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Paper to ENHR conference in Dublin 2008, workshop W02- Migration, Residential Mobility, and Housing Policy

Explanations for counter-urban migration in Denmark

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Abstract

In Denmark as in most other European countries there is a net migration from the less urbanized to the more urbanized parts of the country. This paper summarizes the results of a Danish study on the extent and composition of migration flows and on factors and conditions that have a decisive influence on migration to fringe areas. The study shows that a considerable share of movers to the fringe areas in Denmark can be characterised as income-transfer movers: People without employment moving to get lower housing costs. But there are also groups of people moving to employment in the areas, going back to places where they have grown up or moving to better housing conditions in a more natural environment.

Introduction

In many countries there has been a trend towards a concentration of the population in parts of the country with economic growth, while other parts of the country suffers from economic decline and decreasing population. Denmark is a small country with short distances between fringe areas and larger cities, but the same tendencies to unequal development are also found in this country. For many years industrial policy has been the main political instrument for local authorities in the less urban areas in decline, but in recent years focus has moved towards what could be called 'settlement policies'. How can these areas attract people who do not have workplace in the areas or who have been pensioned. For this reason it is important to know something about what kind of people can be attracted to move into less urban and distant areas, and for what reasons.

This paper reports some results from a study of long distance moves – internal migration – in Denmark. It is based on data from public registers on all moving persons in Denmark 2002. Moreover, data from a survey among moving households in 1998 is used.

The focus of the paper is on migration from regions with economic growth and population increases to less urbanised places in regions with stagnation and often population losses. A suitable concept for this phenomena used by Lindgren (2003) is 'counter-urban' migration. In his analysis of counter-urban movers in Sweden, Lindgren divided regions in Sweden in an urban hierarchy after the size of the main cities in regions. Inside the regions was a division between cities and 'hinterlands', which were the less urbanised parts of the regions. He then defined counter-urban migration as moves from a higher to a lower hierarchy, but not moves from cities to their hinterlands, which was characterised as suburban moves.

In this paper the extent of counter-urban moves in Denmark is exposed and explanations for these moves are analysed.

Theoretical framework and knowledge on migration

Counter-urban moves are a kind of long-distance migration that often implies a job change for employed people. They also often imply that it is impossible for the movers to keep in contact with the environment they use to live in and the social networks, which were connected to their place of living. Migration can be characterised as a sharp rupture with many of the life conditions one possessed before moving, with risks of loosing achieved advantages and of being forced to make a lot of efforts to getting used to new conditions.

According to the traditional general theory of migration (Lee 1965) factors that decide migration can be divided into:

1. Factors associated with the area of origin
2. Factors associated with the area of destination
3. Intervening obstacles
4. Personal factors

A decision on migration, including a change of residence and often also a change of job, is based on a comparison of advantages and disadvantages by the former place of living with the similar conditions at the possible new place. According to Lee (1965) it is not so much the real conditions, that are decisive, but more the personal and subjective perceptions of these conditions made by the moving household. A decision on migration is never very rational. Moreover, there are important differences in how people perceive the place they leave and the place they are considering to take up residence in. People usually have a good knowledge of the place of departure, but often only have a limited knowledge on the new place. Many conditions at a place can first be acknowledged by living there. Dependent on if one is most positive against the old or the new place this can have a considerable importance for the decision to move. For all these reasons we therefore must expect to find many deviations from general patterns of migration. There is no simple connection between expected behaviour concerning migration and actual behaviour.

Choosing a place to settle is a very complex decision including many different factors. Two main factors are important – preferences for work and preferences for place of living.

In traditional economic theory the location of households is determined by the labour market (Böheim and Taylor 2002). The location of workplaces determines how employees are locating. It is assumed that households first choose a place to work and then a place to live, which is inside the reach of suitable time of home to work transport. This dogma, however, has been questioned by other, more sociological, research. According to Hanson and Pratt (1988) it is often so that the place of home is chosen first and then afterwards a work place is found. Especially women tend to put more weight on the place of living and often tries to find jobs near the home (Rouwendal and Meijer, 2001), and they often tend to find a new job after moving and not before. According to Clark and Burt (1980) the location of the home is only of little importance as long as the workplace is within a certain distance called the 'critical isochrone'. Other research show, however, that it is difficult to define such a decisive distance and that it differs very much between different kinds of households. Some people choose to commute over long distances to obtain a good combination of living environment, job satisfaction and income. For example it was shown in a Dutch study (Wiendels and van Kempen, 1997) that 38 per cent of employees in firms, which moved 90 to 135 km, chose to stay at the same place. For firms moving more than 135 km it was 15 per cent. The choice of a place to live thus can be seen as making a priority between workplace, place of residence and commuting. For people outside the labour force only living conditions have importance. But a forth factor is the attachment people have to the places where they live and work.

The importance of place attachment

Choosing to migrate over longer distances is a complex decision because it implies that one have to make severe changes in ones way of life. One will not be able to maintain a daily contact with the social network one has build up around the old place and one cannot any more use the facilities one is used to. It is known from the mobility literature that every person during the cause of time build up bonds and attachment to the place where they live. As stated by Speare et al (1974):

"Many empirical studies note another aspect of mobility in the social and economic bonds a community resident or potential mover forms with the immediate environment ... as a result of a gradual assimilation process ... relation between the bonds on the one hand and mobility on the other will be inverse and mobility will be inhibited by ties to the immediate neighbourhood or area. The greater in magnitude and intensity the bonds for an individual at his current residence, the higher his tolerance for dissatisfaction will become, everything else being equal"

In the research literature different concepts are used to denominate this phenomena. One of these concepts is 'place attachment'. It can be defined as 'an effective bond between people and places' or 'emotionel involvement with places' (Hidalgo og Hernandez, 2001), or 'a positive emotional bond that develops between individuals or groups and their environment' (Mesch og Manor 1998). Others (Cuba and Hummon, 1993) use the concept 'place identity', which is split up into two aspects: 'display', which is about people leaving their mark on their environment giving it status and

identity; and *'affiliation'*, which concerns emotional attachment and shearing of values with people in the neighbourhood.

According to Hidalgo and Hernandez there is a propensity of human beings to seek out the place where they were born or find a place in which they feel comfortable and secure and that is most often places they are confident with. But place attachment is not always something that people are very conscious about. It is often not until they come into a situation where they must consider the possibility of leaving their place of residence that people get aware of their bonds to the place they live (Brown and Perkins 1992).

Place can have different meanings for different people. Attachment can be related to different spatial ranges like home, neighbourhood city and region. The range of place attachment can have importance for different kinds of mobility. Attachment to home reduces all kinds of mobility, attachment to neighbourhood allows local moves, attachment to city or region allows moves inside the city or region. All kinds of attachment affect migration to other regions, but perhaps attachment to the region is the most important for this.

Most studies have focused on home and neighbourhood and have proved a high degree of attachment for most people (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). Some studies point at home as the most important place for identity – others that it only is of secondary importance (Cuba and Hummon, 1993a). Two studies have looked at the importance of the region. Hidalgo and Hernandez showed that neighbourhood had less importance than home and region. Cuba and Hummon's study proved that home had most importance followed by neighbourhood and region, but there were small differences between the ranges.

Hidalgo and Hernandez showed that attachment to the social environment is more important than attachment to the physical environment. Cuba and Hummon (1993a) split up place attachment in six dimensions:

1. self-related responses (e.g., general psychological feeling of adjustment, "feeling comfortable");
2. family-related responses (e.g., reared family here, nearness to family);
3. friend-related responses (e.g., meeting people, getting to know neighbours);
4. community-related responses (e.g., attractive lifestyle, sense of community);
5. organization-related responses (e.g., participation in work, formal organizations)
6. dwelling-related responses (e.g., home ownership, variety of personal possessions).

These six dimensions covered 83 per cent of all persons, who felt place attachment. The main result of the study was that attachment to the neighbourhood primarily was caused by social participation, bonds to friends and other 'friend-related' reasons. Regional attachment were connected to the respondents pattern of activity in the region: to what extent they used facilities in the region; and to some extent to the strength of social networks. Finally, attachment to home was connected to 'dwelling-related' explanations. Another study (Mesch and Manor 1998) has also showed that home ownership results in stronger place attachment.

The conditions that have the most importance for place attachment can be summarised as (literature review in Cuba and Hummon 1993a):

1. Community attachment is primarily a function of local social involvements – particularly to those with friends, but also involving kind, organisational memberships and local shopping.
2. Long-term residency contributes to place identity because duration of residence not only enhances local social ties (Gerson et al 1977; Sampson 1988), but it also provides a temporal context for imbuing place with personal meanings.
3. Identification with places is influenced by stage in the life cycle, though these relations are clearly complex. For example, research on aging indicates that the dwelling place becomes an increasingly important focal point in the lives of the elderly, and as such, may play a leading role in place identification at this stage of life. But the connection is not linear and different kinds of attachment are important at different stages. For persons more than 50 years old there are indications of that place attachment is getting weaker with age (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001) and the region are just as important for this group as the neighbourhood. It is also well known that families with children for several reasons have stronger bond to their dwelling and their neighbourhood. For young people the region has greater importance than the neighbourhood.
4. Some studies indicate that place attachment is also mediated by the individual's placement in broader society. Some evidence suggest that well-to-do are less attached to the local area (Gerson et al. 1989; Sampson 1988) and that urban working class residents are more likely to bound their sense of home in terms of neighbourhood

rather than simply the dwelling place (Mesch and Manor 1998). Other work indicates that the middle class is more likely to use the home as vehicle for personalised display and identity. Some work indicates that gender does not appear to influence the strength of attachment, but that the character of it for women can be different from that of men. Other (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001) that women in general have a stronger attachment than men.

Another kind of attachment, which has been defined by Fischer and Malmberg (2001), is called '*location-specific insider advantages*'. It has something to do with both home and work. Fischer and Malmberg suggest that an individual's assets and abilities are partly location-specific and only can be used in a specific place. They have been obtained within a location-specific learning process, which requires time, information, and temporary immobility. These advantages will be sunk costs in case of migration out of the area, where they are obtained, and will thus act as a barrier for migration. Especially location-specific insider advantages connected to one's occupation will be important. This could especially be the case for independent businessmen, but also for employees with special highly paid functions in local firms.

Therefore, place attachment is an important obstacle for migration and it has different importance for different people. Therefore, migration only takes place when the advantages by moving are much greater than those obtained by staying.

But place attachment can also act as a pull factor for migration in the cases where people have strong bonds to another place or region than the one they live in. This is especially the case for people, who have moved away from the place where they grew up. Often they still have family and a social network in their place of origin, which could be attractive for them to move closer to. A Danish study (Ærø et. al 2004) thus showed that a considerable share of people, who moved to a fringe area, was born in the area.

There could also be other kinds of locations to which people have attachments, e.g. placers where they have family, friends or second home. A study in Sweden (referred by Lindgreen 2003) thus showed that some of the moves to the countryside were people moving to an area where they had second homes. In a Danish study (Deding and Filkes 2002) 13 per cent of persons moving between municipalities stated as one of the most important reasons for moving to get nearer to friends and relatives. This study also showed that 25 per cent of all respondents felt much attached to one or several other parts of Denmark than where they had residence.

Factors that provoke or hamper migration

Different conditions potentially can provoke migration, but migration is not always released because of different conditions as place attachment and intervening obstacles that hamper migration. Often migration is released by drastically changes in the situation of the family, which create new priorities and change their attachment to the place where they live. Especially changes like job changes, marriage and divorce, birth of children, retirement or getting unemployed are important changes. Below we will discuss the importance of different factors that influence place attachment or other intervening obstacles or create changes that release mobility. The factors discussed are:

1. Preferences for commuting
2. The importance of age and sex
3. Family situation and family changes
4. Unemployment
5. The importance of the housing situation

Preferences for commuting

Commuting is a solution if you are forced to change job a long way from your home and do not want to move, but it can also be a solution if you want to change the location of your residence without changing job. There is a trade off between demands for housing and location, and disadvantages by commuting, which is very different for different households. A study of long-distance commuters in England (Green et. al 1999) showed that it is especially men in high positions, age 20-50 years, who commute over long distances. Some of them had an extra dwelling near the working place where they stayed during the week and only went home in weekends. A Danish study (Deding and Filkes 2004) showed that older people felt more disturbed by commuting than younger people.

Age and sex

It is well known from other studies that mobility sharply decreases with age and is very low for people over 50 years. Fischer and Malmberg (2001) showed in a study in Sweden that women more often move between regions than men,

while they are young. Men are more mobile among older people. Women more often than men move in connection with family changes – especially if they get children or get married. This points to that the residences of men have higher priority for the family than those of women. It has also been shown that it is more important for women to have work near home, and women more often tend to change work in case of migration instead of commuting (Rouwendaal and Meijer 2001).

Family situation and family changes

Mobility and explanations for migration are very different among different kinds of families. Of special importance for couples is if both man and woman have jobs. In general singles are much more mobile than couples and families with children. But it is not certain that it is because singles feel less place attachment. It is more difficult for a single person to migrate to a part of the country, where they do not have a social network, than it is for families with children. But Lindgreen's study in Sweden showed that singles more often made counter-urban moves than couples. Moreover, families with children more seldom made such moves.

Decisions on migration and commuting is much more complex if two people in the family have to seek employment. Therefore, it can be argued that such families have strong preferences for regions with many and diversified job opportunities (Hanson and Pratt 1988). It can also be argued that these households have larger incomes and better opportunities to find housing in such regions. In case of conflicts between priorities on jobs and housing it is most often the women who make sacrifices, for example by giving up their careers or losing their social network (Green 1999). Several studies have looked at the importance for decisions of migration of having two wage earners in the family. The study in England of Hanson and Pratt (1988) did not show that these families were less inclined to move and to adjust the place of residence to their place of work. They also did not in average have longer commuting times than other households, but there was big differences between the commuting time for the two partners, where men often commuted over much longer distances than women. Other studies of the actual moves of households (Fischer and Malmberg 2001, Böheim and Taylor 2002), however, showed a lower probability of migration among households with two wage earners and also that the differences increased with income.

Family changes are not by itself a reason for migration, but they can result in changes in needs and priorities that can provoke migration. It is shown below, based on data from Denmark, that moves between municipalities often take place in connection with family changes. Fischer and Malmberg (2001) are of the opinion that only marriage and divorce have importance for intentions to migrate but not birth of children. This is, however, a view that can be discussed. The appearance of children involves substantial changes in needs, life style and priorities of families – especially housing preferences. Preferences for detached homes with gardens in more quiet surroundings are made stronger while preferences for living in central cities are weakened

Unemployment

Unemployed are a group that in theory should gain advantage by migration to area with better job opportunities. Studies in Sweden and England (Fischer and Malmberg 2001; Böheim and Taylor 2002) have shown that unemployed are more inclined to migrate between regions than employed. A Danish study (Nordstrand and Andersen 2002), however, showed that the differences in the unemployment rate between regions did not have any effect for the migration rate of unemployed. It could be because the differences in unemployment between regions in Denmark are quite small. It has also been shown that the inclination to migrate among unemployed is reduced in line with the length of unemployment. Other studies have thus showed a lower migration out of regions with a high permanent unemployment (Jackman and Savouri 1992). This is explained by that the unemployed in these areas lose their faith in the future.

Housing situation

It is a well-known fact that homeowners tend to be less mobile than tenants. According to Böheim and Taylor (2002), tenants in the private rented sector in England have higher regional mobility than homeowners. Council tenants are less inclined to move to get job may be because of the waiting list system that give preference to local sitting tenants. It has also been shown that there is a strong negative connection between housing capital and mobility; and that unemployed homeowners more seldom move away from regions with high unemployment (Henley 1998).

Motives for counter-urban migration

Long distance moves can in principle be triggered off by a simple comparison of advantages and disadvantages by moving, but place attachment and other intervening obstacles results in that this is seldom the case. Migration often is released as a consequence of changes in the family or in the employment situation, which means essential changes in the 'usability' of the old place of living and which leads to a new evaluation of where to settle.

Counter-urban moves are mostly long distance moves and are also often moves from more urbanised to less urbanised places. These places have worse job opportunities with lower incomes and seldom have places for education – especially for higher education. There are much fewer facilities and the access to shops, cultural events, transport etc. is worse. Their advantages have to do with cheap house prices, nearness to nature and perhaps more tight communities.

Migration implies serious reasons for moving a way from a well-known place of residence to a new place far away. Such reasons are especially access to employment or education. In the economic literature it is especially changes in job and in education that have been in focus as causes of migration. But also other conditions can be of great importance. In the following will be discussed the importance of the following reasons for and causes of counter-urban migration:

1. Education
2. Career and employment
3. Exit from the labour market
4. Demands for changed or improved housing and neighbourhood, or for a change of life style
5. Demands for cheap housing – the ‘income-transfer’ hypothesis
6. Desires to go back to the place where one grew up, or to other places one is attached to

Education

Choice of education is one of the most important decisions in life and is thus an important cause of migration as especially schools with higher education are concentrated a few places in Denmark. The greatest mobility is found at the times when education is beginning and when it is finished, when the new candidates seek for jobs and more permanent settlement (Nordstrand and Andersen 2002).

It must be expected that migration in connection with start of education go from the less to the more urbanised parts of the country because most of the schools and universities are located here. There are much fewer educational centres in the fringe areas; they are mostly at a lower level and mostly aimed at the local youth. In Denmark we have a special system of so-called folk high schools located at decentralised places in the country; and young people often go there for a year just after finishing the basic school just to get away from home and find out what kind of education they want. These young people, however, seldom stay in the fringe areas after finishing these schools.

On the other hand migration in connection with ending education could to some extent be counter-urban moves. Not all young people are staying near the place of education after they have finished it and some are returning to their place of origin.

Career and unemployment

A Danish study of persons in the age of 20-59 years moving between municipalities (Deding and Filges 2004) showed that in 44 per cent of the cases a change of job happened in connection with the move, and if the partner was involved it was 68 per cent. But only 20 per cent of the respondents stated job reasons as the main cause of the move. It is therefore obvious to assume that in many cases a decision to move to another place is taken first and then sometimes a new job is found nearby the new settlement.

According to economic theory (Tunali, 2002) it is to be expected that people will migrate from regions with low employment and low wages to regions with high economic growth where the supply of jobs is larger and wages higher. But higher costs of living and more expensive housing in growth regions often counteract this tendency.

It is especially for people with higher education and specialised qualifications that growth regions are attractive. These groups have greater advantages by job changes and also can better afford costs of moving (Böheim and Taylor 2002). At the same time it is often more difficult for them to find specialised jobs in the fringe areas. Manual workers are much less inclined to migrate. A study in England (Fielding 1992) thus showed that managers and well-educated people migrate 50-90 per cent more frequent than the average and that the migration rate of manual workers is more than half the average. One of the reasons is that jobs for manual workers are available in all regions. Independent businessmen also have a lower migration rate; often because their entrepreneurial career strategies are based on local contacts and network, which make it difficult to move to other regions (Green et. Al 1999). A Swedish study (Lindgreen 2003) shows that there are some independent businessmen among counter-urban movers, but that they often are people, who shift from being a wage earner to being independent in connection with the move; and that they often do this because they can't get employment.

In the case of counter-urban migration it must be expected that job reasons will be of smaller importance than for other kinds of migration. We must expect that people, who put much weight on doing a career, will be less inclined to move to fringe areas, where job possibilities are less extensive than in the urbanised growth regions. Therefore people with higher education or jobs at the upper levels will be less inclined to move to fringe areas. Moves to fringe areas sometimes can be followed by job change but in many cases one could expect that people change job because they migrate and not the other way round.

Commuting is a solution for people, who want to live in rural areas without changing job. An English study (Rouwendal and Meijer 2001) thus has showed great willingness among households with jobs in cities to commute to get access to detached houses in the countryside. This is another reason for why job changes are of a relatively smaller importance for counter-urban moves.

An earlier Danish study of movers to fringe areas (Ærø et. al 2005) showed that only 8 per cent had got a new job in the area they moved to and that further 10 per cent had got a new job, but not in the area.

Exit from the labour market

In connection with retirement people come into a situation where they permanent are released from their bonds to a working place and can choose deliberately where to locate their residence even if barriers for mobility are very strong among older people. This is a situation where counter-urban migration can be considered (Lindgreen 2003); and where advantages and disadvantages between different places can be evaluated. Place attachment either to the place of residence or to other places will be of great importance. Lindgreen's study of counter-urban migration showed some moves in connection with retirement, but the number was relatively small. It is especially 'younger' pensioners that migrate. In the earlier Danish study (Ærø et. al 2005) four per cent of movers to fringe areas were pensioners, most of them single.

Demands for changed or improved housing and neighbourhood, or for a change of life style

The housing market in the more urbanised parts of the country – especially in the growth areas – is under pressure resulting in high house prices and housing shortage. In Denmark this especially concerns the Greater Copenhagen Area. This makes it difficult for the middle class to obtain its most preferred housing – the detached house with garden, which is preferred by 80 per cent of the population (Byforum 2001). The lower prices in the less urbanised parts of the country can lead to migration to obtain a detached house. It must be expected that people in most cases will prefer to commute to their job in the city, but sometimes this motive both can lead to migration to fringe areas and to a shift of job. An earlier qualitative Danish study of movers to fringe areas (Ærø et. al 2005) showed that this motive often was combined with two other motives: to get closer to the nature and to get a change in life style. Some of the movers wanted to leave a stressful life in the city and expected to move to a more meaningful existence in a tight community with an extensive social network. However, some of them became quite disappointed in their expectations of the social life in the new place. Also Swedish studies have showed that counter-urban movers often try to fulfil a particular goal in life, which is mainly housing related (Lindgreen 2003).

Demands for cheap housing

A commonly proposed factor for explaining urban to rural migration (Lindgren 2003) is the so-called 'income-transfer' hypothesis (Hugo and Bell 1998). It implies that people, who permanently receive public transfer payments and thus are independent of the labour market, have incentives to migrate to rural areas where housing is much cheaper. People with low incomes can more easily afford a place to live in the countryside compared with locations in urban areas. Lindgren's own study in Sweden partly supported this hypothesis by indicating that households with less income from work were more likely to make counter-urban moves. He also refers to Australian and American studies supporting the hypothesis.

Desires to go back

The earlier Danish study of movers to fringe areas (Ærø et. al 2005) showed that a considerable share of movers to fringe areas originally were born in the areas. It was especially younger people who went back after finishing their education, but it could also be people leaving the labour market or having a break up in their family situation. It is also possible that people in such situations will move to other places they could be attached to.

Spatial development trends in Denmark

Denmark is neither a much-dispersed country, like Sweden and Norway, nor a very dense country like the Netherlands and parts of Germany. It is a small country with comparable small distances between different parts of the country.

However, because of the many islands transport could be difficult. Between the main parts, like Zealand, Funen and Jutland there are bridges, but many of the middle sized and smaller islands can only be accessed by ferryboat.

The economic development in Denmark has produced a trend towards a spatial concentration of the economic activity in two parts of the country: The Copenhagen area, which lately seems to comprise the entire island Zealand, and the eastern part of Jutland around the City of Aarhus and around Kolding. The motorway running over Funen connects these two parts. In this way Denmark has been divided into an urban hierarchy with a high-growth area in a belt from Aarhus to Copenhagen, some intermediate middle-growth areas just outside this belt, and some low-growth fringe areas located in south-eastern and northern part of Jutland, on the larger islands of Bornholm, Falster, Lolland and Langeland, and especially on all the smaller islands, which are not accessible by bridges (see Figure 1). As can be seen from Table 1, the high growth areas contain more than sixty per cent of the population, while the fringe areas only have about ten per cent.

In this study an attempt has been made to divide Denmark into places according to their degree of urbanisation. Dense urban areas in cities are identified as parishes in cities with more than 50.000 inhabitants with a large share of dwellings in multi-storey blocks (> 60 per cent) and with many older buildings. Suburbs are defined as the remaining areas in these cities. Middle-sized cities have more than 15.000 inhabitants and no dense urban areas, towns between 2.000 and 15.000, and villages between 200 and 2.000.

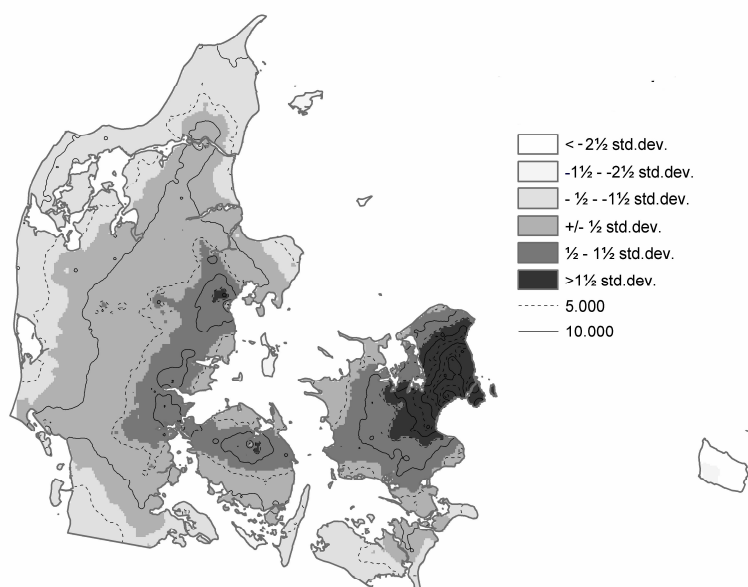


Figure 1 Work place potentials in Denmark. (A measure of the potential access to work places from every location).

Source (Andersen and Engelstoft 2004)

Of course there is some degree of uncertainty in such a division depending on the division of areas in cities and the division between urban and rural areas. In Table 1 is shown that 15 per cent of the Danish population is living in dense urban areas and 23 per cent in suburbs. Fourteen per cent stays in the countryside and 8 per cent in villages.

Table 1 The Danish population distributed on degree of urbanisation and urban hierarchy 2004 (per cent)

	Copenhagen and Zealand	Eastern Jutland	Intermediate areas	Fringe areas	All
Dense urban areas	10,8	2,1	1,6	0,0	15
Suburbs	9,9	7,5	4,8	0,5	23
Middle-sized cities	10,2	1,1	4,0	2,3	18
Towns	6,8	4,7	8,7	2,5	23
Villages	1,9	1,6	3,0	1,5	8
Countryside	3,9	2,8	5,3	2,5	14
All	43	20	27	9	100

Source: Database with 20 per cent of the Danish Population.

The table shows how the Danish population is distributed on urbanity and areas divided into different regions in an urban hierarchy. Most of the people living in more urbanised areas in the centre and suburbs of big cities are living in the Copenhagen area or in Eastern Jutland. Also middle-sized cities are mostly found nearby Copenhagen on Zealand. Villages and especially housing in the countryside are more often found in the intermediate and fringe areas.

Partly because of the uneven economic development in the different areas in the urban hierarchy one should expect a net migration from the lower levels to the higher levels of the hierarchy. This is also the case as can be seen from Table 2. From the fringe areas 2.6 per cent of the population moved away in 2002 and less people moved into the areas. The result was a net loss of the population of 0.26 per cent in one year. The frequency of out-moves were less from the intermediate areas. There was also a loss of population, but it was smaller (0.12 per cent). The Copenhagen Area and Eastern Jutland had net in-migration and compared to the population it was largest in Eastern Jutland.

Table 2 Moves in and out of areas in the urban hierarchy and net population loss to other areas 2002.

	Urban hierarchy before move			
	Copenhagen and Zealand	Eastern Jutland	Intermediat e areas	Fringe areas
Moves into the area	16.551	19.547	22.454	11.586
Moves out of the area	15.202	17.901	24.160	12.875
Frequency of out-moves (per cent)	0.7	1.7	1.7	2.6
Net out-moves	-1.349	-1.646	1.706	1.289
Net loss of population (per cent)	-0,06	-0,16	0,12	0,26
Net population loss to				
Copenhagen and Zealand	0	1.034	623	-308
Eastern Jutland	-1.034	0	1.804	876
Intermediate areas	-623	-1.804	0	721
Fringe areas	308	-876	-721	0

Source: Database on moving households in Denmark 2002

The lowest part of the table shows the net flows between different parts of the urban hierarchy. In 2002 Zealand had a net influx of people from Eastern Jutland and from the intermediate areas. The interesting thing is that it had a loss to the fringe areas. More people are thus moving from Copenhagen and Zealand to the fringe areas than the other way round. This is mostly due to moves to the islands south of Zealand, Falster and Lolland, which slowly are becoming a part of the Copenhagen Region.

What is not shown in these analyses is the migration from Copenhagen to Malmö in Sweden. Due to the Öresund Bridge to Malmö, a new and greater region is slowly becoming a reality including the southernmost part of Sweden. Because of lower housing costs in Sweden and higher wages and lack of labour in Copenhagen more and more Danes are moving to Malmö and more Swedes are getting jobs in Copenhagen.

It can also be seen from the table that the fringe areas loose people to Eastern Jutland and also to the intermediate areas, while the intermediate areas especially have a loss to Eastern Jutland.

In Table 3 is summarised to what extent population moves in Denmark were urban or counter-urban in the year 2002. Moving persons are distributed on to what extent they move up or down the urban hierarchy and if the move to more or less urbanised areas.

Table 3 Danish migration 2002 distributed on moves between regions and between more and less urbanised areas. (per cent).

	Urban hierarchy			All
	To higher level	Same level	To lower level	
Urbanisation				
More urbanised	3.4	18.4	1.3	23.2
Unchanged	1.3	51.3	1.1	53.7
Less urbanised	1.3	19.1	2.8	23.1
All	6.0	88.7	5.3	100

Source: Database on moving households in Denmark 2002

If we define counter-urban moves as moves from a higher to a lower level in the urban hierarchy it can be seen from the table that these moves account for 5.3 per cent of all moves. But only about half of these moves (2.8 per cent) are also suburban moves going from more to less urbanised places.

The table also shows – as above – that more people are moving towards a higher level in the urban hierarchy than the other way. Urban moves make up 6.0 per cent of all moves. This is 0.7 per cent more than counter urban moves.

Suburban moves from more to less urbanised places make up 23 per cent. There is a net tendency to move to more urbanised areas, but it is quite small – only 0.1 per cent of all moves.

Nearly 90 per cent of all moves are done inside the same level of the urban hierarchy. Among these moves there is a net tendency to move to less urbanised places (0.7 per cent). This is to a great extent due to the great outmigration from Copenhagen to smaller cities and rural areas in Zealand. Moves to higher levels often imply a choice of a more urbanised environment. Moving to a lower level mostly goes to less urbanised places.

About half of the moves do not mean a change in the degree of urbanisation. These moves only a little more often go up the urban hierarchy than down (net 0.2 per cent). Moves to more urbanised places more often implies moving up the urban hierarchy, while moves to less urbanised often is down the hierarchy.

Moves that are both down the urban hierarchy and to less urbanised places accounts for 2.8 per cent of all moves. Urban moves, which go the opposite way, accounts for 3.4 per cent. Of course these figures depend very much on the way we have defined our groups. But the clear conclusions are that net migration in Denmark is towards the more urbanised areas and up the urban hierarchy, but that there also is a considerable counter-urban movement. In the next section the reasons for these movements will be examined.

Motives for moving to less urbanised areas

In 2001 the Danish Social Research Institute conducted a survey among people in the age of 20-59 years, who moved between Danish municipalities. The respondents were asked about their main reason for moving. The answers have been grouped under four headings:

1. *Work related motives:* Workplace too far from old home, better job opportunities at new home
2. *Family changes:* Marriage, divorce, sickness or other family events
3. *Education related motives:* Starting new education or just moving away from parents home
4. *Settlement related:* Housing motives – forced to leave previous dwelling or demand for better dwelling.
Wishes to live in another environment. Desires to live in a certain place or near family and friends.

Counter-urban moves

The data does not allow a sophisticated division of different kinds of movers. In Table 4 counter-urban movers are defined as moves more than 30 km from the two growth areas Zealand and Eastern Jutland to the fringe areas and the intermediate areas. These moves are compared with all moves between municipalities in Denmark and with moves in the opposite direction from fringe areas and intermediate areas to growth areas. Moreover, results from another survey of moves between municipalities in 2001 are shown.

Table 4 Motives for moving among all movers between municipalities and among counter-urban movers in Denmark in 1998.

	All moves between municipalities		Counter-urban moves		Urban moves*)	Results from Nordic survey in Denmark 2001
	Share of moves %	Average moving distance km	Share of moves %	Average moving distance km	Share of moves %	Share of moves %
Work related	22	155	38	173	38	12
Family changes	34	56	20	205	25	33
Settlement related	28	64	26	153	14	40
Education related	10	153	13	110	16	20
Other	5	297	3	166	7	
Total	100	102	100	166	100	100
Number of respondents	833	833	77	77	88	1896

*) Moves from the fringe areas and the intermediate areas to the growth areas

Source: Data from survey among movers between municipalities in Denmark, 20-59 years old, conducted by the Danish social Research Institute in 2001 (Deding and Filges 2004), and from a Nordic survey among movers between municipalities in Denmark, 18-74 years old in 2002 (Lundholm et. Al. 2004).

The survey was not made in an optimal way because the questions posed on motives for moving was a mix of why people left their home and why they chose to move over a longer distance. Moreover, some of the main motives were not formulated as options for answers, but was formulated by the respondents themselves. This concerns the important reasons education related and settlement related motives. It is therefore probable that these motives are underestimated in the survey. Only a part of the population was included, the age groups 20 to 59 years. It can be seen by comparing the first and the last columns in the table that settlement and education related reasons for moving are much more important in another survey that was conducted in 2001.

It can be seen from the table that counter-urban moves to a much higher extent are motivated by job changes and by education compared to all moves between municipalities, but it is still less than 40 per cent of the moves. Family changes are much less important compared to all moves, but still concerns every fifth move. Settlement related motives have nearly the same extent as for all moves.

The average moving distance is more than 60 per cent longer for counter-urban moves than for all moves between municipalities. It is especially the family related moves that are very much longer (nearly four times so long) and settlement related motives (two and a half times). The work related moves are only a little longer than for all moves with this motives, and moves with educational motives are 25 per cent shorter. This could be due to that some schools with shorter educations are placed in the fringe areas and intermediate areas in shorter distances from the growth areas.

The motives for moving to the growth areas are shown in the table called 'urban moves'. It can be seen that job motives make up exactly the same share of counter-urban moves as of urban moves. The greatest difference between the two kinds of moves is that settlement related motives are much more important for counter-urban motives. Moreover, family related motives are less important. It is a little surprising that education related motives only are a little more important for urban moves than for counter-urban moves.

The moving distance differs considerably for people with different motives for moving. As expected work related and education related moves are much longer than other moves. But also by family changes and for settlement related moves the average moving distances are quite long taken into account that the Danish municipalities (before 2007) are quite small.

Suburban moves

Suburban moves have been defined as moves from areas with high population density to less urbanised areas – often inside the same region. To examine the differences in motives between more and less urbanised areas the addresses from which people move to and from have been divided into two classes: municipalities with more than 10.000 inhabitants and municipalities with less. Suburban moves are then defined as moves from the larger to the smaller municipalities, while moves the other way are called moves to urban centres.

Table 5. Motives for suburban moves in Denmark in 1998 compared with moves to urban centres.

	Suburban moves		Suburban moves more than 30 km	Moves to urban centres	
	Share of moves %	Average moving distance	Share of moves %	Share of moves %	Average moving distance
Work related	21	110	28	22	208
Family changes	45	74	44	32	68
Settlement related	30	43	21	26	49
Education related	4	140	7	12	54
Other	0			8	230
All	100	75	100	100	105
Number of respondents	91	91	43	87	87

Source: Data from survey among movers between municipalities in Denmark, 20-59 years old, conducted by the Danish social Research Institute in 2001 (Deding and Filkes 2004), and from a Nordic survey among movers between municipalities in Denmark, 18-74 years old in 2002 (Lundholm et. al 2004).

A comparison of table 4 and 5 shows that suburban moves to some extent have other motives. Family changes are much more important compared to both all moves between municipalities and to counter-urban moves, and it also applies for suburban moves more than 30 km. It points to that people often choose to change their location and leave the cities in situations when fundamental changes appear in their lives.

Settlement motives are more important for shorter suburban moves but a little less for longer moves more than 30 km. This point to that settlement motives, as could be expected, are more important for suburban moves inside the back lands of cities than for moves to the outskirts.

Suburban moves are much shorter than counter-urban moves and also shorter than moves in the opposite direction from smaller to larger cities. Especially family related moves are much shorter than counter-urban moves but still longer than all moves between municipalities.

Work related suburban moves are also shorter than all moves, and especially compared to moves to the urban centres, which are almost twice as long. Settlement related suburban moves are much shorter than counter-urban moves.

Movers to fringe areas compared with other movers

Lindgrens (2003) study showed that counter-urban movers in Sweden were more likely to be older, less well-off, having university qualification, living single, being outside the labour force and becoming unemployed close to the migration event. For different reasons we will expect the Danish counter-urban movers to be somewhat different from the Swedish. Sweden is a much more dispersed country with long distances between the urban centres and the fringe areas. The differences between living in urban areas and fringe areas are thus much more pronounced in Sweden and commuting much more difficult.

To analyse the composition of movers to fringe areas in Denmark, all persons, who lived in the areas at the end of 2002, but not at the beginning, were selected. Among these persons only, what could be called the 'head' of the household was selected. These were selected as the person in the moving household with the highest income, or – if people had moved from different places together on the new address – the person with the highest income in the new household. Totally 6.200 moving persons/households were selected in this way.

To identify households with some of the expected motives for moving to fringe areas five special variables were defined. They were:

1. *Job changes*: Going from unemployment or education to work, shifting place of work or shifting location of work more than 100 km
2. *Finishing education*: Going from being a student to either work or unemployment and moving closer to the place of birth
3. *Leaving work*: Going to unemployment or pension

4. *Improving housing*: moving from apartments to detached houses

Other variables used in the analysis were:

5. *Age* (divided by 10)
6. *Couple?*
7. *Children?*
8. *Income of head of household* (DKK divided by 100.000)
9. *Wage-earner?* (not self-employed, pensioner or out of work)
10. *Higher education?* (long or middle length education)
11. *Number of employed persons* (wage-earners) inside household before move
12. *Increase in commuting distance* after move in km
13. *Increase in distance to place of birth* in km

A logistic regression analysis has been made to compare movers to fringe areas, moving more than 30 km, with all other movers. It was conducted on the whole group of moving heads of households (423.000). The dependent variable in the statistical analysis was if the person in question moved into a fringe area or not. The analysis was conducted as a backward stepwise (log likelihood) model. In Table 6 is shown the results from the regression. In a second model the same movers to fringe areas were compared to all other moves more than 30 km. A third model compared them to all moves more than 30 km going between the four parts of the urban hierarchy.

Table 6 Results of three logistic regressions of the differences between movers to fringe areas and 1. all other movers, 2. all moves > 30 km and 3. all other moves up and down the urban hierarchy > 30 km

	1. Compared to all moves		2. Compared to all moves > 30 km		3. Compared to moves between parts of the urban hierarchy	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age/10	0,006	0,98	0,000	1,14	0,000	1,21
Couple?	0,000	1,26	0,000	1,17	0,000	1,23
Children			0,000	1,15	0,000	1,24
Income/100.000	0,000	0,91	0,000	0,94	0,008	0,97
Wage earner?	0,000	0,53	0,000	0,76	0,000	0,82
Number of employed in household			0,027	0,94		
Higher education?	0,000	1,21			0,000	0,82
Job changes?	0,000	2,17	0,000	1,17		
Leaving work?	0,000	1,69	0,000	1,46	0,000	1,35
Increased commuting dis.	0,000	1,86	0,000	1,19	0,001	1,08
Finishing education?	0,000	5,56	0,000	1,36	0,014	1,20
Improving housing?	0,000	2,44	0,000	1,75	0,000	2,15
Increased dist. To place of birth	0,000	1,98	0,000	1,09	0,008	1,04
Constant	0,000	0,01	0,000	0,05	0,000	0,08
Nagelkerke R2	0,061		0,030		0,057	
-2loglikelihood	60652		38759		31454	

Note: Missing figures imply that the variable was not included in the found statistical model.

Most of the independent variables were very significant in the found statistical models. The established models were, however, not very successful in explaining moves to fringe areas.

The main result to be read from the table is that moves to fringe areas are very different from all moves and also, but less pronounced, from other long distance moves or moves between regions.

The most significant variables compared to all moves are 'finishing education', job changes and leaving work, which all have quite high odds ratios (Exp(B)). It is therefore much more often for moves to fringe areas that it is in connection with a finished education where one goes back to the area one has grown up in. It is also often connected with job changes. Moreover, persons who leave their employment more often tend to move to fringe areas.

Finishing education is also more important among movers to fringe areas compared to other long distance moves and to other moves between regions, but not quite so pronounced. Leaving work is also more important to fringe areas than among other long distance moves. Job changes are, however, not significant in the comparison with other moves between regions. One would have expected that job changes would have less importance among movers to fringe areas than among other interregional moves, but this does not seem to be the case. Job changes seem to be of equal importance as for other interregional moves.

Compared to all moves, movers to fringe areas are younger, have lower income, more often are couples; and have higher education. They are less often wage earners, meaning that they more often are out of work. The same conclusions can be drawn when comparing with other long-distance and interregional moves, but long distance and interregional movers in general are older and more often have higher education than the movers to fringe areas. But movers to fringe areas more often have children.

Some of the implications of counter-urban moves are changes in housing situation and in commuting distance. It is very significant for movers to fringe areas that they often improve their housing situation by moving from an apartment into a detached house and this is also more significant compared with other distant and interregional moves. This could be one of the explanations of why people move to fringe areas, where house prices are lower.

Some of the movers keep their job and therefore are forced to commute a long distance. It can be seen from the table that movers to fringe areas experience an average increase in the commuting distance after the move – especially compared with all movers but also compared to other long distance moves and other interregional moves.

In an earlier study (Ærø et al. 2005) it was shown that a considerable share of movers into fringe areas was born there. But our analysis points to that movers to fringe areas in average move further away from their place of birth (variable 'Increased distance to place of birth' has an odd ratio more than one). This is, however, not so pronounced compared with other long-distance or interregional moves.

Clustering movers to fringe areas

The problem with the above comparison between movers to fringe areas and other moves is that movers to fringe areas are not a homogeneous group but consists of many different people. Therefore it does not make much sense to treat them as one group. To identify the different groups among movers a cluster analysis has been conducted on all movers to fringe areas moving more than 30 km. In the statistical analysis some of the same variables have been used as above. New variables are:

- *Improving housing and being in employment?*: People in employment moving from apartments to detached houses
- *Improving housing and being unemployed?*: People without employment moving from apartments to detached houses
- *Going home?*: Moving to a place less than 30 km from the place of birth

The results are shown in Table 7. For logical variables are, for each cluster, shown the share of cases (per cent) for which the variables are true. For continuous variables is shown the average value for each cluster. Furthermore is in the lowest part of the table shown the values in per cent of some other variables, which were not used to cluster movers.

Table 7 Results of cluster analysis of movers to fringe areas.

	Computed clusters							All
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	<i>Share of cases per cent</i>							
Job changes?	0	67	35	0	0	0	100	33
Finishing education?	0	60	0	0	0	0	0	5
Leaving work?	0	1	12	0	100	0	0	10
Improving housing? Employed	0	0	5	24	0	0	0	5
Improving housing? Unemployed	0	1	4	0	0	100	0	5
Going home?	0	21	100	0	0	0	0	9
Couple?	0	51	49	91	44	36	53	43
	<i>Average value of other variables used to cluster</i>							
Age	32	29	30	37	41	46	33	34
Income 100.000 DKK	1,2	3,4	1,8	2,1	1,6	1,3	2,6	2,0
Increased commuting distance km	10	-5	13	30	19	2	-4	9
Share of movers per cent	28	8	8	18	9	5	26	100
	<i>Other variables: Share of cases per cent</i>							
In employment before moving?	15	79	47	50	0	0	98	49
Student?	37	2	20	19			2	15
Pensioner?	22	0	10	14	19	48	0	13
50+ years?	18	7	10	21	33	42	10	18
With children?	0	51	49	91	44	36	53	43
From parents?	15	5	1	0	5	1	9	8
Marriage?	1	10	6	32	15	16	18	14
Divorce?	16	14	21	5	17	9	12	13
Living in detached house before move	61	37	38	50	54	0	50	49
Living in detached house after move	39	68	65	78	71	100	66	63

As a result of the analysis seven clusters were identified. They can be explained as:

Job movers (Cluster 7): This is a group that have changed job in connection with the move and most often to a place near their new residence in the fringe areas as their residence is closer to their job than before the move. Some of them – but not so many as all counter-urban movers - have also made a change from apartments to detached houses. There has often been made fundamental family changes in connection with the move - divorce or moving together with a new partner (40 per cent). About half of them have children. Their income is above the average of movers to fringe areas. They are an important group making up 26 per cent of movers to fringe areas.

Finishing education: (Cluster 2): This is a more mixed group with many people leaving education and some of them going back to the place, where they grew up; or getting a new job in the fringe areas. They are younger, half of them are couples with children, 34 per cent are getting married or divorced; and they have high incomes. They are eight per cent of movers.

Going home to the place of origin (Cluster 3): Other, mostly younger, people who move back to the place where they grew up. Many are couples with children moving to detached homes. Another large group is divorced (21 per cent). Some change job (35 per cent) in connection with the move and some are leaving employment (12 per cent). There are also some students and pensioners in the group. They have lower income than the average of movers. They constitute eight per cent of movers.

Leaving work (Cluster 5): Mostly people who gets unemployed (80 per cent) or retired (19 per cent), who want to go to less urbanised parts of the country, some of them for housing reasons. They are quite old and have lower incomes. Quite a lot of them are couples with children (44 per cent). It is nine per cent of the moving households.

Housing demand commuters (Cluster 4): Is a group of middle aged couples with children with middle incomes moving – often together (32 per cent) - to get access to house and garden in the fringe areas without changing place of work. Some are pensioners and some still students. The price for many of them is a drastic increase in commuting distance. They make up for 18 per cent of movers.

Housing demand from people outside the labour market (Cluster 6): Is a group of unemployed, mostly singles, who moves to improve their housing situation by obtaining a detached house. Another motive could be, what we have called, income-transfer moves. That is people moving to fringe areas to get lower housing costs. It is the group with the oldest people – half are pensioners - and with low income. About one third is couples with children. It is five per cent of the movers.

Students and other low-income groups (cluster 1): This is a quite large group (28 per cent) of very low-income single people moving to the fringe areas. Most of them are young people and many of them are students moving to the – few – educational centres in the fringe areas (37 per cent). Some are pensioners – mostly with early pension. Some of these could be income-transfer movers. This is the only group where the share of people living in detached houses is decreased during the move. Explanations are that many are moving away from parents or are getting divorced.

Summary and conclusions

Like many other countries Denmark experience an uneven economic development of the country, which results in net migration from fringe areas to urban centres and their hinterlands. This migration is taking place in Denmark at the same time as migration from more to less urbanised areas (suburban moves) has nearly the same extent as migration from rural areas to more urbanised places. This means that counter-urban migration is not primarily a movement from cities to rural areas, but moves between more and less urbanised regions and between growth areas and regions in stagnation or decline.

Counter-urban moves are mostly long-distance moves, which mean severe changes in the life of the family who is moving. It often implies that one has to give up daily contact to the social network and facilities one is used to at the old residence; and it also often means a change of job and working place. Especially if the move is from a more urbanised place to rural areas and small towns it implies a quite dramatic change in available facilities and job opportunities and thus a change in the possible ways of life.

Research about migration and especially place attachment has shown that people who move over longer distances must have very important reasons for doing so. This could especially concern counter-urban moves because many factors favour the opposite movements to the more urbanised places and to growth areas, where job opportunities and available facilities are much better. Counter-urban moves are going ‘against the stream’.

This paper has – as earlier research – shown that counter-urban migration from growth areas to fringe areas has many motives in Denmark and that the movers consist of very different people. Compared to all movers, counter-urban movers are more often younger and living in couples. They have lower income and are much less often in work.

However, compared to other moves between regions in the urban hierarchy counter-urban movers are somewhat older and more often have children. They also have lower income and employment rate and lower education compared to other interregional movers.

One of the hypotheses examined in the paper is that some of the counter-urban movers are younger people, who earlier have moved away from the fringe areas to get education in the larger cities; and who, after finishing their education, are going back to the places were they have grown up and are attached to. The statistical analysis supports this hypothesis as people, who have finished education in the year they moved, more often are moving to fringe areas. This is especially true compared with all moves. It is also true compared with other moves between regions, but not at the same high level. A cluster analysis of the movers to fringe areas reveals that about 10 per cent are moving back near to their place of birth, but only a few of them have finished education in the same year. More than half have already been employed and in general they have quite high incomes. This points to that some in this group starts their career near the place of education and first after some time go back to their place of origin, many of them after having established a family and

having children. Others in this group are singles, some of them having experience a divorce, and a few pensioners. Seen all together it must be concluded that this group is smaller than expected.

Even if the job market is smaller some people move to the fringe areas for employment reasons because they have found a better job in the areas. Job changes are more common among counter-urban movers than among all movers but do not differ from other moves between regions in this respect. The share of moves made for job reasons are the same for moves down the urban hierarchy as the other way round, namely about nearby 40 per cent increasing with moving distance. It was also shown in the statistical comparison between counter-urban movers and other interregional moves that job changes occurred just as often for counter-urban movers. The cluster analysis points to that moves mainly for job reasons account for about one fourth of the counter-urban moves. The group is neither old nor young; half of them couples with children and with middle-sized incomes. One third of them are moving in connection with either marriage or divorce. This is a higher share compared with other sub-urban movers. In general, however, family changes less often are stated as reasons for migration among counter-urban movers than among all moves between municipalities.

It is remarkable for both these two groups that they, contrary to all other groups of counter-urban movers, obtain a decrease in their commuting distance. This decrease could be one of the important motives for moving.

In the fringe areas housing is much cheaper than in the growth areas and you have much easier access to the countryside and natural amenities. In the growth areas in Denmark housing prices has in recent years increased so much that it has become much more difficult for the middle class to obtain their most preferred type of housing: the detached house with garden. This could give grounds for three different motives for moving to fringe areas. One is to obtain a detached house with garden for families, who cannot afford this in the cities. Another one could be in general to obtain lower housing costs. A third motive could be to move closer to natural amenities and escape the polluted and stressful life in the cities. Moves with these motives could be triggered off by personal occasions in the life of the movers such as getting unemployed, retirement, divorce etc.

The data on motives for moving shows that counter-urban moves more often are motivated by demand for better housing and environment than moves in the opposite direction. The statistical analysis moreover shows that Counter-urban movers much more often moves from apartments to detached houses than is the case for both all moves and for moves between regions. This is not unexpected since detached housing is much more common in fringe areas compared to other parts of the country. The cluster analysis point to that there are different groups of movers with different motives.

There is a group of middle-aged (37 years in average) couples with children and middle incomes moving from apartments in the growth areas to detached housing without shifting job. The price is a drastic increase in commuting distance. One third of them are newly married. Only half of them are in employment, some are still students or are pensioners. They make up 18 per cent of the movers.

Moreover there are some different groups with quite low incomes, some of which could be characterised as income-transfer movers. Taken together they constitute 42 per cent of the movers. About 10 per cent are people, who get unemployed or retired and sometimes also divorced. There is also a group of people outside the labour market moving from apartments to detached houses in the fringe areas (five per cent). Half of them are retired. Finally there is a large group (28 per cent) of single people with very low incomes, many of them not moving to detached houses. Most of them are not in employment but students (37 per cent), pensioners (22 per cent) or unemployed/on welfare benefits (26 per cent). Some are divorced (15 per cent) and some are coming from parents home (15 per cent). It is therefore obvious that some in this group simply are students going to some of the few places for education in the fringe areas of which quite a few are the special Danish system of so-called folk high schools. These schools are not real parts of the educational system but places where young people go to become more mature before choosing their education. They only stay there for one year and then go back where they came from. These counter-urban movers are therefore not permanently staying in the fringe areas and should be disregarded as such.

To sum up it can be concluded that the results of the analyses must be interpreted as that the most important reasons for counter-urban moves in Denmark are housing and housing costs. On the one hand there are some middleclass families with children moving to the fringe areas to obtain their preferred type of housing and to get near to natural amenities. On the other hand there is a large group of different kinds of low-income families and singles moving to get lower housing costs combined with occasions as getting retired, unemployed, married or divorced. Seen from the side of the municipalities in the fringe areas these movers are not always very attractive and some of them could have social problems, which imply expenditures for local authorities (Gottschalk et. al 2008). Finally there are groups, which could

be more attractive. One is people, who just get a job in the fringe areas. Another and most attractive group is people who return to the place where they grew up either in combination with finishing education, with getting a job or retirement, often combined with marriage or divorce.

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