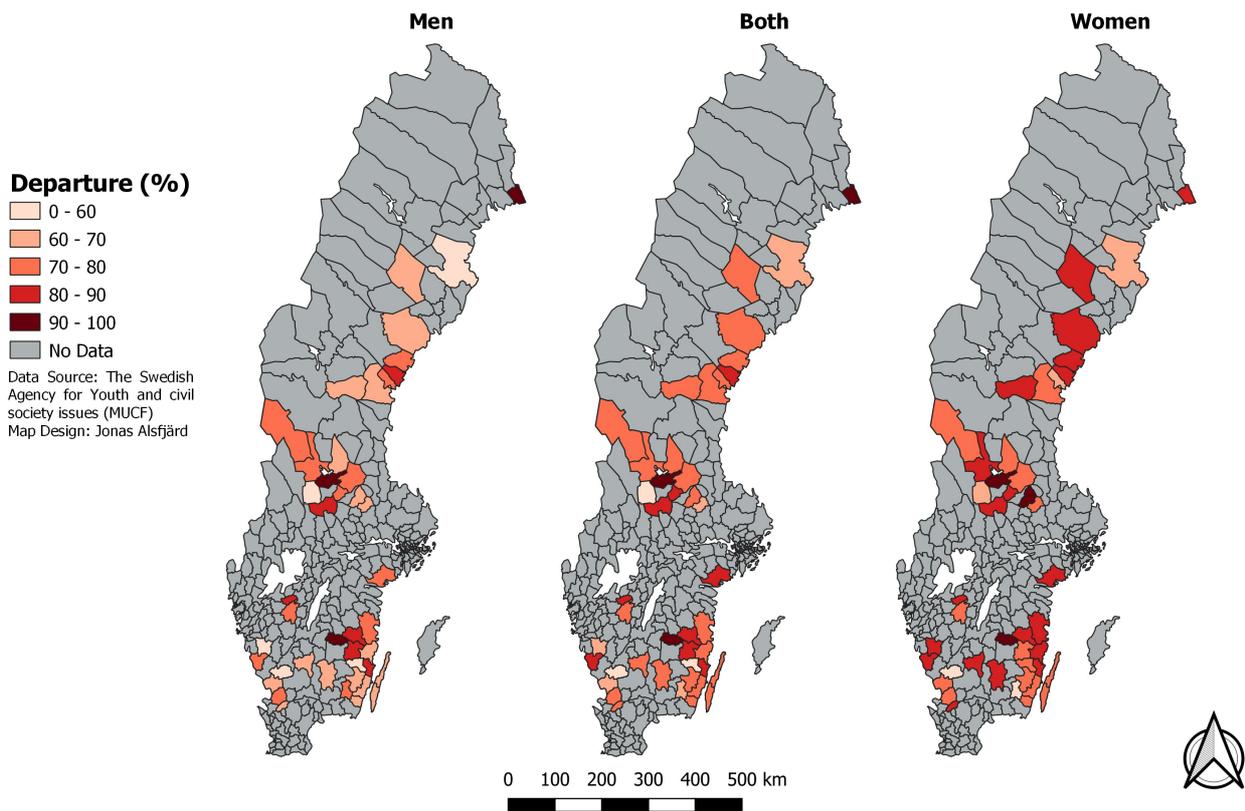
Table 8. The percentage and frequency of response regarding whether Swedish High-School students intend to depart home municipality post-graduation

	Stay	Depart
Women	970 (20.9%)	3676 (79.1%)
Men	1447 (29.6%)	3448 (70.4%)
All Respondents	2450 (25.4%)	7210 (74.6%)

Table 9. The percentage and number of respondents regarding whether Swedish High-School students intends to depart home municipality post-graduation, divided upon municipal typology

	Stay	Depart
Very Remote, Rural Municipality	2 (20%)	8 (80%)
Remote, Rural Municipality	124 (27.7%)	324 (72.3%)
Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	195 (28.2%)	496 (71.8%)
Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	863 (26.5%)	2394 (73.5%)
Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	1276 (24%)	4032 (76%)
All Municipalities	2460 (25.3%)	7254 (74.7%)

Young Adults Intending To Depart Their Home-Municipality



Map 6. Swedish students' average intentions to depart home municipality post High-School graduation

Reasons for Departure

The variable Reasons for Departure confirms early indications that Work and Education are the two most frequent answers for why the pupil intends to depart from the home municipality, which is visualized in Map 7. The most frequently mentioned factors are indicated by Table 10 and indicate men favoring Work (58.2%) and Education (49.1%), while women favored Education (62.9%) over Work (47.1%). Table 11 shows how many municipalities a specific factor was the most frequent picked by a particular gender. Work was the most mentioned reason by men in 77.5% of all participating municipalities, but by women in only 12.5%. Meanwhile, Education was the most mentioned by women

in 85% of all participating municipalities, but by men in only 20%.

There was a further investigation into the secondary factors for departure that was not Work and Education. It is visualized in Map 8.

Seeking closer proximity to cities and denser urban areas were the most frequently mentioned secondary reason by both sexes for departing the home municipality. Table 10 shows 53.4% of women and 41.4% of men giving this response, while Table 11 shows it is the most frequently mentioned secondary factor by women in 80.5% in of all participating municipalities, and by men in 56.1%.

The pursuit of one's hobbies was the only other secondary factor that was mentioned with any significant frequency. Consulting Table 10 shows it is mentioned by 21.5% of women and 37.3% of men. However, per Table 11, it was only the most frequently mentioned secondary factor by women in 4.9% of all participating municipalities, while men in 31.7%.

Men were reasonably consistent in reporting Work and Pursuit of one's Hobbies more frequently than women across different municipal categories. Women were fairly consistent in reporting Education, Proximity to a City, Better Environment for Children, Ability to be Oneself, and Friends and Partners more frequently than men.

All of the differences in secondary factors for departure between genders were statistically significant, with the exceptions of Proximity to Nature, Family, and Better Environment to Raise Children. A visual analysis of the crosstable indicates a few possible correlations between core-periphery, gender, and reason for departure. For example, a positive correlation between rurality and the extent to which women rate work as a reason for departure. Men, however, show no such tendency. Instead, men report a steady, but small, increase in their ability to be themselves with increasing urbanness.

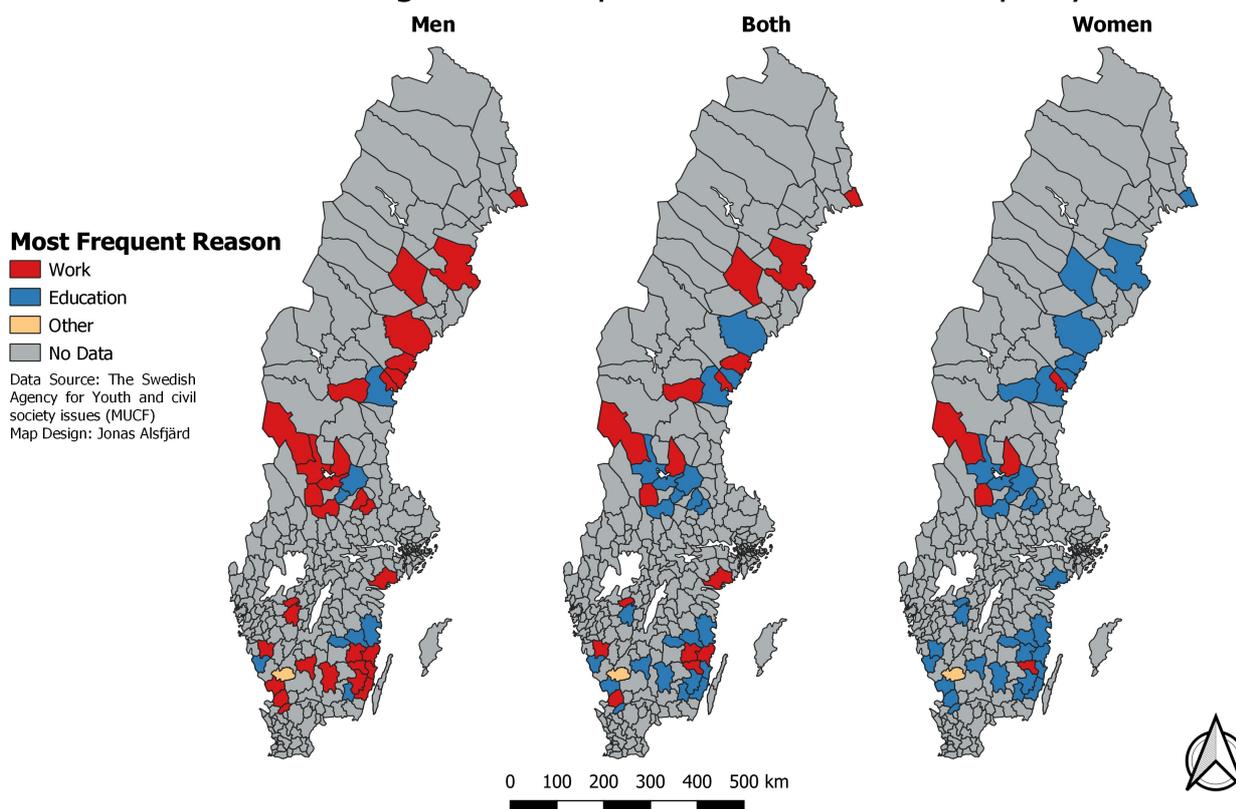
Table 10. The percentage and frequency of response regarding Swedish students' reasons for departure post-High-School graduation

	Work	Education	Family	Nature	City	Children	Be Yourself	Hobbies	Friends or Partner
Women	1563 (47.1%)	2089 (62.9%)	212 (6.4%)	84 (2.5%)	1163 (35.0%)	145 (4.4%)	270 (8.1%)	468 (14.1%)	581 (17.5%)
Men	1746 (58.2%)	1473 (49.1%)	177 (5.9%)	94 (3.1%)	733 (24.4%)	127 (4.2%)	156 (5.2%)	660 (22.0%)	401 (13.4%)
All Respondents	3309 (52.3%)	3562 (56.6%)	389 (6.2%)	174 (2.8%)	1896 (30.0%)	272 (4.3%)	426 (6.7%)	1128 (17.8%)	982 (15.5%)

Table 11. The percentage and number of Swedish municipalities reporting a factor being students' the most reported reason for departure post-High-School graduation

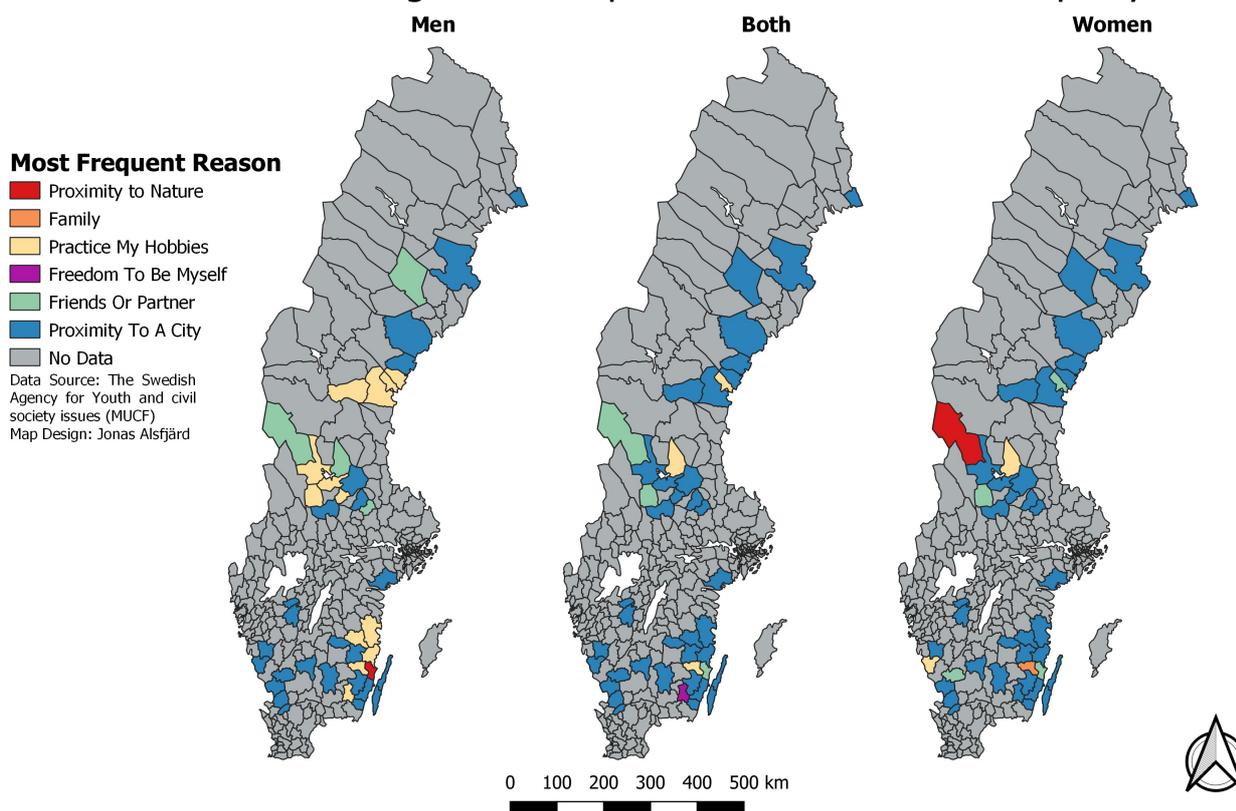
	Family	Nature	Be Yourself	City	Hobbies	Friends or Partner
Women	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	0 (0.0%)	33 (80.5%)	2 (4.9%)	4 (9.8%)
Men	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.4%)	0 (0.0%)	23 (56.1%)	13 (31.7%)	4 (9.8%)
All Respondents	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.4%)	34 (82.9)	3 (7.3%)	3 (7.3%)

Reasons For Young Adults' Departure Of Home Municipality



Map 7. Student's most frequent reason for departure post-High-School graduation in Swedish municipalities.

Reasons For Young Adults' Departure From Home Municipality



Map 8. Student's most frequent reason for departure post-High-School graduation in Swedish municipalities., excluding work and education

Appreciated Factors of the Home Municipality

The factors Swedish youth appreciate about their home municipality were not overwhelmingly dominated by one or two factors and thus were not required to be split into primary and secondary factors. The most frequently reported factor in each municipality is visualized in Map 9.

The family was the factor most frequently mentioned by both sexes that they appreciated with their home municipality. Table 12 shows 65.4% of women and 52.9% of men mentioned family, while Table 13 also shows it is the most frequently mentioned factor by women in 92.5% of all participating municipalities and by men in 62.5%.

The factor that was the second most frequently mentioned was that of Friends and Partner. Table 12 shows it being mentioned by 51% of women, and 46.8% of men. However, Table 13 shows it only being the most frequently mentioned factor by women in 2.5% of all participating municipalities and by men in 15%.

Men were reasonably consistent in reporting opportunities for Work, Education, the pursuit of one's hobbies, and the Ability to be Oneself more frequently compared to women across different municipal categories. Oppositely, women consequently reported Friends and Partners, Proximity to

Nature, Family, and Good Environment for Children more frequently compared to men.

All gendered differences in factors appreciated regarding the home municipality were statistically significant, except for Education, Proximity to a City, and Freedom to be Myself.

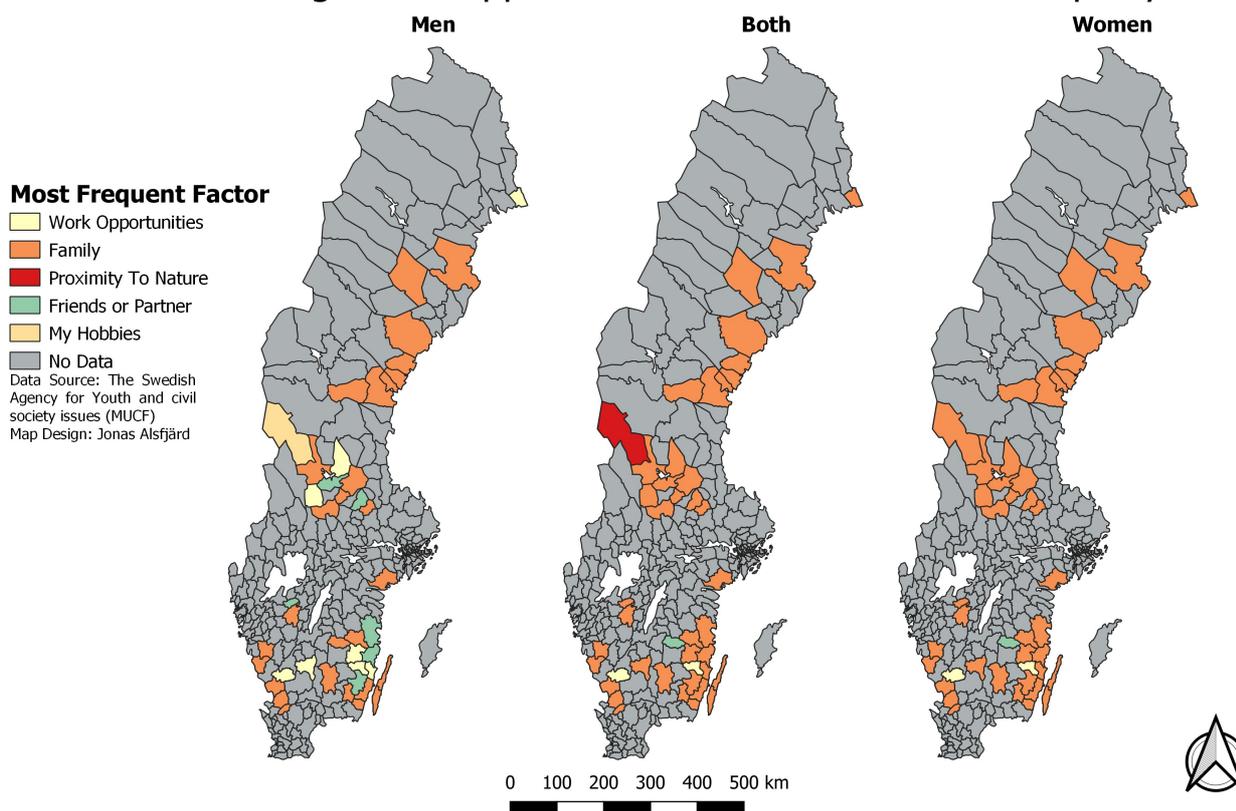
Table 12. The percentage and frequency of response regarding Swedish High-School student's most appreciated factors of the home municipality

	Work	Education	Hobbies	Friends or Partner	Family	Nature	City	Children	Be Yourself
Women	590 (14.4%)	380 (9.2%)	798 (19.4%)	2130 (51.8%)	2690 (65.4%)	1389 (33.8%)	275 (6.7%)	1247 (30.3%)	311 (7.6%)
Men	1221 (29.9%)	457 (11.2%)	1100 (26.9%)	1912 (46.8%)	2164 (52.9%)	1132 (27.7%)	304 (7.4%)	900 (22.0%)	386 (9.4%)
All Respondents	1811 (22.1%)	837 (10.2%)	1898 (23.1%)	4042 (49.3%)	4854 (59.2%)	2521 (30.7%)	579 (7.1%)	2147 (26.2%)	697 (8.5%)

Table 13. The percentage and number of Swedish municipalities reporting a factor being students' the most reported reason for departure post High-School graduation

	Work	Hobbies	Friends or Partner	Family	Nature
Women	2 (4.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.4%)	38 (92.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Men	8 (19.5%)	1 (2.4%)	6 (14.6%)	26 (63.4%)	0 (0.0%)
All Respondents	2 (4.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.4%)	37 (90.2%)	1 (2.4%)

Factors Young Adults Appreciate About Their Home Municipality



Map 9. The most frequently reported appreciated factor of the home municipality

Social Control

The variable for experiencing social control over whom they get to marry is visualized in Map 10 and shows that Swedish youth seldom have this type of experience. Consulting Table 14 shows only 6.1 % of women and 7.1% of men have encountered it. The notion that more young men than women reported experiencing this type of social control was a result that went against initial expectations, even though the difference was small. Table 15, which displays the geographical distribution of these pupils, also shows that there are differences along the core-peripheral dimension. Both variances along the geographical and gendered dimensions were statistically significant.

Additionally, the correlation test showed a statistically significant correlative relationship between core-periphery and social control through marriage. The relationship is negative but weak (-0.03), indicating that pupils in more urban areas experience this type of social control to a higher degree than their cohorts in rural areas. A secondary correlation test was performed to discover any correlative relationship between social control through marriage and intention to depart the home municipality, but the results could not significantly prove that any such relationship existed.

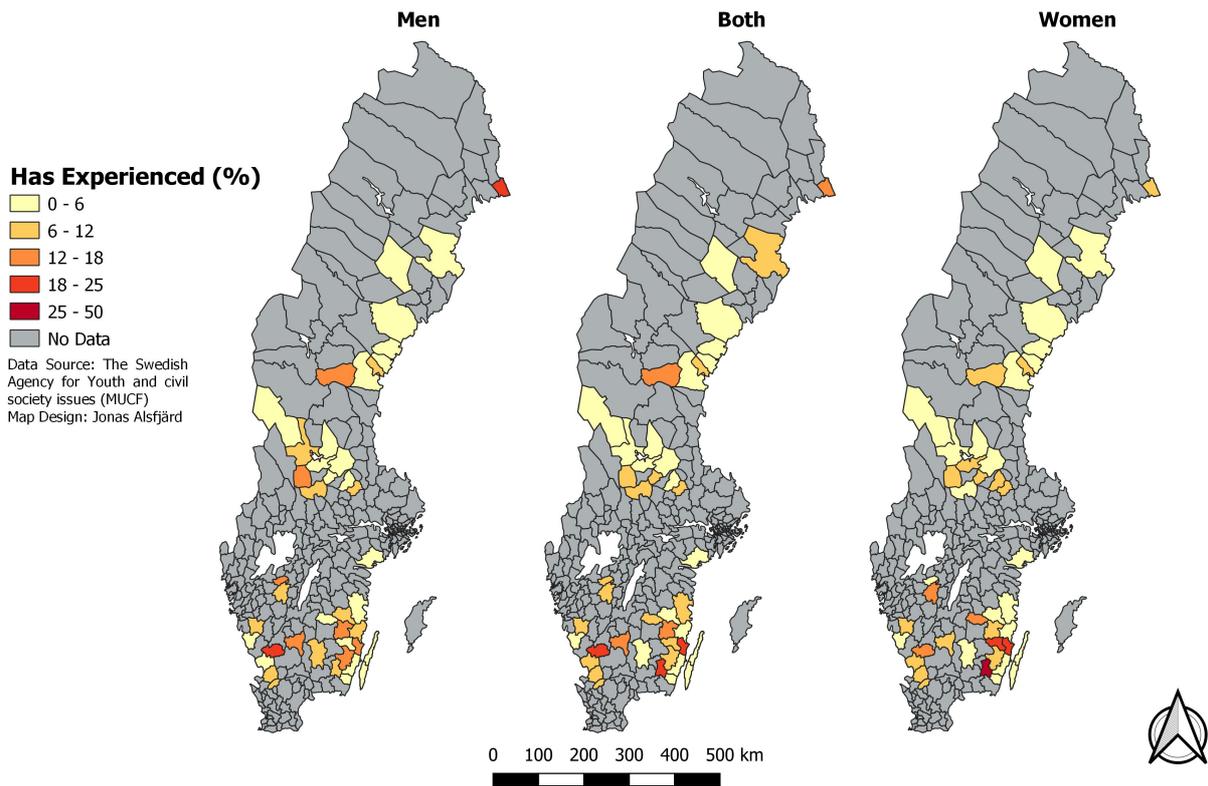
Table 14. The percentage and number of respondents reporting having experienced social control regarding whom they can choose as a partner

	No	Yes
Women	4428 (93.9%)	286 (6.1%)
Men	4716 (92.9%)	359 (7.1%)
All Respondents	9240 (93.1%)	683 (6.9%)

Table 15. The percentage and number of respondents reporting having experienced social control regarding whom they can choose as a partner, divided upon municipal typology

	No	Yes
Very Remote, Rural Municipality	10 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Remote, Rural Municipality	417 (89.9%)	47 (10.1%)
Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	637 (90.4%)	68 (9.6%)
Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	3122 (93.2%)	226 (6.8%)
Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	5123 (93.6%)	351 (6.4%)
All Municipalities	9309 (93.1%)	692 (6.9%)

Young Adults' Experience Of Social Control Regarding Marriage



Map 10. The percentage of respondents per municipality reporting having experienced social control regarding whom they can choose as a partner

Analysis and Discussion

This chapter will serve as a guide to the previous one by pointing out notable features in the results and discussing them. The format will entail analyzing and then discussing each factor variable of the last chapter entirely before continuing to the next.

The analysis of the 2018 survey data regarding the intranational migratory patterns of Swedish youth was able to partly recreate the relationship between gender and migration suggested by previous research in the field. Women were, on average, almost nine percentage points more likely to depart the home municipality, which is consistent with the theoretical framework implying women are more likely to migrate to a new partner or seek out higher education provided in urban space. Furthermore, while municipal departure rates of both sexes were spread out across the top half of the spectrum (60-100%), young women were more consistently represented in the higher bracket (80-90% departure rates) than men. The combined national average departure rate of 74.6% sets Sweden apart as fairly extreme when comparing to the other case study regions in the SEMIGRA report (Wiest et al. 2013:39).

Previous research suggested several reasons for this, such as being economically, socially, culturally, and normatively hampered to a higher degree in rural space compared to men. While some of these claims can be seen paralleled in this thesis' results, others cannot.

Swedish youth report being considerably less satisfied with life and more cynical about their future prospects in municipalities located in the most distant periphery. Even the correlation test signaled a positive relationship, although weak, between rurality and life dissatisfaction. Young women, on average, were also verified by the data as being less satisfied with life and having a less positive outlook on their future prospects than men. These facts could support the notion that satisfaction is related to the core-periphery dimension, but there are reasons to be doubtful and not draw any premature conclusion. Once more, it is crucial to take into consideration that Table 5 and Table 7 showed there existing only one municipality with as few as ten respondents of the most rural category in this dataset. If the results of that category are highly uncertain, then the support to the notion that satisfaction can be related to the core-periphery dimension is minimal at best.

The last piece of the results that seems to contradict previous research is the fact that neither women nor men's departure rates seem to vary with a significant degree throughout the core-periphery dimension and displays no signs of correlation. Lacking support of such a fundamental part of the theory of female, rural, exodus leaves only a single conclusion that can be drawn from these mentioned variables, namely that young women are more migrational mobile than men.

Social control, as experienced through control of one's choice of partner to marry, mirrors the

findings of the previous research in some ways but not in others. The theoretical framework suggested that women experience social control as a broad concept more severely than men, and more frequently in rural space (Bock & Shortall 2006:182, 187-188). However, when it comes to controlling marriage, this seems to be a relatively rare occurrence in Sweden and reported as about equally uncommon between men and women. While the notion of social control is complex and entails far more aspects than the choice of partner for marriage, these results seem to contradict the fact that women experience more significant degrees of social control than men at least at this one point. The data *does*, however, provide moderate support to the notion that rural youth encounter such social control to a higher degree than urban youth. The only exception is the category of the most distant and rural type of municipals, which has no such reports at all. Nevertheless, such a result is not entirely unexpected since this kind of social control is seemingly uncommon, and the responses collected from this municipal category are very few. The low response rate of this category could also explain why the correlation test showed the overall trend to be negative, despite Table 15 implying the trend is positive.

Results of this thesis that did correspond with the findings of previous migration studies were intentions post-graduation and some of the reasons for departure. Women were consistently shown to more frequently than men choose Education in both cases, while the opposite was accurate for Work. This mirrors the works of the theoretical framework, which saw women favoring careers that require higher education, such as white-collar jobs (Wiest 2016:2).

Additional agreeable results were of women reporting Work as an appreciated factor of the home-municipality less frequently than men, and that there was a positive correlation between rurality and women departing due to Work. Paradoxically, there seemed also to be a simultaneous positive correlation between rurality and women appreciating local opportunities for work. However, percentages imply that Work is more strongly noted as a reason for departure, which is also corroborated with this factor, even being the most frequent departure for women in two municipalities. The rural correlation could be attributed to, as suggested by the previous research, peripheral labor markets usually being characterized by more traditionally male-gendered professions, causing young women to seek employment in urban settings where opportunities are more plentiful than in rural space, and salaries are higher (Bye 2009).

Migrational factors that were more prominent for women than men were connected to social relations, for example, through a greater tendency to co-migrate with friends and partners or consider their family an appreciated factor of the home municipality. This corresponds with the theoretical framework that portrays women as more willing to de-emphasize the importance of making a career in order to enable a partner to manifest theirs (Bailey et al. 2004; Wiest et al. 2013:52). Furthermore, traditional gender roles dictate children as mainly being a preoccupation of the mother, which women,

even as young as 16-18, become increasingly aware of as they grow up. These norms could explain why women show this kind of social preference, as access to the social safety net of the extended family during child-raising years would be a significant pull-factor and encourage return-migration.

The data showed hobbies and access to leisure activities being a relatively prominent migratory factor for both sexes, either as a push and as a pull factor. The results, however, showed no sign that this factor was a significant reason for departure by rural women, or a factor significantly appreciated by rural men. That seems to contradict the notion that rural leisure life is gendered per the traditional male breadwinner model, which was indicated by the previous research (Wiest et al. 2013:32).

Some of the outcomes bring the findings of previous studies into question, but there are plausible reasons for why these kinds of discrepancies occurred.

While the level of aggregation explored by most previous studies is regional, this thesis investigated female, rural exodus at a municipal level. An essential characteristic of this level is that there is a more considerable variation between the types of jobs, housing, higher education, state services, and other societal features that are available, compared to between regions. That could mean that leaving the home municipality is a reality which most Swedish youths are mentally prepared for and possibly view as an inevitability, without necessarily requiring a strongly internalized awareness of the circumstances pushing or pulling them away. The migrational factors suggested in the previous research could be more distinctly associated with young women in their consideration of interregional migration. In other words, disadvantages - such as disassociation with a space-specific identity or the experience of being restricted by the labor-market structure - might be perceived by women as a more significant impediment when permeating a regional structure rather than a municipal one.

Another possible reason for the results differing could be the age-range of the respondents. Previous research often focuses on migration in the most active age groups mobility-wise, from the early entry into adulthood and departure from home to the age of family-making and return-migration (18-35). Meanwhile, this thesis bases its results on survey data from youth in the older age bracket (16-18). The difference in experiences between these two groups can be expected to be massive. For example, only 29% of Swedish youth ages 16-18 regularly work at least once a month, while 54% work part-time during summer break (SCB 2016). It is safe to assume, unsurprisingly, that this will affect their perspective on the local labor market.

In the end, the thesis' investigation into the inter-municipal migration of young Swedish women was not able to find supportive evidence of the proposed trend that women migrate from the countryside to a more significant degree than men. However, results did support the fact that specific migrational push- and pull factors, such as social relationships and perceived opportunities in the local labor market, are gendered and geographical along the urban-rural dimension.

Conclusion

Migration literature pinpoints a global subtrend within the general urbanization movement, where women to a more significant degree than men leave the countryside periphery for the city urban cores. Rural push-factors believed to be a cause in this include that of gendered labor markets, high degrees of social control, and a constricting rural feminine identity. Simultaneously, urban pull-factors such as well-paid white-collar jobs and a modern lifestyle have an effect of anchoring women, which otherwise would have been precious return-migrants to weaker countryside regions later in life. This deprives them even further demographically of women fertile age groups, and economically of active, driven, female entrepreneurs.

The thesis has investigated the relationship between levels of urbanness or rurality and migration between municipalities. The research question was whether there is a spatial pattern to known migration factors of young women and was answered using a dataset compiled from an annual survey into the circumstances of Swedish youths. Two additional subqueries were (1) if there are any notable variance in the circumstances surrounding migration between municipalities, and (2) if any such variances possibly correspond to a core-periphery relationship between municipalities.

The results were inconclusive, lending support to the existence of some migrational factors being gendered and rural to a more significant degree than others, but without being able to complete the aim of recreating the results of previous studies indicating a female, rural exodus in Sweden. While women were shown to be more prone to migrate, both on average and in order to study, this pattern did not sustain itself along the rural-urban dimension. Instead, life satisfaction, a positive outlook for the future, and the freedom to choose one's partner were shown to correlate negatively with rurality. Migrating for reasons of social and family relations, as well as a negative outlook of local work opportunities, were also more commonly attributed to women. However, no factors were shown to correlate when related to both gender and levels of rurality simultaneously.

The most credible explanation for the discrepancies between the findings of previous studies and those presented by this thesis is believed to be the attempt to recreate results from a regional aggregation level on a municipal one. The fact that inter-municipal migration in practice entails both intra- and interregional mobility could result in respondents reporting different intentions, as well as different factors and of varying strength, compared to when only measuring interregional migration. Further possible explanations involve the difference in the age-range of the investigated population, where the thesis has analyzed data from surveyed pupils ages 16-18, and previous migration literature often focuses on ages 18-35. The inherent flaws in the dataset, such as incomplete responses and mislabeling an inter-municipal enterprise as a municipality, are not considered to have caused or

strengthened the discrepancies in any significant way.

In summary, this study has furthered research in the field of migration by attempting to recreate the findings of earlier works, which establishes a current trend of female flight from peripheral regions all over Europe. Despite being unable to find conclusive results on a similar trend among young women on the municipal level in Sweden, the study did manage to gather support to the claim of previous research that certain migrational push- and pull-factors are both gendered and geographical along the core-peripheral dimension.

Further Research

While this thesis was not able to recreate previous findings in all aspects, it managed to unintentionally produce unexpected results that could be the focal point for future research. The dataset, which was analyzed for gendered and core-peripheral differences, allowed the respondents to identify as Male, Female, or Other. The category Other were picked by 134 (1.3%) respondents and can be assumed to include youth, which does not identify either as Male or Female, such as non-binary, trans, or queer. The analysis found that this group was almost five times more likely to report feeling very dissatisfied with their current circumstances (31.5% vs. 5.9%), and almost ten times more likely to have a very negative outlook on their future prospects (21.2% vs. 2.4%). Furthermore, they were roughly four times more likely to report experiencing social control by not having the freedom to pick a partner (28.4% vs. 6.7%). It is clear from these results that these Swedish youths are an exposed social group, certainly tied into how they challenge traditional gender norms. A fascinating notion would be to measure how factors known to relate to male and female migration patterns influence this group, and how it distributes geographically. Alternatively, interviews with members of this group could indicate previously unrealized migrational factors or new perspectives on old ones.

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Appendix

Appendix I: Municipalities Participating in LUPP 2018, their typology, and amount of respondents

Municipality	Typology	Respondents
Avesta	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	109 (1.1%)
Borlänge	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	353 (3.5%)
Eksjö	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	24 (0.2%)
Emmaboda	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	46 (0.5%)
Falköping	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	261 (2.6%)
Falun	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	238 (2.4%)
Halmstad	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	851 (8.5%)
Haparanda	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	111 (1.1%)
Hedemora	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	31 (0.3%)
Hultsfred	Remote, Rural Municipality	77 (0.8%)
Hylte	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	30 (0.3%)
Härnösand	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	182 (1.8%)
Högsby	Remote, Rural Municipality	9 (0.1%)
Kalmarsunds Gymnasieförening	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	514 (5.1%)
Kramfors	Remote, Rural Municipality	140 (1.4%)
Laholm	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	100 (1.0%)

Leksand	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	47 (0.5%)
Ludvika	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	247 (2.5%)
Lycksele	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	142 (1.4%)
Mark	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	252 (2.5%)
Mora	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	639 (6.4%)
Mönsterås	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	21 (0.2%)
Nybro	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	66 (0.7%)
Nyköping	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	636 (6.4%)
Oskarshamn	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	282 (2.8%)
Rättvik	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	94 (0.9%)
Skara	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	96 (1.0%)
Skellefteå	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	1128 (11.3%)
Sundsvall	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	897 (9.0%)
Timrå	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	263 (2.6%)
Vansbro	Remote, Rural Municipality	107 (1.1%)
Varberg	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	112 (1.1%)
Vimmerby	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	134 (1.3%)
Värnamo	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	237 (2.4%)

Västervik	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	219 (2.2%)
Växjö	Densely Populated Municipality near an Urban Centre	738 (7.4%)
Ånge	Remote, Rural Municipality	131 (1.3%)
Älvdalen	Very Remote, Rural Municipality	10 (0.1%)
Örkelljunga	Rural Municipality near an Urban Centre	115 (1.1%)
Örnsköldsvik	Remote, Densely Populated Municipality	312 (3.1%)
All Municipalities	-	10001 (100%)