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**A Comparative Study of Living
Conditions and Participation of
Rural Young People in Changing Europe
(RYPE)**

**REPORT
PART 1**

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Preface

This comparative study explores the nature of rural communities, the problems facing young people, and the range of approaches used in working with these young people in five countries in Northern, Southern, Central and Eastern Europe. The purpose of this study is two-fold. First of all our task has been to gather together for comparison statistical and survey data on the living conditions and participation of rural young citizens in Estonia, Finland, Germany, Italy and Sweden, both from pre-existing studies in this field and from on-going research projects. This data refers to the living standards, housing, basic education, vocational training fields and programmes, job access, health, political and cultural participation, migration and demographic factors concerning young people from approximately 16 to 25 years old. Secondly, this study report is intended to serve as a valuable information resource for those working in youth policy on the local, national and European levels. The introductory chapter provides a more detailed explanation of the procedures used in this research.

The content of this report is the fruit of the joint labours of all the partners in our RYPE project, all of whom I wish to thank very warmly. Further thanks go to Jukka Mäkelä and David Huisjen for their help in our work.

Helsinki, 24.3.1998

Helena Helve

1. Aims, History and Methods of the Project

1.1. Background

This study concerning young people in disadvantaged rural areas has its roots in a joint research project in the counties of Vaasa (Finland) and Pärnu (Estonia), which was first planned through the co-operation of the Finnish and Estonian Ministries of Education. The opening event, in June of 1995, was a seminar held in Pärnu for youth workers from Vaasa and Pärnu and for youth researchers from the Finnish Youth Research Society.

There were many reasons for this collaboration in youth policy and youth research between these two countries: After Estonian Independence (1991) social changes in that country have been dramatic, and there is a pressing need to get information about the living conditions, attitudes and needs of young people in order to develop a new youth policy for this newly independent Baltic country.

In Finland the living conditions of young people have also changed rapidly in the 1990s. A growing problem has been rising unemployment. The unemployment rates among young people (under 25 years old) in Finland have risen from 4.9 % in 1989 to 34 % in 1995. The problem of unemployment among young people has been even worse in disadvantaged areas in northern parts of Finland (EU district 5).

1.2. Focus of the Project and its Main Problems

The main idea of this study is to advance the research being done into the living conditions and participation of young people, especially into the marginalization and exclusion of young people in rural areas, using methods of primary and secondary analysis based on existing studies and data sets concerning young people in European rural areas in Northern Finland and Sweden and in Southern Italy, as well as in the former communist countries of East Germany and Estonia. Our secondary concerns are the comparative analysis of: 1) regional economic and social infrastructures as environments for young people and 2) young people's living conditions, including educational and employment situations (supplies of higher education and labour markets), possibilities for integration into the labour market, mobility, participation; as well as the leisure activities, future perspectives, attitudes, value orientations and cultural identities and collective representations of young people on the cultural level in the framework of gender, class and ethnic identity.

1.3. Partner Organisations and Research Partners

The Finnish Youth Research Society was established by the Ministry of Education in 1988 to promote cross-disciplinary youth research and scholarly co-operation, and also to disseminate information about this activity. The Society offers a forum for co-operation between research centres, youth researchers and universities. It publishes a quarterly called *Nuorisotutkimus* (Youth Research), which reviews youth research and organises yearly training courses for post-graduate researchers, and both national and international research seminars for the researchers, youth policy makers and administrators. The Society has established relations with many European Youth Research centres (e.g., the Nordic Youth Research Network, Deutsches Jugendinstitut, the Social Statistics Research Unit of the City University of London, Tartu University etc.). In 1994, the Youth Research Society started the *Youth Research 2000* programme, which focuses on current questions concerning the changing life situations and worlds of young people.

The co-ordinator of this project is Dr. Helena Helve, Docent (Associate Professor) in Helsinki University and President of the Finnish Youth Research Society. She directs the *Youth Research 2000* programme. Her primary research topics have been the values and world views of young people for two decades already (Helve 1993, 1996, 1997). She also served as Research Committee chairperson and assistant to Minister of Culture Claes Andersson in the *National Youth Policy Review* (1997), commissioned by the Ministry of Education.

Research concerning the situation of rural young people in Estonia has been headed by Senior Researcher Jüri Saarniit from Tartu University, Department of Sociology, financed by the Estonian Ministry of Education, with the intention of further developing Estonia's youth policy and the regional youth work. Professor Paul Kenkmann of Tartu University joined the project in 1997. Youth researchers from the University of Tartu have been involved in various empirical projects, including longitudinal studies of educational cohorts as well as the monitoring of basic social characteristics and value orientations among the primary categories of Estonian young people. As Estonia is a rather small socio-territorial entity, still having considerable regional as well as urban-rural differences, the majority of the empirical studies there cover youth groups on the national level.

Dr. Fjalar Finnäs, research director at the Finnish-Swedish Social Science Institute at Åbo Academy, has researched issues concerning young people both in rural and urban areas in Finland. Together with his colleague, Pia Nyman-Kurkiala, he participated in the two planning seminars setting up this comparative research. Erik Häggman, the spokesperson for the Provincial Government of Vaasa Youth Board, has also participated the seminars. The final Finnish participant is junior researcher Sonja Norrgård from Vaasa, who started gathering data in 1997.

Our German partners, Professor Dr. Lothar Lappe, head of the *Youth and Work* Department of the German Youth Institute (DJI), and his colleague, Dr. Walter Bien, have investigated this specifically in terms of East German young people's

possibilities in the labour market. DJI is a member of many international research networks dealing with the issue of the living conditions of young people. DJI also maintains various data bases (family, youth, youth services, regional data etc.).

The Italian partner and research co-ordinator, Professor Carmen Leccardi, taught for close to a decade (1985–1994) in Calabria University. There she carried out various research projects concerning young people, with special attention to gender roles and cultural orientations. She has contributed data for secondary analysis in this comparative research in consultation with Dr. Fabio Massimo Lo Verde from Palermo University, Institute of Anthropology and Geography, and Professor Pierro Fantozzi from Calabria University. Junior researcher Walter Greco from Calabria University has also joined this study.

The Swedish project co-ordinator and research partner, Dr. Peter Waara from Umeå University, wrote his doctoral thesis, *Ungdom i gränsland* (1996) [Youth on the Border] about the exclusion of rural young people in Northern Sweden. He has participated in the planning seminar for this project on rural young people. His contribution to this research project is based on three separate studies in which he has been involved. These projects were also planned in collaboration with research fellows from Princeton University.

1.4. Research Aims and Methodologies

The basic aim of our project has been defined as analysing the living conditions and participation of young people in various European countries basing on existing data. Our project thus involves many challenging and complicated methodological problems. In our seminars we have analysed different youth research methodologies from a comparative research perspective, with the hope of developing a joint research methodology for this project based on quantitative and qualitative methods.

Our primary approach in this report has been to collect existing statistical and survey data in order to build a comparative analysis of the living conditions of young people, their educational and employment situation, participation, future perspectives, attitudes and value orientations in the rural areas of each participating country.

1.5. The Process of the Research

Starting on April 1, 1997, each partner began to collect existing data and analyse earlier studies of young people's living conditions, attitudes, participation, etc., in their countries. A seminar on theory and methodology was held in Helsinki, August 15 – 17, 1997. The data collected during the previous 4 months was discussed and analysed with a view to identifying which information related to young people age 16–25, and how comparable it is in the different participating countries.

In February, 1998 a seminar was arranged in Calabria on the topic of *Young Europeans in Rural Areas*. Every partner presented the conclusions of their secondary analyses, and Dr. Helena Helve co-ordinated the report. The results will be discussed with local, national and EU authorities on youth policy and youth workers.

As is evident in the design of this study, each country involved here is presenting empirical evidence collected for other purposes and used mostly through the secondary analysis. In determining which portions of these previous, primarily quantitative, studies to utilise in this report, we have first of all tried to present an overview of the situation of rural young people in each country in the most concise and mutually-comparable fashion possible; and secondly we have attempted to establish the thematic basis for continuing co-operation through a joint qualitative study of this target group.

1.6. The Concept of Rural Young People

It seems that a subjectivist approach must be applied in our comparative study beginning with the definition of rural young people itself. Bearing in mind the variety of regional developments, the level of urbanisation and industrialisation and so forth in the participating countries, it is obvious that we cannot work out a definition of rural young people that is both universal and sufficient. Therefore it seems – in the final stages of the analysis – that it is possible and effective to speak of rural young people as a specific category not only on the basis of certain objective characteristics but also on the basis of the subjective experiences shared by these young people, which distinguish them from other youth groups.

We must also bear in mind that rural young people are themselves specific subjects and actors in social life. Young people living in the countryside have their own subjective experiences and aspirations, in which various issues may have very different forms of significance – which may differ considerably from researchers' and/or politicians' understandings of the significance of these issues.

We should thus expand our approach to social problems of contemporary rural young people by including dimensions of life situations that young people themselves consider to be important. The process of applying the above principle is the subject of a methodological discussion itself, but seems to be worth considering as a means of bringing our methodology nearer to the dynamism and multiplicity of our subject matter, while at the same time being in accord with the latest developments in sociology itself.

1.7. Strategies and Structuring for the Description of the Living Conditions of Rural Young People

The idea of a comparison between different European countries involves a distinctive set of methodological challenges in itself (see Bynner and Chisholm 1996). Because these problems are well covered in methodological literature, we will focus here only on the central issues. In this secondary analysis we have found a very small number of data sets which could construct a general framework for gaining a systematic understanding of the situation of rural young people in different European countries. Macro-level convergences are paralleled by different social and cultural realities in the countries which have been involved in this research. For example, similarities in the results can mean quite different things in the post-communist countries of East Germany and Estonia than in the Nordic welfare states of Finland and Sweden.

Seeing cross-national comparative research as a sub-category of the comparative strategy of social research, we must determine which specific type of cross-national comparison has to be built up. In our case this methodological task is especially relevant since we have to deal with rather complicated social “space.” In this research Finland, Germany, Italy and Sweden are represented by rural regions of different sizes and population densities, while Estonia, by far the smallest country represented here, is embraced as a whole. There is a remarkably extensive set of considerations concerning the specifics of social development in these countries (from different regions of Europe) which have to be taken into account while building up a comparative analysis. We are dealing with “old” capitalist countries as well as with countries that have been members of the Soviet bloc for the past generation.

Melvin Kohn (1989) has distinguished between four types of comparative research which differ on the basis of the role played by countries or nations in each research type:

- A. The nation as the object of the study. In this case nations/countries or certain institutions in the participating countries are compared with each other, with the aim of obtaining new knowledge about those particular countries.
- B. The nation as the context of the study. This means that the function of certain institutions or the impact of certain structures on people is the problem being considered and the results enable us to say how broader theoretical entities or hypotheses “behave” under the different conditions of countries included in the study.
- C. The nation as a unit of analysis. Nations/countries are classified according to certain social indicators and it is possible to establish how the variability of the indicator is connected with specific traits of the countries.
- D. Nations as components of larger international systems. This is the variant of cross-national studies where particular nations are seen as parts of a world economic system or in the framework of any other trans-national structure.

Of these four variants of cross-national comparative study, the second – nations or countries as contexts of analysis – is nearest to our project. We have rural young people as our focal point and our aim is to clarify how social situations in different countries shape the living conditions and participation of rural young people. We also have certain concepts – modernisation, urbanisation, rural–urban discrepancies, education and labour attainment, youth unemployment, social exclusion, etc. – that have common characteristics as well as differing content in our various countries. Obviously we would like to show what the prevalence of these features is in each of the regions involved in the comparative study.

We could also say that part of the process of ongoing change has nothing to do with generation differences; in other words the whole population is involved, including young people as a specific age group. Unemployment and economic differentiation are examples of processes characteristic of the national population as a whole, while urbanisation, deepening of urban–rural discrepancies, as well as relative deprivation, have to do with the rural population as a whole. Of course young people are probably more vulnerable to relative deprivation, and it may motivate young people more often than the elderly to migrate to urban areas, but that does not make it a specifically age-related problem. In all of these cases we expect to see whether young people are more affected than the older generations and hopefully whether rural young people's situation differs considerably from that of urban young people. This will provide a new basis for our understanding of rural young people, but beyond that, for our understanding of the processes of social change in different European countries.

Another set of processes embraced in this comparative study are more or less specific to young people: attaining education, the transition to adulthood, etc. Here again we face a situation where these problems are inherently part of the lives of both urban and rural young people, and the main result of the analysis will be more precise knowledge about the course of these processes in rural areas. In all of these cases international comparison will enable us to see to what extent the processes in which our countries' rural young people are involved are a) unique; b) caused by a specific type of historical phenomenon (e.g., the transition from state socialism to a free market society), or c) moulded by more universal modernisation processes which effect rural life in all contemporary European societies.

2. Estonian Rural Young People

2.1. Historical and Social Background of the Study of Estonian Rural Young People

The Republic of Estonia is a small country situated on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland. Its territory is 45,215 km² and its population is approximately 1.5 million. The Estonian language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian language group. The country is predominantly Christian, with Lutheranism being the largest denomination. Approximately two-thirds of the population are ethnic Estonians, with Russians and other Russian speaking Slavic people making up most of the remainder.

Among the countries involved in this comparative project, Estonia's economic and social development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was most similar to that of Finland. It was a predominantly agrarian country which got a rather slow start in the process of industrialisation.

Industrial development actually began in Estonia during the late 1890s and slowly built up steam until the time of World War I. At the turn of the last century though, 4/5 of the Estonian population still lived in rural areas (see Table 1). Estonia first gained political independence in 1918, and during the years of the "first republic" urbanisation continued to the point that in the end of the 1930s about 3/10 of the population lived in towns. In addition to the rapid urbanisation during this period, there was also a tendency for Estonia's remaining rural inhabitants to gather into larger rural settlements.

TABLE 1. Rural population in Estonia (%)

1897	80.8
1922	75.0
1934	71.3
1940	67.2
1950*	52.9
1960	42.9
1970	44.9
1980	28.9
1990	27.5
1993	29.7
1995	30.0
1997	30.6
2000**	31
* In 1950, as the result of Stalin's administrative reforms, Estonia's overall territory was reduced somewhat, with the loss being mostly rural. The data from this point on reflects this change.	
** A statistical prognosis.	
Source: Statistical Office of Estonia; Estonian Human Development Reports.	

In 1940 Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union, and after the World War II immigration from other areas of that empire began to rapidly increase the urban population. Large scale immigration continued to be a major factor in Estonian demographics throughout the period of Soviet rule. At the same time, the forced collectivisation of agriculture and the grave economic difficulties this caused in the countryside also motivated more and more rural Estonians to move into the cities.

Urban growth reached critical levels in the 1970s, and the over-expansion of the capital city, Tallinn, in particular was recognised as a major social development problem for Estonia. In the late 1970s the improvement of the economic and social situation in the countryside as well as corresponding administrative measures led to decline of the concentration of the population in towns and to decreasing territorial differentiation.

Estonia regained its independence in 1991, and there has been a slight but continuous drop in the country's permanent population ever since, especially in urban areas. This is caused partially by low birth rates, but mostly by the ending (and attempted reversal) of Soviet immigration into Estonian cities. Another factor that demographers site to explain the decrease in urban population, however, is the new practise of urban Estonians declaring their permanent residence to be in some rural settlement as a tax evasion technique.

It is difficult to describe the economic structure and labour force situation of the rural population because the continuing rapid pace of economic transition. According to the censuses of 1922 and 1934, almost two-thirds of the working population was engaged in agriculture. Industrial expansion continued to reduce this proportion though, and finally in the late 1950s, for the first time in Estonian history, the industrial sector surpassed agriculture in terms of its number of workers. In 1960s the share of workers in agriculture dropped to approximately 25 % and by the mid-1980s it had been cut in half yet again. In 1989, 42 % of the labour force was employed in industry and building, 12 % in agriculture and 45 % in other sectors. Currently the share of rural employees is approximately 30 % of the overall working population.

A high employment rate was typical of the workforce situation of Soviet Estonia. On the basis of census data from 1989, we can conclude that at the start of the economic transition period approximately 85 % of the working-age population, and more than of a half of the total population, was employed. During the years of the independence these figures have declined drastically.

During the Soviet period large, mechanised state and collective farms were developed in Estonia, and the rural population was concentrated in agrarian settlements. Since Estonia has regained its independence these units have largely disintegrated as a result of the new republic's property restitution and agricultural reform policies, with their former holdings now being divided up into private farms and agricultural co-operatives. The employment they created in rural areas has thus disappeared. The situation is further complicated by the inadequate educational qualifications among inhabitants of rural areas. Thus various rural areas, especially those situated remote distances from the large urban markets, which were dependent on a monostructural

economy and single dominant local enterprises (such as a pork “factory” or a large dairy), are now stagnating.

2.2. Population and Ethnic Composition

The non-native share of the population, as well as the number of residents born outside of Estonia, have been rather high since the end of World War II. The share of ethnic Estonians was 89.2 % in 1881; 90.6 % in 1897; 87.7 % in 1922; 88.2 % in 1934; and 89.3 % in 1941. Russians, instead of Germans, became the country’s primary ethnic minority at the turn of the century, and the overwhelming majority of non-Estonians settled in towns, especially in Tallinn, the capital.

During the Soviet period the share of Estonians in the overall population fell due to the centrally planned as well as the unplanned influx of labourers (employees and members of their families), especially from the neighbouring (primarily rural) areas of Russia. The majority of these immigrants settled in towns, and relatively compact areas inhabited by non-native, Russian-speaking residents were formed: especially in Tallinn and the industrialised north-eastern part of Estonia. As the result of considerable segregation on the territorial, educational, professional and familial levels, relations between Estonians and the non-Estonian immigrants came to be characterised by mutual segregation. (See Appendix 1, Table 1.)

The ethnic situation that emerged in Estonia at the end of the Soviet rule can be characterised as typical for a number of regions of the (former) Soviet Union, and at the same time as unique within Europe. Thus, in the late 1980s Estonia ranked the 5th among all countries and territories of the world in terms of the non-native share of its population – following Kazakhstan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Latvia, and Kyrgyzstan. As to the rankings in this list of the other countries involved in this comparative study, Finland was number 31; Italy, 35; Sweden, 45; and Germany, 48 (see: Ethnic Minorities and the Reasons for an Observatory 1996).

At the same time, Estonia ranked second (after Luxembourg) in terms of the share of the population born outside the country. Over three-fifths of the non-natives living in Estonia have come from other territories. According to the 1989 census, 38.8 % of the non-native population was born in Estonia, 44.0 % in Russia, 7.5 % in the Ukraine, etc.

As might be expected on the basis of the statements and figures above, the increase in the share of the non-native (mostly Slavic, Russian-speaking) population went hand in hand with the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation, as interrelated aspects of the same “imperial” economic and social development during the Soviet period. Therefore the changes in the ethnic composition as well as ethnic constraints were mostly characteristic of the urban population. Anyhow, the ethnic dimension of the social problems of the rural population, including young people, cannot be neglected if one wants to get an adequate picture of the social situation and social problems in a small country like Estonia, where urban and rural life are not very far separated from

each other.

2.3. Data, Research Problems and Analysis

This analysis of the life situation for Estonian rural young people is based on various empirical surveys and statistical data sets, with the basic paradigm of secondary analysis being used to frame the empirical work.

The project entitled *Estonian School-Leaver 1996 – 1998* has been carried out in co-operation between the Estonian Ministry of Education, county youth departments and the Department of Sociology of the University of Tartu. The main goal of the project has been to study the living conditions, participation, life plans, attitudes and value orientations of pupils and students (hereafter simply referred to as students) finishing compulsory schools (ninth grade), specialised secondary schools and vocational schools. The aim has been to elaborate the national youth policy and to improve the youth work on the local (county) level (see also Table 2).

TABLE 2. Characteristics of main Estonian data sets.

Name of project and population	Sample	Dominating age of respondents
<i>Estonian School-Leaver 1996–1998</i> Students completing compulsory, secondary and vocational schooling in 1996-97, in all ten counties	Autonomic samples for each of 10 counties N total = 4882	14–15 and 17–18
<i>Estonian School-Leaver 1992</i> Students completing compulsory, secondary and vocational schooling in 1992, in all 15 counties	National proportional sample N = 1676	14–15 and 17–18
<i>Adult Education 1997</i> Population of Estonia aged 20–60. (Data collected in 1997.)	National random sample N . 4500, of which about 500 are 20–25 years old	20–60

The Estonian study cited here embraces the population of school-leavers as a whole, but it is possible to extract the data relative to rural young people on the basis of corresponding socio-territorial characteristics. The data collection is being accomplished in three stages: The first, pretest stage was carried out in spring 1996 in Pärnu county, with the help of the youth work department of Vaasa county (which is representing Finland in this comparative study). The second stage was carried out in spring 1997 in nine other Estonian counties and the third stage will take place during

the spring term of the year 1998 in the remaining five counties and in the capital city Tallinn.

The research has been conducted as a sample survey. The stratified random sample of study groups has been planned to provide comparative categorical data concerning those leaving school in each county, in terms of school type (among those mentioned above), the language of instruction (Estonian or Russian), and types of settlements in which the schools are located. In terms of this last factor, there are three basic settlement types taken into consideration: county administrative centres; towns without county administrative status, but with a population of over 20 000 (of which there are only two, both in the industrialised north-eastern part of Estonia); and settlements with less than 20 000 inhabitants, which have been designated as “rural” for purposes of this comparative study.

On the basis of suggestions taking goals and available resources into consideration, 500 respondents were given as an average target quota for each county. After students’ absences on survey days the varying size and structure of student population had been taken into account, the theoretical sample size in different counties ranged from 400 to 1200. The sample was taken using the method of stratified random sample of study groups, applying the same sampling procedures in all counties. In the counties included in the first and second stages of this empirical study, a total of 4882 were surveyed, which provides us with the data sets used as the basis for the analysis presented here.

The data has been collected by the means of anonymous questionnaires which are filled in by the participating students during school time. The questionnaire, including more than 300 variables, reports on the following main blocks of indicators:

- home and parents
- school and the studies
- students’ paid work
- leisure activities
- future plans
- participation in youth organizations
- opinions about politics and youth problems
- value orientations

The data from this survey does not represent all Estonian rural young people, first of all because the survey has not yet been carried out in five counties (where it will be done in the spring of 1998); and secondly, the study gives information only about one category of the rural young people – those in school. In any case though, the 10 counties where the empirical study was conducted in 1996–97 cover most of Estonia’s rural areas, so the data at hand should suffice for drawing some preliminary conclusions about the situation in Estonia in general. Although only those in school were considered in this study, they can still provide us with a detailed picture of overall situation in the Estonian countryside.

We do also have some data from other surveys which further enables us to analyse those aspects of our research problems which cannot be studied solely on the basis of

the information collected from school children. Two such surveys deserve mention at this point. One is a representative study of adult education conducted by the Estonian Statistical Office and the Institute of International and Social Studies. The study is based on a random national sample of the population aged 20–60. The approximate size of the sample is 4500. Indicators concerning employment, material well-being, social activities, life aspirations, self-esteem, etc. were included in the questionnaire enabling researchers to draw conclusions about the rural people's life situation and its subjective aspects (see Table 2). The second study to be used as an empirical basis for secondary analysis is the Estonian contribution to the NORBALT Living Conditions Project, sponsored by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and conducted in 1994 in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as well as in St. Petersburg and the Kaliningrad enclave.

An important task of the comparative project is to reveal changes in the situation of the rural young people. To accomplish this, we will also utilise data from a study of those who graduated from various types of Estonian schools in 1992, carried out by the Ministry of Education and the Department of Sociology of the University of Tartu. 1676 students from compulsory (up to ninth grade), vocational and specialised secondary schools were surveyed, including representative groups of the same categories of rural students that are involved in the 1996–98 study (see Table 2, the project "Estonian School-leaver 1992").

The questionnaire used in this study includes the same main blocks of indicators which were listed above in the description of the project "Estonian School-leaver 1996–98". About 200 indicators coincide between the two studies of school leavers and can be used for direct comparison of living conditions and participation of rural young people during the first and second halves of the current decade.

Therefore the Estonian data sets enable us to analyse the living conditions and participation of rural young people from the following four viewpoints:

- from the viewpoint of characteristics of rural young people themselves;
- in terms of the differences between rural and urban young people;
- in terms of the inter-cohort changes in the characteristics of urban young people;
- in terms of the inter-cohort changes in the differences between rural and urban young people.

The last item presents wide possibilities for revealing the living conditions of the young people and their change in rural areas, and in fact it includes all of the other viewpoints. To demonstrate these possibilities we will give some examples of analysis using the data on students' housing conditions and on the financial situation at their homes.

The analysis is based on the joint data file of the 1992 and 1996–97 surveys. It is important to notice that, currently, this data file includes only the 10 counties that were surveyed in 1992 as well as in 1996–97, thus maximising the comparability of the data from these two surveys. The data of each survey is weighted relative to the percentage of respondents surveyed from each population stratum.

In the following presentation, “rural young people” is defined as those young people who were attending schools situated outside of county centres, and in communities with a population of less than 20 000. Correspondingly, the remainder of respondents are classified here as “urban young people.” The location of the school may not correspond exactly with the students’ place of residence, but for purposes of large-scale comparisons this criterion should be close enough.

2.4. Socio-Ethnic Differences

The empirical problem that can be studied on the basis of the existing data is: Are there any significant differences in the situations, opinions and future expectations of the native and Russian-speaking rural young people?

The data from our basic survey of graduates of primary and secondary schools situated in Estonian rural areas has been factored to reveal differences in the situations and opinions of students from schools where the language of instruction is Estonian, and where it is Russian (the latter embracing students from various ethnic background who have chosen Russian as their language of instruction). We can investigate the socio-ethnic differences in the basic characteristics of these students; and in certain cases we can see the trends of change in the corresponding characteristics when comparing the data from the surveys conducted in 1992 and 1997 on the basis of comparable samples.

Two main conclusions can be drawn from surveys like ours concerning the socio-ethnic differences in the situations and opinions of students. First, though there are differences between these socio-ethnic groups, as a rule, they are not drastic, nor are they the most important differences between the student bodies of Estonian primary and secondary schools. As a rule, the differences can be interpreted as characterising young people at certain consecutive stages of transition from the former socialist system to the new one based on a free market and political pluralism. In the opinions and self-estimations of students from Russian-speaking schools there are more remnants of the old “Soviet” attitudes towards social and political relations while the Estonian young people represent to a larger extent the new situation and new mentality. In other words, the Estonian–non-Estonian differences are not antagonistic but speak above all of stronger connection with the former type of society among the Russian-speaking young people. At the same time these differences cannot be interpreted in a one-sided way. For instance, Russian students were more active in utilising the new possibilities for working privately, commercial activities and other “money-making” that opened when the transition to the free market economy really began (during the Soviet time these activities were prohibited or seen as highly undesirable, as the young people were officially “the only privileged class of the society” provided with everything).

Secondly, the changes that have occurred during the years since the collapse of the Soviet Union (i.e., when the Russian-speaking young people were given their current social and political position) show a general trend toward converging of the positions

of young people from the two socio-ethnic groups.

Two parallel processes determining this trend can be revealed. First, students from schools where the language of instruction is Russian are moving rather quickly from the pro-socialist positions to the new ones reflecting more fully the realities of a free market society. Second, a certain part of Estonian students who favoured radical changes in economic life and social relations at the time when the societal transitions had just begun now find that the radicalism of certain changes has brought about unexpected and undesirable consequences in the situation of young people and the rural population; and therefore they are now more in favour of a “socialist” social policy to avoid, above all, drastic social differentiation.

The area where this convergence of the young people’s positions is especially evident is in educational plans and expectations. In 1992 22 % of the graduates of Estonian secondary schools were for paid tutoring in establishments of higher education and only 11 % of young people graduating from the schools where the language of instruction was Russian had the same opinion, while 11 % of Estonian and 29 % of Russian-speaking graduates felt that the tutoring in universities and colleges should be free. In 1997 only 2 % of the students from each ethnic category saw post-secondary education as something which justly should be paid for, while 52 % of Estonians and 70 % of the graduates of Russian schools felt that this education should be free.

2.5. Housing Conditions for Students in their Parental Home

Housing conditions of young people at their parental home are characterised by three parameters: how many rooms there are per household member (Table 3), what the quality of the living space is in terms of modern conveniences at home (Table 4) and how much space the student has in his personal disposal (Table 5).

We should point out here that in Estonia the term “rooms at home” is taken to refer to the bedrooms and living room(s) in the house or flat; in other words, not including the entrance hall, kitchen, bathroom, toilet and storage rooms. The data in Table 3 indicates that in 1992 only 35.6 % of the students’ families had one or more rooms per household member, while in 16.9 % of households there were two or more people per room. The average number of rooms per household member in the 10 counties whose survey data is represented here was 0.84 (see table 3). By 1997 the situation had improved slightly, and the average number of rooms per household member has a bit increased (from 0.84 to 0.90). Rural young people had more rooms per household member in their homes than urban students. The difference is not big but statistically significant in the survey of 1992 as well as of 1997. The rural/urban differences have not changed between 1992 and 1997.

The quality of students’ living space at their parental home is characterised by Table 4. One can see that in 1992 11.0 % of those attending school lived in houses without any central heating or plumbing and 66.0 % in houses with all of these modern conveniences. The rest lived in houses partially equipped with such conveniences,

which in the Estonian context means, as a rule, in a house where there is cold running water and/or a drainage system. There are big differences in the quality of living space in rural and urban areas. In 1992 only 55 % of rural young people lived in the houses with all conveniences while in the cities the corresponding percentage was 78.1.

One can see also that between 1992 and 1997 the quality of students' living space has decreased significantly in rural areas, though not in the cities. The amount of rural students living in houses with all modern conveniences has decreased from 55.0 % to 42.7 % (see Table 4). One likely reason for this is that the income of many rural families has gone down significantly, while expenses of rent, electricity and plumbing have risen dramatically during the last five years, forcing some out of the more fully equipped houses into cheaper, more primitive accommodation. As a result of these inter-cohort changes the urban–rural differences in the quality of living space have increased.

Growing poverty and the economic collapse of the life style based on “agro-towns,” where apartment houses were equipped with town-like conveniences, has brought about a situation where a considerable portion of rural young people have had to live in rather primitive conditions. This may result in deepening feeling of deprivation as they compare their situation with that of urban young people.

One important characteristic of students' housing conditions is how much space is at their personal disposal at home. Table 5 indicates that about two thirds of rural as well as urban students have a separate room at their disposal. They have much more “personal space” at home than the average household members (since in Table 3 we can see that only one third of the families in question have one or more rooms per household member). About one third of the students surveyed didn't have a room of their own, but they did have at least a personal desk or table. Only a small portion – some 2–4 % – didn't even have their own desk, which probably makes it quite difficult for them to do their homework and such. Our data also indicates that there is no statistically significant difference in “personal space” between the cohorts of 1992 and 1997, nor between rural and urban young people. This is one more fact indicating that in their rather limited living space, Estonian families still make study space a priority.

TABLE 3. Number of rooms per household member at home (%).

	1992 TOTAL	1997 TOTAL	1992 RURAL	1992 URBAN	1997 RURAL	1997 URBAN
Less than 0.5	16.9	14.0	13.6	20.5	11.7	15.6
0.51–0.9 9	47.5	43.5	47.4	47.7	41.0	45.1
1.00	22.4	24.6	22.6	22.1	25.3	24.2

More than 1.00	13.2	17.9	16.4	9.7	22.0	15.1
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4. Quality of living space at parental home of students (%).

Response categories	1992 TOTAL	1997 TOTAL	1992 RURAL	1992 URBAN	1997 RURAL	1997 URBAN
1 Without any conveniences (heat from a wood/ coal stove, no running water or septic systems)	11.0	10.1	15.1	6.4	16.5	5.9
2 With some conveniences	23.1	27.9	29.9	15.6	40.7	19.6
3 With all conveniences (central heating, hot & cold running water, full septic systems)	66.0	62.0	55.0	78.1	42.7	74.5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5. The space at students' personal disposal at home (%).

Response categories	1992 TOTAL	1997 TOTAL	1992 RURAL	1992 URBAN	1997 RURAL	1997 URBAN
1 Not even a personal desk	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.5	3.8	2.8
2 Own table/desk	31.5	28.4	30.9	32.2	29.7	27.6
3 Own separate room	65.2	68.3	66.1	64.3	66.5	69.6
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

2.6. Financial Situation in Students' Parental Households

Financial situation in students' households is characterised by monthly income per household member (Table 7) and by students' own evaluations of material situation at home (Table 6). The students were also asked to estimate on a 4-point scale (1 – not at all; 2 – to a small degree; 3 – pretty much; 4 – entirely) to what degree their family income enables them to: a) eat normally; b) buy clothing and footwear; c) spend money on culture and hobbies (movies, theatre, concerts, books, sports, etc.); d) make major purchases for the home (furniture, home electronics, kitchen machines, etc.).

Looking at the data on family income (Table 7) one should take into consideration that these figures are based on the students' own subjective reports, and in several respects they are quite approximate. A second point to be noticed here is that in 1992 the income was measured in Soviet roubles, while in 1997 it was done in Estonian crowns. This means that the income numbers can not be taken at their face value and it is not possible to make any direct comparisons between the data of 1992 and 1997. Nevertheless the income variable correlates highly with the subjective estimates of different aspects of material welfare (at the level about 0.4 – 0.5) and with other relevant variables. This way it can be used in large scale analysis of differentiation of material welfare between rural and urban youth groups in 1992 and 1997.

Inter-cohort shifts in subjective evaluations of different aspects of material welfare are contradictory. On the one hand, compared to the educational cohort of 1992, the school graduates of 1997 give significantly higher estimations to the possibilities for normal eating, buying clothes and major purchases; on the other, they give a lower estimate of the possibilities of spending money on culture and hobbies. The general evaluations of material situation at home have also decreased a bit, though not statistically significantly (see Table 6).

The picture of urban–rural differences in subjective evaluations of material welfare closely correspond with the differentiation of income per household member described above: by subjective indicator, as well, material situation of urban young people was significantly better in 1992 as well as in 1997.

TABLE 6. Estimations of material situation at parental home of students (%).

Response categories	1992 TOTAL	1997 TOTAL	1992 RURAL	1992 URBAN	1997 RURAL	1997 URBAN
1 We do not have even all things of primary importance	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.6
2 We have only things of primary importance	7.7	9.7	7.4	8.1	9.2	10.1
3 Mediocre	68.1	67.4	74.5	61.0	72.6	64.1
4 Home is rather affluent	15.7	15.0	12.9	18.6	14.3	15.5
5 We have everything in plentitude	7.2	6.2	4.0	10.7	2.4	8.8
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 7. Monthly income per household member (%).
 Data of 1992 – in Soviet roubles
 Data of 1997 – in Estonian crowns

Roubles (1992) and crowns (1997)	1992 TOTAL	1997 TOTAL	1992 RURAL	1992 URBAN	1997 RURAL	1997 URBAN
–500	10.9	18.4	17.1	5.0	24.8	13.8
501–750	10.6	16.6	12.6	8.6	18.7	15.1
751–1000	15.8	20.4	16.0	15.7	19.3	21.2
1001–1500	25.7	22.4	26.0	25.4	19.6	24.4
1501–3000	31.5	18.1	25.3	37.5	14.7	20.7
3001–10000	4.7	3.7	2.2	7.1	2.8	4.3
10001–	.7	.4	.7	.7	.3	.5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Comparison of the data about the financial situation of Estonian rural and urban young people shows that the conditions of the rural young people have been, and are, worse than those of the urban young people. The data gathered from two educational cohorts speak about a certain decrease in the share of young townspeople who live in affluent homes. This shift – not so significant among the rural young people – can stem from the real worsening of material well-being of certain young people as well as from the rising standards for “good life” in the conditions of deepening social differentiation that urban young people see probably more clearly.

2.7. Employment Situation

The current employment situation in Estonia is being shaped primarily by the processes of transition from the eastward looking, centrally planned command economy of the Soviet period, when the Estonian economy was fully integrated into the pan-Soviet economic system, to a westward looking, free market economy. In the course of that process the structure of employment, and correspondingly the scope and structure of unemployment, are determined by many economic and social factors which in turn have a strong impact on the employment situation of the rural young people.

These factors include:

- the overall growth in unemployment stemming from the breakdown of the former economic ties with the huge pan-Soviet market (especially for agricultural products) and the collapse of many “uncompetitive” ventures;
- structural changes in employment caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union (the falling off of the military-industrial complex, etc.);
- structural changes resulting from the expansion of the previously underdeveloped tertiary sector;

- growing discrepancies between education structures and the rapidly changing real needs of the labour market;
- changing attitudes and practices among new employers (concerning, for instance, what is considered to be the optimal age for new recruits);
- the breakdown of the Soviet social insurance system, and the lack of resources for rebuilding social service networks;
- the discrepancies between the needs of the free market economy and people's personal aptitudes ("learned helplessness" as a typical trait of the people in post-socialist societies);
- growing differences in levels of opportunity caused by differing trends in economic development in various regions of the country, caused in turn by several objective as well as subjective circumstances.

According to employment surveys conducted by Estonian Market and Opinion Research, Ltd. (EMOR), the basic unemployment rates among the urban and rural population in 1993 and 1994 were as follows (Table 8):

TABLE 8. Employment in Estonia, 1993 – 1994

	1993 I q.	1993 II q.	1993 IIIq.	1993 IVq.	1994 I q.	1994 II q.	1994 IIIq.	1994 IVq.
Employment coefficient of persons of working age	72.7	72.1	72.7	72.9	72.1	73.2	73.3	75.7
Unemployment rate % (job seekers / employed in working age)	9.6	9.4	8.6	8.0	9.5	7.9	8.1	7.0
in rural areas	6.7	9.2	9.2	9.5	8.0	7.4	7.1	6.2
Unemployment rate % (job seekers / population of working age)	7.7	7.5	6.8	6.4	7.5	6.3	6.5	5.6
in rural areas	5.5	7.2	7.4	7.5	6.4	5.8	5.7	4.9
Official unempl. rate % (recipients of unemployment benefits/popul. of work. age)	2.3	2.5	2.0	1.8	2.1	2.2	1.7	1.5

Source: Estonian Human Development Report 1995.

The need to use data from a survey and not the information from the Labour Department stems from the fact that the official labour statistics do not reflect the unemployment situation adequately; the official data reflect only the persons who have passed through the procedure of being registered as unemployed and who get the unemployment benefit.

The comparison of this data with the information available from the earlier period indicates that with the changes in the economic and social life of the society, the share of the unemployed persons has increased among the population of working age. The

biggest variations in the level of unemployment are caused by regional differentiation. Comparative analyses, however, show that the regional differences in unemployment rates in Estonia are in the same range as in Western European countries (See: Estonian Human Development Report 1997, 22). Among the three areas with the highest unemployment in the present-day Estonia, two represent traditional agricultural regions.

The more detailed data about the unemployment among young people living in the countryside can be obtained from the Estonian Labour Force Survey conducted by the Statistical Office of Estonia in 1995 (see: Pettai et al 1995 and Estonian Labour Force Survey 1995).

The data from that survey covers the labour market situation during the period from 1989 to 1994. The 16–24 year-old age group is analysed as a special population unit comprising about 11–12 % of the overall labour force of Estonia at that time. In 1989 the primary fields of employment were industry (approximately 25 %), agriculture (approximately 20 %), trade, health care, transport and communications. In 1994 the biggest share of the employed persons from that age group belonged to industry (approximately 20 %) and trade (approximately 20 %); followed by agriculture (which had the largest decline of the number of persons employed), transport and communications, and state and public administration.

Urban – rural differences in employment are, as expected, rather remarkable. About 29 % of the Estonian labour force is employed in rural areas. In 1989 a half of the rural labour force (49 %) was working in agriculture; followed by industry (12 %) and education (7 %). By 1994 the demand for agricultural labour had been cut almost in half, to embrace only 30 % of the rural labour force. At the same time industry's share of rural labour went up to 13 %, that of trade to 10 %, and that of education to 8 %. The sectors with the most intensive growth in the number of persons employed in the countryside were banking, state government, electrical engineering and trade.

Prior to this current study, the relationship between these two dimensions of employment – age and area of residence (urban–rural) – had not yet been analysed. One important finding of our preliminary analysis here is that with Estonia's rapidly changing employment conditions, young people (20 – 24 years old) have enjoyed the largest growth in their rate of employment. Young people, especially young men, have been most successful in retaining their jobs and finding new ones. This is also demonstrated by the fact that the share of young people collecting unemployment benefits has decreased. Further analysis must determine whether this general conclusion can be applied to young people living in rural areas, and what the factors are that influence the employment situation of rural young people under these conditions.

2.8. Social Exclusion

A generalised picture of the level of social exclusion/deprivation and differences between various social categories in the Baltic countries can be found in reports of the NORBALT Living Conditions Project (1996, 1990) which was sponsored by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Ministry of Defence, and conducted in the countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as in St. Petersburg and the Kaliningrad enclave in 1994. (That project was also the basic source of data for the Estonian Human Development Report of 1997.) This data does not present a full picture of the situation of the rural young people, but it does reveal the spreading exclusionary tendencies which affect both young people and residents of rural areas.

According to NORBALT data, Estonians under 30 years of age are at a high risk of being socially excluded. Among Estonian young people (under 30 years of age), the share with a high risk of social exclusion was 32 %; persons with an average risk made up 35 % of the age group; and low risk of exclusion was characteristic of 33 %. These figures are quite close to the distribution for people aged 46 to 59, and only persons in early middle age are somewhat safer in this respect: the data for people aged 31 to 45 are, respectively, 18 %, 36 %, and 46 %.

The participation of every age group in Estonian society, and especially that of the young people, depends most of all upon their success in the labour market. The existing data shows that the unemployment rate in contemporary Estonia differs significantly according to the region of the country, being considerably higher in rural areas. Therefore, we may conclude that the risk for rural young people of being socially excluded is also comparatively high.

2.9. Summary: New Differentiation of Estonian Young People

Preliminary analysis of our current survey results shows that at least one line of differentiation has become unexpectedly important during the last years of rural development, which can be characterised as analogous to the differentiation within urban settlements: The self-esteem of those finishing school in different rural regions, and decisions they are making for the future, differ considerably depending on just how "rural" the area is in which the school in question is situated.

One perspective is formed by life in and around a school which is situated in the local "metropolis" or county centre. Life, however, is quite different from the perspective of a young person who lives and studies in a smaller rural settlement. For example, among the large number of Estonian young people who are interested in continuing their education, 60 % of the secondary school graduates from rural centres plan to graduate from a university, but only 48 % of those who come from schools situated in small rural settlements have such ambitions.

Two conclusions can be drawn on the basis of that preliminary finding, that should be detailed and specified in further analysis. First of all, categories such as “rural life,” “rural settlement,” etc., must be seen in reality as comprising various typical but widely differing sets of conditions and perspectives for young people. The existing data supports an hypothesis that from young people’s perspectives the differentiation of rural life is probably just as significant as that of urban life (though it must be taken into account that in Estonia rural young people are a much smaller population category than the urban young people).

Secondly, while analysing the career hopes and corresponding expectations of rural young people, we have to take into account that these factors are continuously strongly determined by the existing social structures and networks. It seems that our approach will be largely based on revealing the social sorting functions of the institutions of rural life. On the other hand, national and regional youth policy has the task of ensuring that rural young people coming from various socio-territorial settings will have genuine educational and career options and possibilities.

3. Finnish Rural Young People

3.1. Historical and Social Background of the County of Vaasa

As of September 1, 1997, Vaasa county became part of the new county of Western Finland, which covers almost a quarter of Finland's territory and includes one third of her total population. This text, however, refers to the situation prior to this administrative restructuring. The purpose of this paper is to give an introductory description of the population of this region, with special attention given to young people. The first section here is based mainly on official census data and describes the living conditions and development of the population during the last decades. The second section will give some illustrative information from a large survey of pupils age 14 – 18 years old.

The county of Vaasa is (or was) situated in the middle of Finland's west-coast. The total area of the county is 27,319 km². In 1950 the population was 444,058 persons, living in 77 different municipalities, many of which were very small. The number of municipalities has nowadays been reduced to 57. From a Finnish national perspective this county has always been considered to be a rural one. In 1960 only just over 40 % of the county's population lived in urban surroundings, as compared to a bit over 55 % in the country as a whole. Due to of strong urbanisation process of the recent decades, only about the one fourth of the Finnish population as a whole now lives in rural areas, and in the county of Vaasa a good 55 % of the population lives in urban or semi-urban municipalities. Thus, although the county is still rural in character, its genuinely rural residents have slipped into the minority. At the end of 1996 the population of the county was 446,708 persons – almost identical to what it was in the post-war generation.

One special feature of Vaasa county is that it is bilingual. About one third of Finland's Swedish-speaking population live in this area, where they make up to about one quarter of the regional population. However, the Swedish-speaking population is concentrated in 16 municipalities along the coast, in 13 of which Swedish is the local majority language. Thus there are only a few municipalities in which the two national language groups actually come in daily contact with each other.

Industry

Previously Vaasa county was dominated by agriculture. With the exception of some small areas on Finland's eastern border, this region has had the nation's highest proportion of people economically active in agriculture. In 1960 a good third of the economically active population in Finland got their income from agriculture and fishing, but in the Vaasa region as a whole the corresponding proportion was about 50 %, and in the rural areas of the Vaasa region the proportion was almost two thirds. Structural changes have come very rapidly and dramatically, and at present the number of people working in agriculture is only about one third of what it was in 1960. These

figures refer to the population as a whole; the changes are even more dramatic when we focus on young people.

In 1970 almost one third of the children aged 10 – 14 years, i.e., those born between 1956 and 1960, had a family background in agriculture, and another third were children of basic labourers. The effects of the structural changes with industrialisation and urbanisation are very evident since among the children born 1966 – 1970, only one fifth had an agricultural background, and the proportion of labouring families had increased accordingly. Now that these age groups have entered the labour force, less than one tenth are economically active within agriculture. As a consequence, less than one tenth of the present young children have an agricultural background. Thus, although living in a rural area, most of the children and young people of the Vaasa region have no direct connection to agriculture. (See tables 9 and 10.)

TABLE 9. The socio-economic background of the children in the county of Vaasa in 1970 and 1995. (%)

1970

Socio-economic position of the parents

Age	Farmer	Employer	Employees	Manual workers	Rest, unknown
0–4	21.4	7.0	24.4	43.8	3.4
5–9	27.0	8.8	22.0	38.2	4.0
10–14	32.6	8.4	17.7	35.0	6.3

1995

Socio-economic position of the parents

Age	Farmer	Employer	Employees	Manual workers	Rest, unknown
0-4	8.3	8.1	33.9	31.5	18.1
5-9	9.3	9.0	37.5	28.6	15.5
10-14	9.5	9.1	38.7	28.0	14.7

TABLE 10. Industrial classification of the economically active population in the county of Vaasa in 1970 and 1995. Per cent.

	1970	Age group		1995	Age group	
	Whole popul.	20–24	25–29	Whole popul.	20–24	25–29
Agriculture, fishing	33.6	16.5	18.4	14.9	10.1	11.1
Manufacturing	29.8	39.3	33.5	27.2	33.0	31.1
Trade	13.0	18.4	16.2	12.4	20.5	16.5
Transport	6.1	5.8	7.7	6.4	5.4	6.4
Financing	1.2	2.6	3.2	7.5	5.6	6.9
Services	14.1	14.6	20.0	28.8	19.1	24.9
Unknown	2.2	2.8	1.0	2.6	6.3	3.2

During the 1990's unemployment rates have been very high in Finland. The overall rate in 1996 was 19.5 %, but among the 20 - 24 year old age group it was close to one third. With unemployment rates high in all regions of Finland, the situation in the Vaasa region has actually been a little better than the national average, with an overall rate of 17.3 %. During 1997 the rates have decreased a few percentage points.

Migration

Soon after World War II Finland witnessed a dramatic baby-boom resulting in extraordinary birth-cohorts. The baby-boom effect was most evident in the peripheral parts of the country, and including the Vaasa region. As a consequence, the number of persons entering the labour force was very high in the late sixties, and this resulted in a massive migration away from the Vaasa area to the more industrialised regions in southern Finland and to Sweden. During the sixties alone, the cohorts born 1941–45 and 1946–50 decreased by one third and one fourth, respectively. Because of this migration the population as a whole decreased during the fifties and sixties, but since then it has started to increase again. In 1970 the total population was down to 421,402, but as mentioned above, it has increased somewhat since then. However, although the rates of migration out of this region have decreased, there have continuously been more people moving out of this region than moving in.

For the period from 1970 onwards, the migration flows can be studied more in detail, and we can see some evident differences between the language groups with respect to migration. From 1970 until 1995, about one third of the Finnish-speaking cohorts born between 1951 and 1970 migrated to other parts of this country or abroad (about one eighth of them going abroad). The Swedish-speaking population has been somewhat less mobile, with only about one fourth of these cohorts leaving the region, but rather than heading for other parts of Finland, more than half of those departing emigrated abroad. Of course some new people have also moved into the region during this time though, so the total loss for the cohorts born 1951–70 was less than one fifth for the whole period between 1970 and 1995.

TABLE 11. Population in the county of Vaasa distributed by age, language and place of residence 1970 and 1995.

Finnish-speaking

Year of birth	Popul. 1970	Emigrations & deaths*	Moved away.**	Immigrants from abroad	New arrivals**	Popul. 1995
1966–70	25193	1141	7257	1608	2998	21401
1961–65	28266	1321	8063	1044	3148	23074
1956–60	29512	1829	7213	768	3201	24439
1951–55	31877	2210	7643	1068	3516	26608
1946–50	30676	2240	6242	2229	3808	28231

Swedish-speaking

Year of birth	Popul. 1970	Emigrations & deaths*	Moved away.**	Immigrants from abroad	New arrivals**	Popul. 1995
1966–70	7138	904	817	486	222	6125
1961–65	7193	935	751	275	169	5951
1956–60	7586	1184	642	183	154	6097
1951–55	8442	1316	698	237	182	6847
1946–50	8170	900	577	729	256	7678

*) In these age groups the number of deaths is relatively small, and therefore the figures clearly illustrate the effect of emigration. The deaths risks were approximately 10 per mil in the youngest age group and 40 per mil in the oldest one.

**) Both of these categories refer to domestic migration only.

One important aspect of migration is its connection with the person's level of education. A general finding is that the higher the level of education, the more mobile a person is. This is also true in the Vaasa region. Almost half of the population born 1951–70 who lived in the area in 1970 and who received an academic degree by 1995 have moved away. Because of some highly educated people also moving into the area, the net "brain drain" effect was about 30 % for these cohorts. Since the city of Vaasa itself has developed considerably as a university town during the last decade, we might also expect less of a "brain drain" in the future (see Table 12).

TABLE 12. Proportion of those moving away from the county of Vaasa (internal migration only) between 1970 and 1995 by age and level of education. (%)

Year of birth	Low level	Medium level	High level
1966–70	17.7	22.8	41.7
1961–65	12.5	21.8	49.9
1956–60	11.5	18.6	48.7
1951–55	12.1	19.9	46.6

The medium level of education corresponds to 10 – 12 years of education, i.e. 1 – 3 years after the compulsory school.

Level of Education

Speaking of levels of education, we have to be aware of the fact that Finland has witnessed very rapid changes during the post-war period. The cohorts born soon after World War II, in fact were the first in which a majority continued with their education after the elementary school. In the county of Vaasa only one third of the cohort aged 30–34 years in 1970 had any secondary education, and in the age group 20–24 years the proportion was still under 50 %. Due to the economic structure of the region, the level of education has been somewhat lower than in the country as a whole. This is especially true with respect to university level education, and it is also a contributing factor in the “brain drain” effect mentioned above. Through the introduction of the nine-year compulsory education and state-guaranteed loans for students in the 1970’s a greater proportion of the population has been able to attain a higher education. Of course the demand for education has also increased. Because of this, in 1995 the proportion of young people remaining without secondary education is quite small, and the proportion of those with academic degrees has more than doubled since 1970. At present the level of education in the younger age groups is no lower in the Vaasa region than in the country as a whole. (See table 13.)

TABLE 13. Level of education in Vaasa county according to age groups in 1970 and 1995. (%)

1970

Age	Low level	Medium level	High level
20–24	52.9	45.2	1.9
25–29	58.4	34.4	7.2
30–34	66.8	26.3	7.0
35–39	74.7	19.2	6.1

1995

Age	Low level	Medium level	High level
20–24	15.0	79.2	5.8
25–29	14.9	64.7	20.3
30–34	16.9	66.6	16.4
35–39	21.7	63.5	14.8

Fertility

In the Vaasa region some 90 % of the population belong to the national Lutheran church, but there have been several local revival movements, and therefore the level of religious activity here is somewhat higher than in the country as a whole. There are, however, major differences in local religious practice within the county. One demographic effect of the strength of certain revival movements in some municipalities is that the level of fertility has been extremely high. In one of them, Larsmo, in the beginning of the nineties the total fertility rate reached almost 4 births

per woman, at a time when the national average was about 1.7. There are around ten other municipalities in the region with fertility rates of 2.3 or more births per woman, but at the same time there is an even greater number with a fertility rates below the national average.

Family Formation and Dissolution

The religiosity of the population is probably also a factor in other demographic characteristics of the population. One is that consensual unions have been much less common in this region than in other parts of the country. In this respect too though there are again major local differences. Divorces are also less common in this region. In 1995 about 10 % of the 10–14 year old children lived with only one parent in the Vaasa region, whereas the corresponding figure for the country as a whole was a good 16 %. The gap between the Vaasa region and the rest of the country in this respect seems to have expanded during the last decade, as divorces rate have risen in Finland. (See table 14.)

On the one hand, young people in the Vaasa region tend to start families at a somewhat younger age than in the country as a whole, but on the other hand they tend to live with their parents longer while they are single. In 1995, 68 % of the 25 – 29 year-old women in the Vaasa region were married or lived in consensual unions as compared to 62 % for the rest of the country. The boys of the region especially showed a tendency to stick around in their parents' home for a long time: of the 20 – 24 year old age group, only just over a third had moved away from home, and of the 25 – 29 year-olds, 30 % still lived with their parents. One explanation for these seemingly contradictory trends is that the proportion of those living in non-family conditions is small in the region. To simplify it, we could say that young people here do not leave home until they enter a marriage or consensual union. One secondary explanation for this trend could be that university students formally keep their parents' home as a permanent residences, with their student apartments as temporary addresses; but there must be several other reasons for this phenomenon, such as a shortage of suitable apartments, especially in the rural areas. (See table 15.)

TABLE 14. Children distributed by family situation in the county of Vaasa and the rest of Finland in 1970 and 1995.

County of Vaasa

1970

Type of family

Age of the child	Marriage	Consensual union	Mother and child	Father and child	Not a family
0-4	93.1	0.4	5.0	0.5	1.0
5-9	93.0	0.4	5.0	0.7	0.9
10-14	90.4	0.3	7.0	1.2	1.1

Rest of Finland

1970

Type of family

Age of the child	Marriage	Consensual union	Mother and child	Father and child	Not a family
0-4	92.4	0.5	5.4	0.5	1.2
5-9	90.8	0.4	6.8	0.8	1.2
10-14	87.5	0.3	9.2	1.2	1.8

County of Vaasa

1995

Type of family

Age of the child	Marriage	Consensual union	Mother and child	Father and child	Not a family
0-4	77.8	14.5	7.1	0.3	0.3
5-9	82.7	7.6	8.4	0.9	0.4
10-14	83.9	5.0	9.0	1.5	0.6

Rest of Finland

1995

Type of family

Age of the child	Marriage	Consensual union	Mother and child	Father and child	Not a family
0-4	70.2	18.4	10.4	0.5	0.5
5-9	73.9	10.3	13.5	1.3	1.0
10-14	74.6	7.4	14.6	1.9	1.5

TABLE 15. Population by age, sex and family status in the county of Vaasa and the rest of Finland 1995 (%).

County of Vaasa

Age	Living singly	In a cons. Union	In marriage	With parents	Rest*
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Males

20–24	14.7	16.1	5.2	63.7	0.3
25–29	17.6	22.2	28.1	29.4	2.7

Females

20–24	15.9	24.5	12.8	45.4	1.4
25–29	12.6	23.1	44.8	14.6	4.9

Rest of Finland

Males

20–24	25.8	21.5	4.8	47.3	0.6
lbrdrb25–29	27.5	26.5	24.2	18.2	3.6

Females

20–24	26.7	29.7	10.7	31.2	1.7
25–29	20.7	26.1	35.7	11.1	6.4

*) The rest group consists of for example previously married living with a child.

Summary

The county of Vaasa is a region which has undergone a very rapid change in the structure of industry. Previously it was dominated by agriculture but only about one tenth of the present young people seem to still have direct connections to. However, in terms of spatial distribution of the population this is still very much a rural area.

The rate at which young people have migrated away from this region has been and still is high. This is especially true for those who have achieved a higher level of education. The growth of Vaasa as a university city may change this somewhat, but we may certainly assume strong migration flows in the future as well, though possibly with more of a balance between the incoming and outgoing flows.

One very interesting feature of the county is the presence of two languages, Finnish and Swedish, especially in some of the cities where both language groups are relatively strong. There seem to be some differences between the language groups related to cultural and social matters, but in most respects they are very alike. With respect to migration, however, there is a difference in the sense that the Swedish-speaking persons are more stationary, but when they migrate they emigrate (to Sweden) to a much higher extent than the Finnish-speaking folk.

Most of the present cohorts continue on to other forms of education after their nine-year compulsory school. Some 60 % go to upper secondary school, and the rest to vocational schools.

Young people of the region, especially boys, live at home with their parents for a long time, but often marry at a younger age than Finns do on the average. The divorce rate is lower than the average, and therefore single-parent families are rare.

3.2. Research Goals and Data Sources

Our aims have been to give some information about young people's living conditions and about the young people themselves living in the county of Vaasa today – their problems and opportunities, values and wishes. We will refer to some “spot checks” from studies on young people in the area, in reference to various matters which altogether constitute so-called living conditions. The information given here is mainly based on *Health in School*, a research and development project started in 1995 by STAKES (the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health in Finland) which resulted in an annual survey of pupils in the final two grades of comprehensive school and in the second year of upper secondary school or vocational school. The young people in Vaasa county participated in the survey for the first time in the spring of 1997. The purpose of this survey was to investigate young people's health, school experiences, use of drugs, etc., and to support and develop the school health care system. The Social Science Research Unit at Åbo Akademi University co-ordinated the project in this region and also included some questions of its own in the questionnaire. Altogether 13,280 students from schools in 56 of the 57 municipalities in Vaasa county completed the questionnaire.

The meaning of the term “rural young people” in the context of the former county of Vaasa should be quite clear from the introductory text describing the region. Vaasa county might be considered rural mainly in the sense that it is an area with rather low population density (about 17 inhabitants/km²) and a long tradition of agriculture. Despite this, the region can hardly be considered underdeveloped today. Rapid development in many different fields during recent decades has given rise to a society with a very high level of technological development. The younger generation of today lives in a region where the use of mobile phones and the internet extends to even the most isolated parts of the county.

3.3. Educational System and Opportunities

The importance of education and training can never be overestimated, today it is more important than ever for young people to get educational qualifications. The development in the society and labour market has furthermore increased the importance of studies. The better training a young person has the better the chances are of his or her finding a job. The risk for marginalization and exclusion is many times

greater for young people without training, and their possibilities to compete with the well educated and experienced professionals of today are very few. The need for life long education is a well established fact in Finland.

The Education System

The regular education system in Finland consists of a nine-year comprehensive school, after which the young person can choose to continue his or her education at the secondary level, with 2 – 4 years of studies in either a “gymnasium” (upper secondary school) or an institute for vocational/professional education, or just doing an additional tenth grade or studying at a folk high school. With an upper secondary degree the young person can continue studying on a tertiary level, at a university or so-called polytechnic institute (Statistical yearbook of Finland 1997).

Financial Support for Students

To improve young people’s opportunities to get degree, Finland’s student financial aid system supports young people’s post-comprehensive full-time studies at an upper secondary school, folk high school, vocational school, college or university. The ordinary financial aid for students includes a study grant, housing supplement for students living on their own, and, if needed, government-guaranteed student loans. The benefits are government financed and the grant portion is considered to be taxable income. The amount of financial aid available depends on the student’s age, marital status, mode of accommodation and the type of school, as well as his or her overall financial situation. The monthly study grant for a secondary school student, aged 20 or over, would for example be 1270 FIM, and for a university student 1540 FIM before taxes (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland, 1997).

Education Opportunities In the Region

In Vaasa county, the opportunities for young people graduating from comprehensive school to get further education can be considered rather good. For example almost all municipalities have their own upper secondary schools or share one with a neighbouring town. The number of vocational schools in different fields is rather high, and during recent years more and more polytechnic institutes have been established in the region (with a current total of 4300 students). The majority of those graduating from upper secondary schools who want a university degree, however, leave the region to study in universities in the other parts of the country (60 % among the Finnish-speaking young people of the region). Even though Vaasa has developed remarkably as a university town during the last decades, the opportunities for university studies in the region are still quite limited. Today there are about 4600 students working on their first degree among the different universities and university departments in Vaasa: the University of Vaasa (primarily Finnish-speaking), the Vaasa School of Economics and Business Administration (Swedish-speaking), the

Ostrobothnian unit of Åbo Akademi University (Swedish-speaking) and the University of Helsinki Faculty of Law's Vaasa annex (bilingual). (Statistiköversikt över Vasa län 1996 / Vaasan läänin peruspäalvelujen arviointiraportti 1996.)

The current generation of those finishing school in the Vaasa region show a very strong interest in continuing their studies. Almost all young people here continue with some kind of studies after comprehensive school. For example in 1995 about 56 % of the young people graduating from comprehensive schools in the region (a total of 6347: 5011 Finnish-speaking and 1336 Swedish-speaking) continued on to upper secondary school (a somewhat higher proportion than in the country as a whole). In the same year approximately 40 % of the age group started studying for a vocational degree. Only a small percentage (4.5 %) did not apply for or begin any further education. The low rate of young people not continuing with their studies must be considered a very positive sign. According to another study conducted the same year, almost all of these non-continuing students had some plans for the future; for example to study in a folk high school for a year, to work in their parents' company or farm, or to continue their studies after one year of break. Only a few, mostly boys, admitted that they have no further study-interests at all (Vaasan läänin peruspäalvelujen arviointiraportti 1996).

After their matriculation exam (at about age 19) most young people continue to study at universities. In 1995 almost 20 % of those graduating from upper secondary school started university studies already during the same year. The proportion of Swedish-speaking students starting university studies was somewhat higher (35.5 %) than that of their Finnish-speaking neighbours (14.3 %). Another 20 % of the year's graduating class started studying for a vocational or polytechnic degree. About 60 % chose not to start any further studies immediately after matriculation exam (Vaasan läänin peruspäalvelujen arviointiraportti 1996).

3.4. Young People's Future Orientations

As part of the major *Health in School* survey mentioned earlier, we asked young people what plans they have for further studies to determine if there are any major differences between girls and boys, so-called rural and urban young people, or between the Finnish and Swedish speaking language groups?

TABLE 16. “What plans do you have for further studies?”

	Upper secon-dary school and university studies	Upper secon-dary school studies	Vocational degree	I will not study further /I do not know
GIRLS				
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	40	20	15	25
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	52	19	24	6
Upper secondary school (2 nd yr)	73	12	3	12
Vocational school (2 nd yr)	2	2	63	34
Total	47	16	20	17
BOYS				
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	31	14	30	24
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	38	14	43	5
Upper secondary school (2 nd yr)	64	15	3	19
Vocational school (2 nd yr)	3	1	52	44
Total	33	12	35	20
Girls & boys total	41	15	27	18

Among comprehensive school students (eighth and ninth graders) the majority of them are planning on upper secondary school studies (56 %), with girls showing a much stronger interest in this path than boys. The majority of the respondents, both the girls and boys, who are planning on upper secondary studies, are also already considering university studies. Almost one third of the pupils in their final year of comprehensive school want to study for a vocational degree, with more boys than girls showing interest in this direction. In the eighth grade many girls and boys have not yet made plans for what to do after finishing comprehensive school, in the final grade however only a few percent still seem unsure about their study plans.

The majority (two thirds) of the upper secondary schools students surveyed plan to continue their studies at a university. The girls are still more interested in university studies (73 %) than boys (64 %). It also seems that the boys are somewhat more uncertain about what to do in the future and with regards to further studies (19 %) than the girls (12 %). The group of vocational school students seem to be those who are least motivated for any further studies, over 40 % of the boys answered they will not study or did not know if they will study any further.

In general, it seems like the boys are somewhat more uncertain about their plans for further studies and are more interested in vocational studies than the girls.

The answers to this question also indicate that comprehensive school pupils from more urban backgrounds tend to want/prefer academic higher education, or at least an upper secondary school certificate, somewhat more than “rural” young people, who tend to favour vocational training more. Comparing between the language groups, it seems

that there is stronger interest in university studies among Swedish-speaking girls (in ninth grade) than among Finnish-speaking girls.

3.5. Employment Situation

Traditionally, for most young people, adolescence is a time of transition from school into working life. For young people this means perhaps their first steps out into the labour market, trying to get a job and to become able to earn a living for themselves. In this regard being able to get a job these days is something that Finnish young people do not take for granted. The changes in the labour market and the economic crisis of the early nineties have made the way into working life and so-called adult life rather complicated for young people. During the nineties unemployment rates have soared in Finland, and the sad fact is that it always seems to hit young people the hardest. The number of young people at risk has increased as the result of recent periods of mass unemployment. Thus most young people seem to see further education as the most secure path to a place in the work-force.

Labour Market Policy Measures and Unemployment Benefits for Young People

With the term “labour market measures” we are referring to the following provisions which are made for unemployed persons: “job training to which they have been sent by the employment office, a supervised job try-out, adult education provided as a part of labour market training, labour force rehabilitation” (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland 1997, 48). The measures for facilitating the integration of unemployed young people into the labour market during the nineties have mainly been geared towards increasing apprenticeship training, youth workshops and labour market training. The concrete goal of one programme for integrating young people into the labour market and preventing exclusion (the European Union’s ESR Programme) was to increase the number of apprenticeship training positions for initial training to 650 and for further vocational training to 5200 in the whole country between 1995 and 1999. The intention for youth workshops was to provide 2100 trainee positions during the same period (Review of National Policy Finland 1997).

In the former Vaasa county there are at the moment 23 youth workshop projects including totally 83 different workshops. These projects are financed by the employment authorities, the municipalities and the Ministry of Education. Some of the workshops which are part of international projects also receive financial support from the European Union. Every year approximately 900 young people work in the workshops for a period of about six months, with the aim that they will find a job or a study place in some vocational training institute afterwards.

During the recent years of high unemployment, the rules for getting unemployment benefits have become more strict, which has especially reduced the rights to benefits for young people and other newcomers on the labour market. There are currently three different unemployment allowances in Finland: (1) The earnings-related

unemployment benefit is paid to members of unemployment funds. Unemployed persons fitting the basic profile of employability but who are not members of an unemployment fund will

receive the so-called (2) basic unemployment benefit from the Social Insurance Institution (an amount of 120 FIM/working day). For those without any working experience and who are not members of any unemployment fund, obviously including most young people, the remaining possibility for unemployment benefits is the (3) cash labour market support (an amount of 120 FIM/day) which is paid to an unemployed person who has received unemployment allowance for the maximum period allowed (500 days) or a person who has not been employed for the minimum time period (10 months) required to qualify for standard unemployment benefit. The rules for young people getting the cash labour market support have become harder during the last years. Today an unemployed person under age 25 without vocational skills, who refuses a training offer or some other “labour market measure” or who does not apply for admission into a vocational training institute, cannot get this benefit until the age of 25, until he/she has completed vocational training or until he/she starts job training (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland 1997).

3.6. Is Moving Away the Only Alternative?

The labour market conditions of the last few years have now improved somewhat, but the number of unemployed young people is still rather high. But none the less, the trends now seem to be going in a positive direction, which also shows in renewed optimism and hopefulness among young people seem recently. The results of last year’s national “Youth Barometer” survey (Nuorisobarometri 1997/1) show that the majority of young people 15–29 years old (72 %) now believe that there will be better work opportunities in the next five years, although many of them still seem to mistrust the developments of the labour market, especially those who are unemployed or without education.

Some of the questions in the *Health in School* survey were intended to gauge young people’s interest in moving to a different location, and their preferences in terms of living in an urban or rural environment, and the results (Tables 17 and 18) do confirm that many young people in our region are interested in moving somewhere else.

TABLE 17. "What kind of surroundings would you like to live in as adult?"

NATIVE DISTRICT OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE	TOWN			COUNTRYSIDE		Total
	Centre	suburb	outside populated area	village	thinly populated area	
Town centre (10 %)	51	24	13	7	4	100
Town suburb (25 %)	20	64	9	4	3	100
Town, outside populated area (13 %)	19	25	47	6	3	100
Countryside village (28 %)	12	23	21	40	4	100
Countryside, thinly populated area (25 %)	9	14	17	23	37	100
Total	18	32	20	19	12	100

TABLE 18. "What kind of surroundings would you like to live in as adult?" (girls and boys taken separately)

NATIVE DISTRICT OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE	TOWN			COUNTRYSIDE		Total
	centre	suburb	outside populated area	village	thinly populated area	
GIRLS						
Town centre	46	26	15	9	4	
Town suburb	20	63	9	5	3	
Town, outside populated area	19	29	43	6	3	
Countryside village	14	28	23	33	3	
Countryside, thinly populated area	12	18	23	25	23	
Total	19	35	21	18	7	
BOYS						
Town centre	57	22	12	5	4	
Town suburb	19	66	9	3	3	
Town, outside populated area	19	22	51	6	3	
Countryside village	11	18	19	46	5	
Countryside, thinly populated area	6	11	13	21	49	
Total	17	28	19	20	16	
Girls & boys total	18	32	20	19	12	

About a half of the respondents lived in a surrounding which they considered rural, about the same number in more urban surroundings, however only 10 % live in the centre of a town. More than two thirds of the respondents answered that they would like to live in a more urban-like surrounding at adult age. As expected, the girls seem more interested in living in a urban area (75 %) than the boys (64 %). The tendency seems to be that many young people want to live in somewhat the same surrounding as they do now. More than 90 % of the young people living in more urban-like surroundings want to live in similar surroundings at their adult age. The more rural young people are more positive towards countryside, about half of them want to live in more rural surroundings as adults.

When comparing Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking young people (not in table), it seems that the Finnish-speaking adolescents in general are more interested in living in urban areas (73 %), compared to Swedish-speaking young people (57 %). When comparing the two language groups from both urban and rural surroundings, some interesting differences occur. Most young people from both language groups living in urban areas wish to live in urban areas as adults, but a greater number of the Swedish-speaking rural young people (63 %) would prefer to live in rural surroundings as adults than would the corresponding Finnish-speaking young people (47 %).

The young people were given a question about where they would like to live in year 2010, in their present home district or elsewhere. Once again, the boys showed less interest in moving away than the girls did. Most of the boys seem to want to live in their present home surroundings as adults (in the year 2010). The tendency for girls is to have considerably more interest in living somewhere else than the boys; for example almost 80 % of the upper secondary school girls wished to live somewhere else as adults. Regardless of their present home district (urban or rural) two thirds of the girls wanted to move somewhere else or to live elsewhere in the future (year 2010). The corresponding number of boys was less than 50 %, for both urban and rural boys.

The fact that young people are leaving the countryside might be perhaps considered more as a problem of the rural area than of the young people themselves. Thus it is important to know their reasons for leaving and to get information about the young people still living in the rural areas, in order to be able to reverse the moving away trend and build up the future hope of the countryside: its young people.

The Need for Housing

As mentioned above, the young people of Vaasa county tend to live with their parents considerably longer than in the rest of the country. According to housing statistics (Asuntotarvelaskelma 1995) 30 % of the 21–29 year-old young people (girls and boys) in Vaasa county still live with their parents, compared to 16 % in the rest of the country; with the trend towards young people leaving home later even more pronounced in the countryside. When a young person decides where to live as an adult, the possibilities to find housing at a reasonable price is one of the major determining factors. Therefore these results point out the need for moderate-priced houses and flats

especially for young people in the countryside if we want young people to remain in or move out to the countryside.

3.7. Interest Towards Studying and Working Abroad

Has EU membership increased Finnish young people's interest in travelling and moving freely between one country and another? In the most recent Eurobarometer survey of European young people (1997), most of young Europeans stressed the idea of mobility and "freedom of movement" when asked what they thought was important about European Union membership. The possibilities to be able to work, establish oneself permanently and study anywhere in Union were considered to be the most important benefits of membership. Still we cannot say for sure if or how Finnish EU membership has affected Finnish young people's mobility. In the Youth Barometer survey (1997/1) 22 % of the respondents from all over Finland said they certainly or possibly would go abroad to study within five years. Research some years ago (Finnäs 1993) showed that two thirds of the Swedish-speaking 15-year-old comprehensive school students in the Vaasa region said that they would like to stay abroad at some time during their lives. In general the young people from more urban areas seemed more interested in going abroad.

Studying abroad

In the *Health in School* survey we asked young people about their eventual plans for studying abroad in the future; in some Nordic or European country, or outside Europe. The table below gives a small impression of the different tendencies among the young people (Table 19).

TABLE 19. Are you planning to study abroad?

	No	Yes, Nordic country	Yes, Europe an country	Yes, outside Europe	Total
Girls	58	7	24	10	100
Boys	83	5	6	6	100
Comprehensive school (8–9 th gr)	73	5	13	9	100
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	52	9	28	11	100
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	85	6	6	3	100
Finnish-speaking young people	73	4	15	8	100
Swedish-speaking young people	65	14	13	8	100
Urban young people	67	7	17	9	100
Rural young people	74	6	13	7	100
Total	71	6	15	8	100

About two thirds of all the students have no plans to study abroad at the moment, but there are some differences in the group. The alternative of studying somewhere in Central or Southern Europe seems to be the most interesting; studying outside Europe or in another Nordic country, less interesting. In general boys seem to be less interested in studying abroad: more than 80 % of the boys answered that they did not have any such plans, compared to less than 60 % of the girls. This gender difference remains constant among older young people (upper secondary and vocational school), though in upper secondary school as many as one third of the boys became interested in studying abroad.

35 % of the Swedish-speaking young people were interested in studying abroad, compared to 28 % on the Finnish-speaking side. The only real difference between the language groups, however, seems to be that the Swedish-speaking young people are more interested in studying in some other Nordic country (14 % vs. 4 %). The Swedish-speaking minority in fact has a long tradition of studying in the other Scandinavian countries, since the Swedish language is very close to the other Scandinavian languages. Interest in studying in further parts of Europe and/or outside of Europe seem to be the same in both language groups.

Not surprisingly, there are some differences between the urban and more rural young people; in general the urban young people seem more interested in studying abroad (33 % vs. 26 %). The gender differences here remain constant though; regardless of native district, girls are more interested of studies abroad (urban 45 % / rural 38 %), than boys (urban 21 % / rural 14 %).

Working abroad

In the Finnish Youth Barometer of 1997, surveying young people (aged 15–29) from all over Finland, about one third of the respondents said that they possibly or certainly would try to get a job abroad within the next five years. The number was over a half among young people with highly educated parents (Nuorisobarometri 1997/1). We do not have any comparative data for Vaasa county as a whole, but in a smaller survey within the region (Antila & Lyly-Yrjönen 1995) 40 % of the students surveyed said that they would like to look for a job abroad within the coming five years, but only 18 % of the unemployed young people in the survey showed such interests.

In the *Health in School* survey the respondents gave the following answers to a question about their plans for moving abroad in the future.

TABLE 20. "Do you plan to move abroad in the future?"

	No	Temporary	Permanently	Total
GIRLS				
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	58	37	6	100
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	54	39	7	100
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	37	57	7	100
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	69	27	3	100
Total	53	41	6	100
BOYS				
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	75	21	4	100
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	71	25	4	100
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	56	37	7	100
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	78	18	4	100
Total	71	24	5	100
Girls & boys total	62	33	5	100

The majority of all respondents (62 %) answered that they had no such plans at this point. One third of respondents would like to live abroad temporary, and only 5 % were thinking of doing it more permanently. Again, almost half of the girls showed an interest in spending time abroad, but closer to one fourth of the boys shared their dreams. The youngest comprehensive school age group was still rather uninterested in moving abroad: one third answering that they would like to go abroad either temporarily or permanently, compared to the almost 60 % of the corresponding upper secondary school students. Young people of the same age group studying for a vocational degree were the least interested, only one fourth of them would consider moving abroad in the future.

Here again there were some differences in response between the Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking young people; half of the Swedish-speaking respondents, compared to one third of the Finnish-speaking, say that they have some plans for moving abroad. Does this major interest in moving abroad among the Swedish-speaking young people show that Swedish-speaking minority intends to continue its tradition of emigration? This survey does not give any answers as to where they especially would like to move, but another Nordic country would probably be the first choice for many.

In general the young people coming from more rural surroundings show less interest in going abroad; only one third expressing such an interest, as compared to approximately 40 % among the urban young people.

3.8. Attitudes and Values

Many of the rural young people, however, appreciate the countryside and the advantages of their home district, such as closeness to nature and peace and quiet. Especially girls (87 %) appreciated the countryside as a safe place to raise children. About 80 % of the group felt relatively or very satisfied with the place where they lived, and many of them would like to stay there or hoped to come back later after getting educated (Paunikallio 1997).

Attitudes towards Alcohol and Drugs

Young people's use of alcohol and drugs is becoming a serious problem, especially since the use seems to be beginning early and earlier these days. In Vaasa county the level of narcotics abuse has seemed to be relatively small, but there are signs that young people nowadays have more easy access to these substances, and are interested in at least trying different drugs.

For this reason the *Health in School* survey included several questions about young people's attitudes towards alcohol and drugs, and about their own use of them. The following tables illustrate some of their opinions on these issues.

TABLE 21. "How often do you drink alcohol (at least 0,5 bottle of beer)?"

	Several times a week	A couple of times a week	About once a month or more seldom	Do not use alcohol
GIRLS				
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	5	19	38	39
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	7	27	42	25
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	6	29	47	18
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	18	33	34	14
Total	9	27	40	24
BOYS				
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	7	16	33	43
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	12	25	37	26
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	13	29	40	18
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	29	34	27	10
Total	15	26	34	25
Girls & boys total	12	27	37	24

TABLE 22. Attitudes: “Is it OK to get drunk once a week?”

	Yes	No	Do not know
GIRLS			
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	25	56	19
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	24	56	19
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	19	67	14
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	30	48	22
Total	24	57	19
BOYS			
Comprehensive school (8 th gr)	29	53	18
Comprehensive school (9 th gr)	35	47	17
Upper secondary school (2 nd gr)	31	53	16
Vocational school (2 nd gr)	48	34	17
Total	36	47	17

The boys tend to accept use of alcohol more easily than girls. For example 36 % of the boys think it is OK to get drunk once a week, compared to a fourth of the girls. The young people studying in vocational schools seem to have the most accepting attitude, with almost half of the boys answering that they think this kind of drinking behaviour is acceptable. They also report greater alcohol consumption than the rest of the group.

The use of narcotics seem to still be rather small according to the young people's own answers. In the 8th grade 14 % of the young people said that they have tried some kind of narcotics (hashish, marijuana, etc.); in the final grade and upper secondary school somewhat more. 21 % of the vocational school students said that they had tried some kind of drugs. 8 % of all the young people consider the use of marijuana (for example) now and then to be acceptable.

Attitudes towards Foreigners

Students were also asked, what preferences they have when thinking of a future family, and how important the nationality and language of an eventual future partner is. Are there prejudices or are the young people in today's Vaasa county open-minded European cosmopolitans when they think of what their future wife or husband will be like? The results from the Eurobarometre (1997), for example, indicated that Finnish young people were among the Europeans who were most “pleased to have foreigners living in their country.” It is a fact, however, that racist problems have increased in our country during the last few years. The results of the *Health in School* survey do not give answers to all these questions, but they may give some impressions on the basis of what the young people think of the possibility of having a partner with another nationality and language (table 23).

TABLE 23. "Could you imagine yourself starting a family with a person who is...?"

	Finnish-speaking Finn	Swedish-speaking Finn	Another Nordic citizen	Another European	Gypsy	Asian	African	Amer.
With pleasure	83	42	26	23	3	7	6	27
Possibly	15	44	55	55	22	32	29	52
Not at all	2	14	19	22	75	61	65	21

The typical Finnish adolescent from the Vaasa region seems to be rather conservative when thinking of whom to choose to form a family with; the first choice of partner seem to be a Finnish-speaking Finn, and thereafter the second choice a Swedish-speaking Finn. Other Nordic, European and American citizens, however, seem to be "acceptable" partners for most of the respondents.

In general girls are more open-minded concerning the nationality of their future partners; the boys, more conservative. When comparing the two language groups, there still seems to be some reservations about the possibility of having a partner from the other language group in the same country. The Swedish-speaking young people also seem to have somewhat more positive attitude towards potential partnership with someone from a foreign country, especially from the other Nordic countries.

Interest in learning languages

The importance of language learning is increasing all the time. How much do the young people of the Vaasa county think that they will need foreign languages in the future?

TABLE 24. "How much do the adolescents in the Vaasa county think they will need the following languages in the future?" (% selecting the alternatives "a lot" or "quite a lot")

	Finnish	Swedish	English	German	French	Russian
Girls	97	75	87	33	18	7
Boys	96	54	76	20	9	5
Total	97	65	82	27	14	6

The two native languages are, of course, considered important by the young people, with the majority of both girls and boys ranking English as very important, while the importance of the German, French and Russian languages is relatively small in the eyes of the young people in Vaasa county. The girls seem to value language learning more than boys.

Interest in Politics and Participation

There are rather few findings about the interest in politics, participation in decision-making in society or the organisational interest of the young people in Vaasa county. In the *Health in School* survey young people were asked about their leisure activities, including their commitment to politics and association activities. According to their answers, political interest among young people (age group 14–18) in the region seem to be rather small. In the whole survey about 9 % of the girls and 14 % of the boys claimed some regular political activity or involvement (weekly or monthly), meaning that the vast majority seem not to be interested in or concerned about political activities. Vocational school students showed the least interest in political activities (8 %).

Altogether about 40 % of the group said that they were involved in some association or organisation activities (weekly or a few times a month). About 21 % of the girls and 18 % of the boys were involved in weekly association activities. One interesting finding was that the Swedish-speaking young people reported considerably more active participation in associations and organisations than their Finnish-speaking counterparts. In the predominant Swedish-speaking municipalities the number of young people participating every week in association activities was over 30 %. Traditionally the Swedish-speaking minority has had a very active association life. Finland's first youth associations in fact were established in the rural Swedish-speaking regions of Vaasa county. The results here indicate that Swedish-speaking young people are perhaps still more active in associations and organisations than the rest of the population. There were, however, no differences found in organisational activity levels relative to the population levels (urban–rural) of young people's native district.

In the same study it became clear that many of the rural young people feel that they have very few possibilities to influence the decision-making in their home district. This perhaps is not a problem especially limited to rural young people; urban young people might experience the same thing. Anyway, many of the respondents said that they have lost their trust in the decision-makers and in the individual's, especially the young person's, possibilities to influence things. Many would like to make their voices heard in matters that concern them. The sense of having no possibility to influence matters could be due in part to the young people's lack of understanding of the channels of influence available to them, or to a lack of self-confidence to exercise their potential influence, to say nothing of simple passivity among young people as an explanation (Paunikallio 1997).

3.9. Some conclusions

One very important thing to remember when discussing young people is that they do not form a homogenous or separate group with similar interests. This makes it difficult to give an overall view of the “typical young people” between 16 and 25 years old in Finland’s former county of Vaasa. In spite of this fact though, we have tried to create a picture of what the young people’s living conditions in this region are. The information given about the young people is mainly about younger age groups. Information about older youth groups (over 20) and young people outside the educational system is admittedly rather weakly represented in this part of the report.

In spite of the many differences between the countries in this project, some problems facing the young people of the Vaasa region today are probably the same for many young people across Europe. Some of these problems are:

- The high youth unemployment, which without doubt is the most serious problem facing young people, increasing social exclusion and placing a number of young people at risk. Despite recent positive developments in the labour market, the unemployment rate among young people is still very high. The job opportunities for young people are relatively few in the countryside, so many young people feel themselves more or less forced to move into a more urban setting in order to study or get a job.
- Young people’s use of alcohol, cigarettes and narcotics is always a problem, especially since the abuse seem to begin earlier and earlier. Drug abuse is perhaps not yet so common in our region, but it is a growing problem.
- Some research has pointed out that young people often think that they have little chance of influencing the decision-making processes in their own neighbourhoods, and that their opinions do not matter (e.g., Paunikallio 1997). Still many young people say that they would like to take part more actively in the development of their native district.
- The lack of moderate-price housing in the countryside, especially for young people, is playing a role in driving them out of their home towns as well.

The living conditions of the young people in the Vaasa region can be considered to be fairly good compared with those of rural young people in other countries, and even with the situation in many other parts of Finland. The positive trends and developments in the region today are mainly the following:

- Young people are highly motivated to get an education, and the number of uneducated young people is decreasing all the time. The equal situation in education and training is a fact. The young women’s opportunities in both education and in the labour market in this region today are practically equal with young men’s, as in the rest of Finland. In fact young women in Finland today are on the average better educated than young men.
- The youth employment situation in the region is improving, thanks to, among other things, increased training and youth workshops. The development of the youth workshops has done a great deal to alleviate youth unemployment by providing training, occupational skills and career orientation for young people. It seems that many of the young people in the countryside have appropriated some of the

“enterprise tradition” for which the region is known. Young people’s interest in entrepreneurship is very positive, although they need more understanding about this field.

Young people’s living conditions have gone through major changes during the nineties. Even in Vaasa county, high technology and information technologies have conquered the everyday lives of young people. The future direction of youth unemployment in the region is still uncertain. The degree of internationalisation has increased as a consequence of Finnish membership in the EU, and this might lead to an increased interest for going abroad in the future. But how all these factors will affect the rural young people and their future in Vaasa county is still an open question.

4. Rural Young People in Brandenburg, Germany

4.1. Background Characteristics of the Brandenburg Area

As of 1997, Brandenburg is the 5th largest state in the Federal Republic of Germany, with an area of 29,480.53 km², and 2,542,042 inhabitants – 3.1 % of the Germany's population. The population density here is 86 inhabitants/km², compared with 229/km² in Germany's as a whole. Only one German state, the neighbouring Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, has a lower population density.

TABLE 25. Population change in Brandenburg 1990 – 1996.

	1990/91	1996
Population (in thousands)	2,578	2,554
Birth	29,238	15,140
Net-migration	-28,492	+6,948

(Winkler 1997)

The percentage of young people in Brandenburg is slightly higher than the average in Germany (14–18 year-olds making up 22 % of the population, vs. 20 % as a national average).

TABLE 26. Indicators of change in Brandenburg: size of flats and number of telephones.

	1989	1994/95
m ² / inhabitant	27.0	39.4
telephones / 1,000 persons	94	338

(Winkler 1997)

Reconstruction efforts and attempt to fill the backlog demand for telecommunication have created a sharp rise in the average size of flats and the number of telephones in the republic since Germany's re-unification (see Table 26).

TABLE 27. Labour changes 1989 – 1996 in Brandenburg.

	1989/90	1996
number of workers (in thousands)	1,532	1,050
agriculture	13.7 %	4.6 %
industry	28.1 %	14.2 %
public sector	22.6 %	18,5 %
other/services	46.6 %	42.7 %
unemployment rate	7,4 %	16.3 %
unemployment rate women	8.0 %	19.6 %

(Winkler 1997)

There are 139,144 people out of work in Brandenburg, 3.6 % of Germany's unemployed folk. The average purchasing power of Brandenburg residents is only 79.4 % of the German average; which is similar to the situation in all six of the new federal states. This also applies to fiscal turnover statistics, where Brandenburg stands at 77,8 % of the national average, sharing this disadvantage too with the other former GDR states. So compared with the western part of Germany, Brandenburg is a rural area with a weak economy, high unemployment rates and bad housing situations. In terms of automobile ownership, however, Brandenburg's 479 cars for every 1,000 residents is right up close to the national average of 495. (GfK Nuernberg – Basiszahlen zur Berechnung regionaler Absatzziffern, 1997). In fact Brandenburg leads the nation in its numbers of car accidents involving personal damages, accidents involving children, accidents caused by driving under the influence of alcohol, accidents caused by driving at high speeds and accidents caused by following other cars too closely.

The number of persons receiving government financial assistance (60 per 1000 inhabitants) is the highest in the East of Germany but lower in fact than in some regions in the West. The numbers of weddings, divorces and births are all lower than the German average, due to the economic circumstances of re-unification, but they are in the same range as in the rest of the former GDR states.

In general terms the picture is one of a steadily shrinking job opportunity structure in the Brandenburg labour districts, with a parallel downgrading of the market position of young persons and young adults. Young women are particularly hard hit by these two negative trends.

4.2. Research Data and the Aims of this Survey

This paper collates the findings of the two studies we carried out in the federal state of Brandenburg. The first, quantitative study was a survey of the youth-clientele of the vocational guidance service, a department of Brandenburg's labour office. The second, qualitative survey investigated young people's labour participation and unemployment patterns and examined specific programmes launched to combat youth unemployment in the district covered by the Cottbus labour office.

4.3. Education

The rate of higher educated people (college or higher) in former East Germany (68 %) is higher than the German national average (60 %). The relative number of young people not having finished school (4 %) is also lower than the national average (9 %) (DJI-Regionaldatenbank).

It is very difficult to compare the educational and the vocational training system in Brandenburg before and after the German reunion because of the profound changeover in every system of the society, so our starting reference point will be the year of 1991. The rate of higher educated people here (68 %) is higher than the German national average (60 %). First of all there was an adoption of the Western forms of schools in Brandenburg and after that there was an adaptation of the previous East German apprenticeship training to integrate it into the West German Vocational Training Act in force since August 1990. Also significant is the changeover of in-company apprenticeship training to a market-economy system in which the provision of training and apprenticeship positions for young people is regulated not by state planning but by the "laws" of supply and demand.

TABLE 28. Changes in education , 1991 – 1996 is as follows:

	1991	1995/96
pupils in compulsory education	364,460	406,423
vocational training students	51,888	65,492
apprenticeships	39,199	54,509
University students / 1,000 inhabitants	3.4	9.7

(Winkler 1997)

4.4. Values

This situation has had an effect on the value patterns of young people. For 95 % of young people (14–18 years old) a good job is the most important goal in life. To be able to maintain personal optimism is also an important aim for about 90 %; starting a family, for about 85 %; helping others, for 85 %; making money, for 90 %; and having an easy way to make a living, for 60 %. Being politically active, on the other hand only mattered for about 23 %. (Sturzbecher & Bien 1997)

4.5. Employment and the Labour market: A Comparison between Former East- and West-Germany

Huge unemployment rates among young people is a new social situation in Germany.

The next table gives some information about young people out of labour in percent of all people related to labour (Sum out of labour and in labour). General unemployment rate in Brandenburg is 16 %, compared with the average of 11 % in FRG but near the average of the six republics of former GDR.

Berlin is a very special case. Not including this city Brandenburg has the highest unemployment rates for young people with lower age than 25 years. (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, DJI–Regionaldatenbank.)

TABLE 29. Youth unemployment rates in the Federal Republic of Germany.

By Year

	under 20 years	20 to 25 years
1993 Average	6.5	9.2
1994 Average	7.2	10.3
1995 Average	7.9	10.1
1996 Average	9.0	11.7
May 1997	7.6	12.6

By Republic

Schleswig-Holstein	12.3	13.9
Hamburg	15.2	15.6
Niedersachsen	8.4	13.2
Bremen	11.8	17.6
Nordrhein-Westfalen	11.6	13
Hessen	8	11.1
Rheinland-Pfalz	7.8	10.7
Saarland	9.2	14.5
Baden-Württemberg	5.7	8.4
Bayern	5	7.2
Berlin (West)	21.1	23.6
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	9.7	19.1
<i>Brandenburg</i>	<i>10.8</i>	<i>18.4</i>
Sachsen-Anhalt	8.6	20.1
Sachsen	6.4	15.3
Thüringen	6.9	16.4
Berlin (East)	12.9	19

Sector by Sector Employment Trends in Brandenburg

Employment trends in Brandenburg have varied from sector to sector. Table 30 gives a break-down of trends in the individual key industries and sectors in the Federal Republic.

TABLE 30. Sector by sector employment trends in Brandenburg

Economic entity	Dec. 1991	Dec. 1992	Dec. 1993	Dec. 1994	Dec. 1995	Dec. 1996	Difference (%) Dec. 1995–Dec. 1996	Difference (%), entire 5-y. period
Agriculture	61,500	39,200	39,100	35,929	36,613	36,500	- 0.3	- 40.7
Mining	40,543	32,201	22,771	18,420	16,938	11,314	- 33.2	- 72.1
Engineering	20,964	13,643	6,574	5,334	6,266	6,917	+ 9.4	- 67.0
Chemical Ind.	11,507	8,141	6,341	6,051	5,619	5,183	- 7.8	- 55.0
Clothing Ind.	8,468	2,414	1,425	1,359	1,474	1,249	- 15.3	- 85.3
Constructing Ind.	59,831	58,113	62,807	73,919	71,913	73,312	+ 1.9	+ 18.4
Food Ind.	19,201	12,089	10,551	9,877	9,817	9,474	- 3.5	- 50.7
Civil Service				167,632	159,365	153,871	- 3.4	

Source: *LDS*

For 1996, of all the key industries shown in the table only the machine engineering sector could boast of a significant 9 % increase in its employment rate – and there it should be noted that the number of people employed in this industry at the beginning of the year was very low to begin with. In almost all other sectors the employment rate has slumped. This was particularly evident in the coal mining sector with a drop of 33.2 %.

The comparative figures at the beginning and end of the time-span in question speak forcefully of the extent of job cut-backs and redundancy measures that have affected industry in Brandenburg from 1991 onwards. The highest job losses here are recorded by the textile and clothing industry with a grand total of 85.3 %, closely followed by coal mining, with a 72.1 % redundancy rate. The hand craft and artisan-trade related sector (not listed above) was actually managing fairly well until 1996, when suddenly a total of 6,500 jobs were lost.

Mid-1996 statistics on the number of workers paying statutory social insurance give an employment break-down of 66,300 employed in the primary sector (agriculture, forestry, mining etc.), approx. 287,000 in the secondary sector (manufacturing, power/gas supply, construction) and approx. 536,400 for the tertiary sector (finance, insurance, public services etc.).

With a total job loss of no less than 7,700 for 1996, the tertiary sector has been particularly hard hit. Local authorities shed 10.7 % and the railways as much as 19.4 % of their work forces.

Brandenburg's economy is, on the one hand, gratefully in the process of being reshaped by major historical factors, but on the other hand it is seriously struggling to meet the brutal requirements of this transformation. A comparison of economic structures between workers in Brandenburg and averages from both new and old federal states in terms of the number of those paying into the social security system may serve to make this point more clearly (see Table 31). Compared to the other new federal states, Brandenburg has a disproportionately high level of its labour force concentrated in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and in the energy and coal mining

sectors. In the manufacturing, commercial and public service sectors employment levels are comparable with those of other former GDR states.

TABLE 31. Sector by sector analysis comparing the employment situation in Brandenburg with that of other states in eastern and western Germany (% , date of figures: June 30, 1996)

Economic entity Average	Brandenburg	Eastern Average	Western
Agriculture	4.6	3.2	0.9
Energy / Mining	2.8	1.9	1.7
Manufacturing	17.0	18.7	32.6
Building trade	15.3	14.7	6.7
Commerce	11.0	11.0	14.3
Traffic / Information	6.7	6.6	5.0
Banking / Insurance	1.5	1.9	4.2
Service industries	24.4	26.5	25.5
Private Households	4.4	3.8	2.8
Social Security	12.2	11.6	6.3
Without statement	0.1	0.1	0,0
Total	100	100	100

(Bundesanstalt für Arbeit)

If we compare Brandenburg's economy with the structures of the old federal states, the extremely low level of social insurance contributors from the manufacturing industry stands out in particular: a mere 17 % as opposed to 32.6 % in the old federal states (see Table 31). Brandenburg's rate of 36 industrial workers per 1000 inhabitants is only about a third of the West German average.

4.6. Youth Clientele of the Vocational Guidance Service in Brandenburg

The first study, a representative survey of the vocational guidance youth clientele, focused on 29 labour offices in five federal states – Bavaria, Brandenburg, North-Rhine-Westphalia and Thuringia – and interviewed a total of 1,617 young people. This paper only deals with the findings relevant to the Brandenburg section of the survey.

The survey had three main objectives: to delineate the constituency of the youth vocational guidance service; to establish with what attitudes, problems and expectations they arrive in the advisory situation; and to assess how the clients themselves used and evaluated the range of advisory services available. Further topics also covered in the survey include questions of client access to and contact frequency with the vocational guidance service, interview/advisory formats, interview/advisory

content, inter-view/advisory impact and client satisfaction in terms of the degree of usefulness he/she accorded to the service.

For nearly half of the young people surveyed, making use of vocational guidance services was purely a matter of routine, involving no special motivation. This was particularly true of the school students in the group survey for whom a career advisory interview at the labour office is just another standard part of preparation for the world of labour which they will face at the end of their school years. As though to emphasise this, the interview was often arranged to coincide with a class visit to the vocational guidance service.

The other half of the survey respondents, however, cited specific problems and difficulties as the reason for which they sought vocational guidance. By far the most common problems (cited by a full 28 % of respondents) were difficulties associated with finding a training or study place. After this come difficulties associated with a given occupational context – problems with a training scheme, dropping out of training or college, or dissatisfaction with their current work (mentioned by 9 % of respondents). In a third category, 6 % of respondents cited academic problems (bad grades or potential exam failure) as the reason they sought out the service; and beyond that a further 9 % named other miscellaneous problems ranging from lack of personal labour market orientation to health, language, familial or financial difficulties

Career Aspirations

Almost two thirds of respondents came to vocational guidance counselling with a clear idea of the vocational course or study path they intended to pursue. A further 21 % stated that they had an “approximate” idea of what they wanted to do and only 14 % had yet to make up their minds. Service sector training is in high demand; manufacturing seems attractive only to a small (predominantly male) minority. If we categorise the above concrete career-wishes according to the classification system used by the Federal Labour Office we arrive at the following picture:

Nearly two thirds of respondents in this group wanted to work in the service sector, one quarter wished for jobs in manufacturing, and the vocational goals of the remainder were mostly spread between technical professions and those connected with agriculture or livestock breeding.

If we further aggregate the disparate vocational/occupational wishes of each group into one coherent mass, the first pattern that emerges is one of a marked gender division. Manufacturing jobs prove singularly unattractive to women: a mere 4 % of female respondents, as opposed to 51 % of their male counterparts, named industrial professions as their desired goal. On the other hand, sectors which attract a high level of women applicants include health care (women 26 % / men 3 %), primary service sector professions (women 33 % / men 15 %) and office work (women 14 % / men 9 %). All other sectors display a relatively equitable gender distribution.

Key Job Requirements for Young People: Human Contact and Computers

The question, “What sort of work would you like to do later on?” was intended to open up wider perspectives than questions targeting specific jobs or professions. For those who already have a specific profession in mind, it would enable them to situate their career choice in a life world setting by providing a main reference frame within which their target profession may be contextualised, and for those who do not yet have a clear idea of which path they should embark on, consideration of this sort of general frame of reference, within which the future career choices will be situated, is even more essential.

Regardless of whether they had made a clear career choice or not, 58 % of the young people we surveyed stated that they wished to go into a profession where they would be dealing with people, children and social issues. A further 34 % envisioned their future career as being connected with computers, modern technology and electronics. In short, more than half of our young respondents wanted to work with people, and one third with computers.

Far below these “prime factors” for career choice came an interest in areas which can be loosely grouped together under the general heading of “the arts,” including professions involving the media, advertising, leisure activities and foreign languages (21 %), fashion/interior decorating/design (16 %) and an explicitly stated interest in an artistic career in music, visual arts or culture (13 %).

Interest in the traditional industrial-technical sector of “wood/metal working and construction” ranked way down in 6th place (15 %) among the 13 possible factors which respondents were asked to consider in terms of career choices, and working with cars, vehicles and other means of transport was even further down, in 11th place (12 %). In between these two came preferences for working with animals, plants or in environmental protection (14 %), working in research and science (13 %) and sports-related activities (13 %). The lowest regard was shown for careers involving “legal affairs, regulations and paper work” and “catering and food service,” but the 10 % and 7 % interest which they drew respectively is not significantly different from that in the choices ranked just above them in the list.

Vocational Guidance Counselling: General Expectations and Specific Questions

The very open responses young people gave to the question, “Why did you come here today?” give a general indication of what they were hoping to gain from a visit to the vocational guidance counsellor.

At the top of this list (30 % of all respondents) comes the wish for general information and guidance as to the range of occupations, job opportunities and career prospects available. After this comes the hope, expressed by one in four respondents, that the vocational guidance service can open doors for them to specific training or study places. On the other hand, only 3 % came along hoping for guidance as to the kind of work that would be most in line with their particular inclinations and abilities.

After raising the topic of their general expectations concerning vocational guidance counselling, respondents were then asked what particular benefits they wished to draw from this guidance. For the majority of respondents information that would enable them to get a training place was the single greatest benefit: 84 % of them found it important to be informed of the range of training opportunities leading to their desired profession, and 81 % percent wanted concrete assistance in finding a training place. Only slightly less important to the respondents was general career-oriented information: 79 % wished to be informed as to which types of work have a solid future and 66 % wanted to know about promotion and career development potential in a particular profession. Further down the scale – though cited as important by over half the respondents – was the wish for personal aptitude guidance: 56 % wanted guidance in determining where their particular aptitudes lay and 55 % wished for tips and recommendations about the kind of work they would be most suitable for. Rounding things off down at the bottom end of the scale, a tiny minority of 18 % considered getting highly specific information about the range of study and training places available abroad to be important.

4.7. Labour Participation, Unemployment and Innovative Unemployment Programmes in the Cottbus Labour Office District (a Typical District in Brandenburg)

Our second study focuses on the labour market and employment situation of young adults in the Cottbus Labour Office as a case study representative of Brandenburg as a whole. The study also includes a regional assessment analysis examining the conditions under which social and labour market measures for young adults are implemented, which is intended to serve as a foundation on which future ancillary measures, more closely tailored to young people's needs, may be built.

It should be emphasised that this second study is by no means intended as an evaluation of the effectiveness of the current range of unemployment programmes; that, indeed, would require an entirely different methodological approach. Rather it seeks to examine ways in which programmes may be generated which can more fully tap the employment potential of young people and young adults by relating the findings of discussions with experts and analyses of models for the vocational integration of young adults on the second threshold to the regional statistical data used by the Cottbus Labour Office.

Opportunity Structures in Specific Branches and Professions

The metal working and electronics section of the Cottbus Professional Crafts Association (Kammerbezirk) have emerged as its largest and most economically stable departments, which can also boast of a correspondingly high number of trainee placements. One of the main reasons for the economic stability of these two branches can be ascribed to their role as supplier of labour to large-scale industry, in particular

to companies connected with the clean up of the lignite or soft brown coal industry. In contrast with these flourishing branches, the third largest section of the Professional Crafts Association – the building and construction crafts sector – stands on rather shaky feet. Thus if we consider these three sections together, we can see that even in the crafts sector there was a slight drop in the number of trainee vacancies, and a marked drop in the number of those who went directly into employment after completion of their training period, for 1996.

It is often said that there is a wide range of small businesses – such as various retailers, consulting engineers' offices or travel agencies – who take on trainees far in excess of their actual replacement requirements. In the light of the troubled economic situation such businesses are unable to provide any concrete guarantees for future trainee employment, and some make it perfectly clear from the beginning even that they have no intention of employing trainees after the completion of their training.

The banks have severely cut back the range of training opportunities they offer, and they are taking on fewer and fewer applicants. Even so, they still take on more young trainees than regional insurance offices which have practically abolished their trainee schemes.

The commercial sector is a highly problematic area, in particular the clerical and administrative sectors. Large companies are busy cutting back on their human resources through rationalisation schemes and networking in conjunction with new on-line and optical fibre technologies, making the number of trainee places in this sector lower and hopes for future employment slimmer than in any other branch.

Given the dire state of many other branches, hopes are now pinned on opportunities offered by the new-style computer and information technology branches. Many in the Brandenburg region are reckoning on a steady increase in the need for skilled personnel in this sector. However, it remains to be seen just how quickly the ceiling for newly qualified personnel in this domain will be reached, since by its very nature the computer sector is based more on one-off, numerically insignificant, numbers of workplaces.

In Brandenburg only 11.6 % of young people will be receiving training outside of that provided by the two professional bodies: the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Chamber of Crafts (Handwerkskammer). Such training will be provided by the German civil service and in the privatised sectors: telecommunications, the post office and the railways, as well as by the regional offices of private professionals. In this latter sector almost three quarters of the trainees are women. Medical professions, for instance (doctors, chemists, solicitors, lawyers, accountants, veterinarians and dentists), in which women were trained as helpers or ancillaries, have traditionally constituted a small but relatively safe haven in which women could gain qualifications and enter the West German labour market. Since such professions have only existed in the new federal states for the past few years (in the GDR there was no private medicine) there has first of all been a great deal of catching up to do. The first targets for in-house training schemes, however, were the consultant engineers' offices, which are thick on the ground in Brandenburg. Before this initiative began only a small

number of women received training as clerical personnel.

Off-the-job Training

Off-the-job training is a complete training programme which stands in for the on-the-job component of a dual vocational training programme. In it a contract is concluded with an educational institute. The practical side of in-plant training is limited to a spell of work experience in the third year of study. In the district covered by the Cottbus Chamber of Industry and Commerce (IHK) 26.5 % of young people receive off-the-job training; in the craft professions the percentage is 8.4. This gives an overall figure of 18.8 % for all young persons in both Chambers.

In off-the-job training schemes gender related differences are again striking. The overall percentage of women involved in training schemes under the auspices of the Chamber for Industry and Commerce lies at 48.4; in the off-the-job training schemes, however, this figure rises to 60 %. In other words a third of all young women have been unable to find an in-house training placement, compared to a fifth of all young men.

And so we stand at a cross-roads: young women have much more slender chances of finding training placements than young men, and even if they manage to complete an (off-the-job) professional training course, they still have fewer chances of finding a job that corresponds to their qualifications.

Unemployment

At present, in the district covered by the Cottbus Labour Office, the youth unemployment rate for those under 25 lies at 17.3 %. We can compare this with figures for Brandenburg, 12.8 %; Saxony, 11.4 %; West Berlin 19.8 %; Bremen 16.8 %; and the Western federal area, 10.0 %. In late 1996, 49 % of the unemployed in the 20-25 year-old bracket were women. The length of the period of unemployment is also substantially more prolonged for women. A large and steadily increasing percentage of qualified yet unemployed young women is found in the sales personnel and organisation/clerical/administration sectors. In other words, we have here extremely high numbers of skilled yet unemployed young women in areas which already have a sorry reputation for high gender-specific concentrations of women, in so-called "women's work" – areas which offer slim hopes for future employment prospects. In stark contrast to such sectors, in the typical male preserves of the metal working and electronics industries the labour participation rate for young women lies at a mere 2.5 %.

In early 1997 there were 1,050 unemployed persons under 20 years old in the Cottbus Labour Office district, accounting for 1.7 % of the total number of unemployed in the district. Rising unemployment in the under 20 age group is always a danger sign, as in the normal course of events this group should be fully occupied in some form of training scheme. The under 20s age group is primarily concerned with problems

connected with the “primary threshold” – with the transition from school to vocational training. With the current number of those graduating from compulsory school in the Cottbus district, further increases in youth unemployment are to be expected in the coming years. As the numbers of “apprentices-to-firms-gone-bust” and “second-time-rounders” (school leavers who found no training placement the year before) increase, we can expect unemployment among young people to peak even at the primary threshold stage.

4.8. Conclusions: Measures to Combat Youth Unemployment

Analyses and expert roundtables on labour market policy agree that finding employment for young people in the industrial-technical or the small trades sector is the course that presents least difficulties – although it should be noted that the slump in the building sector has drastically reduced the chances of the young unemployed finding a job there. Most difficulties are encountered in the commercial sector – in office and administrative professions – where the impact is felt more keenly by young women seeking work.

A key focus of activities to curb unemployment lies in the promotion of adequate job-candidate strategies which may be seen as a first step to crossing the secondary threshold. Here emphasis is placed on encouraging young people to adopt a positive approach to job hunting.

Paragraph 53 of the Labour Promotion Act (AFG) – the clause promoting mobility – allows unemployed persons or those directly affected by unemployment to claim subsidies to cover job application costs, travel expenses and moving costs. Given the scarcity of locally available jobs, there is a growing trend among vocational guidance councillors to attempt to awaken the young person’s interest in supra-regional job opportunities. This is not, however, to minimise the substantial difficulties in community integration a young person on the primary or secondary threshold will have to face if he or she moves to another federal state.

It is indeed noteworthy that in the entire range of job-creation schemes sponsored by various clauses of the Labour Promotion Act (par. 91-96 or par. 249 section h) the participation rate of young women under 25 is painfully low (3.6 %) and the participation rate of young men (2 %) is still lower. Joint financing of these schemes through the regional programme of Brandenburg’s ministry for labour, social affairs, health and women (MASGF) has eased the burden on the public labour market in Cottbus.

Compared with such job-creation projects, schemes to encourage unemployed young people to set up their own small businesses play a very minor role, for the obvious reason that the vast majority of young unemployed do not have sufficient start-up capital in their pockets.

Of greater interest are projects run by the unemployed themselves and tailored to target specific groups. They cover a range of areas including job placement, job rotation,

occupational international youth exchange programmes, and “purpose-built” companies and enterprises run by and for young people. The Cottbus-based “Job Club” receives its financial backing through a job-creation scheme and provides individual counselling and guidance services for young people in a depth that it would be difficult for the normal job placement service to emulate, given the large numbers of young people to be dealt with and the staff shortages it suffers from. Apart from notice boards with the latest employment offers, the Job Club is fully equipped with technological means for information gathering and also offers candidates help and guidance with job application procedures.

Called into being by BBJ-Servis in Potsdam, the “Pro-Job” group has adopted a different approach. It sees itself as a meeting point for unemployed young people who are primarily interested in going to work and earning money and not in embarking on some occupational training programme. Such young people are directly and individually put in contact with companies which need short term or long term labour and which have registered with Pro-Job. Companies in the Potsdam region have already expressed great interest in this kind of job placement.

The ADAPT Project for “Job-Rotation,” the primary aim of which was to harmonise the vocational training and qualification of the employed with that of the unemployed, has apparently had its funding cut, in spite of the sound nature of its objectives. The principle behind the Job-Rotation initiative is that employees from small and medium sized companies are given leave to pursue further occupational training, while being temporarily replaced by young skilled workers who have been trained in advance and are qualified to fill the gap (comp. Weiss-Peterson, 1995). This kind of “stand-in model” is currently being tried out by Inbit-Cottbus, an educational institute for information and communication technology, whilst the Centre for Commercial Training in Neuruppin has developed a similar concept for the interwoven training and qualification of company personnel and private individuals in the tourism business.

Professional exchange programmes have already been running for some years now, with the aim of giving participants the opportunity to widen their professional experience and improve their language skills in view of the opening European labour market. In 1996 two sponsors supported the international youth exchange programme. The success of such measures should not be measured by any specific alterations in labour market trends, but it is rather to be gauged by slow changes in outlook and attitudes.

Youth promotion enterprises play a key role in the fight against youth unemployment. The Cottbus Centre for Vocational Training developed such a concept to target second-threshold youth unemployment with the aim of tapping the energies and abilities of those who had successfully completed off-the-job training in newly founded, competitive, purpose-built enterprises. Unfortunately this project never got off the drawing board, as the request for capital was turned down by the labour office Innovation Fund. However, a similar kind of initiative can be found in the “Workshop for the Future” in Cottbus, which has been set up in two places in line with the stipulations of par. 249, subsection “h environment,” in the Labour Promotion Act. The basic concept of this workshop is an amalgamation of employment promotion

measures, simultaneous training programmes and temporary employment in companies to provide work experience. Its ultimate aim though is to lay the foundation for later initiatives to create economically viable jobs for at least some of the 40 participants in the scheme.

The “Neue Arbeit” project team in Klein-Machnow, a district covered by the Potsdam labour office, developed an in-depth concept for a “youth enterprise” in 1996, a portfolio of three integrated projects designed to cover all aspects of problems that can arise when young people join the world of work, from vocational orientation, preparation for employment, first-stage training/qualification to integration in a work environment. Unfortunately regionally based small and medium sized companies tend to look askance at such youth promotion projects, viewing them as blatant competitors in already fiercely competitive market, and it requires a lot of PR work on the part of such projects to make it clear that they are primarily intended to be employment promotion enterprises, providing jobs for an otherwise disadvantaged group, and that their subsidised status has no impact on regular market prices as the contracts they receive are directly tied in with employment-promotion subsidies as well.

In an entirely separate category from the concepts and measures we have sketched above is a system of co-operative networks aimed at finding work for unemployed young people. In contrast to the range of measures mentioned above, such initiatives are sponsored on the federal level by Brandenburg or other states, and aim to optimise information and communication structures and above all to harness task synergy in order to create a more favourable terrain for attacking youth unemployment at its roots. The main pillar of this project is the “Co-operative Structure Management” designed by BBJ-Servis in Potsdam, which brings together all key actors in the labour market, including employment services, social services, youth services, chambers of commerce and employers’ associations, schools, ministries, private educational institutes and employment initiatives and industry. The network’s goal is to create a labour office district level solution that provides each unemployed young person with the job that most closely corresponds to his or her own individual needs. Two other projects based on a similar co-operative network approach are currently being run: one in an urban environment by the Krefeld Central Office for Employment Promotion and the other in a more rural area.

5. Rural Young People in Calabria, Italy

5.1. Background Characteristics of the Calabria Area

Calabria is the tip of the Italian peninsula. It stretches southward across a territory of 15,080 km² and has population of 2,070,203 inhabitants, with a population density of 137.2 inhabitants per km². To the north it borders on Basilicata, to the east on the Ionic Sea, to the west on the Tyrrhenian Sea and to the south it is separated from Sicily by the Messina Strait. Calabria is divided into five provinces: Catanzaro, Cosenza, Crotona, Reggio Calabria and Vibo Valentia. Its main town is Catanzaro.

The morphological structure of Calabria is somewhat complex. Most of the massifs and mountain ranges are separated by very ancient valleys. The rocky massifs are intrusive or sedimentary, with the exception of the Mesozoic calcareous group of the Pollino, near the Basilicata border. In this area the Lucano Apennine ends and the Calabrian one (Catena Costiera) begins, which is compressed to south-east between the Tyrrhenian coast and the deep Crati valley down to the low course of the Savuto. The Crati valley separates Catena Costiera from the Sila upland. It is a deep longitudinal ravine of the Apenninic system, that the Crati River runs through, towards the valley of Cosenza (in a north-south direction) before crossing the wide Sibari plains. The Sila upland has an alpine character, with a combination of deciduous and conifer forests. The upland rises to an altitude of 1200–1400 meters above sea level. It has very steep slopes and a softly undulating surface, crossed by a rounded ridge line. South of the Sila, the region narrows between the Gulfs of Squillace and Sant'Eufemia. The southernmost massif is the richly forested Aspromonte.

Much of Calabria is subject to frequent and sometimes disastrous earthquakes, like those of 1783 and 1908 which did much damage and caused the deaths of more than ten thousand people. Due to the shape of the peninsula and the disposition of its mountains, the rivers are generally very short, with the exception of Crati and Neto. The others are merely torrents running through rocky riverbeds, which are mainly dry. The main lakes of the region are the artificial lakes on the Sila upland: Cecita, Arvo and Ampollino.

Along the coast there is a typical Mediterranean climate, with mild, rainy winters and warm, dry summers. Going further inland, continental characteristics are progressively accentuated, especially on the higher mountains, where winters are very cold and summers are bright and refreshing. There is plenty of rain in the higher regions, especially on the west side; but further east, on the plains and along the Ionic coast, precipitation drops off to modest average levels.

Most of the population lives on the plains and hilly areas, where living conditions are better: on the strip between the Sila and the Serras, on the plains of Gioia Tauro, and along the coast on Messina Strait. The natural growth of the population is continuously positive, resulting in an increasing number of residents in the region.

Complex historical and geographical factors have in the past obstructed, and even today slacken, the harmonious development of the Calabrian economy. In spite of

massive states intervention through the “Cassa per il Mezzogiorno” agency, Calabria is still one of the most underdeveloped regions in southern Italy. Especially since World War II, Calabria has been characterised by emigration. This emigration has primarily been directed towards the north-western regions of Italy and the industrial countries of central Europe.

In recent decades especially, agriculture has played a strategic role in the Calabrian economy, which has been favoured by the introduction of improved crop strains and by the growing use of chemical fertilisers and other forms of recent agricultural technology. Still, underdeveloped organisational business skills and long distances from the central markets limit the potential profitability of this sector. The primary agricultural products here are cereals, vegetables, wine, grapes, olives, citrus fruits and potatoes. Forests also have a certain importance, while fishing and animal husbandry play a secondary role. The industrial sector here is particularly weak, with the lowest shares of employees of any region in Italy. State intervention, and the industrial reorganisation it brought about in a few cases, has resulted in an actual reduction in the level of industry, without creating any new occupations. The most strongly represented industries are food processing, chemicals, engineering and paper production, concentrated mostly in the urban areas of Crotona, Reggio Calabria and Vibo Valentia.

TABLE 32. Employed in Calabria in 1951 and 1991 per productive sector (%).

Sector	1951	1991
Agriculture	63,5	16,1 (- 47,4)
Industry	20,0	24,7 (+ 4,7)
Public sector	5,7	13,1 (+ 7,4)
Other/Services	10,8	46,1 (+ 35,3)

The tertiary sector contributes the most to the region’s wealth, but public administration and small business are economically dominant, as they are the protagonists of the distorted occupational growth in the past decades. The financial sector is very poor. The development of tourism has been very modest and uncertain, obstructed by the peripheral position of the region and its insufficient means of transportation, although there is now a new Salerno – Reggio Calabria highway. The flow of tourism is characterised by a tendency to concentrate on the coasts and to disregard environmental considerations in terms of uncontrolled construction. The inland has been largely left undeveloped, even though it has natural and historical-cultural resources that could be very stimulating for tourists.

The province of Cosenza includes 155 municipalities, covering a total area of 6650 km², with a population of 750,896 inhabitants, thus with a population density of 112.9 inhabitants per km². It is the largest and most populated province in Calabria, covering the entire north side of the region. It borders on the provinces of Potenza and Matera to the north, on Catanzaro to the south, on the province of Crotona and the Ionian Sea to the east, and on the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west.

The province of Catanzaro includes 80 municipalities, covering a total area of 2392 km², with a population of 316,146 inhabitants, thus with a population density of 132.1 inhabitants per km². With the founding of the new provinces of Crotona and Vibo Valentia in 1992, the territory of this province was reduced somewhat. At present it includes a large portion of central Calabria. It also has seacoast both to the east and the west, and it borders on the provinces of Cosenza to the north, Crotona to the north-east, and Reggio Calabria and Vibo Valentia to the south.

The province of Reggio Calabria in the south-west includes 97 municipalities, covering a total area of 3183 km², with a population of 576,693 inhabitants, thus with a population density of 181.1 inhabitants per km². It borders on the provinces of Catanzaro and Vibo Valentia and it is surrounded by the Ionian and the Tyrrhenian Sea and by the Strait of Messina. Its territory covers the entire “toe” of the “boot” and it is characterised by the massif of the Aspromonte.

The province of Crotona includes 27 municipalities, covering a total area of 1716 km², with a population of 194,686 inhabitants, thus with a population density of 113.4 inhabitants per km². It has a long coastline on the Ionian Sea, north of the Gulf of Squillace, and borders on the provinces of Cosenza and Catanzaro.

The province of Vibo Valentia includes 50 municipalities, covering a total area of 1139 km², with a population of 175,000 inhabitants, thus with a population density of 153.6 inhabitants per km². Founded in 1992 by the the splitting off of these municipalities from Catanzaro, this new little province covers the point to the south of the Gulf of Saint’Eufemia, holding the “Serre” mountains, on the Tyrrhenian sea, also bordering on the provinces of Cosenza and Catanzaro.

5.2. Socio-economic Traits

Interpreting the Calabrian situation in strictly economic terms could sometimes lead to grave misunderstandings. Generalisations rarely take into account the complexity of Calabria. External variables not related to the immediate economic discourse tend to have an inordinant influence on one’s understanding of the internal reality. Economic indicators often tend to locate Calabria at the bottom of the scale among Italian regions, leading to a conclusion that this is a rather backward area. Of course the presentation of this region should be more complex with regards to its environmental situation and living conditions.

A more diversified and articulate analytical structure, in which the the coexistence of the various, often juxtaposed, situations is taken into account, should give a better idea of real conditions in Calabria. The social and cultural traits of a complex modern society are often juxtaposed onto everlasting underdevelopment and backwardness typical of the inland areas; especially in the larger urban conglomerations, where we see the same types of marginality displayed as in other Italian and European metropolitan contexts.

Looking at the type of dependent economy we find here, we see that if, on the one hand, it has not been able to use the local environmental resources to create the basis for self-sufficient productivity (due in part to the clientelistic public intervention following World War II), it has, on the other hand at least raised income and consumption levels in a sensible way.

Nowadays Calabria, regardless of the significant progress made in some limited economic sectors in some tiny districts, appears to be an area characterised by a pronounced underdevelopment of the commercial sector. The manufacturing industry is of little importance here. Agriculture, although it is doing relatively well in terms of spatial and business differentiation, suffers from chronic productive and organisational inefficiencies. The tertiary sector, relating to production innovation, cannot take-off or expand because of the weaknesses in industry and agriculture. Thus the lack of a real productive system, and the almost total absence of material based production, raises serious questions regarding the economic, social and civil future of the region.

At the same time Calabria is not comparable to many of the vast underdeveloped areas of the third world with problems of physical poverty and sustenance. On the contrary, significant opulence, redundant circulation of goods, and material and personal wealth are quite evident in the region. In spite of this though, some areas are still persistently characterised by misery, especially in the peripheral suburbs of the urban areas and in the inland areas, where the amount of money changing hands is not very much at all.

Thanks to a number of public transfers, private consumption here has grown to the point that in recent years it has reached levels very close to the national average, which are among the highest in the world. Public expenditure has been the “invisible hand” bringing massive growth in the level of wealth in Calabria. At the same time, the state, in its central and peripheral manifestations, was quite alone in playing the role of “entrepreneur.” Without developing its own industries or local production structures, within a few post-war decades Calabria experienced a spectacular and original social transformation: it changed from a poor and isolated region to a wealthy and integrated one, from primitiveness to modern capitalism.

Nevertheless, the rise in consumption levels and the opening up to the outside world have not modified the region’s pre-existing social structure, that has, on the contrary, been able to survive and readapt itself to the new situation, producing an original mix of cultural models that have made Calabria a region characterized by both modernity and traditionalism. The changes that have occurred in organisational structure and social regulation, which have interested all of the Mezzogiorno, and Calabria in particular, have never generated a drastic break with the pre-existing social system; there has always been a path of continuity between the past and the future. The most remarkable change in the Mezzogiorno has been a decisive change in the forms of social regulation: the old clientelism based on landowners’ nobility was replaced by a new system centred on political representation, thus bringing about the development of new forms of social exchange. The focal point has moved from landed property to political manipulation, but nevertheless the basic structure of the society remained unchanged.

The opening of the economy due to the integration process in the second half of the last century created a crisis for this traditionally closed society. Landowner clientelism needed a closed system as a basic condition for its existence, so when Calabria was joined to the rest of Italy in 1861 it created a serious social crisis. The old local social system was characterised, in fact guaranteed, by two essential and strongly interrelated conditions: an efficient internal regulating capacity and limited external pressure. When external pressures weakened the economic and political foundations of landowner nobility, it became completely impossible to adjust this structure to the new situation, so these rulers were forced to shift their basis of control. The only possibility for the Mezzogiorno was to adapt their decadent but consolidated social control structure to the new situation. The new social system that offered the greatest opportunities for their re-integration into the top of the social order was precisely that of political clientelism. The birth of a modern political system then did not bring in new aggregate systems; it simply rephrased the expression of the old interests in new and more suitable ways. The basic idea of the transition from the old clientelism to the new one was, after all, to leave everything basically the same. The reassembly of the old landowners' ruling class inside the new political parties was almost mechanical. None of the changes that followed produced anything in terms of social mobility; they simply redefined the terms of membership in the traditional ruling class. If the landowner clientelism used the political parties as the expression of the power of the agrarian nobility, the new political clientelism used political parties to reassemble the old clientelistic groups, thus permitting the rise of the new social middle class. This is the central element of the modernisation process that occurred in the Mezzogiorno.

The most interesting element of this path to modernisation is the particular form of manipulation it reproduced on a local level. Political parties have produced – on a formal level – democratic national organisation structures, while – on the local and practical levels (in terms of members' enrolment, selection of leaders, public policies, etc.) – they have normally maintained the clientelistic status quo.

The transformation of the economic and social structure following World War II, due to the constant involvement of the national government in the market, characterised by massive transfers (often referred to as “welfare”) from the central regions to the periphery, led to the necessity of continuously reassembling this new form of political clientelism. Just as the landowner nobility of the last century was forced to reassemble its old form of clientelism due to the opening of the economy, so in this century political clientelism has been forced to reassemble itself in different ways due to the changing economic situation.

During the 1960s there was a massive increase in the level of national financial resources being pumped into the southern economy. The reassembly of clientelism on a new market oriented basis assumed the role of a social regulating instrument for the management of enormous transformations that were taking place, creating a substantial turnover in the clientelistic structure. The combined interests of the upper classes and their political patrons, however, left the lower and peripheral classes out of the economic flow. The process of the social exclusion of these people caused a profound

regulative crisis: the latest form of clientelism, which has transformed itself by increasing the role of the market, is no longer able to maintain its control over the changes it is bringing about without producing marginalization.

The integration possibilities given to the lower classes in southern Italy, especially in the metropolitan areas, are really quite few and mostly consumption oriented, on a level which seems to be purely for the sake of appearances. The high local consumption level is due mostly, in fact, to the opportunities provided by underground economies, widespread illegal transactions and welfare-like provisions oriented towards mere subsistence, such as pensions for the disabled and agricultural supports. During the late 1970s all of these provisions literally exploded in the peripheral areas of the Mezzogiorno. In this badly decayed situation of extreme economic weakness, illegal economies became the only means of integration for the unskilled and uneducated members of the lower classes. Any functional modern market system faced with such a situation should be able to integrate these people into the legal economic world.

The result of all this is that nowadays the central problem seems to be more a lack of capabilities for regulating social change and integration, than a problem of modernity vs. backwardness or development vs. underdevelopment.

5.3. Territorial Diversification

The Calabrian region cannot be thought of as homogeneous. This is due to both morphological and economic/productive reasons. All this diversity has direct implications both on the material conditions of life and on the social organisation. Calabria is characterised by strong contrasts between the coastal areas in which social modernisation processes have been more explicitly carried out and inland areas where traditional social systems are still of great importance in determining the configuration of society. These contrasts can produce total different life strategies and ways of relating to common problems such unemployment. In different parts of Calabria the concepts of public services, consumption levels and production systems, have entirely different meanings according to the different forms of social organisation being practiced.

A recent study (Anania & Nisticò) carried out by the University of Calabria's Department of Economics points out the different sub-regional systems amongst the 409 municipalities into which Calabria is divided. This study has weighed a set of variables to determine the different socio-economic systems in regional use through a cluster analysis. The macro determinants used in the study are:

- a) structural assets of agriculture;
- b) population dynamics;
- c) the structure of the economic production system;
- d) family income and consumption levels;
- e) quality of life and the availability of services;
- f) mid-term dynamics of the economic and demographic structure.

On the basis of this research we have arrived at a system of ten different area classifications:

- 1) urban centres;
- 2) intermediate areas;
- 3) developing tourism areas;
- 4) weak, agriculture intensive economies;
- 5) exodus areas;
- 6) isolated backward areas;
- 7) integrated backward areas;
- 8) areas of construction growth without primary infrastructures;
- 9) dynamic areas;
- 10) areas with a demographic deficit.

Urban Centres

There are only 8 municipalities in this first cluster, containing 22 % of the region's population. These are municipalities in which the influence of the public and private service sectors, and/or the industrial sector, is greatest.

The distinctive strength of the economic structure in this first cluster is due to the high share of women employed in sectors other than agriculture, and to the dimensions of the productive activity.

Income and consumption level indicators show relatively high readings here. The natural population balance value here is also very high. These areas are characterised as "urban centres" due to their high population density.

Intermediate Areas

The second cluster includes 36 municipalities and 19 % of the region's population. It is made up of those municipalities which are included in the "network" of the region's economic-productive links, located both physically and functionally between the urban centres and the municipalities with weaker economic and social orders. Besides municipalities which serve as administrative and commercial centres, there are a fair number of "emerging" municipalities which are part of this network.

The basic socio-economic structure of the municipalities included in this second cluster is similar to that of those in the first, though agriculture is of greater importance and there is only a minor amount of public administration. The economic production systems and income levels here are above the regional average, though well below those of the first cluster.

Developing Tourism Areas

The third cluster is made up of 20 municipalities, containing 3.4 % of the region's population. In these municipalities tourism has a particularly relevant role, producing a particularly high level of consumption per capita. The average level of industrialisation here is quite low.

Weak, Agriculture Intensive Economies

The fourth cluster has 71 municipalities and 17 % of the total population. Most of these municipalities are near the coast. The survey results concerning the occupational structure of these municipalities confirms the major role that agriculture plays in their economic structure. Their coastal locations, however, tend to provide job opportunities during summer season which have a positive influence on the overall income level.

Exodus Areas

In this cluster there are 67 municipalities and 10 % of the population. It consists of those municipalities from which there is the highest emigration rate. Agriculture is the primary source of income in this cluster, seemingly characterised by mid-sized farms of various types.

Isolated Backward Areas

There are 52 municipalities in this cluster, with 4.9 % of the regional population. The cluster shows an area in which economic development is very delayed. The isolation of the municipalities in this cluster is determined on the basis of their being the greatest average distance from the closest of the three major urban centres in the region, and by their having the highest percentage of territory over 600 meters above sea level. The demographic structure here is conditioned by the weakness of economic structure and by the isolation that characterises the municipalities in this cluster. It contains the lowest percentage of secondary school graduates – only 0.7 % – and the highest level of illiteracy.

Integrated Backward Areas

In this cluster there are 84 municipalities and 10 % of the population. The variables related to economic and productive structures and to income and consumption levels here suggest that the economic-productive systems in these municipalities are only slightly better than those in the above cluster, but close proximity to some more dynamic economic system makes these municipalities be less disadvantaged than the forementioned.

Areas of Construction Growth Without Primary Infrastructures

This cluster contains 20 municipalities and 5.6 % of the regional population. In all of these municipalities the share of the residents without sewage systems available to them is over 30 %, and less than half of them have sufficient drinkable water. Looking at the profile of the economic structure and income levels of these municipalities, the most conspicuous feature is the high rate at which farm land is being built up by enterprises.

Among the variables that describe the economic production structures, the most significant are those of public administration assets – the lowest of the 10 cluster – and the average size of local industries, which are a bit higher than the regional average. The income and consumption levels are very close to the regional average.

Dynamic Areas

In this cluster there are 21 municipalities and 11.8 % of the regional population. These are mostly inland municipalities, yet many of the economic production structure indicators here are significantly above those of the other clusters relating to inland areas.

Areas with a Demographic Deficit

There are 29 municipalities in this cluster, with 2.3 % of regional population. The demographic structure in this group is by far the weakest among the 10 clusters. Agriculture in these municipalities includes some animal husbandry with larger than average sized farms. Compared to the cluster of integrated backward areas, this cluster shows a high level of mechanisation due to the average size of enterprises and the possibility for more extensive production. The low income and consumption levels here though suggest major weaknesses in the local economic systems. Yet compared to the exodus sites, this cluster shows a lower level of temporary migration.

The picture of Calabria sketched here clearly shows all the complexity of the different situations in Calabrian reality. Different geographical distances correspond to very different economic and social characteristics. Obviously, the identification of rural areas here, as opposed to totally urbanised ones, is very difficult. The above analysis could be useful, but it does not recognise any geographically continuous homogeneous zones that be used to hypothesize about the distinctions between urban and rural areas. For the purposes of this comparative study though, it could be suggested that those areas referred to as weak, agriculture intensive economies; exodus areas; isolated backward areas; integrated backward areas; and areas with a demographic deficit could be used as rural samples.

The socio-economic areas of the Calabria municipalities.

<p>Urban Centres: Catanzaro; Cosenza; Crotona; Locri; Praia a Mare; Reggio di Calabria; Tropea; Vibo Valentia</p>
<p>Intermediate Areas: Aieta; Altomonte; Belvedere Marittimo; Castrolibero; Castrovillari; Chiaravalle Centrale; Cinquefrondi; Cotronei; Girifalco; Lamezia Terme; Lungro; Melito di Porto Salvo; Mendicino; Morano Calabro; Mormanno; Oppido Mamertina; Palmi; Paola; Polistena; Rende; Rogliano; Rossano; San Demetrio Corone; San Giovanni in Fiore; Santa Severina; Scilla; Serra San Bruno; Siderno; Soriano Calabro; Soverato; Soveria Mannelli; Squillace; Stilo; Terranova; da Sibari; Trebisacce; Villa San Giovanni;</p>
<p>Developing Tourism Areas: Acquaformosa; Diamante; Falerna; Gizzeria; Isca sullo Ionio; Isola di Capo Rizzuto; Parghelia; Pietrapaola; Ricadi; San; Nicola Arcella; Sangineto; Santa Maria del Cedro; Santo Stefano in Aspromonte; Scalea; Sellia Marina; Simeri Crichi; Spezzano della Sila; Staletti; Stignano; Zambrone;</p>
<p>Weak, Agriculture Intensive Economies: Acquaro; Acri; Agnana; Calabria; Amantea; Anogia; Ardore; Bagnara Calabria; Benestare; Bianco; Borgia; Bova Marina; Bovalino; Brancaleone; Briatico; Bruzzano Zeffirio; Calopezzati; Camini; Candidoni; Caraffa del Bianco; Caulonia; Cessaniti; Ciro' Marina; Cittanova; Cleto; Condofuri; Curinga; Drapia; Fuscaldo; Gerace; Gioia Tauro; Guardavalle; Ionadi; Laureana di Borrello; Limbadi; Maida; Marano Marchesato; Marcellinara; Marina di Gioiosa Ionica; Maropati; Melicucca'; Melicucco; Mileto; Monasterace; Montauro; Monterosso Calabro; Nicotera; Nocera Tirinese; Pianopoli; Pizzo; Placanica; Rizziconi; Rocca di Neto; Roccella Ionica; Rosarno; Roseto Capo; Spulico; San Costantino Calabro; San Lorenzo del Vallo; San Lucido; San Mango; d'Aquino; San Marco Argentano; San Procopio; Sant'Ilario dello Ionio; Satriano; Sinopoli; Spezzano Albanese; Spilinga; Taurianova; Terranova Sappo Minulio; Varapodio; Villapiana; Zungri;</p>
<p>Exodus Areas: Africo; Albidona; Amaroni; Amato; Amendolara; Andali; Argusto; Belcastro; Belvedere di Spinello; Botricello; Bova; Caloveto; Canna; Caraffa di; Catanzaro; Carfizzi; Cariati; Casabona; Cassano allo Ionio; Cirò; Cosoleto; Cropani; Crucoli; Cutro; Dasa'; Dinami; Feroletto; Filandari; Filogaso; Francica; Joppolo; Maierato; Mandatoriccio; Marcedusa; Melissa; Mesoraca; Mongrassano; Motta San; Giovanni; Nardodipace; Nocera; Pallagorio; Paludi; Petilia Policastro; Pizzoni; Riace; Roccabernarda; Rombiolo; San Benedetto Ullano; San Calogero; San; Gregorio d'Ippona; San Mauro Marchesato; San Nicola Dell'Alto; San Pietro a; Maida; San Pietro di Carida'; Sant'Agata di Esaro; Sant'Onofrio; Scala Coeli; Scandale; Settingiano; Sorbo San Basile; Soriano; Stefanconi; Strongoli; Tarsia; Terravecchia; Umbriatico; Valleflorita; Verzino;</p>
<p>Isolated Backward Areas: Acquappesa; Alessandria del Carretto; Arena; Bagaladi; Bivongi; Brognaturo; Campana; Canolo; Capistrano; Cardinale; Careri; Casignana; Castroregio; Cerchiara di Calabria; Cimina'; Cropalati; Fabrizia; Galatro; Gerocarne; Giffone; Grisolia;</p>

Laino Borgo; Maierà; Martone; Molochio; Mongiana; Orsomarso; Palermiti ; Palizzi; Papisidero; Pazzano; Plataci; Plati'; Polia; Roccaforte del Greco; Samo; San Donato di Ninea; San Giorgio Morgeto; San Giovanni di Gerace; San Lorenzo; San Lorenzo Bellizzi; San Nicola da Crissa; San Roberto; San Vito sullo Ionio; Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte; Santa Caterina; dello Ionio ; Scido; Seminara; Simbario; Spadola; Vazzano; Verbicaro
Integrated Backward Areas: Aiello Calabro; Albi; Altilia; Aprigliano; Belsito; Bianchi; Bisignano; Bocchigliero; Caccuri; Campo Calabro; Carlopoli; Carolei; Casole Bruzio; Castelsilano; Celico; Cellara; Cerisano; Cerva; Cervicati; Cerzeto; Civita; Colosimi; Conflenti; Cortale; Decollatura; Dipignano; Fagnano; Castello; Firmo; Fossato Serralta; Francavilla Marittima; Frascineto; Grimaldi; Jacurso; Lago; Laino Castello; Lappano; Lattarico; Luzzi; Malito; Malvito; Mammola; Mangone; Martirano; Montalto Uffugo; Montegiordano; Motta Santa Lucia; Mottafollone; Oriolo; Parenti; Paterno Calabro; Pedivigliano; Pentone; Petrizzi; Petrona'; Piane Crati; Pietrafitta; Platania; Rocca Imperiale; Roggiano Gravina; Rota; Greca; Rovito; San Basile; San Cosmo Albanese; San Giorgio Albanese; San; Martino di Finita; San Pietro Apostolo; San Pietro in Guarano; San Sosti; San; Vincenzo La Costa; Sant'Agata del Bianco; Sant'Alessio in Aspromon; Santa; Caterina Albanese; Santa Sofia d'Epiro; Santo Stefano di Rogliano; Saracena; Scigliano; Serrastretta; Serrata; Sersale; Tiriolo; Torano Castello; Trenta; Zaccanopoli; Zagarise
Areas of Construction Growth Without Primary Infrastructures: Antonimina; Belmonte Calabro; Bonifati; Cardeto; Cetraro; Corigliano Calabro; Crosia; Ferruzzano; Filadelfia; Fiumefreddo Bruzio; Gioiosa Ionica; Grotteria; Longobardi; Montebello Ionico; Montepaone; Roghudi; Rose; San Ferdinando; Tortora; Zumpano;
Dynamic Areas: Buonvicino; Cenadi; Cicala; Davoli; Delianuova; Domanico; Feroletto della Chiesa; Figline Vegliaturo; Francavilla Angitola; Gasperina; Guardia; Piemontese; Martirano Lombardo; Marzi; Miglierina; Pedace; Portigliola; Santa; Cristina d'Aspromonte; Santa Domenica Talao; Serra d'Aiello; Vaccarizzo Albanese; Vallelonga;
Areas with a Demographic Deficit: Badolato; Calanna; Carpanzano; Castiglione Cosentino; Centrache; Cerenzia; Falconara Albanese; Fiumara; Gagliato; Gimigliano; Laganadi; Longobucco; Magisano; Marano Principato; Olivadi; Panettieri; San Fili; San Floro; San Pietro in Amantea; San Sostene; Sant'Andrea; Apostolo; Savelli; Sellia; Serra Pedace; Soveria Simeri; Spezzano Piccolo; Staiti; Taverna; Torre di Ruggero; San Luca

5.4. Being Young

The strongly opposed characteristics of Calabrian society, always caught in a tension between modernity and traditionalism, are reflected in the cultural patterns of its young people as well.

Sometimes in observing this segment of the population we can see evidence of these

contradictions that elsewhere are more hidden and disguised. The increase in mass education, the opening up of national and international communications, the adoption of consumer patterns like those of any other advanced society, have all had the effect of opening up totally new horizons for Calabria's young people, in ways still unknown even to the generation closest to them – their parents. If, on the one hand, southern Italian social organisation has fallen into a crisis whenever broad structural changes have taken place (including the national unification process, the post-war era, and the outset of a political system based on the centrality of the parties, utilising consistent economic transfers in the 1960's and 1970's), on the other hand we can still say that the most relevant parts of these changes were slowly engrained, at least at the start, into young people (Fantozzi 1997).

The growth of regional integration brought the South out of its secular cultural isolation that kept it away from modernity. This integration is widely expressed by young people. They are in fact the principal protagonists of this “new path.”

To better explain the condition of today's young people, we will focus our attention on some meaningful aspects of being young in Calabria today, and particularly on clientelism and its central role in the creation of different cultural patterns. We will also consider problems related to family ties, socialisation and relations with social institutions.

5.5. Young Calabrians Between Particularism and Universalism

Precisely because of their increasingly integration into the networks of national and international communication, the young people of southern Italy today are well aware of belonging to “the South”; in other words, of living in a part of the country in which there are new intellectual resources and new “moral resources” as well, but where, at the same time, the mechanisms of the market as principles of social regulation are very weak, where civil rights are in daily conflict with the confused logic of “favour,” and where solidarities of the vertical type tend to prevail over the horizontal; of living in the area which in socio-economic terms is the most disadvantaged part of a country, characterised by a persistent dualism. (Cf. Cavalli 1993, p. 1081)

With regard to young Calabrians in particular, nearly all relations between them and social institutions involve a dimension of clientelism. This has led to the social diffusion of a two-fold conviction: that what counts in the solution for the individual problem (or group of problems) is not the collective organisation of interests, but the personal fiduciary relationship involved (even if it is asymmetrical); and that merit, competence, professional ability are less important than the capacity to activate and manipulate relationships. In this way particularism has become the architrave of the models of socialisation with which the young Calabrians of the 1990s are confronted. The idea that it is possible to pursue personal interests and obtain favours and benefits connected with public resources – ranging from jobs (at least until recently, before the public-service sector became too saturated to allow for any hiring) to success in the “public competitive examinations” (*concorsi pubblici*, needed to work in public

service-industry sector) for young people; and from commercial licenses to the granting of subsidies and pensions for adults – on the basis of “good connections” – circumventing the rules while formally maintaining the appearance of legality – is now wide spread. It has in fact become a guiding principle of action.

Signorelli (1992, 57), with regard to the diffusion of clientelism in the South, has this to say: “All this has led me to the conclusion that the clientelistic system can undoubtedly be described as a system of mass socialisation in the practise of active and passive illegality.” On the cultural plane the negative consequences of the diffusion and legitimisation of these illegal practices are numerous: what is public property comes to be seen as available for private appropriation; the concrete possibility of appropriating public resources for personal purposes tends to coincide with the ability to gain access to the universe of relationships (and political mediation); and there is a growing conviction that the economic sphere is subsumed by the political. These elements combine to create a situation which deligitimises the mechanisms of democratic social regulation, the forms of impersonal trust proper to modernity and universalistic principles in general. Thus, although public resources linked to the modern welfare state are, by their very nature, of the universalistic type, boys and girls learn that it is possible to divert them to serve private purposes by means of clientelistic mediation. The principle of equality of rights and duties before the law is denied. What is confirmed instead are the practical inconsist idea of “co-operation” and horizontal solidarity as an instrument for the solution of problems, the irrelevance of civic commitment and, more generally, the dominance of the criteria of membership as a vehicle providing access to rights. (See Fantozzi 1990.)

5.6. Family Ties

In Calabria, more than elsewhere, the socialisation of young people in this context of particularism and illegality calls for the direct contribution of the family and kinship, not only because, as we know, the family plays a fundamental role in encouraging young people to internalise broader social orientations through the mediation of affectivity; but also, more specifically, because in the context of Calabria (and Southern Italy in general) the family is the central social institution. Even in the present day, in a modernised and increasingly complex regional reality, the family continues to guarantee community order and social integration.

The Calabrian peasant family, it should be emphasised, was also, and above all, a hierarchical structure in which the rigid differentiation of male and female roles, and those of young people, adults and old people, was reproduced. “Until marriage the children had no economic or personal independence and had in every case to submit to the wishes of the father, whose despotism was even more intransigent and severe with regard to the daughters” (Piselli 1981, 21). The emphasis on the social inferiority of women and their obligation to bow unconditionally the authority of the head of the family – first the father, then later the husband – as well as the emphasis on “respect for the rules, the supremacy of authority, the sacredness of ties and pacts, and a sense of honour”, constituted the framework round which, in traditional Calabria, the sense

of family developed.

The mass emigration of the 1960's, the urbanisation processes and the penetration of this subsistence economy by market mechanisms put an end to the coercive dimension of this "sense of family," but not to the social strength of the totalizing image of the family, nor to the conditions causing the younger members to be dependent on the family. The poor economic dynamism of the region in fact makes it difficult for those who do not choose to emigrate to obtain an adequate independent income. The traditional values of family membership conceal the unaltered economic centrality of the family. Even outside the traditional domestic mode of production, the family remains, in an obvious sort of way, an "economically active community": an important "compensation chamber" of members' incomes, which are still considered as family income.

The family and kinship remain central also in another respect: in terms of mediation between young people and the political sphere. According to Arrighi and Piselli (1985, 471): "Kinship is now maintained as a framework for protection; as a last line of defence against the fluctuations of the market; as an instrument of the strength of the individual in the local labour market; as a means of climbing to the top of the social ladder, naturally, by means of the exercise or support of political power."

The essential social role of the family and kinship in young people's existence today is also reflected in the disinclination of young people to emigrate, the corollary of their acceptance of the logic of "sacrifice" that has shaped the material existence and the cultural models of the preceding generations. They now consider that they have an inalienable right to live and work in Calabria. In fact, however, the only alternative to emigration is often to adopt a "waiting strategy": "waiting" for a proper job (or at least an acceptable working opportunity) and in the meantime accepting temporary jobs or, more frequently, merely taking part in public competitive examinations. After a degree or, more often, a diploma has been obtained, there begins the long "grey period" of the transition from education to employment, a sort of no man's land in which the status of son/daughter is reinforced in at least two ways: first of all because the family and kinship network activate relationships of a particularistic-clientelistic character, serving to provide the children with access to a profession, economic benefits and political "favour"; and secondly, because young people, to compensate for the dissatisfaction or even bitterness deriving from their inability to fully utilise the value of the educational qualifications which they have obtained in the labour market, take refuge in its symbolic value, in the social prestige which, especially in smaller centres, it provides (not only to themselves but also to the family). In this way their family bonds are strengthened. In fact, the qualifications acquired are the symbol of social release from the obligation of manual work and from the condition of subordination to which the parents' and grandparents' generations were obliged to submit. The educational qualifications not only insert their possessors in the flow of historical time but also enable them to play the role of protagonists in the family time, in spite of the subordinate role which the young are expected to play according to the principles of the traditional family. The educational qualification in fact symbolises the climb from agriculture to the service-industry sector, which a large number of Calabrian families have accomplished in the course of the last three decades: the grandparents unable to

read or write, who worked exclusively to survive, often emigrating overseas; the parents, generally barely literate with a hard working life behind them, often having emigrated for some time to the Northern Italian “industrial triangle” or to Northern Europe and now in a better economic condition; the sons and daughters who, thanks to their new levels of education, are enabled, at least in theory, to plan their own future.

However, in these circumstances the young see their own biographical trajectory as the fruit of the long chain of personal sacrifices by the parents, their personal abnegation, their spirit of self-surrender (and the solidarity of the kinship network in general, which enabled the family to tolerate the conditions to which emigration gave rise), rather than as the result of social and cultural evolution. It is a point of view – ratified by a cultural model with ancient roots – according to which the individual interest always gives way to the social, never vice-versa. This gives rise to a debt of gratitude that ties the children to their parents, and it is also due to this deep, timeless bond that, in spite of the differences in levels of education and lifestyles, there is no conflict between generations. The young people consider themselves to be proceeding along the same path that their parents opened for them.

In practise, therefore, young Calabrians today see the family as the principal locus of mediation between tradition and modernity, the social space that guarantees both identity and membership, the vehicle that allows access to a market society (however distorted) under the protection of an adequate shield of relationships. It is clearly a question of a relationship which is reached in ambiguity and chiaroscuro; and not only because of the customary “mix” of affections and conveniences that the family provides. In the southern Italian context, in fact, the family gives the young the possibility to express a “modern” consumer identity, subsidising them during their period of educational and during the long wait for a regular job, while, at the same time, providing them with the traditional and socially reassuring identity of family members. No longer authoritarian and hierarchical, increasingly egalitarian (at least on the formal plane), having the flexibility to continuously negotiate and adapt; the family remains, even today, the arbiter of a large part of the existential decisions of young people. Unweakened by the profound transformations of the last decade, the family and kinship network also bridge the gap between tradition and modernity in a more specific sense, in which the form is dissociated from the substance. Within the family and the kinship network the principle of reciprocity, which governed the traditional relationships, apparently remains valid. Substantially, however, both have been penetrated and pervaded by principles borrowed from the market: pursuit of personal interest, competitiveness. It is also on the basis of this family and kinship models that the young learn that the manipulation of relationships can be profitably employed to obtain personal benefits, and that the old ethic of family solidarity can be a useful cover for personal interests.

The minimal personal resources that young people have would be next to useless without the helping-hand of the family, which thus becomes the place where projects concerning the young people’s education and work are laid out and decided upon, and the fundamental training ground where they learn to take advantage of the patron/client system.

“The bonds inside the family seem to be very solid for every young Calabrian, without exception, in spite of the differences between generations. Generational changes do not occur because of fractures in the line of transmission of value and behaviours, but these are rather consumed and formed again within an institution, the family, which appears once more strategic in the operation of society as a whole. Surely the absence of economic support for young people in Italy is an important aspect of the decision to maintain this line of transmission. The centrality of the family, speaking of centrality as a reference value, as the ambit of life’s priorities, as economic support, is a characteristic of our country [...] but it is one of the fundamental differences between us and other European countries, which include, for instance, people over 25 still living with their parents. This is a major difference between Italy and other countries, such as France and Germany. This particular family relationship in Calabria is due to the fact that historically it has been not only the main living place but also the main working place.” (Pieroni 1995b, 28)

The family, in short, is seen by young people from an ambivalent point of view: on the one hand it is a place where traditional values are preserved, and on the other it provides the primary possibility for change. As a basic element of personality structuring and the utilisation of resources, the family enables young people to take major steps forward in terms of increasing one’s potential well-being; at the same time, however, precluding the acquiring of self-governing patterns of life.

The family is a central element for young people, not only for the spatial organisation of their lives, but also for the structure of their own identity. Usually young people remain in the family for a long time. This could be due to the total absence of possibilities for economic self-sufficiency, or, if you prefer, due to a strong sense of agreement with the cultural patterns expressed by the family.

The burden of a recent past made up of sacrifices, emigration and hard work, all done in the name of the family (mostly in those isolated areas, where the processes of modernisation did not find fertile ground, as it did in the large urban centres), still keeps an extremely important and normative ideology alive today, for the younger generation as well.

The family becomes, for the young people, the most secure protection from existential precariousness, and if on the one hand it prevents clear forms of emancipation, on the other it becomes a place in which to prepare strategies of comparison with the outside world. The historical passages that everyone can remember are based on the acceptance of family’s rules and values, in a society where young people have a sense of following in their fathers’ footsteps, a social “route” characterised by a growing mobility that, thanks to new degrees of education, leads from a condition of manual labour to one of skilled tradesmanship. Such a route for mobility provides an increasing amount of consumer goods and income for the families. Only a few decades ago this income came partly from hard work in the field and partly from money sent back home by emigrants abroad.

We can understand the importance of the family today as the central point of the economic organisation of the southern society by referring to the typical form of

subsidised and dependent economy in the south. Lacking its own self-sufficient economic structure, the southern economy went through a process where the standard of living had to be raised by the government's redistributive policy. We see the financial transfers of welfare as the most prevalent form of social relations, maintaining Calabrians' clientele system.

5.7. Education

What Calabria has recently experienced, in terms of education, is the sudden growth of a major gap between parents and their children in terms of cultural advancement: in Calabria there has been, for the first time, a real explosion in school enrolment percentages, particularly at middle and upper levels (high school and University graduates).

Within one generation school and education in general have gone from being a marginal and optional consideration in the father's life to being the main socialising experience for the children outside of the family context.

School provides both space for the cultural growth and a chance to experience the emancipation of socially acknowledged autonomy. Especially in the most isolated rural areas and for girls in particular it is often not easy to find space for independence, and in this sense school offers perhaps the only chance to get in touch with environments outside of the everyday routine, making it possible to come into terms with other realities and bigger urban areas.

However, in terms of the family's strategies, the acceptance of the school as a factor of primary importance, potentially capable of enabling the children high degrees of social mobility, is based mainly on more instrumental considerations. Once again the memory of the misery of the past generation, from which only a small but educated part of the population was excluded and their families expectations of them in this regard, hang heavily over young people. In this sense, education is the key to both personal and collective emancipation.

TABLE 33. Education in Calabria in 1951 and 1991 (%)

Level	1951	1991
Illiterate	39,8	18,7 (- 21,1)
Elementary school (6 to 10 years)	51,9	30,7 (- 21,2)
Middle school (11 to 14 years)	4,2	29,3 (+ 25,1)
High school (15 to 19 years)	3,1	17,6 (+ 14,5)

University degree	1,0	3,7 (+ 2,7)
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This symbolic meaning of education helps to explain the strong determination to continue studying even after high school, not necessarily taking into consideration the concrete benefits of the chosen university faculty and the market that one could be reasonably expect to find for this newly acquired knowledge, especially on the local level. (Leccardi 1990, 57)

Indeed, the discrepancies between the school world and the working world are something young people, especially those who live in smaller municipalities, have to deal with. On the one hand of the older generation is counting on the education of the younger generation to free them from their precarious existential conditions; a liberation which is strictly related to education (the dream of having an educated son, who can pay back his parents back for all the sacrifices they have made); on the other hand, the difficulty of the transition from academic to working life often pushes young people from more isolated rural areas in particular to abandon their education early. This leads many young people to remain in the urban areas and not to go beyond a compulsory education. (See Pieroni 1995a, 41.) Moreover new forms of social exclusion, related to dropping out of the educational system, are becoming widespread today. (See Fantozzi and Leccardi 1991; Greco 1996 and Fantozzi 1993.)

Especially in the context of southern Italy, this happens even if, "...it is indisputable that school attendance is a social duty. In fact, it is thanks to education that one is allowed to enter the world of life and work from which one's parents were excluded. Young people seem to be quite aware of this fact, and they often seem to clutch at it while trying to overcome the sense of frustration that unemployment gives rise to. The feeling of privilege derived from having some qualifications – though it be more and more symbolic – can persist for young people in spite of the precariousness of their prospects for upward social mobility, theoretically guaranteed by their educational credentials." (Leccardi 1990, 56-57.)

5.8. The Employment Situation

Youth unemployment rates in Calabria are the highest in Italy and, in some more isolated areas, they reach over 50 % of the youth population (see Pieroni 1995, 74). The chronic deficiency in the production system tends more and more to delay the entrance of young people in the working world. Furthermore, the structure of the labour market itself for the most part involves young people only in a marginal way. This happens because illegal, unprotected and extremely extemporaneous work is quite "normal" among young people, regardless of their level of education.

Moreover, the vanishing of expectations of regular employment, of the kind that a few decades ago was available in the public sector, has only served to further emphasise the problems of the labour market.

According to employment statistics for the end of 1993, young people between 14 and 29 years old (a definition which extends beyond the EU standard designation for "young people" as being those under 25 years old, due to the prolonged educational

process in our country) accounted for 80 % of the total unemployment in Calabria. (*La Regione*, anno XXII, n. 1–2, Gennaio–Febbraio 1995, 170)

There are three apparent reasons for this. Most unemployment in Calabria is:

- female unemployment, due to young women’s tendency to declare themselves part of the labour force prior to starting their own families, even if they don’t consider themselves as having any chance of getting a job;
- youth unemployment, mainly academic, made up of high school and university graduates unable to find a job after finishing their studies (especially in big cities); and
- unemployment among non-professional and unskilled labourers, highschool drop-outs in particular, due to the intrinsic weaknesses in the field of professional educational (especially in small inland municipalities).

However, in the difficult situation of the Calabrian labour market, besides the traditional–conservative aspects of youth working culture there are also innovative dimensions arising. The emphasis on the aspect of acquisition – and the problem of the irrelevance of some forms of education to the concrete content of one’s working life – will definitely remain central to young people’s cultural orientation. However, the increasing level of education has brought about a new sort of work orientation in the younger generation. We can see a growing emphasis on aspects such as self-fulfilment, professional ability, work’s intrinsic gratification, its social value and the importance of remaining within one’s own native territory, while regard for more “practical” considerations (such as those concerning income and influence) is decreasing.

5.9. Conclusions

Young Calabrians’ means, places and opportunities for socialising are clearly the result of complex interactions between different areas of everyday life.

As we have already said, most young Calabrians live for an extended period of their lives in the families they were born into, and, generally, they are not economically self-sufficient. This also influences their personal relationships outside of the family. The family seems to be the place in which the personal relationships – all the personal relationships – of a young Calabrian (for boys and especially for girls) are lived out. Obviously the relations with the family are different according to situations and contexts (here also the relations differ between rural and urban environments), but nevertheless we find that a sense of continuity (or tacit agreement, if you like) is one of the most important elements of virtually all father and son relationships here. Family discussions are never openly confrontational.

In some “modernised” sense the roles of parents and children today are still simply those derived from the experience of traditional structures, adapted (as little as possible) to the requirements of the changing context, thus escaping from conflict situations too painful to manage. In a family dialogue “the discussions are usually on a formal level [...] and they stop at the surface of some personal problems such as friendly relations, sexuality, hopes and dreams.” In the Calabrian family gender roles

remain clearly separated. In the family actually "...a man's world is different than a woman's world. Women seem to be more careful about interior life and dreams, while men [...]. But if we look at their relations with parents, we actually see that girls are treated differently than boys. Boys have a range of liberty, while girls have hardly any at all. This takes place not only for the fear of what could happen to a girl outside the home, but just as part of the type of culture and education given to the women." (Pieroni 1995b, 29–30)

Especially in a rural context the social control of young people (particularly girls) is remarkable. The village community, while remaining an important source of collective identity, is still the most important medium of this control. In rural areas, for example, "a favourite topic for gossip [...] is [...] boys and girls going around together without being formally engaged – a type of relationship that is socially suspicious or unbecoming for a girl. The increase in education and modernisation in general during the recent decades has profoundly affected the social and cultural systems of the small Calabrian villages also . This radically changed the relations between young people of the opposite sex as well. Nevertheless, still today [...] the community seems rather suspicious of a boy and girl meeting alone in the village without being formally engaged. For the village, sharing time and places in everyday life is allowed for boys and girls only at school. In these little inland village communities, for young people of different sexes to be together – an essential dimension of youth identity – is in some sense seen as not being legitimate."

6. Young People in Norrbotten and Västerbotten in the North of Sweden

6.1. The Background of the Study of Norrbotten and Västerbotten Young People

Within the social sciences the question of identity and its relation to spatial conditions is underdeveloped. In Sweden research on young people is often focused on urban areas. Such research is mostly related to the cultural formations of contemporary youth-cultures (see Bjurström 1997 for an overview), or linked to youth policy programmes of various kind. The close link between cities and youth research has to do with the development of modern society, defined as industrialisation, secularisation and urbanisation. Hence, this view of society and its members seems to exclude other perspectives, including that of young people in sparsely populated areas.

Developments in rural areas in Northern Sweden suggest some pertinent problems to be resolved in the future if society, the market and politicians intend to promote a view of society as a whole and not solely one anchored in city areas with a perspective of “urbanism.” Many of these problems are related to the economical situation of sparsely populated areas in general. The most striking problem is the labour-market which no longer can provide job-opportunities for young people. Labour demand within the traditional areas, such as farming, the timber and forest industry, fishing, mining, etc., is diminishing as the result of streamlining and other structural factors. During the second half of twentieth century, the public sector has been the major job-provider in these areas. This also led to the introduction of female wage earners into the labour-force (Furåker 1991). However, the developments of the 1980s and 1990s imply a labour saturation in the public sector and a decrease in job-opportunities there that might attract young people. In many ways, low-skilled labour within the public sector (i.e. children’s daycare, care for senior citizens, etc.) are assumed to be “dead-end jobs”, quite outside of the modern professional image (Featherstone 1994).

6.2. The Data of the Research

The following section is a brief summary of some existing studies concerning young people in sparsely populated, rural areas in the Swedish counties of Västerbotten and Norrbotten. The summary consists of three different, though interrelated, surveys. Data was collected and analysed during the late 1980s and the early 1990s.

The following reports are summarised here:

Karlsson, Lars-Göran & Peter Waara (1989) “Ungdom i Västerbottens län 1989 – en sociokulturell probleminventering.” Umeå: Sociologiska institutionen, Umeå universitet. [Youth in the county of Västerbotten 1989 – a sociocultural inventory]

Waara, Peter & Mats Jakobsson (1992) "Ungdom i Norrbotten 1992." Luleå: Länsarbetsnämnden i Norrbottens län. [Youth in the county of Norrbotten 1992]

Löfström, Åsa & Birgitta Löwander (1991) "Stanna eller flytta – En studie av kvinnor och män som bor eller har bott i Norrlands inland." Umeå: Umeå Economic studies No. 248, University of Umeå. [Stay or Move – A study of females and males that live or have lived in rural Norrland]

Additional material has also been integrated into this summary.

6.3. Employment and Labour Market

Below some research results are briefly summarised in order to present an overview of the situation in northern Sweden concerning youth unemployment and mobility patterns, as well as adolescents' attitudes toward their present living milieus.

In general unemployment among young people is always a social problem of some concern, and during the 1990s the unemployment rate among Swedish adolescents has been significantly higher than in previous decades. In 1990 the average unemployment rate for the 20 – 24 year old age group living in rural areas was 5 %. In 1993 this rate had risen to 24 %. Compare that now with the figures for urban areas, where the equivalent unemployment rates were 1.5 % in 1990 and 9 % in 1993 respectively (Ungdomsstyrelsen 1996: 80).

Within a period of three years the labour market in Sweden changed completely. Especially those living in rural areas experienced a severe decline in their opportunities to enter the labour market. The problem with postponed labour market entry is that it threatens all of the prescribed ways of gaining access to adulthood. As Marie Jahoda suggests, there are several different functions of employment (1981). First of all are there the manifest functions, which are necessary prerequisites for the material dimension of adult life. Without a working income, the young person loses access to the consumer commodity market. That in turn leads to difficulties in achieving independence and autonomy. Secondly, we have the latent functions of having a paying job in the sense that young people who are outside or at the margins of the ordinary labour market are not considered to be mature enough to take care of themselves. Here we find social, cultural and psychological factors which come together to define the individual as belonging to a specific group, such as adults. As long as key transitions between adolescence and adulthood are related to participation in the labour-market, high unemployment rates among adolescents will lead to a prolongation of the period of adolescence.

In general we talk about the process becoming an adult as twofold. In society there are different key transitions adolescents are supposed to pass through. These key transitions are sequenced: first finishing school, then enter the labour market, then living independently and finally starting to raise a family. This can be seen as a

necessary, objective sequence of transitions, the fulfilment of which lead to a stable and approved position as an adult member of society. Parallel to this process we also find an important role-transition for the individual. These role-transitions bring the individual from a state of defining oneself as an adolescent (supported by peer-group relations, certain leisure activities, dependency, etc.), after the fulfilment of the key transitions, to a state of defining oneself as an adult.

With that in mind, since unemployment rates are significantly higher in rural areas than in cities, we could assume a state of affairs in which young people in rural areas have become more marginalised and economically dependent on their parents. In the long term, this also affects the socio-economic situation for the entire population of rural areas, even for the adults already inside the labour market. If young people decide to move away to areas where the labour market is more open for them, this leads to a diminishing population base, and if that continues it will lead in turn to a decline in both social and commercial services.

Björnberg and Bäck-Wiklund (1987) suggest that inhabitants in rural areas are also dependent upon a labour market similar to the one found in urban areas; but at the same time their economic dependency must be defined more loosely, since income from wage labour, is not the only resource available. Besides formal work, one's leisure activities can also have the function of providing support through the existence of an informal economy and local "entrepreneurship" (i.e., establishing small scale industry, performing a combination of services, etc.) (see also Dahlgren & Lindgren 1987). Björnberg and Bäck-Wiklund suggest that:

For those who settle into a culture defined by this [rural] lifestyle, the settlement is also a choice of way of life, regardless of what social class one might belong to. Class-based ways of life are modified by the local culture (ibid., 107).

A rural community is, judging by these standards, something completely different from the urban environment. The community's power to redefine class relations might be a bit exaggerated in this example, though the class structure of rural Sweden in general does differ from that of urban areas. The social division in the community stresses the traditional division between "land-owners" and "peasants" rather than focusing on class relations defined by the post-industrial society of the late 1990s.

6.4. Social, Cultural and Geographical Mobility

The mobility pattern of rural Västerbotten is negative, meaning that we are experiencing a decrease in the number of inhabitants. The entire population between 15 and 55 years old in rural Västerbotten in 1980 was estimated at 30,271 persons; in 1988 the number had dropped to 29,195 (Löwander & Löwström 1991: 11). In terms of gender and age structures we find, not surprisingly, that younger persons are more mobile than older folks, and that females are more mobile than men (Karlsson & Waara 1989: 10, 18). As a consequence, this pattern of mobility further increases the average age and gender bias of the region, leaving many lonely males in certain age groups. There is a similar pattern in rural areas of Norrbotten.

Corresponding to this pattern of mobility, there are also differences between males and females concerning their aspirations of attending higher education. In general girls are more “open-minded” and regard mobility as viable a strategy for escaping unemployment and gaining access to further education. Parallel to such a strategy there is a view of rural areas as traditional cultures which keep one from having a “modern lifestyle.” In the county of Norrbotten, educational aspirations among rural adolescents, and actual level of education, show that females have higher ambitions than males, and are more successful in achieving these goals (Waara & Jakobsson 1992: 14, 16). Educational aspirations in rural areas and taking action to fulfil such a goal automatically lead to mobility, since there are no institutions of higher education in the neighbourhood. This, as a consequence, worsens the negative development of rural communities; not only leading to a biased gender structure, but also to a “brain drain” - the loss of many who might have the potential to developing the rural labour market. This mobility pattern also consolidates the image of the local community as “traditional,” “underdeveloped”, “backward” and “old-fashioned.” The image of life in rural areas does not leave room for being young and involved in modern youth entertainment culture and other aspects of a “youthful lifestyle.”

Another consequence of this social, cultural and geographical mobility among young ladies is that it creates an image of the rural community as being heavily male-oriented (i.e., promoting leisure activities such as hunting and fishing).

6.5. Conclusions

As the result of this situation we find following tendencies among adolescents in northern Sweden, which are of pertinent concern for youth policy.

There is a growing gender bias in the countryside, as migration further and further reduces the female portion of the population in particular. Men in general seem to be more adapted to rural living conditions than woman are. At least young men do not express so many critical comments concerning the lack of rural opportunities as women do (Karlsson & Waara 1989, 14).

Regardless of gender though, the following pattern can be identified: namely, the older one is, the more positive one’s attitude towards the rural community is. This, of course, has to do with the fact that many persons at the age of 22 – 25 already have made their choices concerning lifestyle and have become integrated into the local community and its pattern of local activities. Here too though we find important gender differences. In many areas the male-culture is supported by the existing infrastructure, providing arenas for social interaction based on typically male leisure activities. Females seem in many ways be at the margins of this structure. Their comments about belonging to a rather boring community could be interpreted as critical evaluations of the available arenas for expressing their lines of interest

(NUTEK 1991).

One consequence of a declining labour market is a gradual declining of population density in rural areas. In the city young people have access to a supply of various material and immaterial goods, such as education, work and leisure activities. Attitudes towards mobility show that young people in general are prepared to move in order to attain higher education and work; and these are clearly the most important factors in the mobility question. Adolescents also express an interest of participation in contemporary modern society though, which is inherently associated with the city. Migration has thus greatly diminished the population base in rural communities. A declining population density in rural communities means that the market as well as welfare institutions are diminishing, since the tax base (for public services) and the profit base (for shops) are diminishing. These factors together form a self-fulfilling prophecy of the countryside having nothing to offer (Merton 1957), affecting adolescents' views of rural communities negatively, which in turn leads to further migration.

Young people regard their educational activities and strategies for labour-market entry with a short term perspective. From that it follows that mobility is related to a certain life-stage. However, in a long-term perspective, young people's ambitions tend to focus on another dimension of life; rather than looking at things related to the city and urban milieus, they start to consider environmental factors, a sense of security, stable social networks, intra-generational contacts, friends, "healthy" leisure activities, and so forth, as important. Looking for a "safe" environment in which to raise children seems to contradict the life-expectations these young people have expressed for the immediate future, yet such views and ambitions for the trajectory of their lives tend to define a certain framework for them. Within a period of ten years (from their late teens and onward), adolescents assume their life situations will change. Initially the urban environment, with the possibility of defining oneself as young and modern, seems more attractive. Later in life though, adolescents assume that they will see the rural community in a completely different manner (Waara 1996, 1998).

7. Living Conditions in Rural Areas

7.1. Living Conditions in Estonian Rural Areas

Objective as well as subjective data on urban-rural differences in Estonia reveal one clear tendency: material conditions in urban families are significantly better than in rural ones. One can see this in the statistics for 1992 as well as for 1997: income per household member in rural areas was significantly lower (about 20–30 %) than in cities. Urban young people also had a higher regard for the material situation in their parental home and their possibilities for buying goods and services. The only area in which rural young people consider themselves to be in a better situation is in terms of their possibility to eat normally, since in rural areas, and even in small towns, most families grow their own fruits and vegetables, and other agricultural products. No data indicate any significant change in the ratio between rural and urban material welfare levels for Estonian young people between 1992 and 1997.

7.2. Living Conditions and Rural Life in Finland

The labour market situation in rural Finland today has suffered hardship from the economic crisis. Rather few of the rural younger generation see their future in agriculture or other typical industries in the countryside. The experience of many young people is that the countryside does not have anything to offer them, least of all work, and they want to leave the countryside for the cities. It is a fact that girls are more disturbed by the limits of the countryside than the boys, and they are also more eager to move away for reasons of work or studies.

Other than seeking higher education, the main reason for Finnish rural young people leaving the countryside is the lack of work. This is shown by, among other things, a study done among young people, age 17–29 (n=600) living in two very rural areas of Finland; one of which was the region of Southern Ostrobothnia in former Vaasa county. (Paunikallio 1997. The purpose of the study was to gather information about young people's attitudes towards the countryside and rural life, and their views concerning the possibilities to work in the countryside and entrepreneurship.) The majority of the young people surveyed (two thirds) considered the main drawback of the countryside to be the restricted job opportunities and lower wages. The main reasons why many young people leave the countryside and move into the city, the young people themselves thought, are for better job opportunities (56 %) and educational purposes (38 %), but also for more leisure and entertainment opportunities in the city (29 %). Almost all of the respondents listed better possibilities for career advancement to be one of the main priorities when deciding about their future place of residence.

7.3. Living Situation in Former East Germany

The situation of young people in Brandenburg, as in all of the new federal states, still continues to be shaped by two overlapping courses of development: by the arduous transition from the centrally planned economy of the former GDR into a western-style market economy on the one hand, and by the economic recession which is having such a major impact on the key sectors of all industrialised nations on the other. The economic climate in the new federal states has led to a significant worsening of the situation not only those young people who are embarking on training (the primary threshold) but also of those who are entering the work force (the secondary threshold). Recent research has shown that the number of openings for new employment on offer by companies – particularly in terms of permanent employment – has slumped drastically. Unemployment frequently hits young people hard in terms of forcing career changes, reducing the value of the qualifications which they have gained, lowering their pay, and destabilising their employment prospects. Companies must face up to the fact that a failure to take on those on the secondary threshold, with the consequent rise in unemployment this entails, will in the long term seriously impair the attractiveness of the dual vocational training system, and in the light of current demographic trends will lead to a serious decline in the number of skilled workers available. Above and beyond this, there is also a high social cost to be paid for periods of unemployment, particularly for youth unemployment.

7.4. Living in Southern Italy

What is the situation of the young people living in rural areas of southern Italy? Young Calabrians face certain unique problems that the young people themselves are often unaware of. Even though their cultural expectations tend to be homogeneous with those of their counterparts in the central and northern Italy, and their imaginations are fed by the same daily media intake as virtually all European young people, they start off at a disadvantage. The path leading to their future integration into the adult world appears to be particularly difficult. In the first place it is heavily conditioned by a relative shortage of concrete opportunities to establish such a relationship with the working world as will ensure access to adult roles in the sphere of employment appropriate for their educational qualifications. These opportunities are clearly inferior in both quantity and quality to those available to young people in other parts of Italy, and the high rates of unemployment among young southerners, particularly the for girls, together with the high rate of “underground” employment, all too clearly confirm this difference. (At the beginning of the 1990s the unemployment rate in Calabria for young women aged 14–24 was 65.75 %, as opposed to 47.4 % for males of the same age group; and the rate for young women aged 25–29 was 45.69 %, vs. 23.7 % for males of the same age group. In the same period the overall unemployment rate in the South was 20.67 %, compared to 7.72 % in the Centre-North. See Mingione 1993, 144–45.)

In the second place, while young southern Italians have similar educational levels, consumption models and leisure time activities to those of young people in other parts of Europe, their situation is substantially rendered enormously different because of the quality of life in the Southern regions (e.g., the lack of indoor plumbing, etc.).

In defining their social identity, the young Southerners of the 1990s are faced with a problem unknown as such to their counterparts in the Centre-North: how, in principle, to reconcile the modern principles which they have been given in the process of their education. These principles include universalism, anonymity and bureaucratisation, including the emphasis on the role of the subject and the dimension of choice, with forms of social regulation which are formally modern but substantially incapable of governing on the basis of modern principles.

7.5. Living in Northern Sweden

A changing labour market, the streamlining of social services, new orientations in politics and the expansion of the consumer commodity market are factors that have a direct influence upon objective employment possibilities young people are facing at the end of the twentieth century in northern Sweden. At present we find that youth unemployment rates are higher in rural areas than in other areas in Sweden. We also find that migration patterns are bringing about a continuous decline in the population base in Norrbotten and Västerbotten.

8. Country-Specific Characteristics

8.1. The Ethnic Dimension of the Estonian Rural Young people

Estonia is a country with a unique and complicated ethnic structure, which makes the ethnic dimension an inevitable aspect of practically all of the country's social problems.

Changes in the ethnic composition of the Estonian population began when Estonia regained its independence. Now we see – alongside with the overall decline in the population – that the share of non-Estonians has begun to decrease, due to the departure of Russian (former Soviet) military personnel, remigration out of Estonia by people who had been employed in the enterprises that had belonged to the Soviet military-industrial complex, and also by somewhat lower fertility rates among the non-native population.

The situation of the Estonian rural young people can be seen as an example of the type of development where the largest ethnic minority – representing at the same time a huge and politically as well as socially dominant majority in the Soviet Union as a whole – plays a considerable part. In this respect it can be contrasted both with the developments in the rural areas of the former GDR, where an analogous processes of transition from state socialism to a free market economy is taking place, but without any significant ethnic minority involved, and with the situation in rural Finland where there is a significant ethnic minority participating in the processes of rural development, but without such an intensive structural transition taking place.

Consideration of the ethnic dimension in the situation of rural young people in the former socialist countries is currently a very sound practice from a political and ideological viewpoint. The problems involved in integrating the ethnic minorities into a society seeking European integration are seen as crucial, and differences and similarities in the social development of young people belonging to the titular nation and to the minorities are good indicators of the ongoing changes which, on the other hand, speak of the results of the social and ethnic policy.

The above said cannot be interpreted as the threat of unwanted assimilation or the loss of ethnic identity. Under the conditions of rather wide-spread separation between the two socio-ethnic communities that started during the Soviet period and continues on to this day, no significant process of ethnic assimilation on either side as has occurred. The only serious assimilation one can speak of here is that of the people representing other Slavic nations into Estonia's Russian community. Data from a longitudinal study of the cohort of Estonian secondary school graduates of the year 1983 enables us to analyse ethnic self-determination factors in three generations, with the result that practically no Estonian family can be found where parents were ethnic Estonians but the younger generation had decided to choose a new – supposedly Russian – ethnic identity. An opposite process has began: a small category of Russian families has decided to educate their children in Estonian kindergartens and schools to make it

possible for them to develop an Estonian identity.

At the same time it is worth mentioning that the tendency to shift towards acquiring an Estonian identity is probably increasing among young people who have for various reasons been raised in a Russian-speaking environment. Among the students in schools where the language of instruction is Russian, about 15 % identify themselves as ethnic Estonians. While one-fifth of these students have Estonians as both parents, every second Estonian studying in a “Russian-speaking” school has one Estonian parent and the other Russian. The remaining Estonians studying in Russian schools descend from families where parents represent various other combinations of ethnic identity.

The understanding needs to be developed that the optimal solution to questions of the identity of the non-native, Russian-speaking community – regardless of whether they live in urban or rural areas – is to create optimal conditions both for them to develop their native ethnic identities and to be loyal to Estonia as their true homeland. This means that creating favourable conditions for self-determination regarding these decisions should be an important aspect of any policy directed towards rural young people.

8.2. Entrepreneurship in Rural West-Coast Finland

Typical for the economic structure of former Vaasa county, besides the still rather dominant factor of agriculture (with primary production here accounting for 15.8 % of regional commerce, compared to a national average of 7.4 %) is the large number of enterprises (36 enterprises/1000 inhabitants). The region is particularly known for its ”small enterprise tradition” (see the information leaflet, “En bra miljö för människor och företag”). In Finland today, entrepreneurship is stressed as an alternative to unemployment. In education this theme has also been given a new priority and importance, trying to awaken young people’s interest in entrepreneurship and to increase their knowledge about it.

What is the young people’s view on entrepreneurship and its possibilities in the countryside? Do they consider entrepreneurship to be a possible alternative for themselves? In a nation-wide Youth Barometer-survey in the spring of 1997, Finnish young people (n=1500, age 15–29) were asked about their interest in entrepreneurship and if, looking five years into the future, they could possibly see themselves starting up a business. Only 16 % of these young people responded positively to this idea, so in other words, rather few of the Finnish young people seem to consider entrepreneurship as a personal possibility or choice when entering the labour market. Young people with a vocational degree were most positive towards entrepreneurship. Despite the very high youth unemployment rate during the 90’s the attitude towards entrepreneurship has not become any more positive (Nuorisobarometri 1997/1).

Do the young people of this ”small enterprise region” have the same attitude towards entrepreneurship? In the study concerning rural young people’s values (Paunikallio 1997), more than a half of the respondents stressed the need for new enterprises in the

countryside, but almost as many consider it difficult to become successful as entrepreneurs in the countryside. Almost a half (43 %) consider entrepreneurship as a possible alternative for themselves, and more than a third think of it as an interesting alternative. Only 7 % thought it would be impossible. Boys tend to favour entrepreneurship as a personal alternative more than girls. The young people wished for more support, subsidies and training especially for those young people who want to become entrepreneurs. Many of them (77 %) were also interested in participating in activities with connection to entrepreneurship, for example when testing new business ideas (Paunikallio 1997). It seems like entrepreneurship is a worthwhile and interesting alternative for many of the young people in the Vaasa region today, even if it is not necessarily the easiest way to earn a living. Still many young people seem to have very little knowledge of entrepreneurship and different "new" forms of work, such as remote work, co-operatives etc., so it is therefore of great importance to increase their knowledge in this field.

In the same study (Paunikallio 1997) it became clear that the young people do not accept unemployment as an acceptable alternative when planning for the future. The idea of becoming unemployed seemed to be quite alien to them. Especially in interviews with some of the young people, it became quite clear that they do not approve of unemployment as an alternative; they would rather move almost anywhere to get a job, change to another occupation, educate themselves further or start a business. Vaasa youth value education in particular, and see it as one important way to improve the opportunities in life.

The conclusion is that the most important and difficult task which young people from the countryside experience when confronting the future is to find a job. Especially for those who really want to stay and live their adult lives in their present rural home surroundings, the difficulties in finding jobs create a feeling of insecurity when confronting the future (Paunikallio 1997).

8.3. The German Dual System of Vocational Education and Training

Up to the present the dual system of vocational education and training has retained its character as the single most important gateway for young people into the world of work. In comparison to this system, specialised technical colleges play a relatively minor role.

Each and every one of the major companies in the Cottbus district offers training places or apprenticeships for those seeking first-time employment. Very often these companies offer a generous number of places. However, it has become very apparent that only very small numbers of those who have successfully completed their training with these companies will actually be taken into employment. The main reason for this is that regionally based large companies already acquired their so-called "regular full work force" in the period following the accession of the GDR to the Federal Republic,

and now, if anything, they are more prone to “slimdown”, in other words they are shedding jobs rather than taking on new staff.

As a corollary to this we should also note that many small and medium-sized businesses tend to model their training offers to match their exact replacement requirements, which of course assumes continuous economic growth. Given the deteriorating economic position of the new middle class in eastern Germany, particularly in the state of Brandenburg, those who have embarked on such vocational courses will have none too certain futures before them after they complete their training in 3–5 years time.

As has been the case for other regions as well, the small craft industry has generally shown more stability than companies in the Chamber of Industry and Commerce. The number of firms providing apprenticeship training in this sector is steadily on the increase. However, we should note that young women are still a markedly under-represented group in the craft trade training sector. The smallest percentages of women trainees are to be found in the building and construction sector, the metal working and electronics sector, and the timber sector, which account for nearly 80 % of all craft trainee places. On the other hand women are particularly well represented in the cosmetic and beauty branch (as hairdressers!!), and as qualified sales and office personnel. Here we can see how, in only a very short time after the accession of the GDR, the gender-specific trainee and labour market structures of the old federal republic model have made their mark.

8.4. Clientelism in Southern Italy

According to Weberian terminology, “the clientele is a relation in which the subjects (patron and client) have different social roles and positions. The social grounds by which they enter this relation are, at the same time, a “sense of belonging” and a “rationality of goal”. In other words, the sense of the action is formed by blending different dimensions such as traditions, feelings and interests [...] This relation has an aggregative membership content as other community relations, but at the same time it has an instrumental function, because it is aimed at exchange. The main aspect of a clientelistic relation is given by the contemporary and inseparable presence of elements which are typical of the sense of membership and of interest expectation which are typical, on the contrary, of associations based on goal rationality” (Fantozzi 1993, 15). On a theoretical level then, the clientele can be considered as a mediation instrument and an agent of social regulation.

With regard to young Calabrians in particular, nearly all relations between them and social institutions involve a dimension of clientelism. This has led to the social diffusion of a two-fold conviction: that what counts in the solution for the individual problem (or group of problems) is not the collective organisation of interests, but the personal fiduciary relationship involved (even if it is asymmetrical); and that merit, competence, professional ability are less important than the capacity to activate and

manipulate relationships. In this way particularism has become the architrave of the models of socialisation with which the young Calabrians of the 1990s are confronted. The idea that it is possible to pursue personal interests and obtain favours and benefits connected with public resources – ranging from jobs (at least until recently, before the public-service sector became too saturated to allow for any hiring) to success in the “public competitive examinations” (concorsi pubblici, needed to work in public service-industry sector) for young people; and from commercial licenses to the granting of subsidies and pensions for adults – on the basis of “good connections” – circumventing the rules while formally maintaining the appearance of legality – is now wide spread. It has in fact become a guiding principle of action.

On the cultural plane the negative consequences of the diffusion and legitimisation of these illegal practices are numerous: what is public property comes to be seen as available for private appropriation; the concrete possibility of appropriating public resources for personal purposes tends to coincide with the ability to gain access to the universe of relationships (and political mediation); and there is a growing conviction that the economic sphere is subsumed by the political. These elements combine to create a situation which deligitimises the mechanisms of democratic social regulation, the forms of impersonal trust proper to modernity and universalistic principles in general. Thus, although public resources linked to the modern welfare state are, by their very nature, of the universalistic type, boys and girls learn that it is possible to divert them to serve private purposes by means of clientelistic mediation. The principle of equality of rights and duties before the law is denied. What is confirmed instead are the practical inconsistent idea of “co-operation” and horizontal solidarity as an instrument for the solution of problems, the irrelevance of civic commitment and, more generally, the dominance of the criteria of membership as a vehicle providing access to rights.

9. Further Questions and Perspectives

9.1. Urban–Rural Dimensions and Changes in Society

In speaking of the urban–rural dimension of the social life of young people, we have to deal with certain differences that are evidently inherent in the rural life in all industrialised countries. The urban–rural as well as the centre–periphery discrepancies are probably the most universal dimensions of that kind.

For example, the differentiation of rural life in post-socialist countries reflects the given country's acquired level of social development, as well as both the former (Soviet) and the new (democratic and/or market oriented) social and regional policies. The critics of the current rural situations in these countries commonly speak of the backwardness of rural life and its perspectivelessness for young people as stemming from the heritage of the Soviet time and/or from the austere or even negligent regional and rural policy of the new regime.

Whatever the evaluation of the current situation in rural life, one cannot miss certain new tendencies in the inner differentiation of rural life which are rather important from the viewpoint of young people. In the social science research of the Soviet period, Baltic scholars showed that a dogmatic emphasis on urban–rural distinctions did not provide sufficient explanatory grounds for the important social differences that had emerged in real life. It was shown that the category of “urban life” really embraced several types of life situations, and that the conditions of people living in capitals of Soviet republics, for example, were very much different from those of the people living in local administrative and industrial centres, not to mention those of people who inhabited the smallest urban settlements.

9.2. Marginalisation and Social Exclusion of Young People

It is quite common to see the social problems of a society in transition to a free market economy as the social “cost” of this transition. Social deprivation is one of these “costs” most commonly studied by social scientists.

The traditional spheres from which exclusion takes place are, first of all, employment, health, housing and education. In post-socialist countries such as Estonia and former East Germany additional factors have emerged that further decompose the social cohesion:

- rapidly growing market demands which put people from certain social categories under excessive pressure;
- a struggle in some cases for the most elementary subsistence that increases social and psychological stress;
- the disintegration of the familiar forms of social protection.

This means that certain groups of people in these societies fall into categories such as poor, deprived, marginalized and excluded because of their individual situations: gender, age, place of residence, status of their parents, etc. In the post-socialist societies the groups traditionally at high risk of being excluded (the disabled, homeless, former prison inmates; single-parent families, women and others) are joined by new categories such as the unemployed, the newly poor, etc. Certain processes of societal development bring about the possibility of forming groups of “newly excluded” (see e.g. Estonian Human Development Report 1997, 7), and rural young may well fall into that category.

Social exclusion can be defined as “the loss of social cohesion which expresses itself in the inability of members of society to use existing opportunities and to keep in step with the regeneration of society. This results in a sharp decline in social participation, a deepening sense of impotence, disillusionment and detachment from society” (see e.g. *ibid.*, 13). The risk of social exclusion can be measured on the basis of indicators which show three basic dimensions of welfare loss (see e.g. *ibid.*, 15):

- deprivation (lack of regular income, lack of other sources of income, poor health, lack of medical insurance, difficulties in meeting expenses on housing);
- isolation (lack of labour market contacts, living alone or being the only adult in the household, feeling fears in public places or at home, not belonging to associations or organizations, having no interest in politics);
- anomie (feeling that authorities hide vital information, that politics is too complex to understand, that one’s participation in elections does not influence anything, that I am worthless, that it does not help to make plans for the future).

The above list of indicators demonstrates that interrelated concepts such as poverty, social deprivation and exclusion should be and are interpreted in a wider sense than simply being young in a poor economic situation. The objective measures of economic position are to be measured together with the subjective perceptions of those in the situation, in terms of their current conditions and future hopes. It seems that this approach to social exclusion and deprivation is especially important in studying the situation of young people, for whom the evaluation of the current state of affairs is always connected with future expectations.

The analysis of exclusion is always an attempt to define which groups are at risk of social exclusion. We can find evidence for the hypothesis that age is a significant factor in exclusion (NORBALT 1996). It seems important not only to establish the “risk” of being excluded, but also to see which social factors and forces can diminish this threat. The available data shows that certain changes are taking place in the evaluations of the current economic situations and the perspectives for change. People belonging to different social groups and inhabiting different rural areas in Europe see these items rather differently. It is encouraging that – against a background of a consistently large share of people seeing the economic situation as bad – young people are in general optimistic.

9.3. Proposals for Combating Unemployment

The findings of our secondary analysis allow us to draw a number of conclusions which should prove quite valuable in the fight against unemployment among young people, and which, in the interest of being concise, we shall present here in list form.

The attractiveness of services for unemployed young people, and for all young people in need of vocational guidance, should be improved. Two basic types of reform are urgently needed; employment services for young people need more effectively address:

- 1) Problems connected with the primary threshold of vocational choice and training (which determine what each young person has to offer when she/he reaches the secondary threshold), should be addressed in terms of creating vocational training associations and consolidating vocational training capacities.
- 2) Problems encountered by young people at the secondary threshold of finding actual employment in the fields in which they gain qualifications, in the form of blatant discrimination (based on age sex or race) or of companies' neglect for their need to participate in renewing the labour resources on which they depend, should be addressed by placing an increased emphasis on young people's participation in environmental and development projects (c.f., the German Labour Promotion Act, par. 249, subsection H).

With reference to employment promotion concepts for rural young people in particular, we suggest:

- A) The increased usage of "tailor-made" job creation and employment placement project options.
- B) Integrating the range of vocational training opportunities with the needs of the regional labour market. This would give a significant boost to "Job Rotation" projects which already show promise in terms of how they enable a whole set of employment promotion options and instruments to come into full play (see sections 4.7 and 4.8).
- C) Increasing the emphasis on youth enterprises. This is imperative, as such enterprises cover the full range of problems encountered by young people in the various phases of their integration in the world of work, from vocational orientation, preparation for work, first training and qualification up to employment and gaining work experience. Hostility on the part of other "competing" businesses in the same sector and regional Chambers of Commerce could be allayed by building co-operative partnerships with such entities right from the very beginning, and not just with sponsors such as the labour office.
- D) Financial assistance for youth enterprise projects from the state authorities. This would serve to cover problems in the difficult "teething phase" of such enterprises, which up to present have been inadequately addressed.

- E) Wage subsidies that also cover short-term full employment in youth enterprises. This would be a measure to address the problem of employment promotion within such enterprises. The majority of experts in this field favour a decreasing subsidy approach.

Finally, we would like to emphasise once more that of all the projects and concepts designed to combat youth unemployment, those which are tailored to the needs of the labour market seem most promising; and that attentiveness to market needs and the creation of opportunities for first-employment are absolutely crucial elements of any employment promotion scheme.

9.4. Conclusions

The problems of rural young people in the labour market vary considerably from region to region. For example the same standards regulate competition for agricultural enterprises in the Northern part of the European Union as in its Central and Southern member states, even though the climate of this first-mentioned region and its remoteness from major markets do more to limit agricultural competitiveness there. This implies that the traditional primary source of employment in this region is destined to continue its decline, leaving few areas open for those who still regard the local community as their place of residence in the future. In Norway we find a number of examples of innovative solutions to this problem, in terms of job-creation in new sectors and multi-sectoral employment, i.e., working in the tourism industry during summertime and in the fishing industry during winter (see, e.g., Paulgaard 1997: 123).

The gender structure of rural areas is also in danger of creating a situation where sparsely populated areas have only male residents. Studies suggest that women express a high level of mobility in comparison to males. This is caused by: 1) structural factors, relative to unemployment and education; 2) aspirations for social mobility, women are taking a changing labour market into consideration, which directs them into professions other than the traditional ones; 3) cultural patterns of the local community and images of urban lifestyles, traditional patterns of behaviour (leisure, social networks, friends outside the community in question, etc.) and their “chauvinistic” roots in a rather male oriented culture function as “push-factors”, while images of “youthfulness” and more equalised milieus transmitted by media and education function as “pull-factors” towards urban areas.

Any analysis covering the period of adolescence must also bear in mind that adolescents in general are striving to reach adulthood. Today the transition between adolescence and adulthood is an almost insurmountable threshold that young people are forced to face. They face several different key transitions: from school to work, from living with their parents to a living on their own, from single life to relations with a partner, etc. One characteristic of modern society is that the entry into adulthood no longer follows pre-set paths (see, e.g., Buchmann 1989, Hollands 1991, Furlong 1997). This means that the experiences of one’s parents can not serve as guidelines when the adolescents themselves are trying to get ahead. When young people ask questions like: “What kind of education should one strive for?” or, “What kind of results could I get

from that activity?" these days, the answers depend largely on variables which were not around when their parents were their age. This leads to an individualisation of life-trajectories.

In both rural and urban areas, adolescents are concerned with the importance of education in general, though many of them have not been able to decide what kind of profession they might be interested in. Together with the effect of high rates of youth unemployment, this can also lead to intra-generational conflicts.

Exclusion from the world of adulthood is one of many risks which rural young people face today. Addressing questions related to social as well as economic marginalisation in terms of cohort-analysis should therefore be at the top of the agenda for youth policy activities in the future. Such a view could perhaps open up an approach to social thought and research that could reduce the (emerging) risk of conflicts between generations, since each generation tends to formulate the pertinent concerns of its own time in relation to its experiences of society (see Mannheim 1952). It is also important to consider the impact of class, gender and ethnicity in the interpretation of life-opportunities and outcomes. The epistemological fallacy of late-modernity abandons the collective dimensions of social action, emphasising individualistic explanations of life-trajectories instead. (For further discussion of this theme, see Furlong 1997.) Thus several important themes have vanished from the agenda of youth policy at the turn of twentieth century, and it is our task to put them back.

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APPENDIX 1.

TABLE 1. The ethnic composition of the Estonian population in the 1950's – 1990's (figures given in thousands and percentages).

	1 9 5 9	1 9 7 9	1 9 8 9	1 9 9 6
Estonians	892.7	947.8	963.6	950.1
Russians	240.2	408.8	474.8	412.6
Ukrainians	15.8	36.0	48.3	37.3
Byelorussians	10.9	23.5	27.8	21.9
Finns	16.7	17.8	16.7	13.6
Jews	5.4	5.0	4.6	2.6
Tatars	1.5	3.2	4.1	3.3
Germans	0.7	4.0	3.5	1.3
Latvians	2.9	4.0	3.1	2.7
Poles	2.3	2.9	3.0	2.4
Lithuanians	1.6	2.4	2.6	2.2
other	6.1	9.3	14.1	12.1
TOTAL	1,196.8	1,464,5	1,565,7	100
%	1,462.1	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: censuses and the Statistical Office of Estonia.