

LOCAL STATUS QUO ANALYSIS

YOUMIG - Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration

Activity 3.2: Local status quo analysis of youth migration with involvement of stakeholders

YOUMIG

Transnational Youth Migration in Graz: processes, effects and policy challenges

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YOUMIG project

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Executive Summary

Within the project YOUMIG, Graz represents a main receiving location due to good job availability, high salaries and educational possibilities. This has been confirmed through the quantitative and qualitative research: Graz is receiving immigrants to a high extent, with increasing tendencies visible in the last years. For people from the countries of the Danube region, Graz is attractive. Most of the young people coming to Graz are actually from the YOUMIG countries, or the Danube region. Since the 1960s Graz is already a receiving location, when agreements with guestworkers were signed by the Austrian state. Since then a minority group from former Yugoslavia and Turkey has settled in Graz. Still today these communities play a role as networks for newcomers. Also new minority groups have developed, e.g. from Romania or Hungary.

Most people who migrate from one of the Danube countries to Graz can be considered as "labour migrants". There are highly skilled, but also less skilled labour migrants coming to Graz as well. Student migrants are often additionally also working in the city. In many cases young people migrate with their family. But also individual young migrants exist, who seek adventure, freedom and an identity of their own by migrating. For young people Graz offers not only chances on the labour market, but also possibilities of leisure activities and education.

Not everyone can build up a proper career in the city when moving here, not even if they have had a good education. Many young migrants from the Danube region work below their qualification level, e.g. in the catering sector. Wages are still higher than in the countries of origin, but from an individual point of view, being overqualified in the job is considered as frustrating.

The report at hand will present the major outcomes of the quantitative and qualitative research of Work Package 3.2. of the YOUMIG project. After an introduction in the first chapter, the methods of the research activity will be presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will introduce the municipality of Graz and its local development to put the following research into context. In Chapter 4 quantitative data on migration and demography for Austria and Graz will be presented. The fifth chapter is divided into three parts: the general characteristics of young migrants in the city of Graz and the chosen interview partners, the perceived characteristics of young migrants to Graz by institutional interview partners and the motivations of the young migrants to migrate. The sixth chapter will give an overview on three typical biographies of interviewed migrants. In Chapter 7 challenges connected to youth migration and policies aimed to deal with them are presented. A summary of the research is presented in Chapter 8, giving also an outlook, conclusions and recommendations on the further use of the data.

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Project Description

YOUMIG - Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration

This Local Status Quo Analysis on Transnational Youth Migration was prepared in the framework of the "YOUMIG - Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration" project, in a series of seven similar analyses prepared in Burgas (Bulgaria), Graz (Austria), Kanjiža (Serbia), Maribor (Slovenia), the Rača district of Bratislava (Slovakia), Sfântu Gheorghe (Romania) and Szeged (Hungary). These analyses provide an overview of the main trends and challenges of youth migration, based on a common methodology. The aim of the papers is to enable YOUMIG project partners to better understand the local processes linked to youth migration, and respond better to its challenges.





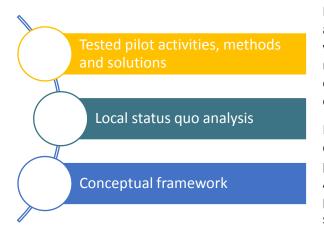
- Danube Region (defined by the Interreg Danube Programme)
- YOUMIG countries/regions
 - YOUMIG, cities of academic and statistical partners
- YOUMIG, local municipalities

YOUMIG is a strategic project of the European Union's Danube Transnational Programme, in which 19 partners from 8 countries work together. The objective of the project is to support local governments in tackling the challenges and exploiting the developmental potential of youth migration, leading to a better-governed and more competitive Danube region. The project aims at improving institutional capacities to measure and manage the immigration, emigration and return migration of young people (aged 15-34). Statistical offices and academic organizations teamed up with local governments for creating local developmental strategies based on improved impact indicators of youth migration, administrative capacity building and pilot activities.



YOUMIG's work is structured in six work packages (WPs). Besides management (WP1) and communication (WP2) issues, thematic work is distributed as follows:

In WP3, a Conceptual Framework provides the theoretical background of the project. In addition, all partners contribute to the better understanding of youth migration and its developmental impacts on the municipality level by elaborating local status quo analyses. This Local Status Quo Analysis is also a part of WP3.



In WP4, a comprehensive evaluation of the locally available statistical data and indicators related to youth migration is carried out. Shortfalls of measuring local challenges are identified and new or improved indicators of youth migration are elaborated and tested.

In WP5, the project improves local administrative capacities to manage the migration-related processes identified by the Local Status Quo Analyses by jointly testing and introducing good practices as pilot activities, and institutional solutions based on a one-stop-shop approach.

In WP6, the project concludes by providing transnationally tested tools for all governance levels contributing to better strategies, policies and services related to the issue of youth migration.

The project runs between 1 January 2017 and 30 June 2019. The Local Status Quo Analysis was finalized in December 2017.



YOUMIG PROJECT at a glance

Full name: YOUMIG - Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration

A project of the

Danube Transnational Programme

Start date: 01-01-2017 End date: 30-06-2019

Budget: 2,718,853 EUR (of which: ERDF Contribution: 2,055,179 EUR, IPA Contribution: 255,846 EUR

Call number: Call 1

Priority: 4. (Well-governed Danube

region)

Specific objective: 4.1. (Improve institutional capacities to tackle major societal challenges)

Project partners:

Lead partner: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HU)

Work package leaders: University of Vienna (AT), Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (DE), Maribor Development Agency (SI), INFOSTAT - Institute of Informatics and Statistics (SK)

ERDF partners: Municipality of Szeged (HU), City of Graz (AT), Institute for Economic Research (SI), Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (RO), Municipality of Sfântu Gheorghe (RO), National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria (BG), Burgas Municipality (BG), Municipality of the City district of Bratislava- Rača (SK)

ERDF partners: Municipality of Szeged (HU), City of Graz (AT), Institute for Economic Research (SI), Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (RO), Municipality of Sfântu Gheorghe (RO), National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria (BG), Burgas Municipality (BG), Municipality of the City district of Bratislava- Rača (SK)

IPA partners: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (RS), Institute of Social Sciences (RS), Municipality of Kanjiža (RS)

Associated Strategic Partners: Statistics Austria (AT), City of Karlsruhe (DE), Federal Institute for Population Research (DE)

Other YOUMIG Local Status Quo Analyses are available at the project's website: http://www.interreg-danube.eu/youmig

YOUMIG news: http://www.facebook.com/youmigproject

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1. Introduction

The Local Status Quo Analysis provides an overview of the trends in youth migration and of the related social phenomena, respectively. The study is based on policy-oriented research. The first aim is to synthetize the findings of YOUMIG research activities concerning youth migration. In this respect we want to characterize and typify the municipalities according to the migratory trends they experience. The second aim is to understand the effects of youth migration, and to identify the policy challenges related to it. Through our applied research we also wanted to provide a brief look into the responses given by local authorities to challenges related to in- and out-migration of young people. A related goal was to identify the management and capacity gaps in the institutional mechanisms of the local authorities to deal with youth migration and related phenomena.

The level of the analysis is the municipality and each of the Local Status Quo Analyses can be perceived as a detailed case study using multiple methods of data collection and analysis. These case studies cover local administrative units in quite different positions in the system of international migration and of the socio-economic interdependencies. Some of our municipalities receive; some of them send migrants while others are both targets and starting points of the transnational migratory flows. Some of our municipalities are important regional centres, while others are small or medium- sized towns with an economically peripheral position. The municipality of Graz is mainly a receiving location with a special importance of immigration from countries of the Danube region. It is the second biggest city of Austria and an important location for labour and education.

In spite of these significant differences, both the data collection and analysis in all locations was based on commonly used concepts, uniform methodologies and previously agreed processes. The main focus of the investigation was on emigration, immigration and return migration. In some municipalities we also included commuting; however, internal migration (even if important in some cases) was not in our focus. The conceptual and theoretical framework of the analysis was provided by the University of Vienna team, the methodological tool by the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities. By using these tools the comparison of the results will be possible in a further phase. Nevertheless, at the level of the present case study we also tried to reveal the specificities of our municipality.

The research activities were closely connected to other work packages and activities. The results of the present analysis enable local municipalities to elaborate evidence-based strategies to deal with the impact of youth migration. This will be of key importance during the implementation of the WP5 where a pilot project concerning the management of the effects of youth migration will be launched in each municipality. One important finding of our case study was that in the municipality of Graz, immigration from the Danube region is mostly triggered by labour opportunities. Still, a lot of people are working without using their skills or formal qualifications. In many cases, the Austrian educational system and labour market requirements are not well known by incoming migrants. Therefore the topic of qualification and labour market will be further elaborated on in the municipality of Graz when developing a pilot activity and a One-stop-shop methodology. The strategy building activities of the WP6 will also be based on the exploratory activities synthetized in this report.

The report is organized into eight chapters. First, we present in brief the methodology of the investigation. The second part is a general presentation of the municipality of Graz with a special focus on local development. The third chapter is a description of the migratory processes and related phenomena from a quantitative perspective relying on available statistical and survey data. The timespan of this analysis is the 1990-2016 period. In this chapter a municipality level population projection provided by the INFOSTAT team is also included. The fourth and fifth sections focus on the

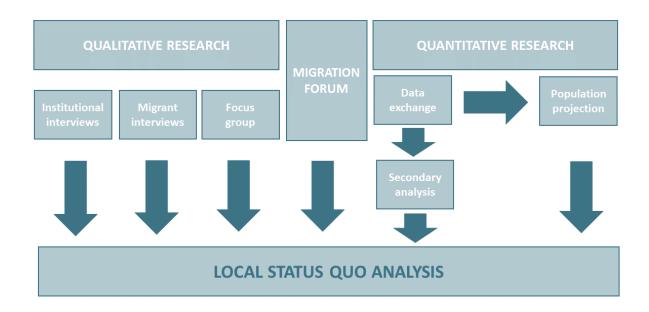
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results of our qualitative investigation based on interviews with institutional actors and young migrants, on focus groups and migration forums, respectively. We present the characteristics of youth migration, with some typical migrant biographies based on these sources. The sixth part presents the major policy challenges the local authorities have to face and their policies concerning the effects of youth migration. The last section contains our concluding remarks and recommendations.

2. Methods

As mentioned already, the Local Status Quo Analysis was based on research activities using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Figure 1 synthetizes the data sources and research activities which fed into the present report.

Figure 1. Methods used to collect and analyse data



Most importantly, a complex qualitative research activity was carried out by Otto Rath and supported by the team at the University of Vienna and the Romanian Institute for National Minorities.

(1) First, we conducted interviews with institutional actors (see chapter 5.2). This phase had manifold aims. It was an explanatory part of the research concerning the patterns and variations of youth migration. We tried to identify the general position of our locality in the system of transnational migration and the general trends of immigration, emigration and return migration. We also wanted to reveal local discourses concerning migration, the way local stakeholders think about the relationship between migration and development. Nevertheless, the main aim of this phase was to map the existing policies (measures and activities) focusing on migration and youth. On the one hand, we were interested in concrete measures, activities, projects or permanent programmes run by institutional actors. On the other hand, we wanted to know whether the interviewed stakeholders and institutional actors thought that they had the institutional capacities to alter (or affect) the migratory behaviour

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of young people and to deal with the (already known and possible) consequences of migration. The semi-structured interviews were carried out according to a previously elaborated guide.

- (2) In a next phase we carried out narrative-biographic interviews with young migrants. We used only partially the narrative-biographic method. The second part of the interviews can be conceived as semi-structured interviews, as we asked questions according to a previously elaborated guide. The narrative-biographical method (which was used in the first phase of the interview) provides a rigorous and previously fixed technique of conducting and interpreting interviews. It is important that through using this technique we will not subordinate the stories (meaning the self-representation) of migrants to our own scientific or political narratives. The interviewed young migrants will have the opportunity to present their stories in a less constrained way. The semi-structured phase was used to obtain additional data concerning the migrants, and to test some previous hypotheses concerning them. We tried to select young migrants with "typical" life trajectories. As in general during the research, our main focus was on migration patterns in the Danube region (especially Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania). This focus was taken into account in the selection of interviewees as well as in the questions to be asked during the interviews.
- (3) Focus groups were also conducted according to a previously fixed guide. The focus group method is a par excellence qualitative research method, suitable primarily for mapping people's attitudes, opinions, experiences, or the discourses that are in use regarding a certain topic or phenomenon. One of the most important advantages of the method is its interactive nature, the fact that participants actively participate in the interactive and collective process of the construction of meanings. Our focus-group session focused on the experiences of young people with migration, paying special attention to the administrative aspects of the migration process (i.e. their contacts with the local (and other level) administration, the problems they encountered, their opinions about the policies employed by the relevant authorities etc.). Our goal was to obtain information this way that can be useful for local decision-makers, policy-makers, stakeholders.
- (4) Migration forums were also used to identify the challenges connected to the transnational migration of young people.

The quantitative research was based on secondary analysis of existing statistical sources of the Austrian statistical office (Statistik Austria). One should emphasize that quantitative data provide a kind of framework for the qualitative analysis, which constituted the major focus of the investigation and are the primary sources of the present report.

- (5) In order to present comparable data with all other municipalities an exchange of existing statistical data took place in the framework of the so called data exchange exercise. This was based on a common template provided by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and carried out for each country.
- (6) The quantitative analysis also features the demographic and migratory trends forecast by a population projection based on the cohort-component method provided by the INFOSTAT team. These projections can provide further useful information for local level stakeholders.

3. The municipality of Graz

3.1. General presentation

Graz, the capital of the federal state of Styria is the second-largest city in Austria with a population of 286.686 on the 1st of January 2017 (Statistik Austria). The number of inhabitant in the urban agglomeration (NUTS region AT221 Graz) counts more than 400,000 inhabitants (ibid.). The population

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of the city has increased continuously in the last years. Graz has been one of the fastest growing municipalities in Austria in the last years.

The population growth is happening mainly due to a positive net migration. Graz as the capital city is attracting population from other parts of the federal state but also from outside of the region. The inflow of people can be on the one hand explained by Graz being a university city with 4 different Universities (Karl-Franzens Universität Graz, University of Technology, University of Music and performing arts and the Medical University) and two Universities of applied sciences and two colleges for education. Around 60.000 students (2015/2016, www.statistik.steiermark.at) are studying in the city. Graz is further an economic centre in the South-East of Austria and therefore also an important location for national and international enterprises. It attracts labour force from other parts of Austria and also from outside the country (https://www.wirtschaft.graz.at/cms/ziel/6583871/DE/)

3.2. Local development

As already stated, Graz is the second biggest city in Austria and an economic and cultural centre within the federal state. It is a centre for tertiary education but also offers many work places. Graz hosts a variety of companies, with a majority of them in the tertiary sector. Further some companies of the secondary sector, mainly in the automotive industry are producing in Graz. With Magna Steyr one of the biggest companies in this sector are not only producing in Graz but also having their headquarters located in the city of Graz. In total the city hosts around 17.000 companies. With around 1.100.000 overnight stays in the year 2016, also tourism is important in Graz. Since it was nominated as European capital of culture in the year 2003, Graz has established is position as urban and cultural centre with museums and theatres. In the last years a rapid increase of overnight stays has been visible In total Graz hosts approx. 60.000 students of universities and applied universities with around 10.000 jobs offered in that sector. Also an increase of entrepreneurs is visible – even when not taking EPUs in the social sector into consideration. Especially foundations in the construction sector are observable.

Graz offers around 180.000 working places, most of them in the tertiary industry, but also having a strong secondary sector with enterprises from the automotive cluster being present. The city offers working places for commuters of the region – around 40% of all working places in the federal state of Styria are located in Graz. From the 180.000 employees around 100.000 live in Graz, while the others are commuting to the city. While Graz as a capital city experiences major growth – economic and population wise – other areas in the federal states are facing challenges of industrial and economic decline and shrinking. With the enlargement of the European Union towards the East, Graz gained a central position within Europe and serves as an important gateway towards the South East of the continent and became an important urban centre within Southern European.

After the economic crisis in 2008, the Austrian economy recovered only slowly, experiencing a lower growth of the GDP and the economic growth. Since 2016 economic upswing is visible though, the GDP grew by 1.5%, the economy by a bit over 1%. Although also Graz is profiting from the positive economic situation, the rapid population growth leads to no decrease of the unemployment rate. The population growth exceeds the growth of working places. With around 14.000 unemployed persons, the number is still quite moderate in the European comparison.

Austria further records one of the lowest unemployment rates in the EU-28 with around 5,5%. In Styria the overall quote is lower than in the rest of Austria, although Graz shows again a higher quote. In the last year especially the unemployment in the age of 50 and older has been rising.

With the economic recovery after world war second, Austria has also established a comprehensive system of social security and welfare schemes consisting of a ubiquitous health service, a compulsory

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insurance combined with the co-insurance of children and non-working partners. Compared to other OECD-countries Austria therefore also leads the ranking of the highest tax rates, together with Belgium with an average taxation of around 49%. The average wages in Austria account around 35.000 Euros (before tax) yearly. Graz records a very high life quality: In a recent survey from Eurobarometer, 97% rated the life in the city as positive — a very high number in the European comparison.

In the year of 2017 early elections took place in the city, after the budget of the prior year was unable to be approved. The new elections lead to a change towards a more conservative government. The government changed from a coalition of the conservatives and the green party to a coalition of the conservative ÖVP with the FPÖ, the right-wing populist party of Austria.

Austria represents a strong social welfare state, with a high amount of benefits and support by the state according to housing, social security or unemployment. The social benefits, especially their reception by non-Austrian citizens has been of societal and political discussion in the past years. In the years of post-crisis and a situation with rising unemployment, the political interest has shifted from a more social and inclusive approach to a more competitive approach.

4. Migratory and demographic processes in quantitative perspective

To describe the current demographic situation and migration patterns in Austria and the city of Graz, a quantitative perspective was used at first. With quantitative data from the Statistics Austria (the Austrian Statistical Central Office) which is an independent, non-profit seeking federal institution under public law, the national and local situation has been observed.

Stock and flow data has been used for the here presented analysis. The Statistics Austria collects data based on different register. The main sources here were the central population register and the migration statistics. Since the year 1996, the Austrian Statistics collects the migration statistics on a yearly basis. As a basis for that, the concept of the "main residency" has been anchored into the law. The register serves as an information of registration and de-registration. Since 2002 the data is combined with the central population register (Statistik Austria 2013). Most data material is available via the homepage of the Statistic Austria as well as from the database Statcube (Statcube 2017).

4.1. Population change and migratory processes at national level

The Austrian population development in the last decades has been characterized by two main processes: growth and ageing of its population. Since the year 1952, when Austria counted a number of 6.9 million inhabitants, the country has experienced a population gain. Until the year 1973 high birth rates and immigration were causing the increase. In the 1950s and 1960s a "Baby-Boom" was underlining the recovery of the economic situation in the post-war times and has been referred to as "Golden Age of marrying and childbearing". With the recovery of the economy, a lack of work force was contested during the 1960s. The agreements on guest workers migration in the early 1960s to the Austrian economy followed a rise of immigration, firstly consisting only of labour migration later followed by family reunification. The population growth from the 1960s on went fast, peaking for the first time in the 1970s.

Due an economic downturn (oil crisis in 1973) and the declining fertility rates (2.82 in 1963, 1.69 in 1976) the population growth slowed down. Lower fertility rates led to a less dynamic natural balance, while migration became the main component of population development. In the 1980s the population started to increase mainly due to family reunification processes. In the 1990s Austria experienced the inflow of refugees, mainly from the former state of Yugoslavia. While in the 1990s a stricter law was



introduced concerning migration (see subchapter "Policies and societal changes affecting the population development"), the importance of EU internal migration came into force. In the 2000s the main inflow of people came from other EU-countries.

Table 1: Population change by components, 1961-2017

Year	Population 1st January	Period	Population change	Birth balance	Net migration, Austrian citizens	Net migration Foreign citizens
1961	7,064,693	1961-1970	+414,337	+347,278	-64,998	+132,057
1971	7,479,030	1971-1980	+74,296	-4,929	-25,834	+105,059
1981	7,553,326	1981-1990	+157,556	+19,589	-80,108	+218,075
1991	7,710,882	1991-2000	+310,064	+72,232	-68,806	+306,638
2001	8,020,946	2001-2010	+354,218	+18,790	-62,225	+375,683
2011	8,375,164	2011-2016	+397,701	+12,734	-35,723	+415,020
2017	8,772,865					

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations.

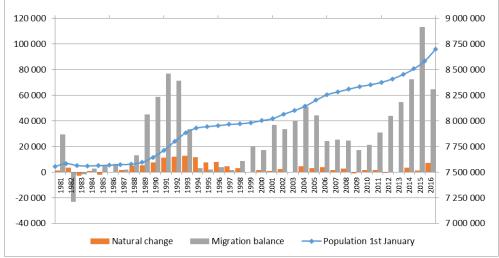
Since the birth rates in Austria are rather low and the fertility rate is below the reproduction level (1.53 in 2016), the population is experiencing ageing. The positive migration balance can tackle the process to a certain extent, but still in the long run the society will experience a major shift of age groups. In the next decades the Baby-Boom Generation will change from the age group of employment to retirement age. Therefore migration becomes also necessary since population in the working age will shrink intensively.

In a study on replacement migration in Austria, Fassmann and Marik-Lebeck showed that without migration, the Austrian population would decline by around 770.000 people until the year 2050 (see Fassmann and Marik-Lebeck 2015). In order to have the population size stable, a yearly net migration of around 20.000 people would be necessary. A constant labour force population could only be reached with a net migration of around 41.000 people per year, with an assumed increase of needed labour force even 56.000 people would be necessary. In order to have a stable age structure (a constant potential support ratio between the 15-64 years old and the 65-years old and older population), net migration gains per year of 159.000 people would be necessary (ibid.). The study shows the high importance of migration to the county, especially from an economic point of view. But it also shows that other measures concerning social policy (e.g. raise of the retirement age, family policy to increase female labour force and make the combination of career and child bearing possible) will be also necessary in the future.

While migration can tackle the outcomes of the natural population development, it leads to a further diversification of the society. Further, socio-economic changes have been leading to a more pluralistic society with an increase of educational attainment and changes of traditional (mainly gender) role behaviour. Besides a trend towards pluralism, also individualism tendencies are visible by an increasing amount of single households, fewer marriages and a higher divorce rate. The changes of the Austrian society are deeply interwoven with the demographic and economic development. Within the country regional disparities do exist, leading to different characteristics of for example urban agglomeration and rural areas. The major trend of urbanisation is predominant also in Austria, resulting in an increase of urban agglomeration and tendencies of shrinking in peripheral regions. The high living quality in Austria results in a very high life expectancy at birth, which has been constantly increasing in the last years (in 1991: 75.6 years, in 2016: 81.5 years). Further also the healthy life expectancy is rising. While in 1978 male and female healthy life expectancy was only 52.4 years and 52.9 years, in 2014 it was 65.9 years for men and 66.6 years for women. The share of healthy life expectancy on the total life expectancy therefore reached 84 per cent for men and 80 per cent for women (Statistics Austria).



Figure 1. Population development by components, 1981-2016



Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration

Migration development in Austria in the last 20 years

Austria has developed into a country of immigration during the post-World War II period after having been an emigration country for decades (Fassmann and Münz 1995). Between 1961 and 1991 the county's population increased by ca. 646,000 people as a result of natural increase (+362,000) and net migration¹ (+284,000). Since the census in 1991 the number of inhabitants of Austria has grown further by 1.06 million, i.e. by 13.8%, and nearly 90% of this increase has been a result of migration gains (+935,000).

Until the 1990s the highest share of immigration were associated with the guest worker mobility from Turkey and Yugoslavia. During the 1990s the inflow of people included refugees as well, mainly from the former Yugoslavian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The composition since the mid 1990s has changed again with Austria's access to the EU in the year 1995. Since then an increase of EU internal mobility started. With the enlargement of the EU towards the East further diversification of the migration flows took place. Today, most of the migrants are coming from EU countries, however with the increased share of refugees arriving to Europe in the end of 2015, the inflow of people from Syria and Afghanistan increased remarkably (Figure 2). Since 2015 the list of countries by international migration balance has already led by these two countries, followed by Romania, Hungary, and Germany (Table 2).

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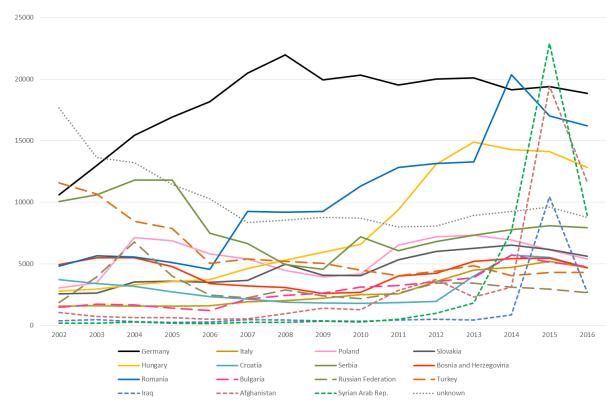
¹ Statistik Austria, Bevölkerungsbilanzen 1869-2011 nach Bundesland und Komponenten, available at http://www.statistik.at/web_de/static/bevoelkerungsbilanzen_1869-

Table 2. International net migration of Austria with selected countries (top 10 countries by international migration balance in 2016), 2014, 2015 & 2016

	Immigration from:			Er	Emigration to:			Net international migration		
	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016 ↓	
EU, EEA	100,591	95,906	89,769	56,380	58,489	59,984	44,211	37,417	29,785	
Afghanistan	3,117	19,416	11,623	461	869	2,567	2,656	18,547	9,056	
Syria	7,634	22,902	8,948	265	687	1,130	7,369	22,215	7,818	
Romania	20,366	17,027	16,203	7,967	9,021	8,920	12,399	8,006	7,283	
Hungary	14,266	14,117	12,844	6,788	6,875	7,253	7,478	7,242	5,591	
Germany	19,147	19,406	18,839	15,169	14,911	15,026	3,978	4,495	3,813	
Iran	2,674	4,760	4,722	842	688	1,508	1,832	4,072	3,214	
Serbia	7,782	8,092	7,936	5,045	4,910	5,124	2,737	3,182	2,812	
Croatia	5,726	5,531	4,689	1,896	2,412	2,357	3,830	3,119	2,332	
Slovakia	6,516	6,180	5,614	3,399	3,398	3,369	3,117	2,782	2,245	
Bulgaria	5,726	5,120	4,776	2,408	2,630	2,673	3,318	2,490	2,103	

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations.

Figure 2. Development of immigration flows by top 10 countries of origin (anytime top 10 during this period), 2002-2016



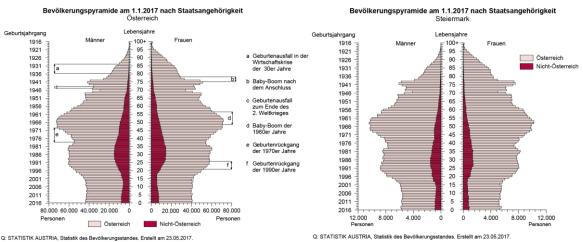
Source: Statistics Austria, migration statistics, own illustration. Notes: Serbia: until 2007 figures are for Serbia and Montenegro

Since 2002 ca. 1.3 million people emigrated from Austria and approximately one third of them were native born persons. Among their main destination countries in 2016 one can find Germany, Switzerland, USA, UK, and Turkey, while in case of the foreign nationals: Germany, Romania, Hungary, Serbia, and Poland lead the list.

Population structure

In the structure of the Austrian population two main trends, ageing and migration can be observed. In Figure 3, the current age structure shows the form of an urn - with a low basis and high share of population in the middle ages. The strong cohorts of the Baby-Boomers are well visible and will soon be changing to the potential retirement ages. The structure of the federal state of Styria shows the same trend as for whole Austria.

Figure 3. Age structure of Austria and Styria by citizenship (Austrian, non-Austrian) on 1 January 2017



Source: Statistics Austria²

The Austrian population structure is also characterized by its migration history. More than 1.3 million foreign nationals and 1.6 million foreign-born people were residing in Austria on 1 January 2017, amounting to 15.3 per cent and 18.9 per cent of the population. Looking at a broader indicator, a share of 21 per cent of the whole population (1,897,978) had "foreign background" in 2016, including all persons whose parents had been born abroad³.

The population stock of foreign nationals increased rapidly between 1961 and 1974 when mainly industrial workers arrived, first and foremost from Turkey and Yugoslavia. Looking at the current population structure, the highest shares of today's population are still holding a migration background from Serbia or Turkey. The highest proportion of foreign nationals in the Austrian population today are though German nationals, followed by Serbian, Turkish, Bosnian, and Romanian citizens. The top 5 list of foreign born population stock contains the same countries but in different order (Table 3).

² http://www.statistik.at/web de/statistiken/menschen und gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung nach staatsangehoerigkeit geburtsland/index.html

³ http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/index.html

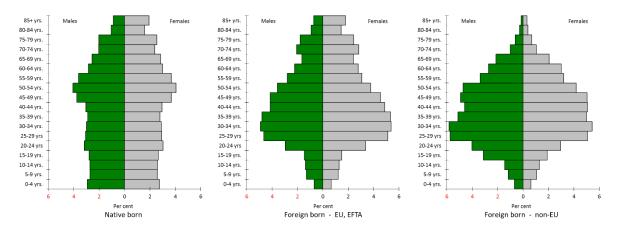
Table 3. Population stock by foreign nationals and foreign born people in Austria on 1 January 2017

Total population	8,772,865	Total population	8,772,865
Austrian citizens	7,430,935	Native born	7,116,599
Foreign citizens (EU)	664,729	Foreign born (EU)	755,824
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	677,201	Foreign born (non-EU)	900,442
Top 5:		Top 5:	
Germany	181,618	Germany	223,953
Serbia	118,454	Bosnia and Herzegovina	164,291
Turkey	116,838	Turkey	160,371
Bosnia and Herzegovina	94,611	Serbia	139,137
Romania	92,095	Romania	105,632

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations.

Migration is mostly undertaken by young migrants in the working age. This can be also shown, when comparing the age structure of native and foreign born population living in Austria (who mostly have a migration background). The distribution by age of foreign born people shows a greater proportion of young adults in the age of potential labour force attainment, compared with those who were born in Austria. There is also a differentiation of the age structure of people born within and outside the European Union: a higher share of older age groups is visible within these countries, while people from non-EU countries are generally in the working age.

Figure 4. Age pyramids of native and foreign born people in Austria by 2017



Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration.

Policies and societal changes affecting the population development

The population development during the last decades was strongly formed by the socio-demographic changes that were shaped by the underlying political and socio-economic context. Beyond sectorial structural change, higher education of the population is seen as one of the most significant and positive changes of the last sixty years (Fassmann 2006:62). Some of the main consequences of this include decreased fertility, increasingly older age of marriage, fewer marriages and a higher number of divorces. Further recent demographic trends include not only an increase of various forms of cohabitation and solitary living, contributing to smaller household sizes, but also an increase in longevity. In the context of a very low fertility rate (1.53 in 2016) below the replacement level coupled with increased overall longevity, Austria follows the European demographic trend of population ageing, which translates to an increase of the mean age of the population and the increase of the

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relative weight of elderly people in the population. Population ageing in Austria is a relatively slow, but long-term and irreversible process, which has been noticeable since the beginning of the 20th century.

With the increasing need for work force not only the treaty of guest worker migration has been realized in the 1960s, but also nowadays measures have been implemented to stear (labour) migration (the Red-White-Red-Card⁴). Nevertheless, only few migration flows can be regulated.

In Austria four phases in migratory processes can be distinguished since the 1950s (Münz, Zuser and Kytir 2003: 20):

- from an emigration country to an immigration country (1950-1973),
- between return and settlement (1974-1988),
- the end of division of Europe (1989-1993) and
- from unregulated to regulated migration (after 1994).

In the 1960s Austria became an immigration country but following the oil crisis in 1973, it announced a recruitment stop to reduce the number of foreign workers and induce their return to their home countries. While migration inflows declined indeed, the stock of Turkish nationals remained on the same level and the number of Yugoslavian citizens decreased mainly due to naturalizations. In these decades the process of permanent settlement was overseen and no measures for integration were taken (Münz, Zuser and Kytir 2003:24).

With the opening of the eastern borders and the freer legal movement of people a new situation has arisen. On the one hand, recruitment of guest workers was restarted in the early 1990s because of labour shortages of the growing Austrian economy. On the other hand, the number of asylum seekers increased considerably; the major flows of refugees came from Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina as a consequence of war and ethnic cleansing. In the second half of the 1990s the number of immigrants declined rapidly and the proportion of foreign citizens stagnated at around 8% due to the more restrictive legal requirements regarding employment and residence of foreign nationals. (With the adoption of the *Residence Act 1993* Austria introduced quotas for new immigration fixing the highest percentage of foreign workers to be employed at 10% of the total employees).

The rights of labour migrants residing in Austria were gradually improved after Austria's EU accession in 1995, and later by the EU-wide harmonization of migration and asylum policies through the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999, the Lisboa Treaty in 2009, the strategic guidelines like the Tampere (1999), Hague (2004), and Stockholm Programmes (2009) as well as the "European Agenda on Migration" published in 2015. Despite the fear of a rapid increase of migration from the post-socialist East European states (Fassmann and Münz 2000), such major migration flows did not occur right after the EU-enlargement in 2004. However, migration inflows have been intensifying again since 2010. Austria's migration balance reached the peak in 2015 (+113,167) as a consequence of the recent "refugee crisis" which exposed shortcomings in the EU's asylum system too. The European Parliament is currently working on the reform of the Dublin system (2008)⁵.

The development into an immigration country occurred involuntarily and largely unnoticed by the public and political sphere. Until the 1990s, immigration of foreign nationals was essentially conceived

⁴ The Red-White-Red Card is issued for a period of 24 months and entitles a qualified non-EU citizen (and family members) as holder to fixed-term employment and settlement by an employer specified in his/her application.

⁵ About the development of the EU's immigration and asylum policy see in details e.g.: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU 5.12.3.html, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU 5.12.2.html

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as temporary movement of 'guest workers'. Immigration policy was an integral part of labour market policy and immigration was controlled by limiting access to the labour market. The focus was put on the protection of Austrian nationals, resulting in a relatively exclusive legal framework and the absence of integration measures for immigrants. This political situation has changed. Since the early 2000s, the control and management of international migration into a differentiated legal system has become an important issue. Inflows are conceptually differentiated according to the purpose of stay: while legal provisions and measures against irregular migration are highly restrictive, the introduction of a points-based immigration system for (highly) qualified third-country nationals, the Red-White-Red-Card, has proven the acceptance and necessity of labour immigration.

In addition, specific institutions and committees have been set up and action plans have been formulated in the area of migrant integration. Two diverging migration regimes have been put into place: a managed migration scheme for third-country nationals and a contrasting area of free mobility for nationals of other European Union Member States. Inclusion in the labour market and in the educational system are said to be pivotal drivers for societal integration. As concerns immigrants and their descendants, disadvantages regarding access to and inclusion in the labour market can still be perceived. The foreign labour force is more often at risk of becoming unemployed and has greater difficulties in (re)integrating into the labour market. This is particularly true for persons with a low level of formal education.

Besides the four phases defined in the beginning of the 2000s, since then the power of the EU concerning migration has improved. The national states can only take influence on third country immigration, but not on EU internal migration. Also concerning refugee migration, which has become a main inflow into Europe especially since 2015 with crisis in the Middle East and Africa intensifying, the laws concerning registration and distribution of refugees are de iure regulated by the European Union. De facto, laws have not been followed on the national states, leading to unclear situations in many countries, such as Austria and an unequal distribution over the member states. The regulation of refugee migration and therefore a functioning migration policy of the EU will be one of the main challenges for the Union and its member states in the future. For the EU internal migration patterns a similar logic to internal migration patterns can be visible, with economic factors, but also life quality and networks playing an important role in the motives of why and where to migrate.

4.2. Population change and migratory processes at municipality level

The population development of Graz is representing the major trends visible in urban agglomeration in Austria. Similarly to the trends on national level, the population is growing in the city as well but the importance of immigration is even more important than for the whole country.

Until the beginning of the 1990s the population of Graz was rather stagnating, explained by a general trend of suburbanization from city centres to the surrounding areas. Since the 2000s an intensive population growth has been observable. Between 2002 and 2017, a total of roughly 58,000 new residents were registered in Graz; it is equal to a 25% increase which is significantly higher than the national average (+8.5%). Reasons for the growth of the city are an increase in the number of births and, what is more significant, a continuous positive migration balance by 3,005 persons per year on the average.

The main driver of this process is international immigration, but also migration from other parts of the country to Graz plays a role in the city's growth.

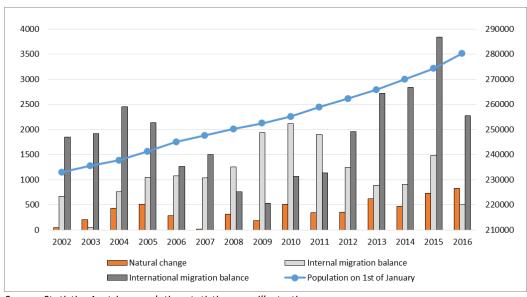


Table 4: Population change in Graz by components, 2002-2017

Year	Population 1st January	Period	Population change	Birth balance	Migration balance	Internal migration balance	International migration balance
2002	232,930	2002-2010	+25,917	+2,509	+23,408	+9,948	+13,460
2011	235,485	2011-2016	+25,022	+3,351	+21,671	+6,917	+14,754
2017	237,658						

Source: Statistics Austria, population statistics, own calculations.

Figure 5: Population change in Graz by components, 2002-2016



Source: Statistics Austria, population statistics, own illustration.

Table 5. Internal and international migration flows in Graz by main source/destination areas and by native/foreign born people, 2002-2017

Internal	from/to Austria	from/to Styria	from/to Vienna
Immigration	164,912	102,182	11,251
Emigration	148,047	96,594	18,891
Net migration	+16,865	+5,588	-7,640

International	Total	Native born	Foreign born
Immigration	89,672	9,716	79,956
Emigration	61,458	13,814	47,644
Net migration	+28,214	-4,098	+32,312

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations.

The highest net migration from other parts of Austria to Graz between 2002 and 2015 came from the federal state of Carinthia (+7270), followed by Styria (+5563) and Upper Austria (3792). With the capital city Vienna, Graz has a negative net migration (-7106).

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The international migration has been increasing constantly in the last years. While during the years of the global financial crisis net migration was relatively low, since 2013 a rapid growth is visible: mainly due to the increase of immigration from the new EU-countries, which can be linked to the change of the EU regulations of employment protection in the respective year. Since 2015 immigration of third country nationals - mainly from Syria and Afghanistan - has also become significant, which can be traced back to an increasing number of refugees due to geopolitical instability in the Middle East and Africa. Still, the highest number of migrants to Graz are from Southeast Europe, including some of the so-called 'Danube countries' as well. In 2016 Graz experienced the highest net migration from Romania (+478), followed by Croatia (+280), Afghanistan (+243), Bosnia and Herzegovina (+229), and Slovenia (+171).

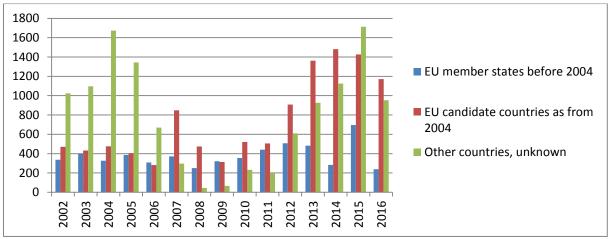
Table 5. International net migration of Graz with selected countries (top 10 countries by international migration balance in 2016), 2014-2016

	lmn	nigration fr	tion from: Emigration to:			Net international migration			
	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016 ↓
EU, EEA	4,842	5,008	4,553	3,133	2,882	3,229	1,709	2,126	1,324
Romania	1,182	1,012	1,021	553	537	543	629	475	478
Croatia	571	576	549	201	239	269	370	337	280
Afghanistan	95	241	297	32	53	54	63	188	243
Bosnia and Herzegovina	635	639	498	208	238	269	427	401	229
Slovenia	364	399	347	169	156	176	195	243	171
Syria	87	304	184	2	7	20	85	297	164
Hungary	544	532	479	351	321	340	193	211	139
Germany	796	915	806	726	630	705	70	285	101
Italy	290	374	272	150	134	193	140	240	79
Serbia	163	141	160	120	115	83	43	26	77

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations.

An increase of net migration and therefore the growing importance of new EU-countries in this process – especially since the year 2007 and even more since 2012 – is clearly seen in Figure 6. Third country migration (in 2016: +952 persons) can be explained by refugee migration, but also by the importance of migration from Turkey and Serbia. In 2016 the international migration balance of Graz with 'new' member states was +1171, while only +238 with the 'old' ones (Figure 6).

Figure 6. International net migration of Graz with EU member states before 2004, EU member as from 2004, and third countries, 2002-2016



Data Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration

Population Structure

On the 1st of January 2017 altogether 59,850 inhabitants of Graz held foreign citizenship (21% of the whole population), while 70,491 people were born in another country (25%). Regarding stock data, the composition of foreign nationals and foreign born population was similar to the national one – with the exception of Croatians whose community proved to be more remarkable in Graz (instead of Serbians). The top 5 lists were led, therefore, by Bosnia & Hercegovina and Croatia, followed by Germany, Turkey, and Romania - in a slightly different order (Table 6).

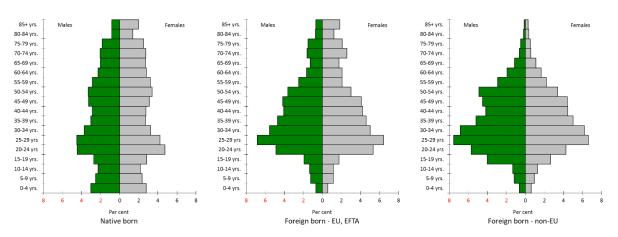
Table 6. Population stock by foreign nationals and foreign born people in Graz on 1 January 2017

Total population	283,869	Total population	283,869
Austrian citizens	224,019	Native born	213,378
Foreign citizens (EU)	29,303	Foreign born (EU)	39,319
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	30,547	Foreign born (non-EU)	31,172
Top 5:		Top 5:	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,759	Bosnia and Herzegovina	6,359
Croatia	4,374	Croatia	6,215
Germany	4,353	Romania	6,058
Turkey	4,104	Germany	5,895
Romania	3,061	Turkey	5,118

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations.

The age structures of native and foreign born people show also similar patterns and differences like on national level; the share of population between the age 20-54, and particularly between 20-39, is much lower in case of native born residents.

Figure 7: Age pyramids of native and foreign born people in Graz by 2017



Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration

Within the city of Graz a certain concentration of foreign population is visible (see figure 8): A high concentration of foreigners is mainly visible in the city districts of "Lend" (IV) and "Gries" (V) on the western side of the river Mur. In the north and Eastern part of the city, fewer shares of foreigner are observed. This segregation can be explained by the different availability of housing segments. Lend and Gries do offer rather cheap housing, attractive for newcomers to the city. Since the distribution of foreign population already exists since a long time, also networks effects do play a role in maintaining the pattern. While Gries until today has the image of a socially disadvantaged city quarter, Lend has experienced gentrification in the last decade with the creative class having settled there.

Share of foreign citizens in Graz

In percentage (%)*
1st of January 2017

2,97 - 10,00
10,01 - 15,00
15,01 - 20,00
20,01 - 30,00
30,01 - 40,00
40,01 - 60,22

*Statistical enumeration districts of Graz

*Statistical enumeration districts of Graz

Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration

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Surveys on the topic of youth migration

Besides the data from the population register, a lot of information can be gained by several other information sources such as the micro-census (labour force survey), school and university statistics, but also other surveys such as the EU silk bring useful information for the topic of youth migration and integration⁶.

The school statistics are the main source of information when it comes to language knowledge, as from 2001 on, the census was replaced and therefore information of spoken languages disappeared. From the school statistics it is known, that the number of school kids with no German mother tongue has been rising in the last years. In Austria it is around 25% of the school kids that do not have German as their native language. The shares are concentrating especially in urban areas: In Vienna around half of the school kids do speak another mother tongue than German. Besides a geographical concentration also a concentration in certain school types is visible.

In the labour force survey not only information of labour market participation by different citizenship and place of birth is listed, sometimes also extra questions according migration are featured in the survey of the micro-census (Statistik Austria 2015). In 2014 the main motivations for migration to Austria were asked for in an extra question. While most of the people that were asked and were foreign-born said they came to Austria for family related reasons (35%), around 25% said employment was their main motivation. Around 20% came to Austria when they were still a child and 10% had given reasons of protection (asylum) as a main reason. Only 7% stated study-related factors and 3% couldn't fit into any of the given categories. For women, family related reasons were significantly higher. For men, 40% had chosen the motivation to be job-related. In the last years, study related reasons became more important.

Educational attainment and labour participation by sectors are in Austria significantly differing by migration background (Statistik Austria 2017). The share of people with foreign citizenship that have only compulsory school education is relatively higher, but also the share of people with tertiary education. There is a high share of people with migration background representative in certain sectors of labour such as the gastronomy and service personal, but also in the building sector and the health sector. Around 22% of the people with migration background feel overqualified in the position they work in, compared to 9% of people without migration background.

Since the year 2010 the so called "integration monitoring" (Statistik Austria 2016) was implemented to measure yearly the evaluation of integration of the Austrian society. Of all people asked in the survey, around 58% think that the integration of foreigners in Austria works well or very well. 40% stated the integration works bad, 12% evaluated it as very bad. Since 2010, where most people (69%) evaluated integration to work bad or very bad, the number of people who evaluated it good has been rising, but only since the year 2015, when the number of negative evaluation started to raise again. This can be seen in connection to the inflow of refugees, where the perception towards migration within the society changed.

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⁶ Statistik Austria: Schulstatistik; Statistik Austria: Labour Force Survey/Arbeitskräfteerhebung; Ad-hoc Modul "Arbeitsmarktsituation von Zuwanderern und ihren direkten Nachkommen"

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4.3. Presentation of the results of the population projection

The city of Graz is a municipality with an increasing population, which can be also expected for the future. In the frame of the YOUMIG project, 4 scenarios of the potential future population development have been calculated. While one scenario was calculated without migration, the other scenarios showed differences in the net migration of the age group 15-34: Based on the Status Quo, observed between the year 2011 and 2016, the scenario of "Low youth migration" has assumed a shrinking inflow of young people to the city of Graz. The scenario of "High youth migration" expects an increase of the net migration observed in the last five years — which would follow the trend of the current status quo (see figure 9). Even if none of the given scenarios will be fulfilled in the future, they can give an insight on possible futures and can raise the question of what will be happening, if certain developments will appear.

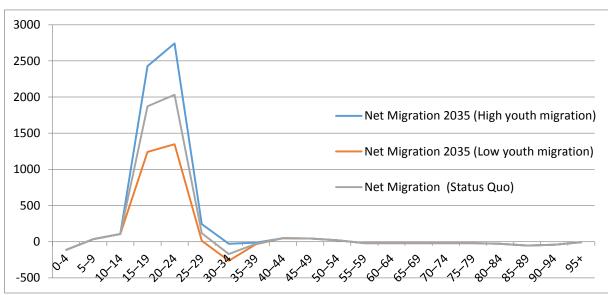


Figure 9. Net migration values of the different scenarios

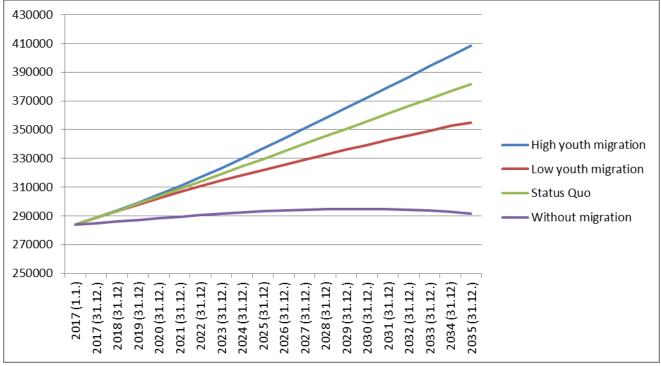
Source: Datasource (base net migration): Statistik Austria; calculation: INFOSTAT

When looking at the "Status Quo" scenario of population development, that takes the assumption that the net migration of the last five years would on an average stay the same in the upcoming years, the population would grow by a number of more than 97.000 people until the year 2035. Also with a slightly lower net migration, as assumed in the "low youth migration" scenario an increase of population would be visible with almost 71.000 people in total until 2035. When assuming an increase of net migration, the population would increase in the number by around 124.000 persons (Figure 10, Table 7).

Without migration, the population development of Graz would stagnate. Due to the high amount of young people in the fertile ages, the population would not shrink immediately, but would grow by the amount of ca. 7000 inhabitants in total until the year 2035 (which almost equals the population growth between 2015 and 2016). The growth of the population would only take place until the year 2033 and it will afterwards start to decline.



Figure 10. Four scenarios of the potential future population development in Austria (source: INFOSTAT)



Source: Datasource: Statistik Austria, calculation: INFOSTAT

The population growth in Graz, experienced in the last years was 1.4% in 2016 and even 2.2% in the year 2015, which means the city is one of the fastest growing municipalities in Austria. If the growth stays on such a high level, the city can expect an increase of around 30% until the year 2035. With a lower youth migration, 25% increase would be reached. If the growth will stay on a high level, as also observed in the year 2015, an increase of around 40% of the inhabitants can be expected. In table 7 the results of the calculated projections are shown.



Table 7. Expected population number of Austria according to four scenarios, 2017-2035

	Scenario "High youth migration"	Scenario "Low youth migration"	Scenario "Status Quo"	Scenario "Without Migration"
2017 (1.1.)	283,869	283,869	283,869	283,869
2017 (31.12.)	288,623	288,623	288,623	284,896
2018 (31.12)	293,691	293,274	293,494	285,996
2019 (31.12)	299,076	297,825	298,480	287,158
2020 (31.12.)	304,741	302,257	303,549	288,327
2021 (31.12.)	310,675	306,546	308,685	289,478
2022 (31.12)	316,866	310,682	313,866	290,570
2023 (31.12.)	323,302	314,641	319,076	291,567
2024 (31.12.)	329,985	318,430	324,310	292,469
2025 (31.12)	336,917	322,038	329,556	293,239
2026 (31.12.)	343,898	325,617	334,813	293,861
2027 (31.12.)	350,923	329,150	340,068	294,321
2028 (31.12)	357,984	332,625	345,320	294,605
2029 (31.12.)	365,097	336,053	350,576	294,719
2030 (31.12.)	372,247	339,416	355,816	294,660
2031 (31.12)	379,453	342,730	361,061	294,430
2032 (31.12.)	386,720	346,000	366,316	294,063
2033 (31.12.)	394,059	349,226	371,585	293,556
2034 (31.12)	401,484	352,419	376,885	292,943
2035 (31.12.)	408,288	354,903	381,524	291,519
Total increase	124,419	71,034	97,655	7,650

Source:

From a quantitative perspective, the different scenarios have no effects on the sex structure of the city of Graz. By absolute numbers, the increase of male and female population is relatively equal. When looking at the absolute numbers of outmigration and immigration it becomes clear though, that there are different patterns of migration by the different sexes and therefore it can also be assumed that different groups of migrants, also differing by sex, are coming to the city. For internal migration it is for example visible that in terms of net migration, not so many young woman come to the city of Graz. When looking at immigration and outmigration it is visible that in younger ages more young women are arriving, but by the age of 25 start to leave again. For international migration by age and sex structure a relatively homogenous pattern is visible, which of course tells nothing about differences in qualification and motives of the move.

The outcomes indicate that Graz will in the future face further immigration and a further internal and international net migration and will therefore be an expanding for the next years. Therefore migration and integration policies will be necessary as well as the planning of infrastructures (e.g. transport infrastructures), service provision (schools, kindergarten) and housing.

In 2014, the ÖROK (Austrian conference of spatial planning) together with the Statistik Austria also elaborated a population projection for Graz and its 17 districts for the next two decades. The city of



Graz (Magistrat Graz, Präsidialabteilung - Referat für Statistik) published these projections in a report⁷. Their results are the closest to the "Low youth migration scenario" with approximately 309.000 expected inhabitants by 2025 and ca. 329.000 by 2035. The differing numbers can be mainly explained by the fact that they calculated the projection before the 'refugee crisis' in 2015, where migration has been rising significantly, thus their input data regarding immigration flows in the previous years were presumably lower. Also the increasing net migration that has occurred in the last years has led to a different results. The new projections by the YOUMIG project can give new possible futures with new possible challenges for the city of Graz.

5. Characteristics of youth migration in the municipality

In the following the results of the qualitative research on migration patterns of the Danube region on Graz. Chapter 5 is based on the results from the institutional interviews and on the interviews with young migrants from the Danube region to the city of Graz. The first subchapter will give a general overview of the characteristics of young migrants from the Danube region, followed by the presentation of perceived characteristics by institutional actors (5.2.) and the main findings from the interviews with young migrants from the Danube regions concerning motivations, integration or expectations (5.3.).

5.1. General characteristics

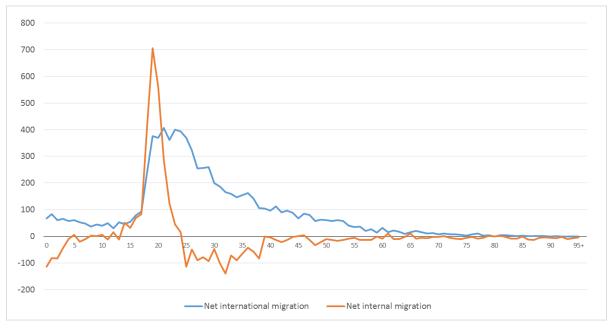
As already shown in the presentation of the migration profile of Graz in chapter 4, the city experienced a positive net migration both from internal and international migration. The majority of migrants is young: 67% of the internal and 63% of the international immigrants were between 15 and 34 in 2016.

Net migration gains are concentrated mainly in the age group between 18 and 25 years. Internal migration shows a higher concentration on these ages than international migration (Figure 11), since a lot of people from other parts of the federal state or country move to Graz as students in tertiary education. From the 30 years onwards (and also in the very young ages), the internal migration balance turns negative, which is an indicator for a lot of families leaving the city also following the trend of suburbanization. International immigration to Graz by age shows a slightly different distribution (figure 12), which can be possibly explained by a higher diversity of migration motivations. Net migration from the old EU countries are such as the internal migration focused on the ages 20 to 24, which is probably explained by a high share of student migration from countries such as Germany. Form the new EU-countries accessed since 2004 a higher range of age groups in the younger ages is visible. A higher importance of labour migration might stand behind this characteristic.

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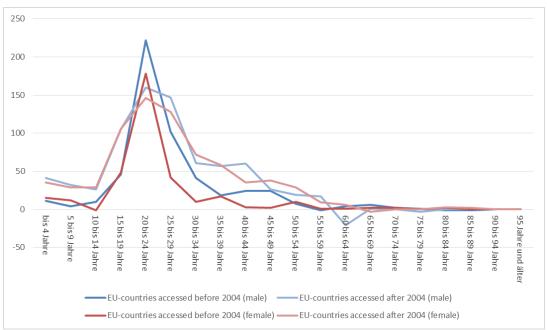
⁷ http://www1.graz.at/Statistik/bev%C3%B6lkerung/Bev%C3%B6lkerungsprognose 2015 2034.pdf

Figure 11. Internal and international net migration in Graz by age, 2016



Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration

Figure 12. Net migration balance with EU-countries accessed before 2004 and after to Graz by age (5-years age groups), 2015



Source: Statistics Austria, own illustration

The quantitative observations fit with the qualitative observations: Migrants from the Danube region to a high extent belong to group of "labour migrants". In general there is – also due to the high diversity of countries of origin in the so called "Danube countries" – a high differentiation of different immigrants visible: student migration, skilled and unskilled labour migration and in general also a very high number of skilled migrants that are working in unskilled labour.

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The group of people that have been interviewed in August and September 2017 are as follows: one part are migrants, who migrated to Graz as children with their parents (02 KOC, 05 RAD, 08 LJA), another part are migrants who came to Graz to study or to work (01 BUD, 04 BOD, 06 ENE, 07 KOZ). Interview partner 03 BLA is a special case. He is working as a 24h carer in Graz and is self-employed. He is a weekly commuter, staying in Graz for 2 weeks and going back home for 2 weeks. In total 3 men and 5 women were interviewed; one female interview partner has a child, the rest does not have a family yet. The countries of origin of the interview partners are: Hungary (01 BUD, 04 BOD), Slovakia (03 BLA), Turkey (02 KOC), Serbia (05 RAD, 08 LJA), Romania (07 KOZ) and Bulgaria (06 ENE). Except for Turkey all countries of origin are from the Danube region. Since a lot of migrants in Graz are from Turkish decent, it was still feasible to interview someone with Turkish background for the reasons of comparison.

Apart from 03BLA all interview partners have a background in tertiary education. It was difficult to find interview partners although many different channels were used when looking for interview partners. We asked NGOs, migration associations, the migrant council of the city of Graz, the integration department of the city of Graz, companies, personal contacts and many others. Still, it was not so easy in a short while to get into contact with interview partners from the Danube region and certainly some groups were more difficult to be interviewed than others (e.g. low skilled migrants).

The interviews focused on experiences made by migrants living in Graz when they were between 15 and 34 years old. The evaluation of the biographic interviews shows that the answers partly refer to Graz, as well as partly referring to the topic of migration and how it is generally considered. These two topics are linked by the fact, that all of them live as migrants in Graz. Four main topics can be summarized from all interviews: First of all, the reasons for migrating (the individual ones or the decision made by the families or their parents). Then integration is a topic according to experiences they have made and how education and language have played a role in this context. The third topic deals with the emotionally loaded topic of relationships: experiences of feeling foreign are partly discussed, but also the question where they feel they belong to and identification. Finally, the last part deals with dissatisfaction or feeling unhappy: topics like working in jobs that do not match their qualifications are discussed as well as homesickness and the desire to return back home.

Before presenting this outcomes in detail, also a view on perceived characteristics of youth migration to Graz has been elaborated by interviewing institutional actors in the city. Therefore perceived challenges and potentials of youth migration as well as meta-information on the topic of migration will be presented in the upcoming section.

5.2. Perceived characteristics of youth migration in Graz

Eight representatives of organisations and the municipality of Graz have been interviewed in order to gain a deeper insight in how migration to Graz in perceived from the point of different stakeholders and policy makers in Graz. The referencing used is described here:

- Employment Service (Muna Hamoud, Integration expert) 01 ES
- Saubermacher (Company. Annemarie Gräßler, Head of Human Ressources) 02 SAU
- Department of Statistics, Graz (Barbara Rauscher, Head of Department) 03 DSG
- Innovative Social Projects (Robert Reithofer, CEO of the NGO) 04 ISOP
- Austrian Freedom Party (Armin Sippel, Head of the City Council Club of the Austrian Freedom Party) - 05 AFP
- Council of Social Affaits and Health (Hanno Wisiak, Office Manager Council of Social Affairs and Health) 06 CSAH
- Department of Integration, Graz (Roswitha Müller, Head of the Department) 07 DOI



• University of Technology Graz (Manuela Berner, Head of Human Ressources) – 08 TUG

The idea was to gain an insight of opinions of people that either are involved in policy making in the context of migration and integration,

5.2.1. Views on migration to Graz

"[...] the term immigration society is actually old fashioned, we do live in a migration society, which means that not only people are affected, who have migrated or fled, but all parts of society, politics and institutions to a certain extent." (04 ISOP)

Migration has been a hot topic in Graz for decades. Since the 1990s Austria has been considered as an immigration country and the city has been holding this status. As stated by 04 ISOP, migration nowadays means much more than just the integration and assimilation of some foreigners. Migration is affecting society as a whole. An increasing number of people is becoming mobile and many parts of labour, education and society even depend on this phenomenon. What the scientific world refers to as "new mobility paradigm" (Sheller and Urry 2004) meaning that increasing migration and mobility have to be seen as new state of the art, can be seen in Graz exemplary. Immigration, emigration and other forms of mobility are substantially shaping the city's development and therefore they constitute important aspects of governance.

Universities: a pull factor

According to the statistics office there are 110,000 young people (15 to 34 years) living in Graz, which represent about one third of all citizens (03 DSG). The relatively high share of young people is even more pronounced in the age group around 20 to 24 years, leading back to Graz being a university city and being highly attractive for the young age group.

Many of the young people migrating to Graz study at one of the city's universities. For the YOUMIG project, the University of Technology was interviewed and its view on the topic of youth migration is presented here as a pars pro toto. Other universites in Graz are the Karl Franzens University of Graz (main university), the Medical University of Graz, the Joanneum University of Applied Sciences, the University for Music and Performing Arts Graz, the CAMPUS 02 University of Applied Sciences and two University Colleges for Teacher Education.

The inflow of students can be explained partly by internal migration from other parts of Austria to Graz. Expert 08 TUG explains that also a high share of the students are of international descent. The TU offers programs in English language, which have a higher attraction for foreign students and therefore a higher percentage of foreign students. Countries along the river Danube, except for Germany belong to the most important countries of origin at the University of Technology. Most students come from Bosnia-Herzegovina, followed by Germany, Italy and Croatia.

The University of Technology prefers to see immigration in the context of internationalization: "Internationalization is important, it is a strategically relevant topic for us, with the main focus on getting international students, certain scientists, researchers to come to the University of Technology Graz. The main aim is to get the brightest people from prestigious institutions." (08 TUG). Study programs in English, especially at Master level are of high importance. Curricula are increasingly internationalized, international exchanges take place on all levels and strategic partnerships with universities are of great importance (08 TUG). "For strategic partnerships the image of the University of Technology is important, too. We try to be noticed internationally, to create an image and prestige." (08 TUG). For the University of Technology international exchanges of lecturers and strategic efforts

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presently seem to be more important than enrolling more international students. Still, when it comes to internationalization, student mobility holds a certain share of incoming migration. Not from all perspectives international student migration is seen as an important factor for the city of Graz. For 05 AFP students seem to be mainly a cost factor and hardly any political relevance is assigned to them.

Graz is growing: Who is welcome, who is needed?

For others, the main important immigrants are connected to labour migration and the needs of the economy. The possibilities offered by the job market in Graz and the surroundings of Graz are a strong pull factor, and the population of Graz is growing accordingly.

Especially in connection to labour, some groups seem to be more welcome to Graz than others. People from other EU member countries are considered to be rather a potential and without difficulties when it comes to integration (06 CSAH). The Danube region in general is considered as a region with migrants with high potential. Challenges of migration of the poor are not considered to be crucial problems, even not by rather critical people (05 AFP). Still, some of the interview partners see a threat of immigration for the social welfare system in Austria.

"Immigration of skilled workers and immigration in education is welcome, but immigration in the social sector has to be observed and checked whether the system can support that." (05 AFP).

In general, skilled workers are more welcome than migrants with low or no skills, especially since in some branches there are not enough qualified skilled workers in Austria, which needs to be substituted by immigration (02 SAU, 05 AFP). Although this need exists, 05 AFP is in favor of discussing migration critically, with a central strategy that limits the inflow of migration.

"There will always be immigration, which is also necessary to a certain extent, however, it has to be regulated." (05 AFP)

The interviews show though that not only highly skilled workers are urgently needed in Graz, but also the ones with medium and little qualifications. Workforce is needed in the health sector, in the IT sector programmers are needed. The high demand can be seen in the fact that in some branches "... companies are willing to pay more" (01 ES). The catering industry faces the problem of people not wanting to do an apprenticeship anymore and therefore this industry faces a lack of skilled workers. Producing companies are also looking for people to hire, they can even be unskilled.

"[..]it is not about the lack of skilled workers, it is about the lack of workers in general, workers do not need to be qualified, they need to be willing to work." (01 ES)

There is also a lack of qualified workforce in the tertiary education. "In the medical sector, they are happy about everyone who stays and does not go abroad, and when we look at technicians it is the same." (08 – TUG) Consequently this means, that people with a technical degree have good chances to get a job in Austria, no matter where they come from. "This is not only true for jobs at the University of Technology, but jobs on the technical job market in general." (08 TUG)

There is a high demand in the health sector. Care and home carer are lines of businesses where mainly migrants work, which implies difficult job situations, though. They work as entrepreneurs, so they have to face some drawbacks, compared to employees. "In Styria we have 15,000 business founders who are migrants, 10,000 of these work in the health care sector. The job situation is so difficult, because these people are not entitled to [...] unemployment benefits etc." (01 ES). Since most of the workers are officially not hired but are working as entrepreneurs, they are not having access to some parts of

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the social welfare of Austria. When we look at 24-hour care, most of the personnel comes from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Romania and Hungary (06 CSAH) Sex workers also come from the Danube region, like Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia. (06 CSAH)

Revenue and expenditure due to migration

Migration from the perspective of the institutional actors can be seen as a great potential, but also holds some challenges for the local government. From a financial point of view, immigration is seen as an expenditure, as well as a revenue (05 AFP). With a growing society, more expenses have to be made in infrastructure and services and in the policy field of urban planning. Also the expenditures for welfare are rising with a growing population, when it comes to support housing, insurances or education. In many cases also extra investments are seen in terms of integrational measures. Also students are mentioned rather in the connection of expenditures.

"...the municipality has to provide the infrastructure and here we mainly talk about building homes, about traffic and also to a certain extent offers for leisure-time activities ..." (05 AFP)

But migration provides an income source for cities, too, "... because they contribute to prosperity, turnover and more income tax" (05 AFP). Income is generated by additional income tax and backflow of financial means from the federal government due to revenue sharing. Despite comparing expenditure with revenue, 06 CSAH states that there is not enough money to support the immigration to Graz in terms of providing a good infrastructure and measures for integrating these people.

On the local level, the city also provides several benefits that should contribute to social cohesion. Especially newly immigrated people are often the target groups of those measures, being not yet too established in the new city and often suffering from social insecurity due to precarious living or working conditions or lower incomes. Benefits are not only offered on the national level in the form of financial allowances (e.g. unemployment allowance, minimum collateral allowance, rent subsidies, etc.) but also social welfare is guaranteed by the municipalities. With the "Sozial Card", the city of Graz offers people with low-income discounts on fees and charges as well as reduced fares at "Holding Graz Linien" (public transport services) and discounts for various leisure and cultural facilities.

"It is the responsibility of politicians to cater for a good economic situation. Politics can create the conditions, that there are possibilities available for qualified people to get a job. I personally disapprove of administering poverty." (05 AFP)

Some of the interviewees see the benefits offered by the city or the state in Austria as a pull-factor of migration and therefore contributions to social benefits as counter-productive. In the debates of the last elections often migration and social benefits have been mixed and to a certain extent also welfare allowances for people of foreign descent have been cut-off as far as this was legally possible. Especially conservative and right-wing voices are in favor of cutting down support for non-Austrian citizens. In fact, the unemployment rate of foreigners in Austrian is higher, so more non-Austrian citizens are benefitting from social welfare. Yet migrants work in precarious job situation more often and they are exposed to the risk of poverty to a higher extent. More foreigners are working in the low-income sector than Austrians (Statistik Austria 2016).

Young people from the Danube Region

While within the project YOUMIG the city of Graz has been chosen for being a significant receiving location of young people within the Danube region, during the interviews it became clear that neither the topic "youth" nor the topic of the "Danube region" as a region of origin is given major significance.

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For the integration department youth is a cross sectional topic, with some specific policies on education, basic education programs for youth being an example) (07 DOI). For the head of the City Council Club of the Austrian Freedom Party, youth is not seen at all as a relevant group for politics (05 AFP).

"Actually the Danube region is not important for consideration of the integration department." (07 DOI)

The Danube region is not really recognized as an important country of origin, although the numbers show quite clearly that most of the respective countries are providing a high share of the migrants coming to Austria and to Graz. For the University of Technology the Danube region is important only to a certain extent, for example with respect to co-operations, in the context of research clusters, and of the Danube Rector Conference. The strategy of this university though aims at getting the brightest brains from institutions with a high reputation to Graz. Those are localized more in Asia and America than in the Danube region. This is also true for the students: "We have some students coming from the Danube region, who are more, than we strategically want. We would rather prefer students from America or Asia." (08 TUG). Most foreign students at the TU come from Bosnia-Herzegovina followed by students from Germany, Italy and Croatia.

In some cases the Danube region has been estimated as a migratory region, due to emotional connections and networks, but also due to historical aspects, leading back to the times of the monarchy and the era of a common history.

"People simply feel safer in a similar cultural and natural zone, which makes it easier, it feels closer" (07 DOI)

Return Migration

The interviews tried to find out, whether migrants from the Danube region tend to stay in Graz permanently or rather leave Graz after a certain time. From a statistical point of view, return migration can hardly be assessed (08 TUG).

"We can only say something about emigration. We do have the statistical parameters of individual sets of data available and I can compare two reference dates, and when this person was registered in Graz on the 1st January and then on the 2nd February is not here anymore, then this means emigration for me. However, I cannot tell where the person has emigrated to." (03 DSG).

It was possible to find out that the probability of returning depends on the reason for migrating in the first place. There is a difference if an opening in the job market or a war has triggered the migration. With migrants who have been here for decades and have been integrated well, the probability of return migration is lower.

A specific case in the context of return migration is combined to the topic of student migration. Graz, although being an immigration area within the context of the YOUMIG project, also suffers from emigration of highly skilled migrants and quite often of people leaving or going back to their country of origin after they have finalized their studies. Especially people from Germany, that came to study in Austria after not having been able to study at home due to the rule of entrance by Numerus Clausus often go back to Germany after having finished their degrees (especially when having studied medicine). The issues arising therefore are that the costs for education are covered by Austrian tax money investing in future doctors that are in the end not staying in Austria. Already, the consequences of a lack of general practitioners, especially in rural areas are visible.

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"You really have to ask yourself if this is the right way, when people receive an education funded by public money and taxes and then they go somewhere else with all the education and know-how." (05 AFP)

From the perspective of other Danube country, economic reasons are often triggering the will of people for returning to their countries of origin. An economic boom, the rise of salaries or extended job markets can make returning to the home country more attractive.

5.2.2. Labour migration: The main form of migration concerning the Danube region

Wages and job opportunities

The interviews show that the monetary aspect is very often one reason for young people to migrate. Many businesses in the city of Graz are in need of workforce and as mentioned before, due to the lack of qualified people in some sectors, salaries are high, like in the case of IT. Additionally there are big differences in the wages between Austria and most of the countries of the Danube region. Therefore also many highly qualified migrants are willing to work here, even in less qualified jobs. This has various negative consequences that will be presented later.

"As long as we have this imbalance, you have to wonder why so few people migrate to North West Europe." (04 ISOP)

The enormous differences between income in the Eastern European countries and Austria over relatively short distances paired with the lack of labour force can therefore be considered as the main driver for migration within the region. The differences in salary and social benefits within short regional distances lead to a pull-effect. The interviewed person from the Austrian Freedom Party therefore considers immigration a threat. As the Austrian labour market now has accesses to very cheap labour force, he sees an increasing threat of loan dumbing. Immigrants from countries that joined the EU after 2004 are often seen as competitors on the Austrian job market by Austrian people. "Cheaper" workers from EU countries close to Austria, are perceived to displace Austrian workers, according to his opinion. Moreover he fears that people might stay and be attracted to the Austrian welfare state as soon as their employment has ended.

This means it can be more profitable to stay here and get unemployment or social benefits than to get unemployment benefits from the country of origin or to get a job." (01 ES)

Austrian companies and businesses see a great opportunity in the immigration of labour force from the Danube region, since - to their experiences - those employees are very reliable. Still loan dumping is a big issue: Companies and businesses have to be hindered to pay lower salaries to migrant workers. Migration caused by employment opportunities is said be leading to an increase of the number of people in employment in Austria without reducing the unemployment rate.

"Employment figures are continuously increasing, while unemployment figures remain stable or also increase, (...) Employment figures are increasing, because those people migrate to Austria." (01 ES)

Overqualification and brain waste

As stated before, job opportunities are a central pull-factor for migration and this not only is true for to well-paid jobs, but also poorly paid jobs can trigger migration (04 ISOP). The Austrian Employment Service (AMS) indicates that people with lower qualifications migrate first, followed then by those with good qualifications (01 ES). Muna Hamoud from the Employment Service thinks that there is a

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connection between low qualifications and lack of information – e.g. on actual job opportunities, on support that can be expected in connection with employment or housing - prior to migration.

"The classical example: The Hungarian, Slovenian university professor, teacher who is working in the catering industry in Austria. "(01 ES)

Due to the fact that higher salaries are triggering migration from the Danube region, migrants with high qualifications often face the problem of overqualification. Even if this example of a university professor working as a waiter seems to be rather pithy, the interviews with young migrants proved that there is a large group of migrants with tertiary education who work in jobs in Austria that do not require any form of higher education. The salary plays a central role. The most important factor is getting a job, therefore a lot of people are ready to accept a job that is below one's qualifications. The phenomenon of brain-waste is a mid- and long-term problem from a socio political point of view for the countries of origin, because they cause a brain-drain in those countries and can then lead to negative consequences for the social cohesion within the countries of Europe. For the individuals it often means that – once being enrolled in the low-skilled job market – they have difficulties going back to the job they have been trained in originally.

That the number of foreign work force is more exposed to the risk of overqualification can be also shown by numbers: In the year 2014 in total 9% of workers (interviewed in the frame of the representative labour force survey) felt overqualified, whereas 7% of them had no migration background and 18% had a migration background. In general more females felt to be working in a job that did not fit their higher qualification (in total 14% and 27% with a migration background). From the first generation 19% felt overqualified in their job and 10% from the second generation, although the percentage in that case is significantly higher for women. (Statistik Austria 2016)

5.2.3. Migrants and Networks

"People who come here often do not have access to networks that they used to have in their home countries. Therefore, the question should be raised, how can this be compensated, which networks are there?" (04 ISOP)

For migrants, networks are important for choosing a location where to migrate to and to get access to orientation and information: So it can be necessary to help immigrants with information support. Also diaspora networks and migrant communities have a high importance to help newcomers to get along, integrate, but also to keep up a certain bond to the home country.

Migrant Communities

There is a huge number of migrant organizations, which are partly organized in associations. They are well organized, connected with each other and sometimes have a religious background (06 CSAH). The most active communities are the Turkish (Kurdish) and African communities as well as Hungarian and Romanian associations. The Turkish community for example, presents a quite closed community, and many members of the Turkish community come from the same region in Turkey (07 DOI). A Romacommunity currently is not present in Graz, though in other cities in Austria there is immigration from Roma communities coming from Eastern Europe. "Probably there has been a shift in Austria within the last few years. I always here my colleagues from Innsbruck or Vorarlberg, (....) who always mention this topic, and I have the feeling for me it is not an issue." (07 DOI)

Communities can be a specific pull-factor. Within the communities certain recommendations are circulating, like for instance which city welcomes which community in a very positive way. Communities are relevant for getting a job as well. Some businesses only hire people stemming from

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the same country of origin and use their employees as active networkers and gate keepers for future workers. In bigger companies shift work is organized according to the country of origin of the employees.

"In Graz there is a dry cleaning business that has replaced their Turkish employees for Romanian ones, they exchange them, and so when you come from Nigeria you hardly have any possibilities to get a job there. They make sure that the group and the team fit together. In the meat business we have a big company in Graz that only works with Hungarians, who commute to Graz." (01 ES)

The institutional interviewees stated that not only the opportunities differ due to the different levels of information and networks of communities, but also due to cultural requirements. It was for example stated that the view on education differs among different communities to a large extent. Some group to a higher extend "lack the understanding for education and vocational training." While families from former Yugoslavian countries are said to have a great will that their children and so the second generation is enrolled in higher education and achieve a degree, other parents are not so aware of the importance of education for gaining a high skilled job in the future.

"Young people from Iran and Arabic countries are more likely to strive for tertiary education, which is also true for families from Bosnia. An apprenticeship is considered inferior by them." (01 ES)

Family

Migration because of work in the Danube region can have a negative impact on families. "... what happens - from a political point of view - with those who are in Austria over a longer period of time, what does that mean for the families in Eastern European countries?! (04 ISOP) In some cases only individual family members come — e.g. young women working as prostitutes (06 CSAH) "What we recognize is that many of them are here without their family, many are single parents, often leave their children with relatives, or neighbors, to be able to work." There is a tendency, like in the USA, where housekeepers and servants come from Latin American countries, are mainly single parents and often leave their children in their countries of origin to earn money in the rich west, so that they can offer them better perspectives. The same can be seen in Austria, where we have these people mainly from Romania and Bulgaria, not so often from Hungary, but especially from Romania and Bulgaria we can recognize a strong tendency. "(01 ES)

For families reunification is always an issue: People migrating for work from the Danube region build houses in their countries of origin, money flows back, but it does not automatically mean that they are going back there. On the contrary, based on migration in the 70's it can be expected, that they stay here and will bring their families. When families are reunified this can lead to problems especially for youth: When they come with their family to Graz they often lack prior knowledge, language skills, knowledge about the Austrian education system and its possibilities. (01 ES) This makes accessing education and work difficult. One suggestion would be: "to educate parents about the fact, that it does not make any sense to uproot a young person at a specific age, because they cannot connect with the structures here. Often it is better to finish their education, to graduate from school and then to come to Austria." (01 ES).

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5.2.4. Language and information

Language

Knowledge of language is a topic for all interview partners. From a statistical point of view, no statements concerning language competencies can be made. "The only fact I know about, is that the mother tongue German and the first language is surveyed among compulsory pupils, which is a small part of the citizens of Graz." (03 DSG). The language level of people from the Danube region is estimated to be rather high, not only for German, but also for English, (08 TUG)

German language skills are not always needed, there are jobs that only require marginal German skills. "Only if those people do not get jobs or lose their jobs, is the topic "language skills" important. When they want to enter the job market again, then language is a topic again." (02 SAU) However, language skills are expected by companies, especially when employees need to understand security regulations and work instructions. (03 DSG)

There are also jobs available in the highly qualified sector, that do not require German language skills: "When you come from China and you have graduated from a University of Technology then you are probably very attractive for many employers and you do not need to worry and it probably does not matter, if you speak German or not. The same is true for migrants from European cities who can speak English very well. Languages have a different reputation, when you speak Arabic or Turkish it is probably of less worth than being able to communicate in French or English." (07 DOI)

Programs and German courses are generally considered useful. (04 ISOP), at school but also for adults. (06 CSAH) There is also a demand for legal conditions. (02 SAU) 05 AFP considers language courses also a possibility to explain values and way of living.

For youth attending vocational schools regional German accents can be a problem, and help would be considered useful. "The question is, if the youth can pass vocational school with their language skills? Which means, that vocational schools are clearly not equipped for the target group: youth with migration backgrounds. They say that whoever attends has to make sure they understand and can keep up. However, it is common knowledge that teachers who teach in vocational schools often do not speak standard German, but a regional accent, also because of the regional location of such schools. The way people communicate with each other is also completely different to the norm, German can become a challenge, when the colleague in the mechanic workshop talks to the youth and additionally it is difficult for them to understand what is communicated at school." (01 ES)

Access to Information

People with poor qualifications often receive poor information before they migrate. There is also a correlation of geographic distance: "... the farther the distance, the more distorted the image. For instance people from Slovenia or Hungary do not have this problem, because there seem to be counseling agencies." (01 ES) However, 01 ES contradicts herself by stating:" With people from Hungary and Bulgaria I often have the feeling that they are more driven by hope than knowledge about chances they have. They get on a bus there and get off the bus here thinking, now everything is good." (01 ES) It is recommended to establish nonprofit organizations in the countries of origin: "Counseling agencies should really inform people and be NGOs the way we know them." (01 ES)

Considering labor market policies, more information about apprenticeships is required: "On the one hand there is really a lack of knowledge about what apprenticeship means within the whole family. On the other hand, apprentices' wages are low compared to collective wages – if only for the first 3-4 years -, and often parents do not understand the necessity of vocational training, because they

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themselves have not received any." (01 ES) As the concept of apprenticeship – where mostly young people acquire the necessary skills for a job at EQF-level 4 in a dual qualification system consisting of training on the job in companies on the one hand and training in school on the other hand – is not known to many migrants families, they cannot see its potential.

Some specific kinds of information that migrants should receive, are mentioned: information about customs (04 ISOP), information to be prepared for working in Austria, specifically the topics punctuality, politeness, accepting women in management positions, coming to work clean. (02 SAU) Companies need to be informed, too, for instance about work permits:" We do not have the time to read every individual law. ... This is sometimes really not clear for the job market or the companies." (02 SAU) Not abiding by the laws can lead to the fact that companies are fined. It is suggested to implement an information service, also here an NGO would be preferred, specifically mentioned is CARITAS (social help service by the Catholic church Austria) (02 SAU)

Some examples for information services run by the city of Graz are mentioned, for instance the ABI service (ABI standing für "Agentur für Bildung und Integration", so Department of Education and Integration), that offers counseling in several languages for young people, also flyers and information events (07 DOI) or information services (counseling for sexual workers) (06 CSAH).

5.2.5. Information and data on migration

Not only has the statistics department of the city of Graz gathered a lot of data, also organizations like the employment agency Austria (AMS) or the University of Technology have started to collect almost all relevant data. The University of Technology states that migration is not an explicit variable, even though nationality, mobility programs, main address and address of study are surveyed.

A lot of data is collected, which is not used, because there are no resources for processing the data. (04 ISOP) Statistics not always forms the basis for developing policies. The integration department states specifically, "that no policies for specific target groups are derived from figures" (07 DOI) They assess demands by networking, by self- estimation and by estimations made by NGOs.

Data in connection with migration on the one hand and social benefits or criminality on the other hand are requested in 05 AFP. One background of this need for figures being that the Austrian Freedom Party tries hard to find proof that social benefits are the main reasons for migrants to come to Austria and they see a strong connection between migration an criminality. This approach insinuates that it is not enough to become an Austrian citizen, as a migration background can never be overcome: "I would like to have a clear picture, because sometimes it is not possible to know about the origin of somebody living in council housing, it might be nice, that somebody is an Austrian citizen at some point, but in order to know how to deal with that person, I have to know if this person has a migration background or not. (05 AFP)

5.3. Results of the interviews with young migrants

5.3.1. Motivations

Political situation

Economic issues are the main reason for migration movement within the Danube region, but also problems caused by the political situation in the country of origin are mentioned as motives for migrating. The political situation is specifically stressed by the Hungarian and Turkish interview partners. A prevailing political situation that does not allow future perspectives from the individual

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point of view, can lead to emigration, which especially holds true for young people. At the interface of politics and economy two interview partners also mention corruption as a topic (01 BUD, 08 LJA).

Economic situation in the country of origin

The ratio of income and costs of living is mentioned as a central economic problem by interview partners from Hungary, Slovakia and Romania. In Romania the economic situation differs within the country, depending on the geographic location, but also depending on the industry, the interview partners stated. In the Western part of the country a positive development can be seen, which can be ascribed to joining the EU. In bigger cities, big companies have established their headquarters in Romania, which has created jobs in specific industrial sectors, like for instance IT. An inhomogeneous situation in the country can also be seen in Hungary. Budapest is different to the rest of the country. In cities like Pècs, for instance, there are only a few big companies creating jobs. (01 BUD).

"There are many big companies in Romania, but mainly in the Western part, not everywhere in Romania. But I believe you need to get the chance to make a career, so that you can earn a good salary, nevertheless ..." (07 KOZ)

Trust and Safety

Safety is an important topic within the context of migration. From an economic point of view, it is important that you get your salary on a regular basis and that you are financially supported, when you are unemployed.

"... Austrians know that they get their money, which is not the case in my country. I don't always get my whole salary. If I had a salary in Austria, I know that I could buy this or that, because I know that I would get the same salary next month. When I am unemployed then I get unemployment benefits from AMS and when I really want to work, then I will get a job. That is the difference between Slovakia and Austria." (03 BLA)

Austria offers chances

It is stated that in Austria you have more chances and more possibilities than in most of the countries of origin of the Danube region. The chances do not only refer to the job market, but also to educational and career options and on leisure opportunities.

- "... it is amazing how many chances you have in Austria ..." (03 BLA)
- "... that's why we are here. To lead a new life, to build up a future." (01 BUD)
- "... it is very positive in Austria and they don't care so much if you have been in prison or not, everybody can study, everybody can go to school, everybody can receive an education, everybody can join a sports club, there are so many possibilities in Austria." (08 LJA)

Job opportunities

The possibility to find a job, is also by tradition, one of the main reasons for migration, referring to the guestworker migration in the 1960s. Also the young migrants see migration to Graz in this tradition: Migrants with a Kurdish background have always played an important role for Graz in this context and also people from former Yugoslavia found better job opportunities in Austria (05 RAD). The job possibilities in Austria are estimated to be very good and there is the image that everyone who really wants to work can also get employment.

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"... when you really want to work, you will get a job, when somebody is unemployed, then I believe that they don't want to work, because he says that it is not profitable for me ..." (03 BLA)

Staying in Austria is usually planned only for a longer time, even though people would like to stay in their country of origin: "... I can return later to Slovakia for instance. But if you want to achieve something in life, then you have to leave, a short time abroad, and then you can return back home later." (03 BLA). Losing a job in your home country can be the triggering reason to go abroad, (07 KOZ). Often also the idea exists that are simply not enough jobs available, like for instance in Serbia, and migrating is described as the main strategy to get employed and start a career. "... there are no jobs in Serbia, and the biggest success for somebody is to leave the country ..." (08 LJA) An important reason to migrate is not only to find a job, but also the possibility of an income, which is estimated to be better than in the country of origin: "Which is the most economic, because 90% only come because of money, which is also the reason for me ..." (03 BLA)

Social system

A loose-knit social net causes the feeling of insecurity and is mentioned several times as another reason for migration. In comparison with other countries of the Danube region the social system in Austria is experienced as being very good. (07 KOZ, 03 BLA, 08 LJA).

"But here you have social security, and you know that nothing can happen to you, the social welfare state works ..." (02 KOC)

The social system is not only attractive from the safety point of view, but also bears the risk that people are abusing the system. From the interviewed people some mention other people that are taking advantage of the Austrian welfare system. "... there are many people abusing the system, so many people, when you hear that you think that is crazy, really, there are so many possibilities to abuse the system... "(03 BLA). While some of the interview partners are telling about the misuse, others are effected by potential consequences of the state. The effort of Austria to reduce abuse by canceling child support is discussed, when the children do not live in Austria. For people working as self-employed in the care sector as a 24-hour home carer, contributing with his/her payments to the social system, but with family living in the country of origin, this creates a difficult situation. (03 BLA)

Quality of life

The size of the city of Graz is mentioned as being part of offering a good quality of life by two of the interview partners (03 BLA, 04 BOD). When comparing Graz to other places in Austria it is considered the best option (03 BLA), (07 KOZ). Regarding quality of life, good recreation opportunities are important for young people:

"...the life of students, there are so many possibilities to go out and celebrate, there are also possibilities to go swimming, really so many possibilities ..." (04 BOD)

Citizens of Graz are described as being friendly: "Really, people here, the neighbors, the bus driver, everybody is friendly and also at the beginning when I couldn't speak German so well, they were all very helpful ..." (04 BOD). Another aspect of a high quality of life is reflected by a good and well-organized infrastructure and services. "...everything is organized so well. When the train is scheduled at 10:00 it also arrives at 10:00. In my country that is different, 10 minutes late is not a delay. So, I think this is really great, that you have to be on time and I like the organization in Austria, everything works here ..." (03 BLA)

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Safety is also important for quality of life. (01 Bud) In comparison with other big cities like Budapest, for instance, Graz is considered to be very safe. "... I don't feel safe there in the afternoon, there are too many different people, and you really have to watch out, ... here, when I walk home late at night, I can, because nothing will happen, ..." (04 BOD) Also in smaller cities like Györ (Hungary) there is no trust in safety: "As I have said, I do not feel safe, or in our village, when it is dark I don't want to walk alone, there is not a theft every day, but you hear so many things and you really have to watch out, ... also in Györ, when I lived there, I was always afraid of walking back home at night ..." (04 BOD)

5.3.2. Integration

How integration works, depends on various factors. The interview partners mention for instance the age when you migrate as a factor (02 KOC), but also how well you are prepared for the country you move to. When comparing generations, you can see a tendency among the people interviewed, that the younger ones are more ready to integrate than the older ones. This phenomenon appears again when discussing the topic "return migration". The parent generation has the dream to return to their home country much stronger.

"Then I said, come on dad, we are here, this is where we live, stop being sad about what was, we are living our life here." (05 RAD)

Many interview partners stress that they did not have any problems in daily life because they were migrants. However, a change can be noticed, the present climate is being experienced as being more problematic than 20 years ago: "... well, I never had any problems, maybe the times were also different, it was in 96, 97,98, I don't exactly know, I don't think there was such a focus on migration, children causing problems, we didn't have these problems, at least not in my class, or we didn't see them, like when you say look he is a foreigner, a "Yugo", a Turkish or whatever, ..." (05 RAD).

Positive experiences are not shared by everybody, though. "Well, I had enough problems, especially at the beginning, it really bothered me when I always heard someone saying "these foreigners, this is a foreigner", that always bothered me, ... and then you always hear foreigner here and foreigner there ... (06 ENE). For the young migrants in the last years further a shift is visible, from the topic of migrants from other parts of Europe, towards migrants and refugees from Arabic descent, when talking about migration "... then after some years, when I had a good command of the language, I watched TV one day, I watched the news and it was all about migrants and foreigners. And I see the pictures, and think, O.K, they are not talking about me, because foreigners are women with a headscarf and the like. This took a load off my mind and I could accept the negative attitude towards foreigners." (06 ENE).

Migrants from the Danube region see themselves as Europeans and clearly distance themselves from refugees coming from Asian or Arabic regions, which can clearly be seen in 07 KOZ: "... we are from here, we are European, we are not like the Turkish, this is a completely different culture, ... I have never seen so many Turkish people here before, and Arabic people, too. I am not against them, ... but I have to say, that there is a big difference, which can also be seen at school, at the school Brockmann and Bertha von – what's her name? – there is a different culture, you want to teach the children as if they were Austrian, but the Asian ones, they are from the Persian Empire. This is a different culture, and it doesn't work." (07 KOZ).

Migrants from former Yugoslavia are said to be more eager for education, which is also seen in 08 LJA as a good example: "when comparing their situation with ours, you can see that we came to Austria 25 years ago, many students attending university are from former Yugoslavia, the people worked here, saved some money and sent their children to university, they acquired university degrees, because education is what makes a country strong. And I would wish, that children also from Afghanistan will

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go to university soon." (08 LJA) Due to the geographic vicinity and cultural similarities it is assumed that integration is easier for people from former Yugoslavia than for people from Afghanistan or the Arabic region. (08 LJA)

Integration does not mean to neglect your identity and affiliation to your home country. "... I live in Austria, but I am not Austrian ... if somebody says that they are Austrian, and I don't know if they feel ashamed to be from Hungary, the Czech Republic or Slovakia, I cannot understand that. I stand up for being Slovakian, with every aspect that makes me a Slovakian, everything that is good and that is bad about it, but I am a Slovakian living in Austria. "(03 BLA)

Migration does not always lead to integration, which is true for the care sector as well as for people migrating for educational reasons, like in the case with Erasmus programs. Erasmus can bring foreign students to Graz (04 BOD), but also the opposite is possible: Young people, who migrated to Austria as children, use Erasmus programs to spend some time in their home countries. (05 RAD)

Segregation is seen as a sign that integration has not been successfully implemented. Although this formation has not only to do with migration but mainly with social aspects, it has been mentioned in the interviews as an outcome of not functioning integration. Young migrants perceive the quarter of Gries, which has a high number of migrants and especially the so-called "Triester settlement", which is a social housing settlement with also a high amount of people with foreign citizenship as a ghetto for poor Austrians. (08 LJA)

Language

Language is a key factor of migration, and it is an important topic in all interviews. Often migrants learn German already in their home countries (01 BUD). Taking part in exchange programs at school is also mentioned as a possibility to learn the language and develop a stronger affinity for the respective country (04 BOD). Not knowing German causes a lot of problems, especially at the beginning (02 KOC).

It is assumed that good German skills are a precondition for finding an adequate job (01 BUD). It is also important for young people who want to start studying in Graz. A lack of language competency can be a source of frustration and in individual cases, like for 06 ENE, can lead to a high emotional burden. It can even prevent integration sustainably. In this interview several reasons for emotional stress are mentioned: "... first of all I was not sure whether I would stay in Austria, second when I arrived here, I felt like nobody and third studying itself, I had to prove that I could make it, ..." (06 ENE). Moreover, she mentions the stress she had with the language in connection with cultural misunderstandings, even though she soon had learned German.

Education

The majority of the interview partners have a better education than their parents' generation, when comparing the highest possible grade. It is worth mentioning that, except for 03 BLA, all interview partners have graduated from university. However, very often people with university degrees have to work in jobs that require a lower qualification, which means that a better education does not lead automatically to a better qualified job. This fact is compensated by comparing a higher income in Austria to a lower one in the home country, however, the emotional stress of working in a job that does not come up to the qualification acquired is hardly mentioned. One exception is 07 KOZ, who suffers because she is educated as a teacher and is working as a cleaning lady. And also 01 BUD reports of her parents' disapproval, because she is working in a job below her qualification. A precondition to get a qualified job is that the qualifications acquired abroad are recognized in Austria, by way of recognition. Within the EU the recognition process does not impose a barrier in most cases.

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Migrant families from former Yugoslavia place great emphasis on education, according to 08 LJA: For them "education is more important than for other groups of foreigners, maybe not as much, as Austrian families do, because it is a well-known fact, that Austrians appreciate tertiary education very much." (08 LJA)

Education as a European value is opposed to Islamic perceptions: "... it is a phenomenon of the Islamic society, that, according to my observations, religion is a major influence with respect to living together and so influences life and the value that is assigned to education, information, and science. People are also old-fashioned in their way of thinking, of course there are exceptions, but the majority is very conservative, according to my opinion." (02 KOC).

5.3.3. Relationships and Networks

Family

The family is often the strongest bond with the home country. Even when the home country has a negative image, the family constitute the reason to return there. The family is a pull-factor for the home country, but also the other way round, when one family member migrates, because he/she finds a job, the family will then follow, it is experienced by the young migrants. In many cases it is the father, who then has the family followed (02 KOC, 08 LJA), but also sometimes the mother (05 RAD). Family contacts are also used to prepare migration or to support it, either by providing information or by helping to find a job or a flat (01BUD). For those who study, support can also come in the form of economic help. The family in the home country supports the student abroad. This support can then be paid back to the family, when the student starts working (06 ENE). Love and partnership have a major influence on migration – also at that point in life, when you make the decision to return or not to return.

"... I think it was in 2009, or 2010, after nearly nine years in Austria, when I got to know my boyfriend, an Austrian, and we asked ourselves where we should go to, to Bulgaria or to Austria ... Yes, and the decision was not easy, but my boyfriend is Austrian ... and I think I was not quite sure until the end, and my father couldn't believe it, that I stayed, he is still hurt." (06 ENE)

Affiliation and being foreign

The feeling not to belong haunts migrants for a long time. For young people the topic of affiliation is very challenging: " ... when you go to the discotheque you get this feeling of separation, either you belong to the local people or to the [group of foreigners], then you can feel the separation,... and when there is a racist security guy at the entrance, who doesn't let you in because you have black hair, then you become stubborn and you automatically are against them, you against us, we against you, and this is a bit of a problem, separation is there again ..." (08 LJA)

"It is really hard when you have to decide where to belong to, here or there?" (03 BLA)

The topic is not only to be accepted or to be integrated, a central issue is the question of identity and also the decision where to belong to. 05 RAD says: "I never had a problem with migration, more within myself, what am I now...?" This interview partner, who migrated to Austria at the age of 6, felt she was an Austrian until the age of 25, and then she visited Beograd, which changed her attitude. She feels foreign: "... no matter where you were, you always felt foreign. O.K I am completely integrated in Austria, but neither here nor there or even in Serbia do I feel at home, I am always the foreigner, because there they tell me that I have been living in Austria for so long..." (05 RAD)

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Language creates identity, too. 05 RAD explains, that she nearly lost her first language: "Well, I talk more easily in German with my siblings than in Serbian, because my sister or brother might not understand it, they can speak it, but it sounds like Austrian Serbian." (05 RAD)

Language and affiliation are not the same for different generations. The older people are when they migrate, the more difficult it is for them to develop a feeling of affiliation and well-being. "... with my parents you can see that they are still linked to Turkey, because they grew up there, they were there for 20, 25 years and have never really arrived here. They work here, live here, but they have never really felt comfortable here ..." (02 KOC)

Some migrants feel like they belong more to an international migration community, based on their experiences. "... here I have so many friends from all around the world, I came to Graz and got to know the world. My best friends come from Slovakia, Spain, of course also from Austria, and Hungary, very mixed, ... last time we were five travelling to Varazdin, we went to Croatia and two of our friends lived there and we were travelling with an Austrian car, one guy from Slovakia, two from Croatia, one girl from Turkey and me a Hungarian." (04 BOD)

Diaspora

The interview partners know about the communities in Graz, some are in loose contact with them, some of them are active members (01 BUD, 07 KOZ). For instance, there are two Hungarian associations in Graz, a Hungarian newspaper and a Hungarian shop (01 BUD). The Romanian community also has an organized association. Sometimes contact with their own community is avoided deliberately (04 BOD). An existing community can be an additional argument in favor of migrating to Graz, one of the interview partners stated (07 KOZ).

One problem with communities can be, that they are more conservative than in their home country, when they insist on maintaining their values. Values from the home country are kind of frozen in the Diaspora, while they continue to change in the home country. This leads to a lack of understanding, but also to a feeling of estrangement and being homeless.

"... they think ... in structures, in conservative structures, in values they brought with them. ... When people go back home for holidays, for a month, they get a cultural shock. They came to Austria in the 90s and the values, culture and attitude of the 90s they took with them, they try to maintain them. But culture is dynamic and back home, something that was not accepted 30 years ago, is now accepted ... What happens here, is kind of a migration phenomenon that the culture that was brought here does not change, although it should be dynamic and not static..." (02 KOC)

Religion

Religion is only mentioned in connection with the topic Islam, and is highlighted only with interview partners from Turkey and Serbia. It was stated that in Islamic communities the topic "code of conduct" is a topic among young people, for example when dealing with relationships before marriage. Interviewees also mention a connection between religion, chances for integration and education. Integration of people who come from conservative societies, where religion plays an important role, who have not been educated, is quite difficult.

Apart from the political dimension, religion is of great personal relevance, also as a system of values: "... in my life, football has been important, and the family too, and the most important factor has been that my mum has been religious and has always prayed, and has always found her peace with God and has never given up ..." (08 LJA) For this interview partner religion is a central topic, "... it is not important



which religion it is, whether it is Christian, Muslim, Jewish, the most important is to love your neighbor, love your family and to be faithful and honest, ..." (08 LJA)

5.3.4. Unfulfilled expectations

Expectations for a better future and more chances in connection with migration are not always fulfilled. There can be personal reasons why migrants are dissatisfied or even unhappy in Graz, probably the way of life in the home country is missed, and being homesick makes you unhappy, too (06 ENE). It can also be that people work in a job below their qualifications, or do not find a job at all. The topic to return home is discussed in many interviews in different ways. A trend can be seen, that generation differences are important: young people think less about the topic of returning to their home country, while their parents do and also the age at the time of migration influences this, whether the topic is relevant or not.

Negative aspects and discrimination in Graz and Austria

Although the positive aspects of Austria and especially Graz have been stressed, also negative issues are mentioned. "Well, Graz is O.K., maybe a bit too hectic and sometimes dirty, but not too dirty ..." (07 KOZ). Graz is by some migrants considered to be conservative. In a way that migrants are communicated in a subtle way, that they are different as 02 KOC experienced it. The interviewee mentions that he has the feeling of being treated differently in certain situation due to the fact people consider him as foreign. He refers it to the color of his skin and therefore sees that people are xenophobic and he suffers by that.

03 BLA feels discriminated in another way. Being working as in 24-hour home care, she is self-employed and has to take herself about her health insurance (03 BLA). People are left alone with this topic and quite often feel exploited and have (financial) disadvantages due to the fact they are not properly hired. The topic insurance is also discussed in context with tourism: "Well, my husband had different jobs, and in Tyrol it is unfortunately the case that when working in hotels, or as a waiter he was not properly registered. The woman there told him one day to come, the next to stay home, and that he was registered and then not. You only want to have regular papers." (07 KOZ)

Authorities are also seen rather negatively. Some young migrants don't feel supported by the authorities but rather in the situation of being discriminated or not helped at all: ".. when you go to an authority, you have to expect everything, it is really crazy ..." (03 BLA) The Austrians are further accused of being too eager on titles: "Even as a migrant, you are treated differently, as soon as you have a university degree "(06 ENE).

Overqualification and not finding a job

For the interview partners themselves and also for their parents' overqualification is an issue. Examples are the Hungarian teacher and project manager, who are working as a waitress and cleaning lady (01 BUD) and the Romanian teacher who is working as a chamber maid and at the cash desk of McDonald's (07 KOZ). The father of 05 RAD worked as a police man in Serbia, in Graz as a truck driver, the husband of 07 KOZ who graduated with a degree in psychology is a waiter in the surroundings of Graz. A situation that is very frustrating and referring to unfulfilled expectations.

Some interview partners mention, that it is difficult to find a job, even one that is below their qualifications. Some think that to find a job that matches the qualifications of migrants is nearly impossible (07 KOZ), no matter whether the qualification has been accepted in a nostrification process or not.

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"...we have always been looking for a good job here in Graz, but didn't get anything at first. It really wasn't a good feeling to spend the whole time at home and not to do anything, I don't like that, I always enjoyed working and didn't want to sit at home ... until I can work I will do anything, really anything" (01 BUD)

01 BUD does not expect a solution from the Austrian employment agency (AMS) and rather has the feeling he would be discriminated as being lazy. Also it seems that he is afraid of being estimated to not being a useful candidate for the Austrian labour market due to the lack of language skills: "No, I have never been to AMS, I was at home last year, but didn't go to AMS, I didn't want that, how can they help me, they say that I didn't want to work." (01 BUD) Problems finding a job are also due to insufficient language skills: "... but I think that I don't speak German well enough..." (01 BUD)

5.3.5. Attractiveness of the home country and options for returning

During the interviews, it has also been asked whether the home country still has a certain attraction and how much returning plays a role for the young migrants. Factors that are attractive about the home country are only mentioned after asking about them during the interviews. Apart from economic advantages (cheaper services in Hungary, for instance car mechanic, masseur, and dentist) also emotional factors are important: family, friends, and language:

"...it is a beautiful country, I like it, I love the language, the Hungarian language, it is beautiful and that's why I studied it at university. And yes, my parents still live there." (01 BUD)

Homesickness is often expressed indirectly during the interviews, for instance when talking in a very positive way about circumstances or the sense of life in the home country. Sense of life in Graz, that is stressful und focused on work, when being compared to the home country, where relationships and time are more important. The "main system" (05 RAD) is experienced as exercising pressure. "... this is completely different, the mentality, attitude and sense of life are completely different. I can't really find words for expressing myself ... when it comes to life, attitude towards life, everything is a bit different here, material things are more important, not material, but work, work, work and down there everything is a bit more relaxed, work is important, too, but not that you kill yourself for work..." (05 RAD)

Returning

Interview partners, whose parents migrated, talk about the long decision processes whether to stay in Austria or to go back home. Long term perspectives are important in order to decide whether to return or not. In many cases also positive examples are heard about, who have successfully returned home. But not always returning home is seen as a realistic option, even if the motivation to remain in Graz is very low.

"I have heard about enough people who were abroad and then returned to Romania. There are many people who are happy again. There are also many big companies in Romania, in the Western part of Romania. " 07 KOZ

Individuals who came to Austria when they were quite young, still have an emotional bond with their country of origin, but in varying degrees. Returning back home, however, seems very unlikely, only if the perspectives in the home country has changed considerably. 04 BOD who talks about her life in Graz full of enthusiasm, does not exclude returning back home: "... well, I always say that if I live in Hungary in the future, who knows what might happen there (Györ). My cousin lives there and also my sister. Yes, I love this city, and I believe that it is getting better and better, because there are many innovations and a lot of programs for young people and the university is quite good, it is really worth

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seeing." (04 BOD). Also 05 RAD sees the opportunity to go back to Serbia at one point: "Because Beograd is a huge city where East and West meets, it is at the border and you have a lot of influence from the East and also from the West. If one day the economic situation in Serbia improved, more than in Austrian, then I might go back to Serbia (05 RAD). Also for 07 KOZ a return of Romania is still an option: "And if after four years the wages were better, then I would go back there and stay." (07 KOZ)

Some interview partners reported that they dealt with their home countries quite late. 05 RAD reports that she didn't have any rapport with her home country Serbia until she turned 25, and that she also was not interested. However, a stay in Beograd was a key experience for her. It was the trigger to start studying Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. She spent one year in Beograd to study and has dealt intensely with her country of origin.

6. Biographies of interviewed young migrants

After having shown the most important topics mentioned in the interviews, in the following a biographical perspective of the young migrants interviewed will give deeper insight in their personal experiences of migrating to Graz.

In the following a short biography is listed of all interviewed migrants:

- 01 BUD: The Hungarian female interview partner is married and came with her husband to Graz because of work, where both of them are working in jobs that are below their qualifications. She is a Hungarian language and literature teacher and also worked as a project manager in Hungary. An important reason for her and her family for leaving was to escape from the political conditions in the above mentioned EU-member country. She is very active in the Hungarian community in Graz.
- 02 KOC: Studies sociology and came from Turkey to Graz when he was still attending school.
 His father had already been in Austria when the rest of the family came. The interview partner is well established in Graz; he works for an NGO. His parents only have basic formal education.
- 03 BLA: this interview partner mainly talks about his job as a 24-hour home caregiver (he works
 in Austria for two weeks and is the back home in Slovakia for 2 weeks). 24-hour home caregiver
 are self-employed in Austria. The social health insurance fees that have to be paid, as a
 consequence, are the main topics of the interview.
- 04 BOD: The main reason for the Hungarian woman to emigrate was to find a job. Emigration
 for her is experienced as an exciting adventure, giving her the possibility to find friends from
 different countries. She has created her own professional context where she can foster her
 affinity for international relations.
- 05 RAD: The interview partner came to Graz as a child from Serbia. She has a positive image of
 migration and talks in a very positive way about exchange of various cultures. Her self-image
 is: self-confident and adaptable. She has started actively thinking about her home country
 rather late in her life, but then in a more sustainable way.
- 06 ENE: The Bulgarian woman came to Graz in 2001 to study at the University of Technology and has remained in Graz against her original plan. The reason was a relationship with a man from Austria. During the interview her homesickness can be felt. The interview is too emotionally challenging for her, so we have to stop after taking biographic data and before starting with the questionnaire.

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- 07 KOZ: The female teacher from Romania went with her husband to Beograd after she had graduated. He belongs to the Romanian minority in Serbia. After her husband had lost his job, they emigrated to Austria, first to Tyrol and then to Graz. Both of them are working in jobs that are below their level of qualification. They followed job possibilities. For the interview partner it is very frustrating to work in such a job, despite her better qualifications.
- 08 LJA: This interview partner emigrated from Serbia to Graz as a child. While his father still
 holds a Serbian citizenship, he became Austrian citizen. His father lost permission to stay, after
 spending some time in prison. As a youth he became a criminal, too. But after his stay in prison
 he studied and graduated as a civil engineer. Religion is an essential and important part of his
 life, as well as family.

Migrating to different countries - a story of multiple arrivals

The interviews showed that migration is seldomly a linear move from one country to another: Migrating with many stops from one country to the other has often been the path for the interview partners and their families. In the following the stops of the interview partners should give an overview on this:

- 01 BUD: Budapest Pecs Germany- Upper Styria Upper Austria Graz. (sister: Budapest Vienna Graz Cologne Budapest)
- 03 BLA: Slovakia (Banovce) Scotland London Salzburg Vienna Graz
- 04 BOD: Miskolc Germany (exchange, two times) Györ Graz
- 05 RAD: Beograd Hallein Graz Beograd (ERASMUS) Graz (father originally comes from the Serbian border region to Romania, came via Beograd and Hallein to Graz. Stepmother Beograd Paris Hallein Graz). In this case migrating from place to place is also connected to multilingual competencies of the family, which speaks Serbian, German, Wallisian Romanian and French.
- 06 ENE: Stara Zagora Varna Graz London Graz
- 07 KOZ: Temesvar near Beograd Tirol Graz (the husband comes from Serbia, belongs to the Romanian minority, Studied in Temesvar, moved to Beograd, worked for a Slovenian company in Romania, then Tyrol, then Graz)6.1. Narrative biographical analysis

6.1.1. On the way to independence: 04 BOD

Major biographical events

04 BOD is a 25-years-old woman from Hungary. At the age of 11 she participated in a student exchange programme with a school in Germany. Three more were to follow. 04 BOD, who comes from Miskolc, moved to Györ after school to study there. During her studies she spent an Erasmus semester in Graz. She returned to Györ to finish her studies. After graduation she moved back to Graz and began an internship at the College of Education in Graz. In September 2017 she started her first job in Graz at the University of Applied Sciences.

04 BOD is an optimist for whom migration is an exciting adventure where you can make countless friends from various countries. It tells the story of a young woman for whom migration is part of growing up.

Turning points of the biography

At the age of 11, 04 BOD participated in her first student exchange programme. She was motivated by the fact that her best friend wanted to go to Germany and that was the reason why she also applied for the exchange. Another influential factor - although this was not specifically mentioned by 04 BOD

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– was that she attended a special class for German with daily German lessons. Her parents supported the exchange. She reports that she liked it so much that she also welcomed German exchange students in Hungary. In retrospect she regards this phase as an important step for her decision to get a qualification respectively a job that would allow her to work with people from foreign countries.

The next important moment in her biography was the decision to spend an Erasmus semester in German-speaking countries. She applied for a German-speaking country, as her German language skills were better than her English ones. That she finally came to Graz had a lot to do with coincidence. BOD applied for Graz because she liked the positive image of the city presented on the internet and it was a coincidence, really, that she got the scholarship here.

Moving to Graz in 2014 was an important turning point in her biography. Connected with the move to Graz was the ending of a four-year relationship with her boyfriend, which she had started when she was 17 years old. This step is described as a step towards freedom:

"Now I'm doing so many things just for myself". Talking about that time she conveys impatience, liberation, the breaking of bonds. "... and I really liked it very much, and everything has changed, including my whole life. The way I had seen my life. I grew up a bit here, I have to say. "

After the Erasmus scholarship she had to go back to Györ, she had one year left to complete her studies. Returning to Györ she realized that she would return to Graz as soon as possible. She got in touch with the College of Education in Graz, where she actually got an internship after having completed her studies. The internship started in 2015. This step in her biography was more definitive than the Erasmus scholarship. In her narrative this becomes visible when she talks about her friendships. Friends are a high priority in her life. With the step to Graz in 2015 a specific quality of her friendships in Györ come to an end. She feels misunderstood. Friends do not visit her, but it goes without saying that she visits them when she comes to Györ. Perspectives change and tensions in her emotional relationships with her friends and parents in Hungary appear. The emotional attachment to family and friends is changing and a form of alienation is palpable.

Identities and self-representation

4 BOD presents herself as a dynamic, positive and self-confident woman who feels very comfortable in an international environment. Migration is part of growing up for her. She takes two steps. With her first stay in Graz in 2014 she also ended her relationship with her boyfriend in Hungary and made the first step into a self-defined life in Graz. The second step was associated with strong changes in her emotional ties with family and friends. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that a return to Hungary is not an issue for her, at least for the time being. The start of her first job in Graz is also a symbol of a first anchorage in Graz.

As mentioned above, she feels misunderstood by her friends in Hungary. They think that she earns a lot of money and to her disappointment they do not realize that she works a lot for it, and that money is not her most important motive. Here, a migration narrative becomes visible in which friends and acquaintances who remain in the country of origin believe that the motive for leaving always is the money. In the case of 04 BOD this is not true and this attribution is very irritating and clouding the relationship with her friends in Hungary. With her international friends in Graz this is not an issue and so these relationships are also described as being much more relaxed.

Migration is a liberation story for 04 BOD. Migration opens up the possibility of becoming independent and the chance to follow her dreams. Accordingly, the migration experience and the city of Graz itself

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are referred to in a very positive way exclusively. For 04 BOD, migration means improvement, intensified by the opportunity to move in an international environment.

In the story of 04 BOD, no structural constraints causing migration become apparent, she has voluntarily made her decision to migrate, and in her self-assessment the fundament had been built quite early, in her first student exchange with Germany. She says of herself: "... since the age of ten, I knew that I would someday want to live abroad." The important factor of autonomy becomes evident in other contexts of her narration, as well: She had an uncle in Vienna, but she did not want to go there, because she wanted to have a city "for herself". "This is my city. And I do not want anyone else from my family living here ".

Her self-reliance ultimately made it possible for her to move to Graz. After having realized that she wanted to work internationally, she tried to obtain an Erasmus scholarship in a German-speaking country during her studies. After graduation, she contacted the applied college for education (Pädagogische Hochschule) - where she had spent Erasmus - and looked for opportunities to do an internship.

The following narratives are visible in the story of 04 BOD: migration as a frame for growing up and becoming independent, leaving friends behind because of alienation, the joy of working and living in an international environment.

The country of origin – Hungary - remains positive for 04 BOD, especially the family, the city of Györ itself, and ultimately also her friends. This at least theoretically opens up the possibility of a return. Her identity - whether she feels Hungarian or unsettled by migration - is not an issue. Perhaps due to the enthusiasm for the international context a hierarchisation between migrants from the Danube region and refugees is not an issue, either.

6.1.2. Everything is difficult - a narrative of perceived deprivation: 07 KOZ Major biographical events

07 KOZ is a 34-year-old woman from Romania. She was born in Temesvar, where she also completed her studies (geography). The time before graduation plays no role in her story. During her studies, she met her future husband, who belongs to the Romanian minority in Serbia. Her husband completed his studies of psychology in Temesvar. After graduating she and her husband decided to move to Serbia.

In Serbia, their degrees were easily recognized. She worked for the next seven and a half years as a teacher in Serbia. Her husband worked from Serbia as Sales Manager for a Slovenian company in Romania. In the year 2011 major changes appeared: Their son was born and her husband lost his job and could not find a new one. Over the next few years it became obvious that her salary as a teacher would not be enough. This was a major reason for their migration to Austria. Through personal contacts the family moved to Tyrol in 2014. 07 KOZ worked as a chambermaid and as a cashier at McDonald's afterwards. In 2015 she moved to Graz. 07 KOZ began with the recognition of her degrees. In 2017 her son entered the primary school.

07 KOZ tells the story of a family who follows the job opportunities. It is a story of frustration, the interviewee would like to work as a teacher, but she cannot. For her and her husband migration to Austria means to accept work way below their qualifications. The mantra of the narrative: It's hard! Her big issue is: How do I get back to my job as a teacher. She always feels treated unfairly. This started in Temesvar and continues to this day. The desire for return becomes more or less obvious. National pride is also an issue: Living in Romania it is at least as good as living in Austria, the quality of life is good, Romanians are more cultivated than refugees from the Arab world.

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Turning points of the biography

The biographical narrative begins more or less with the completion of her studies and the move to Serbia. Two motives for this move become apparent: Her husband did not want to stay in Romania and as a teacher she could earn more in Serbia than in Romania. In the background the nationality of her husband who comes from Serbia and belongs to the Romanian minority there exerts some influence. A main story of 07 KOZ is migration because of the money and how this leads to personal unhappiness.

All her migration steps lead away from a current situation, motives indicating a vision or an aim do not appear: she tries to get away from Romania, because of low wages, away from Serbia, because her husband does not get a job and one salary is not enough. Away from Tyrol because people and climate are unbearable and she cannot work in her job. Even in Graz 07 KOZ feels unfairly treated and her main motives — to get away from a situation — are emerging again. However, for the first time, a positive motive can be seen: 07 KOZ ponders a return to Romania, where she is perceiving increasingly positive aspects.

Migration to Tyrol meant that 07 KOZ could not work as a teacher in the profession she is qualified for. It is thus a clear example of overqualification. Having to work as a chambermaid was unbearable for her, followed by a move to McDonalds. But ultimately this step was not enough, to move away from Tyrol was the logical consequence. "I could not live there. I hate Tyrol."

In the preparation of the move from Tyrol to Graz the tension between motives leading from a current situation and motives leading to a future situation can be seen at work. 07 KOZ describes the decision as to where they should go from Tyrol as follows: She and her husband took a map and decided without background research what their next destination should be. The motive was very clear: getting away from Tyrol. However, the aspect of getting closer to Romania and/or Serbia appears for the first time in the narrative: A central factor in the decision for Graz was the greatest possible proximity to Romania. Moreover, in Graz there are Romanian associations - 07 KOZ became an active member in one of them.

Identities and self-representation

07 KOZ presents herself as an unfairly treated person for whom everything is difficult. One of the great injustices for her is that she has to work overqualified. It all started when she was told during her studies that she could work all over Europe with her degree. Now she has learned that this does not apply in Austria, because here the teaching subject "geography" alone does not constitute a degree course, it always has to be combined with a second subject. It was also regarded as unfair that they did not receive any further training offers from the AMS in Tyrol. Even in Temesvar 07 KOZ had felt that her husband, as a member of the Romanian minority in Serbia, had received financial support from the state (for studying), but she had to have good grades to receive any support at all.

This feeling of disadvantage may be due to migratory experiences, but it can also be a basic attitude of her personality. The sense of disadvantage goes with a sense of dissatisfaction: In Serbia they had a house: "We had more than here."

07 KOZ did not make the migration decisions autonomously. Migration from Romania to Serbia obviously had a lot to do with the wish of her husband. "Going after the husband" could include a gender-relevant aspect here. The next steps were determined by the labour market situation and the opportunities to earn money. Self-realization through migration was not an issue. 07 KOZ could be a potential return migrant. But before this circle closes, the question to be answered at the beginning of their migratory movements would probably have to be answered now: Romania or Serbia? She asks

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this question herself: "In Serbia is not so ok, in Romania already better, I believe". Probably the crucial question is: where to return to? Apparently this is a question that has to be answered within the family. Her son also plays a role in this decision: She believes that a return would only be possible after her son's final year in elementary school (years 1-4 of elementary school).

The narrative of 07 KOZ is about migrating out of necessity (economic hardship at home); she doesn't really like it in the destination country (works in a job much below her qualification as a cleaning lady), her husband also works below his education level, all that makes her frustrated; she would be eager to return, were the wages higher at home. Her story contains several elements of self-victimization, there is lots of emphasis on the constraints. The narrative also contains lots of bits and pieces of the "how difficult it was" type, "but I did it, because I am strong, hard-working and tenacious." She doesn't feel very good, doesn't want to stay, but "she has to". Were the wages better, she would return.

She also invests quite some energy to prove that her home country is not inferior to the destination country: basically she claims that Austria is only better in what concerns the economic and welfare system dimensions. She mentions negative things about Graz: too hectic and sometimes a bit dirty, even if not very dirty. She further contrasts the people from Romania and Austria, highlighting that in Romania they "have time" for each other. If the former interpretation is right, then again it can be considered as a value highlighted in the home country which is contrasted to the destination country, where she feels that she is expected to be a machine. She also claims that education in Austria is not better than in Romania only the infrastructure and equipment are better. She further criticizes the quality of schools in Austria in relation to the children from other immigrant groups. This leads to another important identity-related element. And indeed, she distances herself clearly from non-Danube-Region migrants (Arabs, Turks etc.) also on other occasions, conveying the message that she is better (or Romanians are better; it is basically a hierarchy that she creates between the categories, she constantly questions or at least qualifies the top position of the Austrians while also constantly reinforcing the border downwards, with the groups regarded as being below her in the hierarchy).

6.1.3. Liberation through education, family and religion: 08 LJA Major biographical events

08 LJA, 27 years old, came to Graz (1992) at the age of 2, together with his mother and brother. They followed his father, who had been living in Austria since 1989. His father became a criminal, was sentenced and spent several years in prison. He was subsequently deprived of his residence permit and sent back to his native Serbia. 08 LJA attended high school and wanted to become a professional footballer, a project he had to give up at the age of 16/17 years. In this time he took his first steps to becoming a criminal himself.

In 2008 08 RJA graduated from grammar school with A-levels. Shortly thereafter, he was convicted of criminal activity and sentenced to one year in prison, of which he spent 5 months in prison and the remainder of his time in drug treatment. After his dismissal in 2009 he began studying civil engineering and graduated in 2016 with a degree in engineering.

The interviewee tells a story of his reformation through education and religion. This purification – in his opinion - is made possible by the Austrian system, which allows a second chance. He thinks that this system is in danger, however. His narration circles around his system of values, mainly religion, family and the potential of education.

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Turning points of the biography

The migration to Graz was motivated by two factors: On the one hand, his father had already been living there. On the other hand, migration from Yugoslavia at that time was also a flight from the increasingly uncertain political circumstances. The main difficulties associated with migration were his parents' language problems. Especially his mother did not speak German at all at the beginning. His sister, born in Austria, had to translate for her mother as a little girl when communicating with the authorities was necessary.

His father was imprisoned in the mid-1990s and his mother remained alone with 3 children, without work and with minimal knowledge of German. 08 LJA does not comment on the effects of the father's crime on his own step into crime. Although a relationship can be assumed, other factors are likely to play a bigger role. His longing for appreciation probably was such a factor, appreciation he did not get as a footballer. Whereas this aspect does not necessarily have to be migration-specific - the perceived offense of not really belonging here may well be.

The high school graduation with A-levels and the consequent right to graduate, played a central role for 08 LJA. Even if he was subsequently imprisoned, his high school diploma allowed him to study. 08 LJA relates to the fact that one gets a second chance in Austria and can complete a study despite a prison stay very positively.

Identities and self-representation

A key narrative of this interviewee is his liberation through education. He is extremely proud of his own educational biography as well as that of his siblings, which was made possible by his mother: she is portrayed as a heroine who, without adequate knowledge of German and without qualifications, made it possible for her children to obtain tertiary education.

Also because of the great importance he attributes to education, he deals very critically with the Austrian education system. He criticizes, for example, that children in the 4th grade cannot speak German properly. Migrant parents speak their mother tongues at home, so the young people speak bad German, and investing in teachers and in schools is not on the agenda, so he complains. 08 LJA does not only relate the exemption story of education to himself and his family, but highlights its importance to migrant children as a whole. He does not differentiate between Danube region migrants and refugees. "...education is the alpha and the omega to make a country successful, and I would like to see Afghan children at university soon."

08 LJA attributes no importance to his migratory background: he emphasizes that there was no racism at the university. This is in contradiction to his stories about his youth when he had undoubtedly experienced racism. He talks about doormen in front of nightclubs that did not let him in because of his appearance.

However, one can assume a break in his biography, which is likely to coincide with his prison stay and the drug rehabilitation: Referring to his adolescence he describes himself as a thug and "Discodealer" and he refers to the previously mentioned situation, where he was not admitted into the Disco. "... and of course, when racist bouncers are standing there and they say, no, you cannot get in, because you have black hair, you just become so defiant and you automatically take the position: you against us, we against you." In the aftermath of the presumed biographical turning point he is critical of discos: "... we wish that people would not turn to discos or drugs, for instance, if they are hit by some heavy stroke of fate, before you go to discos and drugs you should go back to education and family life ... ".

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08 LJA is a devout Muslim. The separation of Islam and terror is important to him. He explains that Afghan youths are struggling with the Austrian school system because the educational infrastructure in Afghanistan had been destroyed, for which he partly blames the US presence in Afghanistan. Subtly the ideological narrative of America being responsible for the political conditions in these regions resonates. 08 KOZ refrains from stereotyping and blaming on a personal level, but reproduces anti-American on a geopolitical level.

The narrative of the family is interwoven with the religious narrative. His mother is a personification of this combination: He describes his mother as a heroine on the basis of her religious conviction. 08 LJA came to Graz at the age of two and is one example among many who came to Graz at a young age with their families or with parts of them. His mother would be associated with the motif "going after someone", she followed the father, who had come to Graz three years earlier.

National pride is not obvious in the narrative 08 LJA, neither for Serbia nor for Austria. He regards Austria very positively, primarily because of the possibilities offered here. The hierarchy of migrants from the Danube region on the one hand and refugees on the other is of no relevance in his narratives. Identity issues probably were important issues in his youth. This seems to have changed after the biographical turning point with the prison stay. If they are not resolved, they have at least been shifted to another level: the determinative defining factors of his identity are less to be found in national narratives than in familial and religious ones.

7. Challenges connected to youth migration and policies aimed to deal with them

7.1. Young migrants on policy challenges

Major problems perceived by young migrants

In order to gain insights on how young migrants perceive local policy and administration and which challenges they are facing, a focus groups has been conducted, partly consisting of people that have already been interviewed and partly of other migrants from the Danube region. The participants of the focus group discussion raised issues at the level of everyday life as well as problems at a general sociopolitical level.

Most of the young migrants mentioned that language is the main challenge for young migrants for getting along in a new environment. Although most of the participants of the focus group had at least some German knowledge when arriving to Austria, the ability to speak German was said to be crucial for integration. Integration and learning the language becomes more difficult when immigrants are staying mainly in their communities, which can often be seen with students. It was emphasized that the city does offer a lot (e.g. language courses), but still it is difficult to learn a language if it is not needed in the working or private environment. Mostly it is necessary communicating with administrative units. In addition to language issues access to profound information is crucial. In this context, people often depend on the attitude of the public servant and quite often contradictory information is offered: requests can be rejected by one body yet approved by another.

Concerning employment, participants of the focus group view over-qualification as a major problem: persons with academic degree may be forced to work as chambermaids. Young people often get stuck in certain (low skilled) job markets, way below a level they had been trained in. One reason is that for further employment, the offers of the Public Employment Service (AMS) are based on the level of actual employment and not on the actual qualification. This means that you cannot expect to be offered a job by the Employment Service in a profession of the originally acquired qualification.

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In addition to these specific issues, general issues such as education, integration and health have been addressed. Concerning these issues the participants of the focus group think that the Austrian situation is getting worse. Especially in the education system an increase of problems is located. This tendency is vaguely linked to the increase in the proportion of migrants, for example in schools. In the healthcare system, two areas are considered to be problematic: on the one hand the "two-class medicine", which is reflected in differences in waiting times and the quality of treatment, and on the other hand, the limited time of the doctors, having a seriously negative effect on the communication between doctors and patients.

All these factors are also having impact on the feeling of integration and inclusion, another big issue within the focus group. Integration is described as a process needing time being connected to various other topics. While some do feel integrated in terms of the labour market, they feel rather excluded from the Austrian society having few or no Austrian friends, which was also explained by the fact that is not always clear how long it was even planned to stay in Austria. Integration is reflected several times from different perspectives. It was discussed, at which point migrants feel like being integrated or which parameters could define integration. A circle of friends, including Austrians, could be such a criterion. From the point of view of the focus group participants, the media convey a simplified picture of integration and foreigners. A participant in the focus group with a Muslim background, who grew up bilingually in Austria, is hallmarked as a foreigner because she is wearing a headscarf. She is told that she is a stranger, although she does not feel a stranger at all.

The strong focus on integration in public discourse can lead to an increasing division of the population, according to some participants. In this discourse, there is a local population on the one side and migrants on the other who are defined as being not integrated or even in a process that cannot be closed ever, so they have to integrate for a lifetime.

The relation of young migrants to the municipality of Graz

Not all participants in the focus group have developed a positive emotional relationship with Graz. However, the majority emphasizes their positive attitude towards the city. "I like Austria," one of the participants says, explaining that in Graz people are polite, greeting each other, looking each other in the eye and have a certain willingness to help each other. Particularly succinct is the topic of "security". To feel safe and not to be afraid in the streets in the evening is often described as an element of quality of life as opposed to the countries of origin.

In Graz - and in Austria as a whole - according to individual statements, more should be invested in the areas of language and education. In addition to language skills, access to information for migrants plays a key role. Information from the circle of acquaintances is often considered unreliable, so there is a need for high-quality information, predominantly in the languages of the countries of origin. In Graz there "educational coordinators" being members of migrant communities, have a lot of knowledge about the education system and then pass this on to the communities.

The relationship of migrants to the city of Graz is strongly defined by economic opportunities. Austria as a whole is characterized by a good economic situation and the social system is highlighted as being particularly well-developed. Austria opens up opportunities, as a participant puts it in a nutshell: "If I want to learn something, then I get it. If I want to work, I get a job." For migrants from the Danube region, especially from EU member states, it is relatively easy to have their qualifications recognized. The responsible recognition office obviously works fast. There are contradictory experiences with the Public Employment Service: on the one hand dissatisfaction with the placement is expressed, on the other hand, it is estimated that the Public Employment Service provides further qualifications. Taxes

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are not an issue for the participants in this focus group, nor is the health system, which is perceived as very positive despite the limitations mentioned above.

Political measures were proposed not only for Graz, but also for the countries of origin of the focus group participants, such as an extension of language teaching in the schools of the countries of origin. The background being that this would facilitate the first steps in the target countries. Repeatedly, corruption has been discussed as an intervention field for political measures in the countries of origin. Finally, it is also proposed to provide infrastructure, premises where young migrants can meet and exchange views. These rooms could also work as a network hub for volunteers.

7.2. Policy competences, institutional actors involved

Migration can be seen as a cross-sectional topic that is not only affecting a lot governance fields, but also multiple governance stakeholders are involved. While most legislation is undertaken on the national level (concerning the regulation of migration, registration, etc.), the local level is still the most important body when it comes to the execution of measures, especially in the field of integration.

The municipalities therefore have a strong responsibility in the topic of migration and integration. Especially in most urban agglomeration in Austria, certain city councils are dedicated to the tasks of integration and migration. The City Government of Graz has several departments concerned with the matters of integration, such as the Department for Education and Integration, the Department for Social Affairs, the Department for Youth and Families and the Citizens Office.

The Department for Education and Integration acts as a first port of call and place of information for migrants. Further it is mainly responsible for the development of strategies and projects with the aim of participation and equality of all citizens irrespective of their origin and the support and guidance of volunteer initiatives in education and integration. It offers basic education programs, especially for young people often also together with non-governmental organisations (e.g.: ABI service center with IBOBB café for young people, counseling in different languages about topics like job orientation, for instance ZEBRA). All migrants newly migration to Graz further receive a welcome brochures, and are invited to information events, offering all forms of information on housing, education as well as juridical and administrative requirements.

The Department of Social Affairs is responsible for benefits, regarding the Styrian social assistance law, disability law and nursing home law (for adults). They offer certain programs, in many cases also important for migrants:

- Offering health care, e.g. vaccinations in specific quarters of the city depending on social situation and percentage of migrants
- Social card: saves red tape and pools services like exemption from GIS fees (fee for the radio and TV broadcasting station Austria), access to all services provided by the city, Christmas benefits, heating cost subsidies, cheaper sport club fees, etc.
- Recall –system: there is a recall system established by the city of Graz for Borreliosis vaccinations. When you get vaccinated, you are automatically contacted again after five years to be revaccinated.
- Counselling of sex workers: the city of Graz conducts medical examinations that are obligatory by law for sex workers and offers counseling in their mother tongue together with the charity SXA, to make women aware of their rights and to support them in case help is needed.



For youth migration also the department for youth and families are of importance, which are representing the interests of young people from 0 to 18, usually falling under certain laws (e.g. protection of youth) and also supporting families with children (family support and allowances).

The citizens office is the main department offering documents and registration, not only for immigration but also matters of personal status, such as birth certifications, marriages, certifications of deaths, Citizenship and Passport Affairs. Other stakeholders that are involved in integration processes and the advice of migrants are the labour market agency (coaching, information, basic education, programs for the youth), the chamber of commerce, the federal government as well as national and international companies based in Graz.

Table 8. Government departments in Graz dealing to a high extent with the topic of migration and supporting migrants

Department for Education and Integration

https://www.graz.at/cms/beitrag/10014565/7744770/Abteilung_fuer_Bildung_und_Integration.ht

ml Keesgasse6 8011 Graz. E-mail: abi@stadt.graz.at

Department for Social Affairs

https://www.graz.at/cms/beitrag/10018736/7761766/Sozialamt.html

Schmiedgasse 26 8011 Graz. E-mail: sozalamt@stadt.graz.at

Department for Youth and Families

https://www.graz.at/cms/beitrag/10015960/7751496

Kaiserfeldgasse 25 8011 Graz. E-mail: jugendamt@stadt.graz.at

Citizens Office (for documents, registration)

https://www.graz.at/cms/ziel/7743972/DE/#

Schmiedgasse 26 8011 Graz. E-mail: bürgerInnenamt@stadt.graz.at

Source: Following information was collected from MARTA RIBAS ROMEU (DRIM project: http://www.interreg-danube.eu/approved-projects/drim)

The city of Graz officially holds a migration advisory board that is voted in the frame of the municipal election: The MigrantInnenbeirat⁸. The migration advisory board consist of migrants being third-country nationals and are elected for a period of 5 years. The work of the board is honorary. Their main activities are to give advice and comment on decisions of the city policy. Further they should pass on information to the migrant communities and mediate between different groups of citizens in the city of Graz. One of the main goals is to achieve similar chances for everyone.

In 2015 the city of Graz defined a new integration strategy that is planned to be implemented until the year 2020. Main topics of this policy are the topics: language, culture and values, rights and obligations, interreligious dialogue and identity⁹. The city in this strategy defines diversity as a main strength and wants all inhabitants of the city to be part of society. Qualifications and their recognition are explicitly mentioned, equally to chances in education and the labour market. Graz want to act against discrimination and racism. Integration is seen as a cross-cutting topic between all divisions of the city.

Besides the official governmental bodies, there are many NGOs, supported by the government, that work on different levels in the field of integration on behalf of the City of Graz: offering information, language courses, social welfare, juridical advice and so on. In many cases migrants are living under

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⁸ https://www.graz.at/cms/beitrag/10025470/7771507

⁹ https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10261233/178772fb/Integrationsstrategie_web.pdf



precarious condition since personal or familial networks are missing and less knowledge of the new living place are available. Therefore a lot of different NGOs are trying to provide help.

Table 9. NOGs in Graz and Austria, dealing with the topic of migration and supporting migrants

NGOs supported by local administration:

Caritas is an organization with the aim of helping the people in need, irrespective of their origin, religion or sex. URL: https://www.caritas.at/ From the main webpage, it is possible to access to more detailed information according to the administrative region.

Danaida is an association which teaches migrants German.

URL: http://www.danaida.at/

Frauenservice has been working conceptually and practically in the areas of consulting, education, projects, and job market related measures for women.

URL: https://www.frauenservice.at/english

Inspire Thinking is an independent non-profit association. They work with migrants, one project is "ANERKANNT!" – dealing with nostrification of foreign education.

URL: http://www.inspire-thinking.at/

JAM is a meeting place just for girls and young women from 12 to 21. Arche Noah 11 8020 Graz

Mafalda is an association to support girls and women in different areas.

URL: http://www.mafalda.at/index.php Arche Noah 11 8020 Graz.

Megaphon is a monthly magazine on asylum, refugee and migration issues.

URL: http://www.megaphon.at/

NOWA is a non-profit organization and offers training, counseling and project management especially for women. URL: http://www.nowa.at/

Omega is a transcultural center for mental and physical health and integration.

URL: http://omega-graz.at/index.shtml

SOMM supports social participation of migrant and muslim women and the access to educational and working opportunities.

Vinzi is a voluntary organization to help poor people get back to a normal life. URL: http://www.vinzi.at/de/

Xenos is an association to support sociocultural diversity.

URL: http://verein-xenos.net/

Zebra is an NGO that offers counselling in different topics for migrants and refugees. URL: https://www.zebra.or.at/cms/cms.php

The International Organization for Migration assists migrants and promotes adequate responses to migration issues. URL: http://www.iomvienna.at/en

The International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) is a support mechanism for consultations, to provides expertise on multilateral cooperation on migration and asylum issues. URL: https://www.icmpd.org/home

Asylkoordination Österreich. Platform of NGOs that work with asylum seekers and recognized refugees. URL: http://www.asyl.at

The Volkshilfe Österreich is a large non-profit organization that supports people in need. URL: http://www.volkshilfe.at

From the main webpage, it is possible to access to more detailed information according to region.

Diakonie - Evangelischer Flüchtlingsdienst Österreich offers counselling to asylum seekers and referrals concerning health care and housing. URL: http://www.diakonie.at

SOS Mitmensch is a human rights organization and civil rights movement.

URL: http://www.sosmitmensch.at

Source: Following information was collected from MARTA RIBAS ROMEU, (DRIM project: http://www.interreg-danube.eu/approved-projects/drim)

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7.3. Policies aimed to deal with the consequences of youth migration

As shown in this chapter several policies are reacting on challenges that arise in the context of youth migration. Generally brain waste and overqualification has already before been mentioned as specific challenge for young migrants of the Danube region. In the interviews it was able to find that out that in the last years it became much easier to transfer education and skills from other countries to Austria. With the EU accession also for many Danube countries the process was eased and therefore a step into the possibility of escaping overqualification was made.

While formal qualification is one topic, language is considered as another important one. The ability to speak fluent German is as well by migrants as by local stakeholder perceived as the basic requirement: For the integration on the labour market and in the society. Even if sometimes people are able to find a job with only limited language skills, a change of employment gets difficult without proper German knowledge.

Discrimination has rarely been a topic in the interviews, but still it can be considered as a problem e.g. in the combination with loan dumping and also again when being hired for a job where one is overqualified. Also in the focus group interviews some young people mentioned that in some cases information is difficult to gain and sometimes misleading or wrong information is handed out, which might also lead back to discrimination.

Compared to the inflow of people from other regions, immigration from the Danube region is rather seen as not problematic or not even recognized. The statistic shows a great importance for the city of Graz. For most institutional actors, the migration from the Danube region is though rather invisible. In any case it is also seen as relatively unproblematic immigration with a high integration potential, a high will to be active on the labour market and especially positive for certain branches such as the tourism sector, the industry or the health care that are only able to gain the demanded labour force from certain countries such as Romania or Hungary. Foreign labour force for the Austrian economy is crucial due to the process of demographic ageing. Especially in the semi- or unskilled labour market less and less workers are available.

The policies that aim to deal with migration are therefore in most cases focussing on the topic of

- Education and training (in the mean of gaining or transferring skills and formal education, but also by offer language courses)
- Social welfare support (financial means, allowances, housing, etc.)
- Information support (providing proper information)
- Integration, participation and inclusion (all the presented measures are in the overall context focusing on an integration into the society by making participation and inclusion possible.

8. Outlook, Conclusions and Recommendations

The municipality of Graz is experiencing immigration on a very high level: from other parts of Austria, but mainly from foreign countries. The inflow of people from other EU-countries and from countries of the Danube region is especially high, in the last years the number of refugees coming to Graz has also increased. Most of the young migrants coming to Graz are young (between 20 and 24). From the Danube countries, a larger variety of age groups is visible. Due to migration, the city is expected to grow at a very fast pace in the next years.

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Economic issues are the main reason for migration movement within the Danube region, but also problems caused by the political situation in the country of origin are mentioned as motives for migrating. The ratio of income and costs of living in the home countries is mentioned as a central economic problem by almost all interview partners. Labour migration is therefore the most frequent form of youth migration to Graz, although other types (e.g. student migration) also exist. Still, for young migrants also other factors appear to be of great importance: adventures, deliberation and education.

During the interviews a distinction was made between highly skilled and educated migrants and not so well educated people with a lack of language skills coming to Graz. In contrast to the general view that labour is especially needed in jobs that need higher qualifications the interviews also clearly show that people with medium-level and lower qualifications are urgently needed. The Austrian labour market does not need highly qualified people only, even though the highly-skilled segment of the labour market is the one that attracts the most number of people.

The lack of unskilled workers and the comparably high salaries in Austria have the effect that a lot of people from Eastern Europe end up working in jobs below their formal qualifications. The phenomenon of brain-waste is a mid- and long-term problem from a socio-political point of view for the countries of origin, because they cause brain-drain in those countries and lead to personal frustration.

Over-qualification is one of the biggest problems for migrants from the Danube region living in Graz. Some of the interviewees have also experienced discrimination in other dimensions. In some cases the working conditions lead to the feeling of not only working below one's qualifications, but also of being exploited. Networks play an important role for many migrants, since often newcomers are excluded from certain types of knowledge (e.g. job-related, insurance, tax issues, etc.). More elaborated information by the city of Graz would be desirable for some of the interviewed migrants.

For some migrants it seems to be a possibility to at some point return to their country of origin, but the condition of the return is mostly an improvement in the political or economic situation in those countries. Most of the interviewees still have an emotional bond with their country of origin, but in varying degrees, mostly with family and friends.

From the point of view of policy the population growth mainly caused by immigration results in policy challenges due to a higher demand for service provision. International immigration needs to be strategically monitored in order to keep up an inclusive society. Graz can be evaluated as municipality with good practices when it comes to integration, having an integration department and strategy in place. Several public bodies are dealing with the topic and also a large number of NGOs, partly or completely funded by the municipality, are engaged in some form of providing information, support, education opportunities, etc. The countries of the Danube region are not so much considered as the main receivers for certain measures, since other groups (e.g. refugees and asylum-seekers) are seen to be in greater need (to find a job, learn the language, find housing). People from the Danube region are mainly perceived as labour migrants from the institutional side, who, by having better access to the labour market, are able to integrate into society. It is also considered of many people from the Danube region that they are staying only for a shorter period of time and therefore are not the main recipients or target groups for integrational measures.

From the interview partners it became clear though that working does not automatically lead to successful integration. Language is perceived as a main tool for successful integration. Migrants from the Danube region are often mentioned as having a very good level of German and are therefore well integrated into the labour market. German language skills are not always needed, there are jobs that only require marginal German skills. "Only if those people do not get jobs or lose their jobs, is the topic



"language skills" important. When they want to enter the job market again, then language is a topic again." (02 SAU). However, language skills are expected by companies, especially when employees need to understand security regulations and work instructions (03 DSG). And also language skills are required to become part of the society.

A further investment in integrational policies, language education and programmes also for EU-internal migrants can therefore be perceived as recommendations for the city of Graz. A better use of existing qualifications held by migrants has already been aimed at by an ease of the recognition process of education from a legal point of view. Still, many companies are, it seems, not treating skills and qualifications from different countries equally. A better cooperation with companies and maybe also special programmes of skill transfers would help to prevent brain waste. In the schools, there is still a divide visible in the attainment of Austrian kids and kids from foreign descent. Certain programmes would be needed to guarantee equal chances.

The role of education level in accessing information, and therefore different career patterns and opportunities for young migrants and also second generation migrants are recognized as the main challenges within the city. As equal chances are also promoted by the city and as certain labour migrants are also very much in demand in the city, this topic will be used for elaborating further a pilot activity in the city of Graz in the frame of the YOUMIG project.



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ANNEX 1: Tables and graphs containing the main results of the demographic projection

Status Quo Scenario

Males								ı	emales			Total					
Live birth s	Death s	Natura I increas e	Net migratio n	Total increas e	Populatio n 31.12.	Live birth s	Death s	Natura I increas e	Net migratio n	Total increas e	Populatio n 31.12.	Live birth s	Death s	Natura I increas e	Net migratio n	Total increas e	Populatio n 31.12.
1760	1122	638	2124	2762	142180	1678	1289	389	1603	1992	146443	3438	2411	1027	3727	4754	288623
1795	1099	696	2124	2820	145000	1710	1262	448	1603	2051	148494	3505	2361	1144	3727	4871	293494
1828	1099	729	2124	2853	147853	1741	1211	530	1603	2133	150627	3569	2310	1259	3727	4986	298480
1859	1104	755	2124	2879	150732	1772	1185	587	1603	2190	152817	3631	2289	1342	3727	5069	303549
1889	1111	778	2124	2902	153634	1802	1171	631	1603	2234	155051	3691	2282	1409	3727	5136	308685
1913	1125	788	2124	2912	156546	1826	1160	666	1603	2269	157320	3739	2285	1454	3727	5181	313866
1936	1132	804	2124	2928	159474	1847	1168	679	1603	2282	159602	3783	2300	1483	3727	5210	319076
1955	1144	811	2124	2935	162409	1862	1166	696	1603	2299	161901	3817	2310	1507	3727	5234	324310
1969	1159	810	2124	2934	165343	1877	1168	709	1603	2312	164213	3846	2327	1519	3727	5246	329556
1986	1176	810	2124	2934	168277	1893	1173	720	1603	2323	166536	3879	2349	1530	3727	5257	334813
2003	1196	807	2124	2931	171208	1907	1186	721	1603	2324	168860	3910	2382	1528	3727	5255	340068
2015	1210	805	2124	2929	174137	1927	1207	720	1603	2323	171183	3942	2417	1525	3727	5252	345320
2033	1227	806	2124	2930	177067	1939	1216	723	1603	2326	173509	3972	2443	1529	3727	5256	350576
2046	1241	805	2124	2929	179996	1949	1241	708	1603	2311	175820	3995	2482	1513	3727	5240	355816
2067	1256	811	2124	2935	182931	1966	1259	707	1603	2310	178130	4033	2515	1518	3727	5245	361061
2086	1272	814	2124	2938	185869	1992	1278	714	1603	2317	180447	4078	2550	1528	3727	5255	366316
2110	1285	825	2124	2949	188818	2012	1295	717	1603	2320	182767	4122	2580	1542	3727	5269	371585
2139	1300	839	2124	2963	191781	2041	1307	734	1603	2337	185104	4180	2607	1573	3727	5300	376885
2167	1308	859	2124	2983	194764	2066	2013	53	1603	1656	186760	4233	3321	912	3727	4639	381524

High youth migration Scenario

	Males							Fomeles						Total				
Year	Live births	Deat hs	Natur al incre ase	Net migrat ion	Total increa se	Populati on 31.12.	Live births	Deat hs	Natu ral incre ase	Net migrati on	Total increa se	Populati on 31.12.	Live birth s	Deat hs	Natura I increa se	Net migrati on	Total increa se	Populati on 31.12.
2017	1760	1122	638	2124	2762	142180	1678	1289	389	1603	1992	146443	3438	2411	1027	3727	4754	288623
2018	1795	1099	696	2218	2914	145094	1710	1262	448	1706	2154	148597	3505	2361	1144	3924	5068	293691
2019	1831	1099	732	2314	3046	148140	1745	1211	534	1805	2339	150936	3576	2310	1266	4119	5385	299076
2020	1867	1104	763	2409	3172	151312	1778	1185	593	1900	2493	153429	3645	2289	1356	4309	5665	304741
2021	1901	1111	790	2506	3296	154608	1816	1171	645	1993	2638	156067	3717	2282	1435	4499	5934	310675
2022	1939	1125	814	2607	3421	158029	1848	1160	688	2082	2770	158837	3787	2285	1502	4689	6191	316866
2023	1973	1134	839	2708	3547	161576	1884	1168	716	2173	2889	161726	3857	2302	1555	4881	6436	323302
2024	2007	1148	859	2813	3672	165248	1915	1167	748	2263	3011	164737	3922	2315	1607	5076	6683	329985
2025	2041	1162	879	2922	3801	169049	1946	1169	777	2354	3131	167868	3987	2331	1656	5276	6932	336917
2026	2076	1179	897	2922	3819	172868	1982	1174	808	2354	3162	171030	4058	2353	1705	5276	6981	343898
2027	2120	1199	921	2922	3843	176711	2016	1188	828	2354	3182	174212	4136	2387	1749	5276	7025	350923



2028	2153	1212	941	2922	3863	180574	2053	1209	844	2354	3198	177410	4206	2421	1785	5276	7061	357984
2029	2191	1229	962	2922	3884	184458	2093	1218	875	2354	3229	180639	4284	2447	1837	5276	7113	365097
2030	2234	1246	988	2922	3910	188368	2130	1244	886	2354	3240	183879	4364	2490	1874	5276	7150	372247
2031	2279	1259	1020	2922	3942	192310	2171	1261	910	2354	3264	187143	4450	2520	1930	5276	7206	379453
2032	2329	1274	1055	2922	3977	196287	2217	1281	936	2354	3290	190433	4546	2555	1991	5276	7267	386720
2033	2381	1287	1094	2922	4016	200303	2267	1298	969	2354	3323	193756	4648	2585	2063	5276	7339	394059
2034	2438	1302	1136	2922	4058	204361	2324	1311	1013	2354	3367	197123	4762	2613	2149	5276	7425	401484
2035	2491	1312	1179	2922	4101	208462	2374	2025	349	2354	2703	199826	4865	3337	1528	5276	6804	408288

Low youth migration Scenario

	Males							Females							Total					
Year	Live births	Deat hs	Natur al incre ase	Net migrat ion	Total increa se	Populati on 31.12.	Live births	Deat hs	Natu ral incre ase	Net migrati on	Total increa se	Populati on 31.12.	Live birth s	Deat hs	Natura I increa se	Net migrati on	Total increa se	Populati on 31.12.		
2017	1760	1122	638	2124	2762	142180	1678	1289	389	1603	1992	146443	3438	2411	1027	3727	4754	288623		
2018	1795	1099	696	2009	2705	144885	1710	1262	448	1498	1946	148389	3505	2361	1144	3507	4651	293274		
2019	1825	1099	726	1901	2627	147512	1739	1211	528	1396	1924	150313	3564	2310	1254	3297	4551	297825		
2020	1854	1104	750	1797	2547	150059	1769	1185	584	1301	1885	152198	3623	2289	1334	3098	4432	302257		
2021	1875	1110	765	1698	2463	152522	1790	1171	619	1207	1826	154024	3665	2281	1384	2905	4289	306546		
2022	1894	1124	770	1604	2374	154896	1806	1160	646	1116	1762	155786	3700	2284	1416	2720	4136	310682		
2023	1902	1132	770	1514	2284	157180	1813	1168	645	1030	1675	157461	3715	2300	1415	2544	3959	314641		
2024	1908	1144	764	1429	2193	159373	1818	1166	652	944	1596	159057	3726	2310	1416	2373	3789	318430		
2025	1905	1156	749	1347	2096	161469	1815	1165	650	862	1512	160569	3720	2321	1399	2209	3608	322038		
2026	1901	1172	729	1347	2076	163545	1810	1169	641	862	1503	162072	3711	2341	1370	2209	3579	325617		
2027	1893	1190	703	1347	2050	165595	1803	1182	621	862	1483	163555	3696	2372	1324	2209	3533	329150		
2028	1883	1203	680	1347	2027	167622	1791	1205	586	862	1448	165003	3674	2408	1266	2209	3475	332625		
2029	1869	1221	648	1347	1995	169617	1784	1213	571	862	1433	166436	3653	2434	1219	2209	3428	336053		
2030	1858	1237	621	1347	1968	171585	1771	1238	533	862	1395	167831	3629	2475	1154	2209	3363	339416		
2031	1850	1249	601	1347	1948	173533	1759	1255	504	862	1366	169197	3609	2504	1105	2209	3314	342730		
2032	1840	1261	579	1347	1926	175459	1755	1273	482	862	1344	170541	3595	2534	1061	2209	3270	346000		
2033	1838	1279	559	1347	1906	177365	1748	1290	458	862	1320	171861	3586	2569	1017	2209	3226	349226		
2034	1832	1293	539	1347	1886	179251	1748	1303	445	862	1307	173168	3580	2596	984	2209	3193	352419		
2035	1830	1300	530	1347	1877	181128	1748	2003	-255	862	607	173775	3578	3303	275	2209	2484	354903		

ANNEX 2: Table with interviews with institutional actors

		University of Technology Graz, Head of Human	08 TUG
Manuela	Berner	Ressources	
		Saubermacher (Company), Head of Human	02 SAU
Annemarie	Gräßler	Ressources	
Muna	Hamoud-Seifried	Employment Service - Integration Expert	01 ES
		Department of Integration, Graz, Head of	07 DOI
Roswitha	Müller	Department	
Barbara	Rauscher	Department of Statistics, Graz, Head of Department	03 DSG
Robert	Reithofer	ISOP - Innovative Social Projects (NGO), CEO	04 ISOP
		Austrian Freedom Party, Head of the City Council	05 AFP
Armin	Sippel	Club	
Hanno	Wisiak	Council of Social Affairs and Health, Office Manager	06 CSAH

ANNEX 3: Table with interviews with young migrants

Interviewee	Country of origin	gender	age
01 BUD	Hungary	female	32
02 KOC	Turkey	male	29
03 BLA	Slovakia	male	31
04 BOD	Hungary	female	25
05 RAD	Serbia	female	34
06 ENE	Bulgaria	female	34
07 KOZ	Romania	female	34
08 LJA	Serbia	male	27

ANNEX 3: Focus group, characteristics of participants

	Country of origin	gender	age
01 BUD	Hungary	female	32
09 DRA	Romania	female	29
10 TAJ	Bosnia Hercegovina	female	33
11 FEH	Hungary	female	28
07 KOZ	Romania	female	34
08 LJA	Serbia	male	27