

Study of employment patterns in selected BSR regions Summary report

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List of abbreviations

BSR - Baltic Sea Region

EU - European Union

EU-27 - statistical unit which comprises the currently 27 EU member states

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

MRH - Metropolitan Region of Hamburg

NUTS - Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics

1. Introduction

Aim of this summary report is to analyse employment patterns of older workers – mostly the age group 55–64, the so-called ‘Best Agers’ – in selected regions of the Baltic Sea Region (BSR). Due to limited availability of statistical data on NUTS 3-level in Poland and Latvia, one regional case study from Northern Germany (Meixner 2012) and two regional case studies from the West (Öhman 2011a) and North of Sweden (Öhman 2011b) constitute the main background for this summary. Consequently, a selected insight in three regions with quite diverse demographic features and differing employment and labour market characteristics is presented. It exemplifies the manifold challenges which regions in the BSR are facing in times of an ageing and shrinking working-age population. The spatial focus and the small-scale research design provides a detailed insight into these challenges and addresses possible future scenarios as well as further research issues in order to meet them.

Moreover, this report builds upon a detailed study conducted by the University of Rostock (Tivig/Korb 2012) which evaluates demographic developments with regard to employment and labour market characteristics on NUTS 2-level throughout the BSR. This large-scale study allows for a comprehensive picture of population and working-age population development around the Baltic Sea until the year 2030. It may help to better address demography-related challenges of regional labour markets and employment patterns in the future.

Upon a short description of the methodology, the present report summarizes and discusses the main results from the Swedish and German employment reports as well as a short description of the results from Poland (Tubielewicz 2011) and Latvia (N.N.). It concludes with a brief outlook on the advantages of regional case studies in order to properly address demographic issues.

This summary report is based closely upon results from the regional case studies quoted above and thus, benefitted significantly from the reports provided by the partners in the “Best Agers”-project. The author wants to thank Marianne Öhman, Roland Kadefors, Ewa Hedkwist Petersen, Katarzina Tubielewicz, Ieva Uebele and Claudia Korb for the valuable contributions. Please note that due to reasons of better readability, this report does not refer specifically to the source of content. Instead, please see the respective reports for detailed information.

2. Background & aim of the study

Aim of this research activity was to define comprehensive indicators for an analysis of employment patterns on a regional level in the Baltic Sea Region. Unfortunately, comparable long-term data on NUTS 3-level and common classifications is not yet available for the majority of indicators used in this analysis. Thus, the results are presented in rather general terms and are not comprehensively comparable. Due to these reasons, reports from Latvia and Poland could not be included at length in the present report. Therefore, the comprised summary in Chapter 3 builds predominantly upon the results from Germany and Sweden.

Germany

The report about employment patterns in Northern Germany covered 23 NUTS 3-regions (8 in the German Bundesland Lower Saxony and 15 in Schleswig-Holstein) and the City of Hamburg as NUTS 2-region. The northern part of Germany (with the exception of the Bundesland and NUTS 2-region Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) is comprehensively mirrored in this analysis. The selected spatial focus covers the Metropolitan Region of Hamburg (MRH) which serves as an informal planning network of regional administrations in three German Bundesländer: Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein (6 regions) as well as Lower Saxony (8 regions). It further entails the 9 remaining NUTS 3-regions in Schleswig-Holstein.

Regarding the economic structure, the regions adjoining Hamburg in the north (among others the County of Pinneberg) and south are densely populated, possess a sub-urban character and exhibit a well-developed economic infrastructure. Additionally, the working population in these regions is closely connected to the city of Hamburg via strong commuting links. In contrast, those regions with a larger distance to the city of Hamburg comprehensively feature a rural character with a large share of agriculture and small population density. Last but not least, Schleswig-Holstein exhibits four urban agglomerations on NUTS 3-level (Kiel, Lübeck, Neumünster, Flensburg). Hamburg, Germany's second-largest city, serves as important economic centre of the region. As well as the economic characteristics, the population development in Northern Germany shows diverse spatial patterns. In the city of Hamburg and the adjoining counties, the population will not experience shrinking absolute numbers until the year 2025. A negative population development

will rather occur in more rural parts of the Metropolitan Region.¹ However, with regard to the main demographic challenges, the transformation of the region's age structure – marked by an increasing average age and a growing share of older people – exhibits an equal, if not higher relevance.

Sweden

The reports on employment patterns in Sweden analyse two counties from the West coast of Southern Sweden (Västra Götaland) and the very North (Norrbotten) of the country. The former constitutes the second largest NUTS 3-region in terms of population on national level (almost 1.6 billion) and Gothenburg serves as Sweden's second-largest city. The latter constitutes the largest NUTS 3-region in Sweden, covering almost ¼ of the states' territory, but is very sparsely populated and counts only around 250.000 inhabitants. In Norrbotten, especially the age-groups 65+ will grow substantially in upcoming years which is especially true for the female population, whereas young people in the age-group 15–24 shows declining numbers until 2025. Västra Götaland provided no specific population projection, but it is expect to show increases among older people 65+ as well.

Poland

The report on employment patterns in Poland, which focused on the Pomeranian and West Pomeranian region in the North and West of the country, stated that reliable and comparable long-term data on NUTS 3-level in Poland was mostly not available. This goes back to the accession of the country to the EU in 2004 which led to large-scale territorial and statistical reforms. NUTS 3-units in Poland exist only as statistical units and function only as a group of districts in the administrative division of the country. Furthermore, a reorganization of the territorial division for statistical purposes took place in 2008, which changed the number of NUTS 3-region in the NUTS 2-areas of Pomeranian and West Pomeranian region. This and the lack of age-specific data with regard to the most important employment indicators circumvented the use and comparison of the required statistical data in NUTS 3 before 2008. Consequently, the Polish analysis and results were not comprehensively included in the summary report. Instead, a short summary is added in Chapter 3.6.

¹ According to the 12th population projection by the Land Schleswig-Holstein.

Latvia

In Latvia, employment patterns changed dramatically during the past 15 years because of the transformation to a market economy, complete restructuring of industries, the increase of retirement age as well as changes in the education system and regarding pension regulations. Concerning data availability, similar problems as in Poland were reported in the Latvian analysis of employment patterns. Here as well, the accession of the country to the EU in 2004 led to huge problems of data availability, particularly connected to the adoption of the new EUROSTAT methodology. Moreover, age-specific data for employment indicators was often unavailable, and is additionally complicated by the small population size of the country (the whole of Latvia is a NUTS 2-region, including 5 planning regions at NUTS 3-level). As a consequence, data for specific age-groups on regional level are relatively small and thus, results are not necessarily statistically meaningful. The Latvian analysis and results were not comprehensively included in this summary report either. Instead, a short summary is also added in chapter 3.6.

3. Comprised results from regional studies

3.1. General employment features

Germany

The employment situation of older workers in northern Germany is marked by an increase of absolute numbers as well as a growing share of older workers in recent years. This is approved by rising employment rates of Best Agers which are still higher for men than for women, but increase stronger among female workers. Hamburg and suburban regions depict the highest labour market participation in this regard. In contrast, rural counties exhibit significantly lower employment rates for Best Agers.

Northern Germany depicts an average employment rate of 36 % for the age-group 55–64 (in 2009), in contrast to an average of 27 % in 1995. Looking at the gender-related development, the male employment rate increases about 5 percentage points to an average of 40 %, whereas the female rate accounts for 32 % – an average increase of 10 percentage points. Notable for the age group of Best Agers is the significantly varying employment rate between the 55–59 and 60–64-year old employees. While the younger Best Agers (55–59) still exhibit an employment rate of

46 % (+6 %) in 2009, the older Best Agers (60–64) display a rate of only 24 % (including a huge increase of 11 % since 1995).

However, it is important to highlight that an increasing labour market participation of older workers does not necessarily correspond with an improvement of job opportunities or a qualitative enhancement of working conditions for those who are employed (Brussig 2010). This argument should be considered when envisioning the future working-life situation of older people. Thus, the qualitative dimension of Best Agers employment should be kept in mind when discussing the prevailing results. Last but not least, the increasing relevance of so called “marginal employment” – a form of employment especially widespread in the service sector which is not subject to social insurance and thus prevents employees from securing pension claims – among older employees, especially women, strongly supports that perspective.

Furthermore, the challenge of an ageing workforce is especially prevalent in the urban agglomerations of Schleswig-Holstein, while in Lower Saxony rather rural counties are affected in this regard. Only the city of Hamburg with a constant migration flow of young and well-educated people seems currently less challenged.

Sweden

Labour market features in the two selected regions, Norrbotten and Västra Götaland, are surprisingly similar, given the structural differences in population size and density as well as the geographical conditions.

The County of Norrbotten is currently characterised as an ‘economic hot spot’. Unemployment is rather low and especially the mining industry in Norrbotten takes advantage of an extending global demand for mining products which also leads to further employment opportunities in construction, physical planning and related industries. Luleå is the capital and economic centre of the entire region and entails most of the economic infrastructure. Furthermore, the public sector is highly important for regional employment patterns and employs almost two-thirds of all economically active women. Nevertheless, the ageing of the population and the working-age population as well as a shortage of women for the regional labour market pose huge challenges for the future development of the region.

Concerning the specific employment features, only minor differences between men and women can be observed in the time-span 1993–2009. Both increased employment rates in recent years², men up to 69 %, women up to 67 %. A reform of the Swedish pension system in 1998 might constitute the most decisive explanation for this development by creating strong economic incentives for continued employment, thus making it much more profitable than retiring earlier. Additionally, a proactive health care policy as well as joint efforts by the labour market participants on health and safety at work serve as “success factors” for a huge work participation of the age group 55+.

Labour market features in Västra Götaland are expected to show rising employment numbers until the year 2025. In recent years, employment in absolute numbers and employment rates have especially increased among Best Agers, whereas almost 64% of the women and 68% of the men in the age-group 55-64 were employed between 1993 and 2009. This largely goes back to the same reasons than for Norrbotten, thus mainly resulting from the pension reform in the late 90’s.

On municipality level, those bordering the city of Gothenburg display higher employment numbers than the metropolitan centre. At the same time, Gothenburg has quite a high number of people 65+ which are still contributing to the labour market. This might be correlated with a higher share of academics who tend to work up to or even longer than retirement age. Finally, smaller and more rural areas in Västra Götaland do not necessarily exhibit lower or shrinking employment numbers.

² Please note that the Swedish indicator for “employment rate” is rather broad, since it counts all people working at least one hour of work per week and also includes entrepreneurs – it can be rather compared to the German indicator of “Erwerbstätigenquote” than “Beschäftigtenquote”.

3.2. Employment by branches and professions

Germany

With regard to employment by branches, the analysis shows similar patterns for the analysed regions in Northern Germany: Manufacturing, Wholesale & Trade and Health & Social Work represent the main areas of employment for older workers. Especially the latter comprehensively increases in importance in all analysed regions not least because of substantial increases of female employment in this branch. Health and Social work therefor constitutes by far the primary work environment for female Best Agers. Wholesale and trade as well as Public administration follow in importance. In contrast, male Best Agers exhibit high absolute numbers in Manufacturing which also remains the key branch for this group in Northern Germany with around ¼ of all employees. Additionally, Public administration and Wholesale and Trade rank among the three most frequent branches.

The spatial analysis underlines slightly different employment patterns by branches in Hamburg compared to the regions in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony. Here, male Best Agers are also prominently represented in Transport, storage and communication as well as Real estate, renting and business activities. Both branches grow regarding their overall importance. The negative trend for the Construction branch as well as Manufacturing and Mining is another aspect arising from the data, decreasing numbers result predominantly from the loss of male employees in these branches. The analysis of employment by professions largely approves the findings described above and shows a declining importance of construction work as well as growth rates for jobs in health and education. Employment by professions in Hamburg often differs from the characteristics in the other NUTS 3-regions in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony.

Sweden

Employment by branches appears rather similar in both analysed regions, since the Swedish labour market is generally quite gender-segregated. In recent years, women have been more successful in entering traditional male occupations. Accordingly, both regions manifest the challenge to attract more male workers for traditional “female professions”, for instance the care and health-sector. Primarily the ageing population increases branch-specific demands in this regard. Most branches for

women and men include professions with physically heavy work which makes the calculation of continued employment not very likely for a majority of these workers.

Employment by branches differs between men and women in Norrbottn in the time-span 2003-2008³: while more than one-third of women are employed in the Health and social work sector and further in Education and scientific activities, Manufacturing and mining, Wholesale/retail trade and transportation constitute the main branches for male workers in the age-group 55-64.

Västra Götaland is characterised by similar features. The labour market is equally gender segregated and women work in the public sector more often than men. Also, health and social work as well as education and scientific activities appear as important branches for female Best Agers. On the other hand, male older workers tend to work predominantly in Manufacturing and mining, although the relevance of the primary branch decreased in recent years due to ongoing structural changes and productivity growth. Additionally, Finance/Insurance/Information plays a crucial role and gains importance among male Best Agers' labour markets which might be traced back to similar structural conditions in the urban centres Gothenburg and Hamburg.

Regarding employment by professions of older workers, a majority of female workers in Norrbotten as well as in Västra Götaland is employed in the public sector, as Personal and protective service workers, office clerks or teaching professionals. In contrast, male Best Agers work predominantly in construction, engineering, but also teaching and corporate management. Data indicates that the labour market for men seems to be slightly more diversified than those for women. Finally, the analysis of employment by branches allows more insight into the regional employment structure than of what individuals actually work.⁴ In this regard, a more specific and/or qualitative approach could address the diverging conditions for continued employment in different occupations or branches.

³ Data was only available for this time span due to recent changes in the classification system.

⁴ The high share of women working in the public sector, for instance, entitles them to work until the age of 67 through permanent employment contracts, compared to older workers in the private sector where this is less common.

3.3. Employment by qualification

Germany

The qualification level of older workers in Northern Germany is characterised by a significant improvement of the average qualification and a huge increase of high qualified Best Agers in recent years – a trend that is approved on national level. Whereas urban areas feature high shares and high growths of high qualified workers, especially rural regions in Lower Saxony exhibit a great demand for qualification of older workers, although some of them succeeded in already reducing the number of low qualified employees in this age-group. Women show especially high growth rates among the well-educated older workforce with regard to absolute numbers. This reflects structural developments on national level whereas women benefit from improved access to (higher) education and a transformation of cultural values. Validity of qualification data is however limited, because between 13 and 19% of the employees can't be allocated to one of the three sub-groups. Last but not least, these findings appear also interesting with respect to the labour market participation of older people, as high qualified older workers show significantly higher labour participation than low qualified (Brussig 2010).

Sweden

In Sweden, higher education generally appeals more to women than men so that men on average have fewer years in education than women. The latter tend to acquire a university degree which means a longer education and is also increasingly demanded in jobs traditionally occupied by women (e.g. the public sector). On the other hand, men show higher shares of technical upper secondary education as well as vocational education, as it provides good opportunities to enter well-paid jobs traditionally occupied by men.

Both in Norrbotten and Västra Götaland, both men and women in the age-group 55-64 substantially improve their qualifical level from 2003-2008. Women seem to follow primarily increased demands for a university-based qualification, whereas men show increasing shares of those with upper secondary education. An alarming result is that the age-group of 45-54 year old male workers in both regions shows somewhat declining qualification levels.

3.4. Retirement age

Germany

Statistics on the average age of exit from the labour market depict a development which is largely characterised by longer periods of employment and later retirement – a trend especially true for male and less for female workers. For Northern Germany, data between 1999 and 2009 – selected in two-year-circles – was analysed. Besides the above mentioned gender-gap, retirement patterns also vary along the specific spatial geography of Northern Germany: it is especially high in Hamburg and the sub-urban counties, where employment is rather high, as well as in some other regions in Schleswig-Holstein. Still the figures are below the national average of 62.2 years in 2009.

Regarding the spatial development since 1999, especially the discrepancy of the “positive” development in Hamburg and sub-urban counties in the North with increasing figures in opposite to the rather “negative” development in the cities in Schleswig-Holstein appears interesting. However, a clear divide between for instance rural and urban areas cannot be considered from the data. Substantial reasons for this result can neither be drawn from existing statistics. The additional use of qualitative measures and small-scale analyses would be necessary to allow for sounder conclusions.

There is no available data for the actual average retirement age on regional level in **Sweden, Latvia and Poland**. On national level, Sweden’s actual retirement age remains the second-highest in the EU-27 (2009: 64.3). Poland (2007: 59.3) and Latvia (2008: 62.7) detect lower figures.⁵

3.5. Unemployment & long-term unemployment

Germany

Generally, unemployment in Germany has developed in a slightly positive way since a major political reform in 2005 (so called “Hartz IV”-reform) was enacted by the former Social-Democratic/Green-government in order to achieve decreasing unemployment figures. The unemployment situation for older workers – not only in Northern Germany – differs somewhat from the overall trend, and depicts

⁵ EUROSTAT does not provide data on retirement age for all member states in 2009.

ambivalent patterns. Decreasing absolute numbers of jobless Best Agers on the one hand stand in contrast to increasing unemployment rates on the other. The latter is especially high in cities and rural areas, while sub-urban regions depict lower rates. Generally, older workers remain the most vulnerable group at the German labour market who can only to a very low extent benefit from positive employment characteristics in recent years – if at all. The share of long-term unemployed among older workers is still very high, and those who get unemployed in the age-group 55-64 have incredible difficulties to re-enter the labour market. Age discrimination and negative stereotypes against presumed lower productivity of older workers remain popular and wide-spread in Germany. With the European economic and financial crisis still looming, it is still too early to deduce reliable trends for this age-group with regard to the development of (long-term) unemployment, especially on regional level.

Sweden

In contrast, both Norrbotten and Västra Götaland display decreasing absolute numbers of unemployed Best Agers and also shrinking unemployment rates in this age-group since 1998, despite rates increased temporarily at the turn of the century. In both regions, the results imply that the age-group 55-64 is not specifically vulnerable for becoming unemployed during times of economic recession (as in 1999 in Sweden). But if Best Agers are unemployed, re-entering the labour market – as in Germany – seems quite difficult. Compared to younger workers they remain unemployed longer and the higher rates of long-term unemployed (6+ months)⁶ are also to be found among older workers. Generally the share of unemployed men is higher than that for female workers which might be correlated with the lower qualification level (see chapter 3.4.) and fewer flexibility on the labour market, for instance regarding the ability to work in a job 'outside' their formal profession.

These results show that future ambitions in Germany as well as in Sweden should primarily focus on the prevention of unemployment in later working-life and the support of continued employment as well as a self-determined and age- and health-friendly working environment for older workers.

⁶ Figures are not comparable with German data, where long-term unemployment is defined 1 year+.

3.6. Results from other BSR countries

Poland

In Poland, people aged 55+ are characterised by very low economic activity and early retirement figures compared to all EU-27-member states. Furthermore, the share of economically active people aged 55+ in the Polish provinces decreases. Consequently, ageing processes in the current population projections will dramatically impact on the Polish labour market. The decline in economic activity of people aged 55 + increased in Poland since the late 1990's. This development was encouraged by a state policy aimed to "push" these people out of the labour market due to rising unemployment figures.

At present, the low employment level of older workers causes increasing future obstacles and negative consequences for the economy. At the same time, activation of seniors in Poland remains extremely difficult. One reason is that stereotypes of people 55+ persist strongly in the society and among many employers. The latter believe that older people are inefficient and pose a burden for companies. This discriminatory behaviour among employers fosters the social acceptance for early resignation and decreasing professional activity among Best Agers. Further significant barriers with regard to improved employment are a low level of qualification and skills as well as inadequate training measures for older workers. Seniors are especially vulnerable for long-term unemployment and thus, face the risk of social exclusion. The average age of withdrawal from the labour market is lower than the statutory retirement age. As a consequence, Poland bears high costs for economically inactive older people and their neglected potential. The task to counteract this development remains one of the most crucial future challenges.

Latvia

The demographic situation in Latvia is also difficult. The population is declining as a result of a low birth rate, continued emigration, slow immigration, an unchanged death rate and a declining number of marriages. This affects Latvia's pension system and pension levels, even after social insurance reform in the mid-1990s which made Latvia more comparable with other EU-27 countries regarding the statutory retirement age (currently: 62). Detailed information about Best Agers and what they do is not available because of lacking disaggregated data and information about their jobs, qualifications, experiences, intentions or wishes. This constitutes a

high demand for in-depth studies about and with the age-group 55+ and their involvement in labour market, employment as well as education and training.

Overall employment patterns have changed dramatically in Latvia during the past 15 years because of the change to a market economy, complete restructuring of industries, changes in the education system, increase of the retirement age, legal regulations of pensions and net emigration. At the same time, unemployment fluctuated from high figures in 1996 following the systemic changes from the former Soviet economy, then down to very small figures in 2006 at the height of economic growth (with GDP growth of 12.2 %), and finally back up to high figures in 2010 as a result of the global economic crisis and deep recession in Latvia (GDP contraction of 18 % in 2009). The active working population in Latvia has increased over time as the number of jobs has increased with the integration of Latvia's economy into the EU. Most notable growth occurred in industry sectors such as trade, hospitality, construction, transport and financial and commercial services. The working population in general is mainly employed in trade, tourism and hospitality, then manufacturing, energy, transport and telecommunications. However there are notable differences according to gender.

The number of people in Latvia with higher education has increased steadily in recent years, rising from 183000 in 1996 up to 293000 in 2009 on national level. This is primarily due to increasing market demands for higher education qualifications in a variety of jobs as well as an increasing supply of full-time and part-time study places provided by public and private universities.

Best Agers in Latvia mostly retire at the official retirement age, currently 62, and immediately claim their pension afterwards. The pension level in Latvia is very small compared to the annual average salaries (75 % of the pensioners receive less than 50 % per cent of the average monthly salary) and it is difficult to afford a living with it, particularly in winter when energy costs are high. Thus, low pension levels constitute a significant motivation for continued employment, subject to the availability of jobs, especially in rural areas. It is crucial to note that many pensioners need to continue working simply to supplement their income, rather than work to explore their interests, to socialise or some other motivation. Often, they are self-employed or tend to do smaller jobs, some of whom work without declaring their income. However, motivation for retirement has changed due to the

influence of various legal changes in the retirement age of men and women, the pension calculation methodology and taxation. Currently, there is no financial penalty or restriction against continued employment, but financial incentives in order to support these measures exist neither.

The recent economic recession in Latvia affected men more than women. High unemployment has been a consequence not just of the contraction of economy in general, but particularly the male-dominated construction and manufacturing industries. In order to help Best Agers in Latvia to have good jobs after retirement, specific training should be provided to enable them to do suitable jobs, particularly computer skills, English language skills and communication skills.

4. Conclusion

The previous analysis approves that a detailed and spatially sensitive approach appears necessary and valuable in order to identify regional challenges posed by demographic change. The specific regional profile of different parts of Europe – both cross-nationally and within member states – thus has to be taken into account when analysing the employment and labour market situation of older workers.

As the report has shown, Northern Germany is characterised by divergent developments for Best Agers on the labour market. It became obvious that for instance rural, urban and sub-urban areas are differently affected and may differently react to the impact of demographic challenges – according to their populations' specific age composition. At the same time, several labour market and employment trends are predominantly constituted at the federal or rather societal level – for example rising employment figures or increasing qualification levels of older female workers. These macro-trends are visible in regions, too, but stem not necessarily from reasons based on the regional level. However, their specific form deserves a closer look on the micro-perspective which is obviously important for employment by branches and professions.

A similar conclusion can be drawn for the results from the Swedish regions Norrbotten and Västra Götaland. Despite to some extent highly divergent regional and geographical profiles, both counties depict a lot of similar employment and

labour market features with regard to older workers. Especially the strong gender-segregation of the Swedish labour market, a generally higher qualification level of female workers and a lower flexibility of men to enter jobs traditionally occupied by women, pose important structural challenges and depict not necessarily a regional, but rather a general dimension which has to be tackled on federal level. Nevertheless, the specific age-composition in Norrbotten or on-going changes in the industrial structure in Västra Götaland appear as challenges with a distinct regional character. Consequently, a small-scale analysis of these structural challenges is useful in order to address them with regionally and spatially sensitive solutions.

Regarding the insights from Poland and Latvia, a huge challenge remains with regard to the lack of appropriate data on regional level. However, the condensed results clearly indicate that the major economic and societal transformation to a market-based economy alone poses an incredible amount of problems on the national level. It might have been too optimistic to address these tasks on the regional level, when even on national level certain preconditions are absent. Nevertheless, upcoming years will hopefully see increasing availability, comparability and quality of data in order to address these issues in a more qualified way in the near future.

Last but not least, it is helpful that regional actors address demographic challenges with a multitude of strategies. In this regard, they should prominently consider the qualitative dimension of the employment of older people which has not been a major part of this analysis.⁷ As a precondition, data-based knowledge about demographic change and related transformations in labour market and employment has to be spread more intensively among regional decision makers. The previous report hopefully constitutes a valuable source in order to meet that ambition.

⁷ See for instance Kadefors (2012) for a detailed interview-study with older workers.

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