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Factors Influencing Rural
Migration Decisions in Scotland:
An Analysis of the Evidence

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FACTORS INFLUENCING RURAL MIGRATION DECISIONS IN SCOTLAND: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

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The views expressed in this report are those of the researchers and do not necessarily represent those of the Department or Scottish Ministers.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

There is a large volume of research on rural migration in Scotland, but there has been no recent attempt to draw together the evidence, assess its reliability, and ascertain its implications for policy development and delivery. The following study was undertaken to address this perceived gap. This study focuses on the age and life-stage related factors, which the literature suggests could influence individuals' rural migration decisions.

This study was carried out in 2010 to support the development of 'Speak Up for Rural Scotland', the Scottish Government's consultation document on how rural areas can best contribute to Scotland's sustainable economic growth.

More information on the context of this study can be found in Chapter 1.

Demographic Background

Statistics from the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS) show that, in recent years, more people have been moving into rural Scotland than have been moving out. In addition, rural Scotland has experienced higher levels of migration-related growth than the rest of Scotland. Figures also reveal a disparity between net migration (the difference between the numbers of people moving into and out of an area over a period of time) for accessible and remote rural areas[i], with remote rural areas experiencing less migration-related growth. There is also an imbalance in the net migration figures for different age groups in all rural areas, with the deficit of 16-24 year olds (caused by many more leaving rural areas than are moving to them) being particularly notable.

Other age-related trends include:
- A general increase in the net migration of 0-15 year olds, particularly for accessible rural areas;
- Higher net migration for people aged 35 and over in rural areas, compared to the rest of Scotland; and
- Higher net migration for people of pensionable age in rural areas, compared to the rest of Scotland.

More information on the demographic context of this study can be found in Chapter 1.

Methodology

Aims and Objectives
The aim of this study was to coordinate an evidence base of the factors influencing rural migration decisions in Scotland, and ascertain the implications of the findings

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[i] According to the 2007-2008 Urban-Rural Classification System, details of which are available online at: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/07/29152642/0

for policy development and delivery. This study focused on literature concerning Scotland specifically, as this was of highest relevance to Scottish policy making, and was believed to be most useful for identifying rural migration issues that are unique to Scotland (eg: the Scottish Islands). This approach was also important given the study's short timescale.

The review's specific objectives were to:
- Identify the 'push' factors that encourage people in different age and life-stage groups to leave rural areas, as well as the 'pull' factors that attract others into them.
- Identify the 'return' factors that encourage people in different age and life-stage groups to move back into rural areas, as well as the 'stay' factors that prevent others from leaving.
- Highlight the implications for rural migration policy in Scotland, including any examples of best practice.
- Highlight any gaps in the evidence base on rural migration in Scotland, which would benefit from future research.

Method
A literature review was chosen to achieve these aims and objectives, using a variety of search engines and search terms that were agreed by an advisory group at the project's inception. Parameters were set to make the project manageable and to ensure that the messages from research were still relevant. As a result, data was gathered from journal articles published since 1999 only, and was filtered using a series of inclusion and exclusion criteria to enhance its reliability.

Reliability
The evidence base used to inform this review was largely made up of small-scale, qualitative research studies, which reflect the experiences of residents living in specific areas, rather than offering a statistically representative picture for rural Scotland as a whole. The factors listed are therefore extremely subjective, and sometimes a 'push' factors listed as encouraging people to leave a particular rural area may become a 'pull' factor in different situations (eg: when a different age group or geographical location is involved). As a result, this review focuses on the factors underlying individuals' rural migration decisions, rather than trying to pick out Scotland-wide trends.

More information on the study's methodology and reliability can be found in Chapter 2.

Factors Influencing Rural Migration Decisions

The 'push', 'pull', 'stay' and 'return' factors influencing rural migration decisions for different age groups are as follows:

For *young people*, the factors that encourage some to leave rural areas are often the same ones that encourage others to move into or return to them. These are the availability of high quality jobs; affordable housing; and encouragement from friends and family. Factors encouraging young people to stay in rural areas include the availability of higher education and employment opportunities; social/family pressure

to stay; and a lack of resources to move. Whether young people feel a sense of attachment to the local area, and whether they feel included in/valued by the local community, is also an important factor affecting decision making.

The factors encouraging *families* to leave rural areas are: a lack of affordable housing; the perception that rural areas do not offer a desirable economic and/or social lifestyle (eg: in terms of social networks and/or earning power); and a lack of accessible shops, schools and services. The factors encouraging them to move into rural areas are the desire for a lifestyle change; local family connections; and the perception that rural areas provide a good environment for bringing up children. These are also key factors encouraging families to return to rural areas, as is the perceived strong sense of community available in some areas. Factors encouraging families to stay in rural areas are parents' desire to safeguard their children's education; and a general unwillingness to uproot family life.

The factors encouraging *people who are economically active* to leave rural areas are: a lack of high quality jobs; a gap between pay and the local cost of living; a lack of appropriate leisure facilities and opportunities to socialise with peers; and social pressure to leave. The factors encouraging them to move into rural areas are the availability of high quality jobs compatible with their experience and/or qualifications; an appreciation of the local environment and ease of access to this; the availability of low cost housing; social and/or family connections; and the perceived strength and safety of some rural communities. The factors encouraging them to return to rural areas are social ties; family obligations; high quality employment opportunities (including opportunities to work remotely); and the desire for a lifestyle change. No 'stay' factors have been identified for this group, although those that apply to other groups may be relevant.

For *older people*, the factors encouraging them to leave rural areas are: a lack of suitable accommodation; limited support to stay in one's own home; a lack of local care services; poor availability and accessibility of local shops and services; and feelings of social and geographical isolation. The factors encouraging older people to move into rural areas are: an appreciation of the local environment; ease of access to this; the availability of appropriate, affordable housing; and the perceived strong sense of community available in some rural areas. No 'stay' or 'return' factors have been identified for this group, although those that apply to other groups may be relevant.

More information on the factors influencing the rural migration decisions of individuals in different age and life-stage groups can be found in Chapters 3-6.

Policy Implications From the Evidence

A number of *general implications* were identified in the literature. These include the need for:
- joined-up strategy making to fully address rural issues;
- policies that attract return migrants specifically, rather than those that discourage rural residents from leaving their local area in the first place;
- policies that address area/region-specific issues, rather than attempting a one size fits all approach to rural policy making;

- policies targeted at specific age groups; and
- policies that help maximise the benefits of rural migration whilst minimising the risks associated with it.

More specific implications relate to providing: high quality rural employment and training; appropriate and affordable housing options; appropriate and accessible services and leisure facilities; high quality schooling and support for those wanting to pursue higher education; and appropriate transport options. They also include addressing negative perceptions of rural areas; striking a good balance between environmental protection and economic development; and empowering rural communities.

An analysis of the literature suggests that the ***main policy implications*** should relate to:
- the provision of high quality jobs in rural areas;
- the provision of affordable housing options in rural areas;
- the provision of advice and support for people who have moved into rural areas;
- the provision of advice and support for people who are thinking of moving or returning to rural areas;
- involving both long-term residents and in-migrants from all age and life-stage groups in local decision making;
- developing initiatives to encourage return migration; and
- ensuring that policy makers take into account the different needs of accessible and remote rural areas.

In addition, the literature suggests a need to consistently evaluate relevant policies and share best practise, in order to help identify what policies work in different situations and why.

Importantly, the literature demonstrates the need for policy makers at all levels, and in a number of different policy areas, to take rural demographic considerations into account. Decisions by individuals to settle in or to leave rural Scotland are often heavily influenced by the availability of housing, transport, education and job opportunities.

More information on the literature's policy implications can be found in Chapter 7.

Research Gaps

The most pressing research gap identified by this study is the lack of a large scale, statistically robust survey of rural migration in Scotland, which would allow for the comparison of different areas and demographic groups, as well as the identification of common trends. However, the viability of such a survey will depend on its cost and the added value it could offer policy makers.

In addition, there is an apparent lack of insight into the impacts that in-migration can have on rural communities. A better understanding of this could be key for helping policy makers capitalise on the benefits of rural migration and minimise the negative impacts that can be associated with it.

The evidence base also suggests a lack of research focusing specifically on the motivations and expectations of return migrants, which could be key if policies are to be developed to attract them back into rural areas.

Lastly, the evidence base suggests a lack of up to date studies that examine older people's rural migration decisions, including those of the 'younger older' group – that is, those people at or nearing retirement age. Such studies could be crucial given the rapidly ageing nature of many rural populations across Scotland.

In all future research, there is a need to use the definitions given in the Scottish Government's Urban-Rural Classification. In particular, it will be important for research to distinguish between remote and accessible rural areas, as this is where many of the key differences between rural migration issues lie.

The evidence base also suggests a need for more segmentation in any future research examining rural migration decisions. This could help improve awareness of when and why certain 'push' factors become 'pull' factors. It could also help identify the demographic characteristics of 'in', 'out' and 'return' migrants, as well as those who remain living in rural areas.

More information on the most prominent research gaps, as identified by this review, can be found in Chapter 8.

Conclusions

The findings of this review reveal a great deal of individual and geographical variation in the factors influencing rural migration decisions. This makes it difficult to identify the key drivers, but it does highlight the need to appreciate such variation when developing policies.

The literature does, however, highlight some recurring considerations that are likely to have a more uniform influence on rural migration decisions. These include the need to secure a high quality job; the need for affordable housing options; the need for accessible and appropriate local shops and services; and the need to maintain social and/or family connections. For specific demographic groups, such as young people, families and older people, the literature suggests that additional drivers come into play, such as the availability of higher education, childcare services, and sheltered accommodation.

An analysis of these drivers suggests that it may be useful to divide individuals' motivations into two main groups: the factors that **encourage** them to move to rural areas in the first place, and those that **enable** this move to take place. Such a division could help ensure that all the factors influencing individuals' rural migration decisions are comprehensively considered by policy makers, and that policy approaches are appropriate given the nature of an individual's motivations.

An initial analysis of the literature suggests that, for in-migration to rural areas, some of the key sources of encouragement and their associated enablers could be as follows:

Table 1   Encouragers and enablers motivating individuals to move into rural areas

Encouragers	Enablers
Employment	Awareness of local job opportunities High quality of employment (in terms of training, promotion, pay etc). Access to jobs (the availability of public transport, car journey times, flexible working options etc). Affordable housing within commutable distance from employment. Awareness of affordable housing options. Local cost of living relative to earning power.
Quality of life considerations	Job availability. Awareness of local job opportunities. An accurate perception of the quality of life available in rural areas. Affordable housing options. Awareness of affordable housing options. Local cost of living relative to earning power. Quality and accessibility of the local environment. Access to outdoor activities and other leisure activities. Perceived strong sense of community in the local area. Social/family connections.
Family considerations (the assumption that rural areas offer the best environment for bringing up children)	Affordable housing options. Awareness of affordable housing options. The availability of high quality childcare, nursery and school provision, and appropriate access to it. Awareness of the services and facilities available locally. Local family and/or social connections. Perceived strong sense of community in the local area. Access to key services such as doctors and dentists. Job availability / the ability to work remotely in current employment. Awareness of local job opportunities. Quality and accessibility of the natural environment.
Family ties / responsibilities	Job availability/ability to work remotely in current employment. Awareness of local job opportunities. Affordable housing. Awareness of affordable housing options.
Opportunities available for retirees to enjoy a change of lifestyle	Affordable housing. Awareness of affordable housing options. Quality and accessibility of local medical services. Availability of appropriate housing (sheltered/supported accommodation etc), and awareness of what is available. Public transport connections. Quality of the natural environment. Opportunities to get involved in local community activities. Good quality and appropriate shops, services and leisure facilities available locally.

In terms of out-migration, encouragers and enablers can also be identified from this review. Nevertheless, it should be noted that even if policy does address all these factors, it is not likely to stem out-migration entirely as some groups (for example, young people) may be particularly determined to leave, no matter how good their quality of life in a rural areas becomes. Policy should also carefully consider the implications of stemming out-migration from rural areas, given the potential benefits

that this can bring in terms of helping residents to acquire new skills and experiences.

The literature reviewed here suggests that some of the encouragers and associated enablers for *out-migration from rural areas* could include the following:

Table 2   Encouragers and enablers motivating individuals to move <u>out of</u> rural areas

Encouragers	Enablers
Desire to pursue higher education opportunities available elsewhere	Limited higher education opportunities available locally. Limited extra curricular opportunities available locally. Limited leisure facilities and/or opportunities to socialise locally for those in higher education. Limited opportunities for work experience and/or part time jobs available locally. Peer/family pressure to move elsewhere for higher education. Ambitions to have the best higher education available. Desire for more autonomy/personal freedom. Desire for adventure and new life experiences. Dissatisfaction with the choice of lifestyle opportunities available.
Desire for more autonomy / personal freedom	Dissatisfaction with the nature and priorities of the local community. Feeling under valued/ignored by the local community. Peer/family pressure. Dissatisfaction with the choice of lifestyle opportunities available. Dissatisfaction with local affordable housing options. Dissatisfaction with the local cost of living compared to the average earning power of young people in rural areas.
Desire to pursue job opportunities available elsewhere	Attraction of the range, nature and quality of employment available elsewhere, compared to that available locally. Attraction of the accessibility of jobs available elsewhere compared to those available locally (in terms of public transport connections, car journey times etc). Attraction of the relatively low cost of living relative to earning power available elsewhere, compared to locally. Social/family pressure. The attraction of professional contacts and networks available elsewhere, compared to locally.
Desire to experience an urban lifestyle	Dissatisfaction with the choice of lifestyle opportunities available locally. An accurate perception of the quality of life available in urban areas. Dissatisfaction with the number and range of leisure facilities and shops available locally (especially those suitable for young people). Desire for adventure and for more personal autonomy. Dissatisfaction with the cost of living in rural areas. Peer pressure to try pursuing an urban lifestyle.

The above tables illustrate the highly qualitative nature of this review, which allows it to provide in-depth insight into the reasons behind individuals' movements into and out of rural Scotland. Consequently, this review is unable to provide an overview of rural migration decisions across Scotland, or to assess how such decisions are influenced. To gain such information, a statistically robust survey of rural migration across Scotland would be required.

More information on the conclusions drawn from this study can be found in Chapter 9.

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   The need for sustainable rural populations is key to the Scottish Government's target of sustainable economic growth. Migration is a major factor that can affect the sustainability of rural populations, and so the issues surrounding it need to be carefully addressed. There is a large volume of research on rural migration in Scotland, with many studies offering insights into the migration decisions of specific population groups. However, there has been no recent attempt to draw together the findings from these studies, assess their reliability, and ascertain their implications for policy development and delivery. The following study was designed in order to address this gap.

1.2   As the Scottish Government's overarching purpose, sustainable economic growth is a key concern for the Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs and the Environment. In 2008, he established an independent Rural Development Council (RDC) to provide advice on a range of issues relevant to the prosperity of rural Scotland. This literature review was designed as part of a broad evidence gathering work stream, to offer analytical support to the RDC as they prepared their advice. The RDC's report, 'Speak Up for Rural Scotland,' was published for consultation on 2 August 2010 [ii].

1.3   An initial scoping study indicated that the volume of literature available in relation to rural migration in Scotland was too broad to be analysed meaningfully in the study's short timescale. Therefore, following discussions with policy colleagues it was decided that this study should focus on the age and life stage[iii] related factors that contribute to individuals' rural migration decisions. This focus was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, several key pieces of literature identify age imbalances as a key issue for rural communities [9,33,32], as do national statistics from General Registry Office for Scotland (GROS) [iv]. Secondly, several studies point to the influence that policy could have on many of the factors contributing to different age groups' migration decisions [10,8],[9].

1.4   The initial scoping study also suggested a focus on individual experiences of rural migration, rather than picking out key trends. This is because the majority of the literature consists of small-scale, qualitative studies that reflect participants' opinions, memories and (occasionally) post-rationalisation. The views expressed by individuals are extremely subjective, being dependent on their personal circumstances and the rural area they live in. Indeed, one person's motivation for leaving a rural are might often be another's reason for moving in.

[ii] Rural Development Council, 'Speak Up for Rural Scotland', 2010.
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2010/07/22091602/0
[iii] The life stages considered include school leavers, graduates, job hunters, young families, the economically active, and older people.
[iv] These are available online at: http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/statistics/publications-and-data/population-estimates/special-area/urban-rural-pop-est.html; SAC Rural Policy Centre, 'Rural Scotland In Focus', 2010.

Demographic Background

1.5   Statistics from the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS) show varying levels of net migration[v] for rural areas between 2005/06 and 2007/08 [vi], ranging from 8,808 in 2005/06 to 15,016 in 2006/07. The average annual net migration over the three-year period from 2005/06 to 2007/08 was 12,037 for remote and accessible rural areas and 10,607 for the rest of Scotland. For more details on this, please refer to Figure 1.

1.6   As a percentage of the total population, migration has a bigger impact on remote and accessible rural areas than on the rest of Scotland. For example, in 2007/08 the net migration rate was 0.7% of the total population in remote rural areas, 1.6% in accessible rural areas, and 0.2% of the population in the rest of Scotland [24]. For more details on this, please refer to Figure 2.

1.7   The GROS figures also show a disparity between the net migration rates for remote and accessible rural areas[vii], with accessible rural areas usually experiencing a greater inflow of migrants. For example, in 2007/08, the net migration rate of 0-15 year olds was 2.4% of the population in accessible rural areas, but only 1.5% of the population in remote rural areas. There are similar patterns for the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups. This is the case for all age groups apart from 16-24 year olds, where more people are moving out than are moving into rural areas. The figures show that more people in this age group are moving out of remote rural areas than are moving out of accessible areas, which indicates the difference between the two types of area and, by implication, the different factors affecting migration decisions. For details, please refer to Figure 2.

1.8   Other informative age-related trends displayed in Figure 2 include:

- a large increase in the net migration of 0-15 year olds across rural Scotland between 2005-06 and 2006-07, with only a small decrease the following year – this rise in 0-15 year olds is particularly prominent in accessible rural areas;
- higher rates of net migration amongst people aged 35 and over when compared to the rest of Scotland; and
- higher net migration for people of pensionable age in rural areas, when compared to the rest of Scotland.

1.9   Given these trends, the review has paid particular attention to the age-related factors thought to influence individuals' rural migration decisions. It has also been careful to consider each age group when providing suggestions for policy makers.

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[v] Net migration is the difference between the number of people moving into and out of an area over a period of time. A positive value indicates that more people have entered the area than left it, whilst a negative figure shows that more people have left the area than entered.

[vi] At the time of writing, GROS migration figures by Urban Rural Classification were not available for 2009/2010.

[vii] According to the 2007-2008 Urban-Rural Classification System, details of which are available online at: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/07/29152642/0

Figure 1   Net migration by Urban Rural Classification and age group, 2005-2008

Year	Age	Accessible Rural Area	Remote Rural Area	Rest of Scotland
2005/06	0-15	2,172	486	-481
	16-24	-1,083	-1,356	11,924
	25-34	2,081	515	3,021
	35-44	2,344	775	-859
	45-59/64[viii]	1,465	1,158	-916
	Pension age	222	29	-328
	All	7,201	1,607	12,361
2006/07	0-15	3,000	1,055	486
	16-24	-579	-1,078	10,101
	25-34	2,962	820	3,528
	35-44	2,962	1,027	-1,226
	45-59/64	2,426	1,632	-910
	Pension age	580	209	-184
	All	11,351	3,665	11,795
2007/08	0-15	2,765	887	-320
	16-24	-494	-1,506	9,507
	25-34	2,806	721	1,756
	35-44	2,854	1,015	-1,925
	45-59/64	1,989	1,124	-1,311
	Pension age	96	31	-42
	All	10,016	2,272	7,665

[viii] 45 to retirement age

Figure 2 Net migration rates as a percentage of the total population by Urban Rural Classification and age group, 2005-2008

Year	Age	Accessible Rural Area	Remote Rural Area	Rest of Scotland
2005/06	0-15	1.9%	0.8%	-0.1%
	16-24	-2.0%	-5.1%	2.3%
	25-34	3.6%	1.8%	0.6%
	35-44	2.4%	1.5%	-0.1%
	45-59/64[ix]	1.0%	1.3%	-0.1%
	Pension age	0.2%	*	*
	All	1.2%	0.5%	0.3%
2006/07	0-15	2.6%	1.8%	0.1%
	16-24	-1.0%	-3.9%	2.0%
	25-34	5.2%	2.9%	0.7%
	35-44	3.0%	2.1%	-0.2%
	45-59/64	1.6%	1.8%	-0.1%
	Pension age	0.5%	0.3%	*
	All	1.9%	1.1%	0.3%
2007/08	0-15	2.4%	1.5%	*
	16-24	-0.8%	-5.3%	1.8%
	25-34	4.9%	2.6%	0.3%
	35-44	2.9%	2.1%	-0.3%
	45-59/64	1.2%	1.2%	-0.1%
	Pension age	0.1%	*	*
	All	1.6%	0.7%	0.2%

Source: General Register Office for Scotland (GROS)
* =rates less than 0.05%

[ix] 45 to retirement age

2 METHODOLOGY

Study Aims and Objectives

2.1 The aim of this study is to coordinate an evidence base of the factors influencing individuals' rural migration decisions in Scotland, and ascertain its implications for policy development and delivery. This study focused on literature concerning Scotland specifically, as this was believed to be of highest relevance to Scottish policy making, as well as being useful for identifying any rural migration issues unique to Scotland (eg: the Scottish Islands). This approach was also important given the study's short timescale.

2.2 This evidence base was examined with a focus on age and life-stage[x] related factors that contribute to rural migration decisions, and the implications these have for policy. The specific objectives were to:

- Identify the 'push' factors that encourage people in different age and life-stage groups to leave rural areas, as well as the 'pull' factors that attract others into them.
- Identify the 'return' factors that encourage people in different age and life-stage groups to move back into rural areas, as well as the 'stay' factors that prevent others from leaving.
- Highlight the implications for rural migration policy in Scotland, including any examples of best practice.
- Highlight any gaps in the evidence base on rural migration in Scotland, which would benefit from future research.

Methodology

2.3 A literature review was selected as the most appropriate method to meet the broad aims and objectives of this project. This involved a transparent approach, whereby the search terms were made explicit and all the references gathered were listed. This helped minimise bias and allows for the reproduction of such a review in the future. Annex B includes a list of the search terms, which were all agreed with policy colleagues at the project's inception.

2.4 Searching for suitable literature took place in two phases. An initial scoping study used all the search terms listed in Annex B, whilst the second stage involved narrowing down the search so that the review focused on the age and life stage-related factors reported to influence rural migration decisions. A list of all the articles identified in the initial scoping study is available upon request. Annex A includes the list of the articles selected for use in this review.

2.5 The literature reviewed for this study has generally been restricted to research articles published in journals after 1999, so that the findings and suggestions are as reliable and relevant to the current policy context as possible. However,

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[x] The life stages considered include school leavers, graduates, job hunters, young families, the economically active, and older people.

as the initial search was undertaken on all journal articles published since 1995, some highly significant studies published between 1995 and 1998 have been included, if they were thought to add particular value (ie: where the issues are still highly relevant but where no comparable study, or none offering comparable insight, has been published since 1999).

2.6 In addition to research articles, several case study examples have been highlighted in this review, where they were felt to add value to the discussion by suggesting approaches that could address specific rural migration issues. However, it should be noted that no judgement was involved in their selection.

2.7 The literature gathered was filtered using a set of criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of data sources, and analysed using a four stage process.

2.8 More details of this study's methodology can be found in the Annex B.

Reliability

2.9 The evidence base used in this review was largely made up of small-scale, qualitative research studies, which reflect the experiences of residents living in specific areas of rural Scotland, rather than offering a statistically representative picture of rural Scotland as a whole. The available literature was therefore very much grounded in individuals' experiences, perspectives, memories and (occasionally) post-rationalisations. As a result, the factors identified are very subjective and the reader should not be surprised to notice that 'push' factors can become 'pull' factors in different situations (eg: when a different age group or geographical location is involved). This means that it has not been possible to rank migrants' motivations for moving, nor single out the key driving forces on a regional or national scale. In short, this review aims to provide insight rather than undisputable facts about the issues concerning rural migration in Scotland.

2.10 Due to the nature of its evidence base, this review has been careful to note the context of each source when it is used to make a point (for example, the study's size and geographical remit, how recently it was undertaken etc.). It is hoped that this will highlight the limits of each point's reliability and significance. Importantly, the reader should note that (unless otherwise stated) none of the sources included in this report used statistically representative sample sizes, so findings cannot be generalised beyond those participants who were involved.

2.11 One final issue concerning the reliability of this review is the fact that not all the points made in the literature were explicitly mentioned in relation to specific age groups. As a result, they sometimes had to be attributed to the most appropriate age groups, according to the respective study's sampling frame and context.

2.12 For a full note on the measures that have been taken to maximise the reliability of this research, please see Annex B.

3 'PUSH' FACTORS ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO LEAVE RURAL AREAS

3.1   The literature identifies many factors as important motivators, encouraging individuals to move out of rural areas. These are discussed below.

3.2   It should be noted that the decision-making processes described for individual out-migrants are extremely complex and subjective, often involving the *'personal negotiation of different, and on occasions conflicting, influences'* [30]. Indeed, many studies suggest that the specific combinations and relative forces of these 'push' factors are often dependent on the specific geographical region and individuals involved [30].

Young People

3.3   The nature of literature analysed in this review suggests that young people are the largest group of out-migrants from rural areas, and undoubtedly the most broadly studied. However, the definitions used for 'young people' vary widely across the literature. For example, definitions of 'young people' were found to refer variously to under 18s, under 25 years olds, primary school aged children, secondary school pupils, school leavers, university/college students and newly formed households. The factors mentioned in this section cannot, therefore, be assumed to reflect the views of all these groups and, even when they do, they may not reflect all in equal measure.

The main 'push' factors reported to influence **young people in general** are as follows:

3.4   ***Employment.***   A lack of job opportunities and a lack of choice in the job options available are highlighted as key 'push' factors by a Scotland-wide literature review published in 2008; a Scotland-wide survey of 11-16 year olds published in 2003; a large mixed methods study of migration from and into the Outer Hebrides published in 2007; a large mixed methods study of population change on Orkney published in 2009; a large mixed methods study of migration in the Shetlands published in 2007; and a large mixed methods study of rural migration undertaken in six rural areas with a high population turnover (Skye, Northeast Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff), published in 1999 [23, 17, 9, 10, 8, 6,] . In addition, a lack of high quality jobs for young people is identified as a key driver, particularly in terms of pay, training, job security, career progression, compatibility with graduate-level qualifications, and opportunities to develop new skills. This is mentioned by a large-scale survey of 11-16 year olds across Scotland, published in 2003; a large mixed methods study of the Outer Hebrides, published in 2007; a large mixed methods study of population change in Orkney, published in 2009; a large mixed methods study of migration in the Shetlands, published in 2007; a large qualitative study of migration in the Scottish Borders, published in 2000; a large qualitative study of migration choices in three economically deprived regions (North west

Sutherland, the Isle of Islay, and East Ayrshire); and a smaller scale survey of out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh published in 2002 [17, 9, 10, 8, 16, 5, 30]. Indeed, this latter study goes as far as to suggest that the lack of high quality of jobs available may be more of an issue than a general lack of jobs [30]. However, a 2007 study of migration in the Shetlands notes that employers are also finding it difficult to recruit staff for some lower skilled jobs, suggesting that the general issues surrounding high quality jobs and job availability do have regional variations [8]. Additional issues concerning young people's employment in rural areas (although not mentioned in the specific context of migration) include a tendency for young people to occupy the most low paid and insecure jobs in rural areas [4]; and their generally low earning power in rural jobs, which (combined with their lack of savings and the often high cost of living reported in rural Scotland) make it difficult for them to have a high quality of life [4]. Both these issues are raised by a Scotland-wide literature review on rural youth, published in 2000.

3.5   ***Higher education.***   Limited options for good quality higher education is identified as a key 'push' factor for young people. In the literature, the higher education options available in rural areas are often described as scarce, difficult to access, out of date, or inappropriate. These issues are raised in a Scotland-wide literature review on youth out-migration from rural areas (published in 2008); a large-scale survey of 11-16 year olds in Scotland (published in 2003); a survey of out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh (published in 2002); a large mixed methods study of the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007)*; and a survey of young people living in the Highlands and Islands (published in 2009) [23,17,30, 9, 14]. However, this latter study suggests that higher education opportunities encourage mostly temporary migration, which only becomes permanent due to other factors such as jobs and housing [14].

3.6   ***Housing.*** A lack of affordable housing in rural areas is identified as a 'push' factor for young people. It is highlighted by a Scotland-wide literature review on youth out-migration, published in 2008; a Scotland-wide survey focusing on rural youth's view on migration, published in 2003; a 2009 large-scale survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands; a 2007 qualitative study of migration choices in three economically deprived rural areas in Scotland (North West Sutherland, Islay and East Ayrshire); and a large mixed methods study of migration in the Shetlands published in 2007 23, [28,4,23,5,14,17, 8]. Participants in the 2009 study of young people in the Highlands and Islands suggested that young people are disadvantaged in housing markets because they are '*continually competing with others with deeper pockets, be they older residents with established careers and smaller mortgage requirements or retirees looking for a rural retreat*' [23]. In addition, the small and expensive rental markets in some rural areas, and the lack of peers to share with in order to help split rental costs, are thought to compound housing problems: a conclusion from the 2008 literature review on youth out-migration from rural Scotland [23]. Another issue mentioned in relation to rural housing provision for young people (although not in the specific context of rural migration), is the lack of good quality housing within young people's budgets. This is mentioned by a large-scale survey and interview-based study with 18-24 year olds across Scotland, published in 2000 [3]. However, a 2008 literature review used to make demographic projections

for the Cairngorms National Park states that '*the lack of affordable housing is unlikely to be the key reason for the out migration of young adults, as research shows that very few young adult leavers move for housing reasons*' [18]. This suggests that multiple factors are likely to influence an individual's decision to leave their rural area, with some having a more prominent role than others.

3.7 *Desire for independence.* Many of the factors associated with rural housing are underpinned by young people's general desire to leave home and live independently from their parents. This has been identified by several studies, including a large-scale survey and interview-based study with 18-24 year olds across Scotland, published in 2000 [3].

3.8 *Leisure Facilities.* Poor availability and choice in the leisure and recreation facilities aimed at young people, and poor accessibility to those facilities that are available, was identified as an issue by out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, whose views were published in 2001[28]. This view is echoed by an older, Scotland-wide study which, although published before the cut off date for this review, nonetheless suggests that this issue could be more widespread [12].

3.9 *Shops and services.* A lack of local shops, along with the recent closure of others, is mentioned as an issue by a 2001 study exploring the views and experiences of out migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh [31]. Another issue mentioned (although without specific reference to rural migration) is the general lack of accessible and affordable services in rural areas. This is raised by a detailed qualitative study of residents, service providers and businesses from three economically deprived rural areas in Scotland (North West Sutherland, the island of Islay, and East Ayrshire) [5].

3.10 *Transport.* Insufficient public transport, adding to feelings of social and economic isolation, is highlighted by several small scale studies conducted in Thornhill, Aberfoyle, the Isle of Skye, Turriff, North west Sutherland, the Isle of Islay and East Ayrshire. It is also mentioned in larger-scale, mixed method studies of the Outer Hebrides (2007), Orkney (2009), and the Highlands and Islands region more generally (2009) [10,9,14, 5,17 / 4,10, 14]. For example, poor public transport for accessing rural jobs, services and social activities, as well as high public transport costs, is highlighted as an issue by the 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [14]. The issue of high public transport costs is also mentioned by a study published before the cut-off date for this review, suggesting that it could be a long-standing and widespread concern across rural Scotland [12]. Another issue mentioned (in a Scotland-wide survey of 18-24 year olds living in rural areas, and a literature review on rural youth in Scotland – both published in 2000) is the lack of transport to rural job markets across rural Scotland, which is reported to restrict young people's employment choices [3,4]. Indeed, some study participants thought that employers were put off employing young people with particularly poor public transport connections, as they were perceived to be unreliable [3].

3.11 *Family Pressure.* A wide range of sources identify parental expectations and family values as an important 'push' factor for young people living in rural areas. In particular, this issue is mentioned by a 2008 Scotland-wide literature review on youth out-migration in rural Scotland; a 2003 Scotland-wide survey

and focus group study on 11-16 year olds' views on rural migration; a 2002 questionnaire and in-depth interview study on the views held by out migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh; a 2000 in-depth qualitative study of residents and out-migrants from the Scottish Borders; and a 2004 qualitative study of out-migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis [23,17,16,29, 31]. Such values and expectations are most commonly found to be based on the parents' own life courses, with those who began their careers in an urban area being generally much more likely to encourage their children to do the same.

3.12 **Perceptions.** A wide range of sources have found that many young people see leaving rural Scotland as key for their personal development, identity formation and transition to adult independence. These studies include a 2008 Scotland-wide literature review; a 2004 survey of out-migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis; a large-scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides published in 2007; and a large-scale questionnaire and focus group study with 11-16 year olds across Scotland, published in 2003 [23,31,9,17]. In addition, a 2008 Scotland-wide literature review found that many young people see leaving one's rural area as evidence that they are seeking to make the most of themselves and are open to change, whilst they see staying as evidence of arrested development, lack of ambition and closed attitudes [23]. Other negative perceptions of rural areas identified by the literature include:

- The perception that some rural areas have become commuter towns and lost a lot of their identity and charm. This is a finding from a qualitative study that interviewed residents and out-migrants from the Scottish Borders region, published in 2000[16], and is an interesting flipside to the argument for better public transport links in rural areas.

- The perception that urban lifestyles are more attractive and offer more social and economic opportunities for young people, as well as more personal freedom and choice [14,31,18]. This is a finding from a large-scale survey of young people living in the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009; a 2001 survey (with follow-up interviews) conducted with out-migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis; and a 2008 literature review examining some of the issues facing residents of the Cairngorms National Park. However, one Scotland-wide literature review (published in 2000) found that this higher quality of life did not always materialise for rural residents who moved to an urban area [4].

- The perception that certain rural communities are too oppressive, and sometimes also too religious, preventing young people from achieving the freedom they desire [9]. This view is expressed by residents and out migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis, in a study published in 2001; and by young people living in Outer Hebrides, who took part in a large-scale mixed methods study published in 2007.

- The perception that rural communities are claustrophobic as everyone knows everyone else's business [17]. This finding came from a large-scale, Scotland wide survey of 11-16 year olds, published in 2003.

- The perception that community members' views are too conservative, particularly for those people from minority groups (for example, people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender; and those from an ethnic minority group)[14]. This view is highlighted by a large-scale survey of young people living in the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009. Several other studies report that women in particular tend to view their rural communities as being oppressively conservative. For example a 2002 study, which collected the views of residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, finds that some women resent what they see as an unwritten code of behaviour and that this resentment can often particularly strong amongst those who are unmarried [30]. Responses to a Scotland-wide survey and focus-group study (published in 2003) reveal that some young women resent the social pressure to fulfil traditional stereotypes (still widely held in some rural areas), and see these as a barrier to pursuing their career ambitions [17].

- Young people's perception that they are undervalued/insignificant in their rural community, and not taken into account when local decisions are made. This view is identified by a large-scale survey of young people living in the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009 [14].

3.13 **Social detachment**. Two studies have found that those who feel socially detached are more likely to leave their rural area if they have the chance, whereas those who feel attached tend only to leave it if they feel their options are restricted. This finding comes from a 2000 qualitative study involving interviews with out-migrants and residents from the Scottish Borders region; and a large-scale survey (with follow-up focus groups) conducted with young people from across rural Scotland, published in 2003 [16,17]. In addition, one study found that feeling undervalued by the local community could also motivate young people to leave their rural area [14].

3.14 Factors identified as contributing to feelings of social detachment amongst young people include geographical isolation, badly paid work, unrewarding jobs, a lack of accessible transport options, housing shortages, small peer groups and a lack of opportunities for socialising. These factors are highlighted by a 2009 survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands; and a 2003 survey (with follow-up focus groups) conducted with young people from across rural Scotland [14] [17]. In addition, differences between young people's values/priorities and those of older community members are linked to feelings of social detachment by a 2003 survey of rural migration conducted with young people from across rural Scotland [17].

3.15 **Lifestyle choices.** A lack of choice in the rural lifestyle options available to young people is identified as another 'push' factor by a 2003 survey (with follow-up focus groups), which was conducted with young people from across rural Scotland [17]. Another study notes (without specific reference to rural migration) that the combination of relatively high living costs and lower incomes make the rural lifestyle less suitable for those with few or no savings [26,5]. This study is based on qualitative case study information gathered at four

economically deprived locations across Scotland (North West Sutherland, the isle of Islay and East Ayrshire), the results of which were published in 2007.

The main 'push' factors reported to influence **school leavers** are as follows:

3.16 ***Higher education.*** A lack of higher education facilities, particularly easily accessible ones, is highlighted as an important issue by a Scotland-wide literature review published in 2008, and by a 2002 survey and qualitative study undertaken with out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh [23,2,32]. In addition, schools' encouragement for young people to pursue higher education opportunities available elsewhere is identified as a key 'push' factor by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration in the Shetland Islands [8]. High achievement at school, leading to a reorientation of ambition towards the kinds of career paths and higher education options more readily available in urban areas, was identified as influencing migration choices by a small qualitative study undertaken in the Scottish Borders (published in 2000), and by a large scale survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands (published in 2009)[16,14] 14. A desire to get the best start for one's future career, even if this meant moving away, is also highlighted as a 'push' factor by this latter study [14].

3.17 ***Jobs.*** A lack of jobs available for school leavers, as well as poor access to large job markets, is identified as a key 'push' factor by a wide variety of studies. These include a mixed methods study with out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh published in 2002, a large-scale survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands published in 2009, and a 2008 literature review encompassing Scotland as a whole [23,14,30]. Another key motivator (identified by the 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands) is the ambition to have 'a good job', which has often become synonymous with urban areas due in part to the higher quality jobs available there [14]. For more issues concerning school leavers' employment in rural areas, please see the above section on young people in general.

3.18 ***Parental pressure and knowledge of opportunities.*** Parental expectations and ambitions, as well as the knowledge that parents impart on the opportunities available elsewhere, are identified as an important 'push' factors by several studies. These include one that interviewed 45 stayers and leavers in the Scottish Borders (published in 2000), one that surveyed and interviewed out-migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis (published in 2002), and one that reviewed literature on the out-migration of young people across Scotland (published in 2008) [16,28,29,23]. These studies found that young people's expectations and ambitions are often based on their parents' own life courses, with those who studied/began their careers in an urban area being much more likely to encourage their children to do the same.

3.19 ***Desire to experience something different.*** A curiosity and desire to experience different areas is also identified as a 'push' factor by one large-scale survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands region, published in 2009[14]. This study finds that such areas do not have to be urban, and often include alternative rural locations, provided they are sufficiently different from where the respondent has grown up. However, the study does acknowledge the perception amongst young people that an urban lifestyle offers a better

quality of life, because of its materialism, cosmopolitanism, choice of lifestyle and opportunities for personal and professional development [14].

3.20 **Housing.** A lack of affordable housing, making it difficult for school leavers to move out of the parental home and gain independence, is identified as another key 'push' factor for those participating in the 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [14]. For more information on the housing issues affecting young people in general, please see the above section on Young People In General.

The literature also identifies some 'push' factors influencing **those still at school**. These are useful as, even if individuals are not able to act on these motivations straight away, they could be crucial in shaping young people's future decisions to move out of rural areas:

3.21 **Academic pressures and parental expectations**. Educational achievement, leading to parental and school pressure to pursue education options elsewhere, is identified as a 'push' factor by a small-scale survey with out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh (published in 2002)[30]. Participants in this study explained how leaving their rural area was *'not only expected, but also regarded as a natural next step upon completing school'* [30]. Parental expectations and ambitions, as well as the knowledge they impart of the opportunities available elsewhere, is identified as a 'push' factor by this same survey, as well as by a smaller, interview-based study from the Scottish Borders (published in 2000) [16,30]. These expectations are often based on parents' own life courses, with those who studied/began their careers in an urban area being much more likely to encourage their children to do the same.

3.22 **Local secondary school provision.** Another potential motivator for pre-school leavers (although not raised in the specific context of rural migration) is the closure of local schools, necessitating weekly boarding away from a rural area. This may weaken pre-school leavers' sense of attachment to their local area and act as a bridge for them to move away permanently. This is mentioned by a 2007 qualitative study of three economically deprived areas in rural Scotland (North West Sutherland, Islay and East Ayrshire)[5].

People who are Economically Active

The main 'push' factors reported to influence **graduates** specifically are:

3.23 **Employment.** The lack of graduate jobs compatible with the skills and qualifications is a key issue mentioned in a wide range of sources. These include a large-scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides, published in 2007; a mixed methods study of migration in Orkney, published in 2009; a mixed methods study of migration in the Highlands and Islands region more broadly, also published in 2009; and a smaller scale survey / in-depth interview study of residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published in 2002 [10,9,14,30]. Other issues mentioned in relation to this (although without specific reference to rural migration) include the high student debt, which is reported to put graduates under more pressure to find well paid,

secure employment immediately upon leaving university. Such employment is more widely available in urban areas. This finding is highlighted by an in-depth, qualitative study of three economically deprived areas in rural Scotland (Northwest Sutherland, the island of Islay, and East Ayrshire), published in 2007 [5].

The main 'push' factors reported to influence **job hunters** are:

3.24 *Job opportunities.* Nearly every study mentions the lack of job opportunities in rural areas, particularly professional jobs, and highlights a perceived lack of choice in the kinds of jobs available. One study identifies particular difficulties for rural couples, with both members trying to find suitable jobs. These issues are identified by a Scotland-wide literature review published in 2008; a Scotland-wide survey of 11-16 year olds published in 2003; a large mixed methods study of the Outer Hebrides published in 2007; a large mixed methods study of population change on Orkney published in 2009; a large mixed methods study of migration in the Shetlands published in 2007; a smaller-scale survey/in-depth interview study with residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published in 2004; *a* large qualitative study of migration choices in three economically deprived regions (North West Sutherland, the Isle of Islay, and East Ayrshire); and a large mixed methods study undertaken in six rural areas with a high population turnover (Skye, Northeast Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff), published in 1999[23,17,5,6,31,9]. The context of this literature suggests that a lack of job opportunities may be more of an issue in remote rural areas than accessible rural areas, which (as their label suggests) have better access to large job markets.

3.25 **A** *lack of high quality* **rural jobs** in terms of aspects such as training, career prospects, security and pay. This factor is mentioned by a large-scale survey of 11-16 year olds across Scotland (published in 2003); a large mixed methods study of the Outer Hebrides published in 2007; a large mixed methods study of population change on Orkney published in 2009; a large mixed methods study of migration in the Shetlands published in 2007; a large qualitative study of migration in the Scottish Borders published in 2000; a large qualitative study of migration choices in three economically deprived regions (North west Sutherland, the Isle of Islay, and East Ayrshire); and a smaller scale survey of out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh published in 2002 [30,5,9, 10, 8, 16, 17,30]. Indeed, this latter study concludes that the poor quality of jobs available is more of a concern for job hunters than the lack of rural jobs per se [30]. Tied to this issue of poor quality rural jobs is the ambition to have 'a good job', which one study identifies as an important 'push' factor *(*particularly amongst the middle class). This ambition is identified by a small-scale qualitative study of residents and out-migrants from the rural Scottish Borders region, published in 2000[16].

3.26 *A lack of well paid jobs in rural areas, particularly in the private sector*. This factor is identified by a large-scale mixed methods study of migration conducted in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007) and a large-scale qualitative study of Orkney (published in 2009)[10,9]. In addition the higher concentration of high quality jobs in urban areas is also highlighted - for example, in terms of their pay, training opportunities, and professional career

development opportunities. This is highlighted by a survey and in-depth interview study of out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published in 2001[28].

3.27 ***A lack of job security in rural areas.*** One 2001 mixed methods study highlights a fear of being made redundant amongst residents and out-migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis - particularly those involved in the Scottish Borders' declining textile sector [28]. A 2009 mixed methods study of population change on Orkney notes the lack of financial security in many rural jobs (particularly those in the public and voluntary sectors), which it suggests could be encouraging residents to move elsewhere. It also notes that this insecurity could be due in part to the predominance of temporary contracts in certain areas, precipitated by funding and budgetary issues [10]. In addition, another study highlights the financial insecurity and paucity of statutory rights associated with agency work, which is a major route into employment for many living in rural Scotland [5]. This is a qualitative study of residents living in three economically deprived areas of rural Scotland (Northwest Sutherland, the island of Islay, and East Ayrshire), which was published in 2007. The concern is strengthened by the perception of greater job security being available in urban areas, which is identified by a survey / in-depth interview study of out-migrants and residents from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published in 2004 [31].

3.28 ***The quality and accessibility of public transport.*** A range of sources identify a shortage of public transport links connecting some rural areas to large job markets. This appears to be a particularly key issue for the Highlands and Islands region, as it is mentioned by large scale, mixed method studies of Orkney (2009), and the Outer Hebrides (2007). It is also mentioned by a Scotland-wide survey of 18-24 year olds living in rural areas (although this was without any specific reference to rural migration)[10,9,14]. The consequences identified for these limited transport options (mentioned with regards to Orkney and the Outer Hebrides in particular) include restricting residents' access to job opportunities and important services [10] [9]. In addition, a lack of affordable transport options, both in terms of public and private transport, is identified as a key issue by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [14]. This issue of prohibitively high public transport costs is also mentioned by a major study published before the cut-off date for this review, suggesting that it may be a fairly long-standing and widespread issue [12].

3.29 ***Parental expectations and ambitions***. These are an important influence, particularly for younger job seekers and/or those at an early career stage. In particular, the knowledge that parents impart regarding the opportunities available elsewhere has been found to be influential in shaping some rural residents' decisions to stay or go. These factors are identified by a survey / in-depth interview study with residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh (2002);a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands; and a study involving 45 in-depth interviews with residents and out-migrants from the Scottish Borders region (2000)[30,16,28,14]. This latter study identifies that such knowledge and expectations are often based on the parents' own life courses, with those who began their careers in an urban area being much more likely to encourage their children to do the same [16]

3.30 ***The failure of national benefit levels to recognise the fewer job opportunities available for jobseekers in rural areas*** and the higher cost of living they face [5]. This has the potential to encourage job seekers to move to urban areas where the cost of living can be lower and the potential for finding a job higher. This issue is identified by a qualitative study of residents living in three economically deprived areas of rural Scotland (Northwest Sutherland, the island of Islay, and East Ayrshire), published in 2007.

The main 'push' factors reported to influence **<u>those already in work</u>** are:

3.31 One 'push' factor for those already in work is the inability of some rural areas to offer individuals the ***economic and social lifestyles*** they desire (for example, in terms of lifestyle choices, peer groups, leisure facilities and spending power). This issue is identified by a 2004 study of out-migration from North Lewis and Roxburgh, which encompassed a literature review, survey and in-depth interviews [31].

3.32 ***A weak private sector in rural areas.*** Several sources suggest that this may be encouraging potential entrepreneurs to leave certain rural areas and establish businesses elsewhere. This issue is identified by a large-scale study of population change on the Shetland islands (published in 2007), which incorporated a survey, in-depth interviews, focus groups, literature review and a review of official statistics [8].

3.33 ***Other negative factors associated with work in rural Scotland*** (although not in the specific context of rural migration) include the predominance of fixed-term contracts, which make it difficult to control one's finances and even harder to plan ahead (for example, take out a mortgage). Factors also include the lack of sufficient tax credit systems, which could take into account conditions unique to rural areas such as the higher costs of travelling to work, the seasonal / low-paid / short-term nature of many rural jobs, and the inconsistency in earnings that can result from these factors. These issues are all mentioned by a qualitative study of residents living in three economically deprived areas of rural Scotland (Northwest Sutherland, the island of Islay, and East Ayrshire), which was published in 2007 [5].

Families
The main 'push' factors identified by the literature as affecting rural families are:

3.34 ***Housing.*** The shortage of affordable housing, which is not always in touch with local earning power is a key 'push' factors for those looking for larger homes in which to start a family. This issue is identified by a 2007 study of population change in the Shetland Islands (which incorporated a survey, in-depth interviews, focus groups, a literature review and a review of official statistics); and a qualitative study of residents living in three economically deprived areas of rural Scotland (Northwest Sutherland, the island of Islay, and East Ayrshire), which was published in 2007 [5,8].

3.35 **Shops.** The closure of local shops and a general lack of shops, particularly in more remote rural areas, is identified by a survey / in-depth interview study of residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published in 2004 [31].

3.36 **Schools.** The closure of local schools is also identified as an issue by the 2004 study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh [31].

3.37 ***The absence of basic services, such as medical and child care facilities, and the poor accessibility of those that are available.*** These factors are identified by a mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh (published in 2004), which involved a survey and in-depth interviews with residents and out-migrants; and a large mixed methods study of population change on Orkney published in 2009, which involved a survey, household survey, interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders [31,10].

3.38 ***A lack of lifestyle choices.*** The perception that rural areas do not offer desired economic and social lifestyles is identified in a survey / in-depth interview study of residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published in 2004 [31].

Older People

3.39 The nature of the literature analysed in this review suggests that older people are an extremely diverse group in terms of their motivations for rural migration, and in terms of the contributions they can make to sustainable rural communities. The main distinction suggested by the literature is between those in the younger half of this age group and those who are older. This is highlighted by one study in particular, which examines the motivations of those on the cusp of this age group, and suggests that those nearing or having just reached retirement are likely to have considerably different motivations and needs than those in their seventies or eighties. This study used a household survey to examine the migration patterns and decisions of 50-64 year olds moving to rural areas in Scotland and England.

3.40 The majority of 'push' factors identified as affecting older people are highlighted by a 2009 mixed methods study of population change in Orkney [10]. They are reported to be:

- ***Limited supported and residential accommodation*** available for elderly people at a local level, making it more difficult for them to remain in their own communities.

- ***Poor access to services***, particularly healthcare and leisure facilities.

- **Inappropriate healthcare provision** given the rapidly ageing nature of many rural populations, leading to greater pressure on existing services.

- *A high turnover of health practitioners* and perceived downgrading of the air ambulance service.

3.41 *Other issues* are mentioned for older people living in rural areas, although not in the specific context of rural migration. These are highlighted in a 1997 study which, although published before the cut off date for this review, offers invaluable insight into the issues affecting older people living in Harris, Wester Ross, Angus and North Ayrshire. This study was based on a large quantitative survey, in-depth interviews and a literature review. It raises the following issues for older people living in rural Scotland:

- Feelings of social and geographical isolation, including distance from family; a lack of local provision for socialising; and a lack of appropriate public transport [11].

- A shortage of local housing designed for older people [11].

- High costs and poor accessibility of housing maintenance and repair. This particularly problematic for rural areas where housing is often older than in urban areas [11].

- Tied housing in the rural agricultural sector, meaning that when people retire they lose their homes. This problem is compounded by the fact that agricultural workers often earn lower wages as a result of getting rent-free accommodation, and so have fewer savings with which to purchase a new home [11].

- A shortage of care options for elderly people and a lack of facilities to provide these, particularly long-term care options and day care [11].

- Generally low expectations of rural health service provision amongst older people, in terms of both its quality and quantity [11].

- A lack of rural services and a narrow choice in terms of what is available [11].

- A lack of local leisure and recreation facilities for older people, and difficulties in accessing those that do exist [11]. This could be particularly important as people's leisure time increases upon retirement.

- Limited public transport options, for example infrequent services, poor timetable integration where several different operators are involved, and poor physical access for those who are less mobile or in wheelchairs [11].

- The high cost of rural living – for example, fuel costs for heating homes [11].

- Limited opportunities for building on past earnings, so that older people are seen purely as a welfare issue rather than contributors to a dynamic society [11].

- Lack of access to quality information on housing, recreation, support, and welfare benefits [11].

- Lack of encouragement for older people to take up the benefits they are entitled to [11].

3.42 **A lack of high quality, appropriate healthcare** for older people is also highlighted (although not in the specific context of rural migration) by a Scotland-wide literature review concerning older people living in rural areas, which was published in 2003. This study suggests that the shortage could be due to the difficulty of providing healthcare services to small numbers of people dispersed across large geographical areas, which is particularly the case in remote rural Scotland [20]. The study also notes an inadequate level of healthcare provision given the rapidly ageing nature of many rural populations.

4 'PULL' FACTORS ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO MOVE TO RURAL AREAS

4.1 The range of 'pull' factors identified in the literature are listed below. However, as with the 'push' factors, it should be noted that the balance between these factors varies considerably depending on the individual and geographical area involved. Moreover, the literature suggests that addressing these 'pull' factors alone will not lead to more sustainable rural populations in the long term. For example, one study[xi] suggests that the children of immigrants may be more likely to emigrate from rural communities, so simply attracting more in-migrants is unlikely to lead to long term success. Therefore, it is important to consider these factors in conjunction with the 'stay' factors listed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Statistics provided by GROS show that, between 2005 and 2008, the largest age group of rural in-migrants was 35 to 44 years. Statistics also indicate that 16-24 year olds are the least likely group to move into rural areas. People of pensionable age make up the second smallest age group in terms of people moving into rural areas. Importantly, however, the figures show large differences between the numbers of people moving to accessible and remote rural areas in each of these age groups, with remote rural areas experiencing much lower levels of in-migration. For more information on GROS' migration statistics, please see the Demographic Background section in Chapter 1.

Young People

4.3 The literature notes that young people are an important asset for rural areas. As a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands explains: '*increasing the numbers of young adults living in the region… helps to sustain and invigorate communities*' [14]. In particular, the literature highlights young people's potential for supporting the local economy and helping to sustain local shops and services.

4.4 This 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands highlights that young in-migrants to rural areas tend to be either relatively well qualified/experienced and looking for a change in their career/a better work-life balance; or relatively poorly qualified but keen to pursue an alternative lifestyle [14]. It identified many as return-migrants who had left their rural area in order to pursue higher education / start-of-career career opportunities, but who had returned due to strong connections to family and/or the local areas, or a desire to pursue the kinds of jobs available locally (see Chapter 6 on 'Return Migrants' for more information on this group).

The particular 'pull' factors thought to attract **young people** to rural areas include:

4.5 ***Local family ties and/or other personal relationships.*** These are identified as an important draw by a 2009 study of young people in the Highlands and

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[xi] A mixed methods study of in-migration in five areas of rural Scotland (Skye, Northeast Fife and Crieff, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, and the Mearns), which involved a household survey and follow up interviews.

Islands, which included a survey and online discussion forums with in-migrants and return migrants [14].

4.6 ***Job opportunities*, *particularly access to high quality jobs*** such as those with good career progression, training opportunities and salaries. Again, this is highlighted by the 2009 study of young people in the Highlands and Islands, which included a survey and online discussion forums with in-migrants and return migrants [14].

4.7 ***The environment / scenery*** and ease of access to the high quality natural environment and outdoor activities available there [14]. This is highlighted by a 2009 survey of young people's views across the Highlands and Islands, and by a mixed methods study involving a literature review, small household survey, and interview study with migrants living in three remote rural areas (Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross) [19].

4.8 ***Access to low cost/affordable housing***. This is highlighted as an important consideration by a mixed methods study involving a literature review, small household survey, and interview study with in-migrants and return migrants living in three relatively remote rural areas (Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross) [19].

4.9 ***A perceived better quality of life in rural areas***, for example, more outdoor activities, and a more relaxed pace of life. This is mentioned by participants in the 2009 study of young people in the Highlands and Islands, which involved a survey and online discussion forums with both in-migrants and return migrants [14].

4.10 *A revival in interest of **Gaelic language and culture**.* This is indentified by a 2007, mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (involving a literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups), and suggests that popular culture can play a part in getting young people to consider moving to rural areas [9].

People who are Economically Active

4.11 Several studies highlight the benefits of attracting economically active people into rural areas, particularly in terms of the contributions they make to economic and social sustainability. The potential economic benefits attributed to this group include their spending power, human capital , and job creation potential [32, 27]. Their potential benefits for social sustainability include the potential to readdress the demographic balance of rapidly ageing rural populations, and the likelihood that they will one day raise a family in the area [27, 9, 10].

The main 'pull' factors highlighted by the literature as attracting **people who are economically active** to rural areas are:

4.12 ***Access to high quality jobs***. This is highlighted by a 2006 study, which found that at least one in five of the in-migrants surveyed had moved to Roxburgh or

North Lewis for employment reasons and job opportunities [32]. It is also highlighted by a 2007 literature review of population change on the Shetland Isles, which explains how the job creation schemes associated with oil-related developments at Sullom Voe saw Shetland's population increase by around one third between 1971 and 1981 [8]. In addition, a large-scale survey of young people from the Highlands and Islands (published in 2009) suggests that 20-30 year olds are attracted by high quality jobs in particular (for example, those with good training, career progression, and salaries), rather than any other types of employment [14].

4.13 However, several studies point out that jobs are not necessarily a pre-requisite for rural migration, and that other factors such as lifestyle, housing and social ties can play more important roles. Evidence includes a 1999 household survey and qualitative study undertaken across six rural areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff); and a 2004 study of in-migration to three remote rural areas (Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross), which involved a literature review, small household survey, and 15 in-depth interviews with in-migrants and return migrants [6, 19]. This suggests that access to employment might sometimes be a key motivator and sometimes more of a means of facilitating migration undertaken for other reasons, depending on the particular rural area and the individuals involved.

4.14 **The high quality natural environment and ease of access to a range of outdoor activities available there.** This is mentioned by a large mixed methods study of population change on Orkney published in 2009; a 2004 mixed methods study (involving a literature review, small household survey, and interviews with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross); and a 2009 survey of young people across the Highlands and Islands, which included the views of long-term residents, in-migrants, out-migrants, and return migrants [10,19,14].

4.15 **Knowledge and familiarity with the area in particular.** This is highlighted by a mixed methods study (published in 2004), which involved a literature review, small household survey, and interviews with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross[19].

4.16 **Access to low cost/affordable housing.** This is identified by a 1999 household survey and qualitative study undertaken across six rural areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff); and a 2009 survey of young people across the Highlands and Islands, which included long-term residents, in-migrants, out-migrants, and return migrants [6][14]. The latter study suggests that affordable housing could be a particular draw for those in their twenties and thirties.

4.17 **Perceived lifestyle improvements,** particularly for people seeking a change to their current career / work-life balance, or for those who have experienced a life changing event such as starting a family or being made redundant. This motivation was identified by a large-scale survey of young people from the Highlands and Islands (including out-migrants, in-migrants and return migrants)

published in 2009; and by a 1999 household survey and qualitative study undertaken across six rural areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff) [14,6]. Specific lifestyle improvements identified by the literature include:

- Ease of access to a high quality natural environment and the outdoor activities available there – this is highlighted by a mixed methods study of in-migration to the Highlands and Islands (published in 2004), which involved a literature review, small household survey and interviews with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross [19].

- The strength and safety of many rural communities – this is identified by a mixed methods study of migration across rural Scotland, which involved desk based research, a household survey, interviews, and a consultation with stakeholders in Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff [19].

- Being closer to one's family – this was identified by a small scale interview study with members of the Scottish diaspora living in America, published in 2007[34].

- The benefits that rural areas offer those who want to start their own family – this was identified by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration in the Shetlands, which involved a survey and qualitative study with in-migrants and return migrants, and a 2009 study of young people's views across the Highlands and Islands [8,14].

4.18 ***Long standing social relationships and family connections.*** This was mentioned as an important driver by a small household survey and interview study of three remote rural areas (Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross) [19].

Families

4.19 The literature highlights the importance of attracting families in order to achieve sustainable rural communities. For example, one study notes that young families have the potential for '*sustaining communities hitherto showing persistent evidence of demographic and economic decline*' [6], and their ability to '*represent a significant infusion of 'new blood'…which could sustain communities*' [6]. This qualitative study (published in 1999) focuses on individuals' rural migration decisions across six areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff).

The main pull factors identified as attracting **families** to rural areas include:

4.20 ***The perception that certain rural areas provide an ideal environment for bringing up children.*** Study participants often considered rural areas to offer plenty of freedom, safety, a high standard of primary education, and a strong

and supportive community. This was highlighted by a 1999 mixed methods study of rural migration in six case study areas selected for their high population turnover *(*Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff*)*. It was also a finding from a large scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (involving a literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups) published in 2007; and a large-scale survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands (including long-term residents, in-migrants, out-migrants, and return migrants) published in 2009[12,6,9,14].

4.21 **Local family ties** are identified as an important motivator for participants responding to a large-scale, mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007) [9].

Older People

4.22 Several studies highlight the advantages that older people can bring to rural areas, and the important contributions that they can make to sustainable communities. For example, two studies have highlighted the potential benefits of older people's spending power, and willingness to use their political and financial muscle [21] [20]. In addition, their freedom from workplace ties allows them to get more involved in local community life, volunteering and leisure activities [21, 20, 33]. One source identifies older people as being important for community continuity, stating that *'older people, particularly those who have lived most of their lives in a specific rural area, are an important resource when it comes to ensuring local traditions are upheld'* [20].

4.23 Although many older people contributing to rural migration studies seem to have moved following their retirement, the relationship between retirement and rural migration is a complex one.   For example, although 19% of the participants in one study described themselves as retired, only 3% gave retirement as their reason for moving, suggesting that the lack of employment accompanying retirement facilitates migration to rural areas, which participants may have done for other reasons. This suggests that some distinction can be drawn in individuals' migration decisions, between factors that initially motivate a person to move into a rural area, and factors that facilitate such moves. This finding comes from a large-scale household survey undertaken across six rural areas in Scotland selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff)*,* which was published in 1999 [6].

The main 'pull' factors highlighted by the literature as being relevant to **<u>older people in general</u>** were:

4.24 **The high quality of the local environment / scenery and ease of access to it**.   This is highlighted by a mixed methods study of in-migration to the Highlands and Islands (published in 2004), which involved a literature review, small household survey and interviews with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross [19]. In addition, the draw of rural Scotland's high quality natural environment and unique sense of place is

mentioned by a 2006 literature review, which compares rural adult older retiree migration in Scotland and the United States [21].

4.25 **Lifestyle improvements**. Greater ease of access to a high quality natural environment, and a strong sense of community are highlighted by a 2007 study of population change in the Shetlands. The study incorporated a literature review, a large-scale survey of current residents, interviews with key stakeholders, a review of official statistics, and focus groups with long-term residents, in-migrants, out-migrants, and return migrants [8].

4.26 **Knowledge and familiarity with the specific geographical area**. This is highlighted as a 'pull' factor by a mixed methods study (published in 2004), which involved a literature review, small household survey, and interview study with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross) [19].

4.27 **The relative tranquillity of the area**. This is also highlighted by the above study as being a key attraction for older people [19].

4.28 **Access to low cost housing**. This is also highlighted by the above study undertaken on Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross [19].

4.29 **The strong sense of community in rural areas.** This is identified by a Scotland-wide literature review on rural migration, published in 1999; and a survey of young people's views on rural life and migration, undertaken across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009 [6,14].

In addition, one source examined the factors that attract **people nearing retirement age.** This study was based on a UK-wide household survey (published in 2006), of which 689 responses came from Scotland [33]. The factors it mentions include:

4.30 **The availability of cheap, good quality housing,** and the perception of good value for money in terms of housing options.

4.31 **A perceived better quality of life**, including a high quality natural environment and more leisure activities and opportunities to enjoy in one's free time.

4.32 **A change of employment status** prior to retirement (for example, changing to part-time working or self-employment), making it easier for people to live further away from large employment centres.

5 'STAY' FACTORS ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO REMAIN IN RURAL AREAS

5.1 Exploring the factors that encourage individuals to remain in rural areas is important for this review, as retaining in-migrants and long-term rural residents is key for achieving sustainable rural populations.

5.2 An individual's decision to stay in rural Scotland is distinct from their decision to stay in the same rural community, and the two decisions are likely to be motivated by different factors. Although the literature does not tend to distinguish between staying in a rural location and staying in the same community, this should be kept in mind when reading the following.

Young People

The main factors that encourage young people to stay in rural areas are as follows:

5.3 ***Securing a good job locally***. This is highlighted by a large-scale, mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (involving a literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups), published in 2007; and a qualitative study involving 45 in-depth interviews with stayers and leavers from the Scottish Borders region, published in 2000 [9, 27].

5.4 ***Local family connections***. Sources that mention this include a large-scale, mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (involving a literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups), published in 2007; a mixed methods study of population change in the Shetland Isles, also published in 2007; a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland; a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands; and a 1999 mixed methods study of rural migration in six case study areas selected for their high population turnover *(*Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff) [6,9,8,17,14].

5.5 ***An appreciation of the high quality natural environment****,* and of having easy access to outdoor activities available nearby*.* This is a finding from a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands; and a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland [14,17].

5.6 ***The perception that certain rural areas offer a good quality of life****,* either economically or socially. This is highlighted by a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland [17].

5.7 ***A sense of attachment to the rural area***. Sources define this attachment in a variety of ways, including social attachment (ie: participants had long-term social connections in the area), hereditary attachment (ie: their parents were born and raised in the area), or simply as familiarity with the area. Connected to this is a sense that one's own identity is tied up with the area; the ability to identify with other people in the community; and a sense of pride in the region.

These factors are identified by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands; a 2000 study involving interviews with stayers and leavers in the Scottish Borders region; a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland; and a 1999 mixed methods study of rural migration in six case study areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff), involving a literature review, large-scale household survey, interviews, and a consultation exercise with stakeholder agencies and organisations.[14,16,4,6,17].

5.8 **_Feelings of Social Inclusion._** Two sources noted that young people are sometimes encouraged to stay in their rural area if they feel valued as part of the local community. This was identified by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands, and by a Scotland-wide literature review covering the impacts of migration on rural Scotland [14, 6].

5.9 **_The ambition to start a family in the local area_**, often overriding any academic or career ambitions. This ambition is often accompanied by the perception that rural areas are a good place to bring up children. Studies that identify this ambition include a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland; and a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [14,17].

5.10 **_Education opportunities available locally_**, particularly higher education opportunities such as colleges, universities and secondary schools. This is identified by a survey of young people across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009[14].

5.11 **_The strong sense of community in some rural areas_**. This is identified by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands; and a 1999 study of rural migration in six case study areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff) involving a literature review, large-scale household survey, interviews, and a consultation exercise with stakeholder agencies and organisations [6,14].

5.12 **_The perceived safety of some rural areas, particularly compared to urban ones_**. This was a consideration for some of the people whose views were surveyed in a 2009 study of the Highlands and Islands [14].

5.13 **_A good social network and/or opportunities to meet and socialise with peers._** Connected to this is the need for easy access to leisure facilities suitable for young people. The importance of both these considerations is also highlighted by the 2009 survey young people's views in the Highlands and Islands [14].

5.14 **_The perception that young people are a valued part of a rural community_**, and that their involvement in community affairs is encouraged. This consideration is once again highlighted by the 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [14].

5.15 ***Parental expectations and ambitions.*** Poor parental knowledge in terms of the education or employment opportunities available elsewhere is thought to encourage young people to stay in a rural area. This is identified by a 2000 study involving in-depth interviews with stayers and leavers in the Scottish Borders region [16].

5.16 ***A lack of resources in terms of money, information and contacts***. This is identified by a 2000 study involving in-depth interviews with stayers and leavers from the Scottish Borders region. Importantly, it highlights that, for some, remaining in rural Scotland is not always an active choice [16].

5.17 Importantly, however, one source highlights the importance of noting that (even with improvements to local employment prospects) ***young people may still have the desire to move away***, in order to experience a new way of life and/or achieve greater independence. This source is a 2006 mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a household survey, questionnaire and interviews with out-migrants [32].

Families
5.18 Many of the factors listed in this chapter could also apply to families moving to rural areas. However, the only 'stay' factor mentioned with explicit reference to families is as follows:

5.19 ***The desire to safeguard children's education and not create unnecessary upheaval***. This factor is highlighted by a 2002 study involving a large-scale survey and a programme of in-depth interviews with residents of North Lewis and Roxburgh[30].

6 'RETURN' FACTORS ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO MOVE BACK INTO RURAL AREAS, HAVING MOVED AWAY

6.1   Several studies note the advantages of attracting return migrants back into rural Scotland. They largely focus on the benefits that this group can bring in terms of boosting rural areas' social and economic sustainability. For example, several studies note the potential that return migrants have for bringing new skills, experience, and human capital into rural areas [31, 28, 14, 4, 23, 17]. In addition, one source focuses more on the key personal attributes that can be held by return migrants, stating that they *'appear to possess a range of personal and social resources, they are prepared to leave the security they perceive in their local area in order to confront the challenges — and the possibilities — of personal development the 'outside' world has to offer'* [17]. Another study comments on this group's potential for readdressing the demographic imbalances present in many rapidly ageing rural populations, stating that its returning respondents tended to be younger than other in-migrants, with 44% under the age of 35 years.

6.2   Despite these advantages, however, the literature suggests that attracting return migrants could be a challenge for policy, as their motivations are often highly personal and subjective. For example, one large-scale survey of 15-30 year olds in the Highlands and Islands highlights that four in five recent returners had moved back to the same rural area they had left [14], suggesting that their motivations are often highly personal and dependent on subjective factors such as social/family connections and childhood memories. Moreover, although the existence of suitable employment opportunities is still listed a key factor for enabling return migration, return migrants tended to highlight other more personal factors as their main motivations for moving back to rural Scotland. Policy may not, therefore, be able to do much to influence this group in their decisions to return to rural Scotland. However, given the prominence of return migration as well as its potential benefits, it could be important for policy to facilitate (perhaps even incentivise) return migration, and focus on removing any barriers to it. For details of how they could do this, please see Chapter 7 on Suggestions for Policy.

6.3   The main factors identified as encouraging return migration are outlined below.

Young People

The main factors identified as encouraging young people to return to rural areas are as follows:

6.4   ***Access to appropriate jobs and vocational training,*** including an awareness of what kinds of employment and training opportunities are available in specific rural areas at a given time. These factors are highlighted by a 2009 survey of 15-30 year olds' views from across the Highlands and Islands region [17]; and by a mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007), which involved desk based research, interviews with service providers,

employers, migrants and other stakeholders, an online survey with current and past residents, focus groups, and scenario planning workshops [9].

6.5 ***Affinity with the local area.*** This is highlighted by a 2009 survey of young people's views from across the Highlands and Islands, which noted the significance (for some migrants) of one's own identity being tied up with that of the area, and of the ability to identify with other people from the local area [9]. This point is also noted by a qualitative study examining the views of residents and out-migrants from the Scottish Borders region, which was published in 2000[16]. The Highlands and Islands study also discovered that 4 out of 5 of the 307 return migrants interviewed (82%) returned to the same area they had left, suggesting that '*both existing connections and affinity with an area are important considerations in any relocation decision*' [14]. In addition, this study identified familiarity with the area as another important draw for those in their late teens and early twenties [14].

6.6 ***Good contact*** **with people and/or organisations** ***in rural areas***, helping return migrants find suitable employment in their chosen area, and integrate back into the local community. This factor is pinpointed by the 2009 survey of young people's views from across the Highlands and Islands [14].

6.7 ***Social and family ties in the local area.*** The influence of these ties is highlighted by a 2001 survey and interview study examining the processes and consequences of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh; and also by a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland [28,17].

6.8 ***A perception that those aspects of life in the region which led them to leave have now changed/improved, or have become less important as they reach a new stage in life.*** This is mentioned by a 2009 survey of young people's views from across the Highlands and Islands; and by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration from/into the Outer Hebrides, which included a literature review, survey with current and past residents, and focus groups [14,9]. For example, the Outer Hebrides Migration Study identifies a perception amongst some recent returnees that local facilities had improved and that there were now more leisure facilities aimed specifically at young people. Examples of such new facilities mentioned here include the Lewis Sports centre; Stornoway's An Lanntair (a new arts centre, which includes a cinema and art gallery); the arts and heritage centre of Taigh Chearsabhagh in North Uist; and the Youth Café in Barra [9].

6.9 ***Local family ties / caring responsibilities***. This return motivation is identified by a 2007 qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with Scottish diaspora members currently living in Colorado, America; a 2001 mixed methods study of North Lewis and Roxburgh, involving a literature review, household survey, and in-depth interviews with out-migrants; and by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [34,28,14].

6.10 ***A lack of affordable housing on the nearby mainland.*** This was mentioned by some migrants returning to the Outer Hebrides, who were surveyed and

interviewed as part of a 2007 mixed methods study of migration from and into the Outer Hebrides [9].

6.11 ***A revival in the interest of the Gaelic language and culture***. This was again highlighted by the 2007 mixed methods study of migration from and into the Outer Hebrides, which included a literature review, survey with current and past residents, and focus groups [14,9].

6.12 ***An appreciation of the rural lifestyle***. Examples include an enjoyment of the outdoor leisure pursuits available, and an appreciation of the easy access to a high quality natural environment. This motivation is identified by a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland; and by a 2009 survey of 15-30 year olds' views from across the Highlands and Islands region [17,14].

People who are Economically Active

The main factors that encourage people who are economically active to return to rural areas are as follows:

6.13 ***Family ties / family care obligations***. This is identified by a 2007 qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with Scottish diaspora members currently living in Colorado, America; a 2001 mixed methods study of North Lewis and Roxburgh, involving a literature review, household survey, and in-depth interviews with out-migrants; and by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [34,14,28]

6.14 ***Social ties***. This is highlighted by a 2001 mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh; and by a 2003 mixed methods study, which involved a Scotland-wide survey and focus groups with 11-16 year olds, exploring young people's views on migration [28,17]. Linked to this factor is the strong sense of community identified for some rural areas, which is highlighted by participants in a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands, and so may be seen by some as a motivation to return [17].

6.15 ***A love of island life.*** This is identified by a large, mixed methods study of Shetland's population change, published in 2007 [8]; and by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [14].

6.16 ***The availability of suitable employment opportunities***. This is highlighted by a 2006 mixed methods study of migration in/out of Roxburgh and North Lewis (which involved a household survey and in-depth interviews); and by a 2009 survey of young people from the Highlands and Islands [14,32].

6.17 ***An affinity with the region***, due to personal memories, social/family connections, and a sense of one's own identify being tied up with that of the region. The significance of this motivation is suggested by the fact that four in five recent returners (surveyed in a 2009 study of young people in the Highlands and Islands) moved back to the same rural area that they had left.[14]

6.18 ***The desire for a lifestyle change and/or a better work-life balance,*** often following a life changing event such as being made redundant or starting a family [14]. This factor is highlighted by a 2009 survey of young people living in the Highlands and Islands.

Families

The main factors that encourage families to return to rural areas are as follows:

6.19 ***Family ties*** could be particularly important for helping an individual to start their own family. This return motivation is highlighted by a 2007 qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with Scottish diaspora members currently living in Colorado, America; a 2001 mixed methods study of North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a literature review, household survey, and in-depth interviews with out-migrants; and by a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands [34,14,28].

6.20 ***The perception that rural areas are a good place to bring up a family.*** This was highlighted by respondents who had returned to the Highlands and Islands, as reported by a 2009 survey of young people's views from across the region [14]. Linked to this, another study identifies a desire amongst certain rural residents to raise children in the circumstances that they themselves were raised. This suggests an additional motivation for the return migration of young families to rural Scotland. The study in question was a Scotland-wide survey of 11 to 16 year olds across Scotland, examining their views on rural migration, which was accompanied by several follow-up focus groups with 15-20 year olds from across the country [17].

7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

7.1 The literature suggests a number of policy implications associated with rural migration and the development of sustainable rural communities. These are discussed at the start of this chapter, before a summary of the key policy implications that have emerged from this review.

General Implications

7.2 A key theme to emerge from the literature is the acknowledgement that rural migration is growing across Scotland, and requires policy recognition. As one source notes: *'the rural policy agenda needs to be attuned to a demographic situation characterised by both population growth and also high levels of population turnover, and not by population decline as has been the case for much of the twentieth century'* [6]. Many of the more specific suggestions below are in keeping with this theme.

7.3 Another general implication is that policy interventions are required, in order to ***capitalise on the advantages of rural migration and minimise the associated risks***. Such interventions could be essential for achieving socially and economically sustainable rural communities. The literature identifies some potential advantages of rural migration as: the creation of new jobs and businesses; increased financial support for certain local shops and services; and more sustainable rural populations. Some potential negative effects of rural migration are identified as: a rapid rise in house prices putting many options out of touch with local earning power; more pressure on certain types of housing; disjointed local communities and a lack of social cohesion; and a potential shortage of people in certain age groups, hindering social and economic sustainability. These examples were all highlighted by a mixed methods study on the re-population of rural Scotland (published in 2000), which involved a household survey, qualitative interviews, and an analysis of 1991 census data [27].

7.4 Several sources identify a need to ***attract return migrants back into rural areas***, in order to support their social and economic sustainability. This suggestion was made by a household survey and in-depth interview study with residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh (published in 2001 and 2004); a 2009 survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands; a Scotland-wide literature review on the drivers of youth out migration from rural areas (published in 2008); and by a 2003 survey and focus group study examining 11-16 year olds' views on migration across Scotland [31,28,14,4,23,17]. The main reason given for attracting more return migrants back into rural areas is their potential to bring new skills, experience, and key human and social capital to rural areas, which have the potential to bolster their economic and social sustainability. This reason is given by a mixed methods study (involving a household survey and in-depth interviews with residents and out-migrants from North Lewis and Roxburgh, published variously in 2001 and 2004; a survey of young people's views on migration from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009 [31,28,14]; a Scotland-wide literature review on the drivers of youth out-migration from rural Scotland, published in 2008 [23]; and a 2003 Scotland-wide survey of 11-16 year olds' views of migration, which was

followed up by focus groups with 15-18 year olds. As this latter study explains, return migrants offer great benefits to rural communities as they 'appear to possess a range of personal and social resources, they are prepared to leave the security they perceive in their local area in order to confront the challenges — and the possibilities — of personal development the 'outside' world has to offer' [17].

7.5   The literature's suggestions for **how to attract return migrants back** to rural areas include:

- Taking measure to reduce the stigma surrounding return migration (particularly amongst young people) - suggested by a household survey and interview study undertaken with residents and out migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis (published variously in 2004)[31].

- Re-establishing contact to demonstrate how new opportunities have developed in the region since migrants have left – suggested by a 2009 survey of young people's views from across the Highlands and Islands [14].

- Offering support to overcome perceived barriers and hurdles associated with return migration to rural areas (for example, sourcing appropriate job opportunities and housing) - suggested by a small scale qualitative study involving 21 interviews with members of the Scottish diaspora currently living in Colorado, America; and by a 2009 survey of young people's views across the Highlands and Islands [34,14].

- Raising awareness of opportunities across the region, including employment, education and lifestyle opportunities – suggested by a 2009 survey of young people's views across the Highlands and Islands [14].

7.6   Coupled with this, many sources suggest that **policy should not prevent young people from leaving rural areas**. For example, this is suggested by a household survey and interview study undertaken with residents and out migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis (published variously in 2001, 2004 and 2006); and by a 2009 survey of young people's views on migration from across the Highlands and Islands [31,28, 32,14]. The reasons given for this stance are well summarised by the former study, which states that *'only by leaving rural areas can young adults acquire the necessary skills to participate in endogenous development …migration is a pre-requisite for rural economic regeneration')* [32].

7.7   The literature also highlights the need for policy to **recognise regional differences in the factors likely to affect rural migration decisions**, as well as in the effects that such rural migration is likely to have. Sources that identify this include a 1999 study of rural migration in six case study areas selected for their high population turnover *(*Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff), which involved a literature review, large-scale household survey, interviews, and a consultation exercise with stakeholder agencies and organisations [6]. This geographical variability is also noted by a mixed methods study of rural youth unemployment (published in 2000), which included a survey of 817 18-24 year-olds with recent experience of

unemployment, and in-depth interviews with young people and rural employers which took place in four case study areas (Cumnock, Argyll, Dumfries and rural Stirling) [3]. In addition, it is noted by a survey of 15-30 year olds' views across the Highlands and Islands region, published in 2009 [14]. One source (a Scotland wide literature review on young people in rural Scotland, published in 2000) illustrates this with a quote from the Cabinet Office saying: '*rural areas do not all share the same characteristics: some are prosperous, others are not; and some have better access to services, facilities and higher levels of employment than others*' [4]. This source goes on to explain that rural variation could be caused by differences in an area's distance from the nearest city, the diversity of the local economy, dependence on tourism, and proximity to training and educational establishments. Another source (a Scotland-wide literature review examining the effects of rural migration) does add, however, that some rural issues were likely to be applicable to most areas– for example, '*housing provision, transport, labour markets, retail and social services, the environment and community animation*' [6].

7.8 One source (a 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands) adds that policy should also recognise that **factors influencing migration decisions can vary on an individual basis**, depending on the personal preferences of migrants [14]. It suggests that policy could consider different types of individual leaver / stayer / returner in order to ensure that its initiatives are targeted towards the most appropriate group. In the same vein, this source suggests that policy could pay less attention to groups such as 'reluctant stayers' and 'committed leavers', who may well be determined to leave rural areas as soon as possible regardless of most policy interventions.

7.9 This 2009 survey of young people in the Highlands and Islands also highlights the **need to attract and retain both young and older people** in rural areas, in order to make these regions more sustainable and dynamic. However, the urgency of retaining each of these groups varies between different locations in the Highlands and Islands, depending on other influences associated with their economic and social sustainability [14].

7.10 In addition, one source highlights a need to more consistently **evaluate policy approaches** that aim to address rural migration issues, so as to help build on past successes and avoid pitfalls. This source is a mixed methods study, published in 1999, which took place in six rural areas selected for their high population turnover (Skye, North East Fife, Kyle and Carrick, Black Isle, Mearns and Crieff), and involved a large household survey of incomers, local movers and long-term residents; qualitative interviews with individual residents; and a consultation exercise with Community Councils, and statutory agencies [19].

7.11 One last key theme reoccuring throughout the literature is the need to **better account for rural migration trends when planning rural policies** and developing rural infrastructure. The following sections provide more specific suggestions for how this could be done.

Implications for Rural Employment and Training

7.12 Every source identified in this search highlights the importance of employment opportunities for shaping rural migration decisions.

7.13 Several sources mention the importance of ***attracting more economic migrants*** into rural areas, in order to safeguard their economic sustainability. Suggestions for how to do this include:

- Widening the employment opportunities available for skilled workers in rural areas– this is noted by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides, which involved a large-scale survey and follow up focus groups. It was also mentioned by a 2007 study examining how to attract and retain young professionals in Dumfries and Galloway, the methodology for which is not available [9,15]
- Developing more links between research institutes and productive economic sectors in order to help promote high value employment, for example in the field of renewable energy. This is mentioned by a large-scale mixed methods study of population change in the Shetlands, which involved a large-scale survey, interviews, focus groups and a literature; and also by a large-scale mixed methods study of population change in Orkney, which involved a survey, household survey, interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders [10 8].
- Offering more financial incentives and training opportunities to attract and retain a highly skilled and academically qualified workforce. This is mentioned by a 2006 mixed methods study of migration to/from North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a household survey, questionnaire, and in-depth interviews conducted with out-migrants [32].
- Supporting long-term changes to Scotland's working culture, particularly more flexible working styles such as working from home and flexi-time options, which may widen employment options for those living in rural areas – this is mentioned by a large, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which used an electronic survey, a household survey, interviews and focus groups [10].
- Supporting the development of a more entrepreneurial culture in rural Scotland. Examples could include offering training on how to be an entrepreneur; widening broadband provision; strengthening collaboration between the public sector, further education establishments and the private sector; providing incubator units/core business support services to stimulate business start-ups; fostering a culture of entrepreneurialism amongst islanders; attracting entrepreneurs from elsewhere; and providing awareness-raising campaigns on enterprise opportunities that focus on key target groups (for example school-leavers). These suggestions are made in a 2007 mixed methods study of population change on the Shetland islands, based on the evidence gathered from literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups with local people [8].

7.14 In addition, several sources provide suggestions for how ***new jobs could be created*** in rural areas. These include:

- Devolving more public sector jobs to remote areas – this is suggested by a Scotland-wide study (published in 2008), which involved a web-based survey, semi structured interviews, a literature review, and focus groups held in eight rural areas selected for their geographical spread (Castle Douglas, Coupar, Inverurie, Pitlochry, Tarbert, Stornoway, Inverness, and Lerwick) [22,10].
- Attracting more private sector investors in the outer Hebrides to help diversify the economy. This is suggested by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides, which involved a large-scale survey and follow up focus groups [9].
- Encouraging investment from Scottish diaspora members living abroad (for example, in America) and supporting the establishment of international business links with them. This is suggested by a small scale qualitative study on the Scottish diaspora (published in 2007), which involved interviews with 27 members of the Scottish diaspora currently living in Colorado, America [34].
- Promoting and supporting a stronger enterprise culture in Orkney, perhaps in the higher education and renewable energy sectors - for example, by teaching young people entrepreneurial skills, and developing small start-up/incubator units to allow people to start out in business. This is suggested by a mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which used an electronic survey, a household survey, interviews and focus groups [10].
- Pursuing opportunities to develop the renewable energy economy in the Shetlands – this is suggested by a 2007 mixed methods study of population change on the Shetland islands, based on the evidence gathered from literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups with local people [8].
- Supporting large job creation initiatives, such as the major oil-related developments at Sullom Voe in the Shetlands – this is also suggested by the 2007 mixed methods study of population change on the Shetland islands, based on the evidence gathered from literature review, survey, interviews and focus groups with local people [8].

7.15 One source also suggests that *job creation could be targeted at return migrants* in particular (for example, graduates and post graduates) rather than school leavers, as many young people have made up their minds to leave rural areas from a very early age and would be hard to persuade otherwise. This is suggested by 2001 study of out migration from Roxburgh and North Lewis, which involved a literature review, representative household survey, a survey of out-migrants, and qualitative in-depth interviews with 25 out-migrants [28]. The authors explain: '*Creating local education and employment opportunities may delay out-migration but it is unlikely to significantly reduce its scale…Few out-migrants could be described as reluctant movers. The ingrained migration expectations of the young will be difficult to break. Such improvements may however encourage greater return flows, and help stem the outflow of older groups*' [28].

7.16 Alongside job creation, one study identifies a need to *market rural jobs more effectively*, as many specialist and skilled jobs are difficult to recruit for in certain areas. This is a finding from a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (incorporating an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders), published in 2009.

It calls for a more positive marketing of careers in farming and food production, in order to support and safeguard this major strand of economic activity. It also suggests that rural job opportunities could be marketed in a more coordinated way, perhaps by a joint venture with the private sector to develop a coordinated recruitment website [10].

7.17 Several sources highlight the need to *improve the quality of existing employment* in order to attract and retain more skilled workers in rural areas. This is identified by a 2006 mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a household survey, questionnaire and interviews with out-migrants; and by a 2000 mixed methods study of rural youth unemployment, which involved a survey and in-depth interviews with young people and employers in four rural areas (Cumnock, Argyll, Dumfries and rural Stirling) [32, 3]. The latter study identifies high quality employment as being particularly important in remote rural areas, where the demand for skilled workers is often dispersed over a much wider geographical area [3]. Suggestions for how to improve the quality of employment in rural areas include enhancing career progression opportunities [14]; providing jobs and work experience consonant with graduate level qualifications [14]; and providing incentives for employers to provide more training, in order to enhance their employees' career prospects [12]. These are mentioned by a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, with an accompanying online discussions forum, published in 2009 [14].

7.18 In addition to this general issue of employment quality, several sources highlight the importance of providing *rural training and career progression incentives* more specifically. For example:

- Increasing the number and range of vocational training opportunities and apprenticeships was thought to have the potential to allow more young people to stay in the Outer Hebrides. This is identified by a large scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides, published in 2007, which involved desk-based research; Interviews with service-providers and stakeholders, an internet survey with current and past residents of the Outer Hebrides, a survey of employers, focus groups across the Outer Hebrides and on the mainland, interviews with employers and international in-migrants, and a scenario-planning workshop [9].
- Greater promotion of career progression in the jobs already available. For example, a recent initiative promoting a 'career pathway' through social care in Orkney is praised. This is highlighted by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney, published in 2009, which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders. This study emphasises that such promotion may require closer joint working with colleges and other education and training providers, and that this should be done using local institutions wherever possible. Moreover, it adds that any career progression programme should be flexible enough to support the training needs of both older employees and students [10].

7.19 As well as training, one source highlights *the importance of providing work experience and access to informal networks in rural areas*, particularly for

those at the start of their careers, as these may sometimes be more effective than training for providing bridges into skilled employment in rural areas. This is mentioned by a 2000 mixed methods study of rural youth unemployment, which involved a survey and in-depth interviews with young people and employers in Cumnock, Argyll, Dumfries and rural Stirling [3].

7.20 Several studies also highlight the need to provide **more protection and support** for those who already have jobs in rural areas. For example:

- One study suggests that policy could restrict the predominance of temporary contracts and short-term posts on Orkney, as these have been identified as damaging population stability. This is identified by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney, published in 2009, which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders [10].

- Another study concludes that national government, local government (education authorities) and enterprise organisations should work together to develop an integrated policy to deliver training for young people in rural areas. This suggestion is made by a mixed methods study of life across rural Scotland (published in 2008), which involved a literature review, online survey of rural residents, telephone interviews with policy makers and service providers, and focus groups with community representatives in 8 different rural areas (Castle Douglas; Coupar; Inverurie; Pitlochry; Tarbert; Stornoway; Inverness; and Lerwick) [22].

- The above study also states that enterprise organisations could promote the benefits of mobile working and home working to local employers, to help address issues associated with accessing employment in rural areas [21].

7.21 In addition, the results of a household survey across rural Scotland conclude that **attracting English migrants** has the potential to revitalise rural areas, as they often bring greater than average skills and academic attainment, as well as a willingness to involve themselves in the lives of the local community. This is identified by a large scale household survey on English migration to rural Scotland, published in 2009[25].

7.22 Importantly, however, one source highlights the importance of noting that (even with improvements to local employment prospects) **young people may still have the desire to move away**, in order to experience a new way of life and/or achieve greater independence [32]. This source is a 2006 mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a household survey, questionnaire and interviews with out-migrants.

Implications for Rural Housing
7.23 A key theme is the need for **more housing** to be developed in rural areas. Suggestions for doing this include:

- Ensuring that the planning system has a long-term developmental focus, particularly in remote rural areas – for example, by making sufficient land

available for self-build housing, with connection to water and sewerage services. This is suggested by a qualitative study involving a literature review, in-depth interviews and focus groups in three economically deprived areas of rural Scotland(North West Sutherland, the island of Islay and East Ayrshire) [5].

- Assessing housing demand and support for housing development in threatened communities. This is suggested by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which used an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders [10].

7.24 There is also widespread demand for more **low-cost and affordable rural housing,** both in terms of purchase and upkeep. This is called for by a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009; a 2004 mixed-methods study of in-migration in the Highlands and Islands, which incorporated a literature review, small household survey and interview study with migrants from three relatively remote rural areas (Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross); a mixed methods study of life across rural Scotland (published in 2008), which involved a literature review, online survey of rural residents, telephone interviews with policy makers and service providers, and focus groups with community representatives in 8 different rural areas (Castle Douglas; Coupar; Inverurie; Pitlochry; Tarbert; Stornoway; Inverness; and Lerwick); and by a large scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides, published in 2007 [19,14,22,9].

7.25 One suggestion for achieving more low cost, affordable rural housing is providing more rental and shared equity properties, in order to help share the higher costs of rural housing in certain areas. This is suggested by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration to/from the Shetland Islands, which used a literature review, web based survey, interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders, and a scenario planning workshop [8].

7.26 *Another key theme is the need for **a greater choice of housing** in rural areas*[14]. This includes the need for rural housing provision to become more flexible, in order to cater for the housing needs of young single people, people at an early career stage, young families, and older people [22,10]. These suggestions are made by a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009; a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders; and a mixed methods study of life across rural Scotland (published in 2008), which involved a literature review, online survey of rural residents, telephone interviews with policy makers and service providers, and focus groups with community representatives in eight different rural areas (Castle Douglas; Coupar; Inverurie; Pitlochry; Tarbert; Stornoway; Inverness; and Lerwick).

7.27 Another source suggests that **in-migrants in particular could be better supported** in terms of their housing needs, for example, by offering 'gateway' housing as a transition for those moving to Orkney [10]. This is suggested by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published

in 2009), which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders.

7.28 Another key theme is the need to **protect rural communities from the negative impact of second home ownership**. For example, one source identifies the increase of second home owners in rural areas as a real worry for rural communities, as they do not contribute to the life of the community or the local economy, but still compete for housing and drive prices up. This source is a mixed methods study of life across rural Scotland (published in 2008), which involved a literature review, online survey of rural residents, telephone interviews with policy makers and service providers, and focus groups with community representatives in eight different rural areas (Castle Douglas; Coupar; Inverurie; Pitlochry;Tarbert; Stornoway; Inverness; and Lerwick) [22].

7.29 Several sources also note the importance of **improving housing for older people**[11,10]. Although one of these studies was published before the cut off point for this review, it is nevertheless important given the fact that no comparably large and insightful study on the lives of older people living in rural Scotland has been published since. This source was a 1997 mixed methods study examining older people's lives in rural Scotland [11], and its suggestions for how to improve housing for older people in rural areas include:

- Continuing to support schemes such as Care and Repair (one of the most effective policies in terms of improving the quality of life for older people living in poor housing conditions), and the Personal Housing Plan (which presents older people with all the housing options so that they can make more informed choices).

- Issuing 100% grants for maintenance to be made available to those in need.

- Facilitating Small Repair Grant schemes to allow for minor essential repairs to be carried out.

- Improving the rights of older people living in tied or privately rented accommodation to encourage and enforce landlords to maintain their properties sufficiently. Housing rights for tied tenants need to be improved and a forum provided to assist them in upholding these rights. More information and advice on the housing options available to tied tenants when they retire need to be made available.

- Providing more supported accommodation in rural areas, such as sheltered housing, as there is a relative shortage of this in much of rural Scotland given the recent rise in demand.

- Providing more advice and information on improvements on housing improvements for older people [11].

- Providing more support for older people seeking to rectify minor domestic problems, such as changing light bulbs, servicing smoke alarms and other small repairs [20].

- Addressing the lack of maintenance culture, for example by providing more information on the need to maintain housing and the means to do so; by encouraging building societies to take a more active role in maintaining housing [11].

- Increasing the supply of affordable local housing, particularly that suited for older people - for example Barrier Free Housing, built to a standard which allows easy access and use by those with mobility problems [11].

- Providing funding for older people to adapt their homes where necessary [11].

- Planning for more residential accommodation to meet the needs of the increasingly ageing population in particular areas [10].

7.30 One study highlights the particular importance of providing housing options that are desirable, accessible and affordable to *younger people*, as this could encourage higher rates of economic migration [9]. This is a large scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides, published in 2007, which involved desk-based research; Interviews with service-providers and stakeholders, an internet survey with current and past residents of the Outer Hebrides, a survey of employers, focus groups across the Outer Hebrides and on the mainland, interviews with employers and international in-migrants, and a scenario-planning workshop. Another study suggests that housing providers could identify opportunities to work with a local college and other training providers, in order to develop housing targeted at young people entering further education or training [10]. This study is a large-scale, mixed methods examination of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders.

Implications for Rural Services

7.31 One theme to emerge is that any rural service infrastructures should support *both the growing elderly populations* in many rural areas *and the influx of younger families* [22]*,* as both are important for rural community dynamism and sustainability. This is identified by a number of sources, the only one published after the cut off date for this review being a mixed methods study of rural life across Scotland (published in 2008), which involved a literature review, online survey of rural residents, telephone interviews with policy makers and service providers, and focus groups with community representatives in eight different rural areas (Castle Douglas; Coupar; Inverurie; Pitlochry; Tarbert; Stornoway; Inverness; and Lerwick) [22].

7.32 The literature also suggests that *additional services could be introduced* to support and encourage people to move into rural areas. Suggestions for such services include: providing a point of contact to keep them up to date with emerging opportunities across the region; providing answers to potential migrants' queries; providing contact with other people who have already moved to the area; and offering advice to overcome some of the perceived hurdles of

moving to the region (including sourcing job opportunities, housing) [14]. These suggestions are made by a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009.

7.33 Several sources also identify a need for **high quality, community-focused health and social care services** in rural areas. For example, they note how in some areas of the Highlands and Islands, community-based enterprises have developed innovative ways of meeting the different service needs of remote communities and, with public service budgets likely to come under increasing pressure, this could be a good way of delivering local services that are both appropriate and good value for money. This need is identified by a 2007 mixed methods study of population change on the Shetland Islands, which included a literature review, web-based survey, interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders, and a scenario planning workshop; and also by a large scale mixed methods study of migration in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007), which similarly involved desk-based research; interviews with service-providers and stakeholders, an internet survey with current and past residents of the Outer Hebrides, a survey of employers, focus groups with employers and international in-migrants, and a scenario-planning workshop [8, 9].

7.34 **More accessible services** are also called for by two studies. One of these was published in 2007 and involved a literature review, in-depth interviews and focus groups with rural residents in three economically deprived areas of rural Scotland (North West Sutherland, the island of Islay and East Ayrshire)[5]. The other is a 2004 mixed-methods study of in-migration in the Highlands and Islands, which involved a literature review, small household survey and interview study with migrants from three relatively remote rural areas (Arran, Skye and Raasay, and Wester Ross)[3].

Suggestions for improving the accessibility of existing rural services include:

- Extending opening hours to counteract the fact that services are often further away and require a longer travel time to access[5].
- Providing more flexible modes of delivering affordable childcare facilities in sparsely populated areas, perhaps through crèches located in local primary schools or mobile services[3].

7.35 One study emphasises the demand for **anonymous and confidential services in rural Scotland** – ie: those provided by someone who does not know your personal business [5]. This is identified by a 2007 qualitative study exploring financial inclusion and capability across rural Scotland, which involved a literature review, in-depth interviews and focus groups.

7.36 Another theme is that **financial services could be more suited to the unique nature of rural living**. One source calls for more flexible financial support systems (for example, tax credits, bank accounts, loans, mortgage products, and billing periods for Council Tax), which allow for buffer zones to be built in. It suggests that this could help mitigate seasonal income fluctuations and the financial insecurity of being on a fixed term contract, which is a reality for many rural residents [5]. This source is a 2007 qualitative study exploring financial

inclusion and capability across rural Scotland, which involved a literature review, in-depth interviews and focus groups.

7.37 Several sources give specific suggestions for how to **improve services for older people.** Although a prominent source used here was published before this study's cut off date of 1999, it is still important as no comparably in-depth study on the lives of older people in rural Scotland was found to have been published since. The suggestions for how to improve services for older people in rural Scotland include:

- Improving access to health services through improved communication and co-ordination between health services and transport providers, protecting the Patient Transport Service, maintaining local hospitals as centres for the care of older people so that they don't have to travel as far, and multi-skilling community health workers so that they are more versatile and current staff can be spread over a wider area. This suggestion is given by a 1996 study on the lives of older people living in rural Scotland, which involved a statistically representative survey of older people living in Harris, Wester Ross Angus and North Ayrshire, and follow up interviews [11].
- Improving mental health services, in particular raising awareness and training on mental health issues amongst professionals who are in daily contact with older people [20]. This suggestion is made by a Scotland-wide literature review on the issues affecting older people living in rural areas, published in 2003.
- Supporting local shops and services (including post offices) which are essential for older people and much easier for them to access, and can also act as informal social support networks. This suggestion is given by a 1996 study on the lives of older people living in rural Scotland, which involved a statistically representative survey of older people living in Harris, Wester Ross Angus and North Ayrshire, and follow up interviews [11].
- Providing shops and GPs locally so that older, less mobile community members can still access them [20]. This suggestion is made by a Scotland-wide literature review on the issues affecting older people living in rural areas, published in 2003.
- Creating more formalised social support networks for older people. By co-ordinating volunteers with professionals operating in this field (for example, social workers and nurses). This suggestion is given by a 1996 study on the lives of older people living in rural Scotland, which involved a statistically representative survey of older people living in Harris, Wester Ross Angus and North Ayrshire, and follow up interviews [11].
- Ensuring that the services provided strike a balance between what professionals think older people should receive, and what older people themselves think they need to help them remain independent. This suggestion is made by a Scotland-wide literature review on the issues affecting older people living in rural areas, published in 2003 [20].
- Including older people in the social and recreational life of the community as a whole by using existing clubs and providing small-

scale 'twinning grants' (for example, twinning between clubs for younger and older people). This suggestion is made by a 1997 study on the lives of older people living in rural Scotland, which involved a statistically representative survey of older people living in Harris, Wester Ross Angus and North Ayrshire, and follow up interviews [11].

- Addressing the shortage of sheltered housing in rural Scotland, as this type of older adult care provision is often run by the private sector, making it economically unfeasible to invest in very rural areas. This suggestion is made by a 2006 literature review comparing retiree in-migration in rural Scotland and the USA [21].

- Providing intensive home care and home-based services that allow older people to remain in their local community rather than moving elsewhere, which can destroy their community ties and informal social support networks. This suggestion is made by a Scotland-wide literature review on the issues affecting older people living in rural areas, published in 2003 [20].

- Addressing the rising pressure on existing services caused by the growing numbers of retired migrants entering certain rural areas [20]. This suggestion is made by a Scotland-wide literature review on the issues affecting older people living in rural areas, published in 2003.

- Exploring opportunities for resource sharing (both financial and in terms of expertise) between agencies and groups providing services for older people. This could also help ensure that issues affecting older people are considered in connection with the community as a whole. This suggestion is made by a 1996 study on the lives of older people living in rural Scotland, which involved a statistically representative survey of older people living in Harris, Wester Ross Angus and North Ayrshire, and follow up interviews [11].

- Recognising that, although those currently over 65 may not be confident using IT, this is likely to change over the coming decade, opening up new opportunities for service provision to older people in rural areas [20]. This suggestion is made by a Scotland-wide literature review on the issues affecting older people living in rural areas, published in 2003.

- Planning ahead to cater for the expected increase of older in-migrants to certain rural areas [21]. This suggestion is made by a 2006 literature review comparing retiree in-migration in rural Scotland and the USA.

7.38 ***One good example of a community care service for older people*** is identified in the literature - not by a research study or an evaluation, but by a report on the development of the Howard Doris Centre (published in 1999). The development of this centre was part of the broader Strathcarron Project, which is an initiative aiming to meet the needs of older people who wish to stay in the Strathcarron community in Wester Ross, but who require more support in order to do so [7]. The report on the Howard Doris Centre suggests that, by following its example, other successful community care initiatives could be developed and supported by policy which effectively meet the needs of an elderly population living in remote rural areas.

> **The characteristics identified as benefitting the Howard Doris Centre include:**
>
> - A focus on placing members of the local community '*in the forefront of planning and developing the scheme, with statutory agencies, social work, housing and health in a support role*'.
>
> - Encouragement of joint working between several service providers (for example, housing, social work and health) to ensure that the support offered is all-encompassing and comprehensive.
>
> - The support the centre gained from independent agencies committed to the principles of community development (for example, Age Concern).
>
> - The building of a focal point (a centre) to raise the profile and provide a public interface.
>
> - The identification of local leaders with relevant skills and insight, prepared to take the initiative and bring people together who share the vision.
>
> - Encouragement for local community members to work openly and honestly together, under the supervision of a local steering group large and committed enough to sustain the vision.
>
> - The identification of shared objectives amongst local community members.
>
> - The identification of gaps in the local community group's knowledge and experience, and access to training and support where needed to secure the success of the project.
>
> - Anticipation of barriers and the ability to think of different ways of working in order to avoid them.

Implications for Rural Education

7.39 One source highlights the need to maintain and promote **high quality schooling** across rural Scotland**,** particularly in terms of facilities and teaching standards. This is a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007). This study adds that such improvements could help attract young families into rural areas and promote the image of rural areas as being family friendly [9].

7.40 Other studies highlight the need to **better support young people** choosing to pursue higher education opportunities in rural areas. For example, one study suggests offering mobility grants for rural youth wishing to access educational opportunities which are not available locally. This is a 2000 mixed methods study of rural youth unemployment, which involved a survey and in-depth interviews with young people and employers in four rural areas (Cumnock, Argyll, Dumfries and rural Stirling) [3].

7.41 Rather than trying to rival urban areas in terms of higher education, one source suggests that rural areas could focus on *postgraduate opportunities*, in order to attract highly skilled in-migrants who could help develop the local economy [10]. This is suggested by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders.

7.42 One source suggests that there could be better *awareness raising of current higher education provision* in the Highlands and Islands. This is mentioned by a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009 [14].

7.43 However, the literature suggests that there are some limits in terms of what education policy can do to stem the out migration of young people from rural Scotland. For example, a 2009 study of population change on Orkney concludes that rural higher education institutions there will find it near impossible to compete with their urban counterparts, as the latter can often provide a much wider variety of courses and extra curricular activities, and also often hold a higher academic status [10]. Another source notes that, even with significant improvements to rural higher education institutions, young people may still wish to move away in order to try something new and/or gain greater independence. This is highlighted by a 2006 study on the link between migration and economic regeneration in North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a large-scale household survey, questionnaire, and in-depth interviews with out-migrants [32].

Implications for Rural Leisure Facilities

7.44 Several sources call for more high quality leisure and recreation facilities *for young people* [14]. The most recent of these is a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009. Some examples of successful facilities for young people, which may even have changed their perception of a rural area, include the Lewis Sports centre, An Lanntair; Taigh Chearsabhagh in North Uist; Kildonan in South Uist and the Youth Café in Barra [9]. These are all highlighted by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007), which involved desk-based research, interviews with service-providers and stakeholders, an internet survey with residents, a survey of employers, a series of focus groups with employers and international in-migrants, and a scenario-planning workshop with key agencies tasked with taking forward policies.

7.45 There is a similar demand to improve leisure and recreation facilities *for older people* living in rural Scotland. Although this is emphasised most by a study published before the cut off date for this review, such demands have been included here as no comparably in-depth study of older people living in rural Scotland was found within the date range specified [11]. Particular suggestions from this study on how to improve leisure facilities for older people living in rural Scotland include:

- Improving older people's access to leisure facilities through more accessible and affordable public transport links.

- Asking older people what kind of leisure facilities they want, and involving them in planning, so as to make sure they are appropriate.

- Ensuring that leisure facilities are affordable.

- Ensuring that leisure facilities are suitable for older people – for example, by providing access for people with mobility difficulties.

Implications for Rural Transport

7.46 Several sources call for *improved public transport provision and transport options* in rural areas. This is mentioned by a 2007 qualitative study exploring financial inclusion and capability across rural Scotland, which involved a literature review, in-depth interviews and focus groups; a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders; and a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009 [5, 10, 14]. The issue of transport is also mentioned by a 2000 mixed methods study of rural youth unemployment, which involved a survey and in-depth interviews with young people and employers in four rural areas (Cumnock, Argyll, Dumfries and rural Stirling); and by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007) [3, 9].

7.47 One source identifies a demand for a *more integrated and affordable transport networks* between the Islands, and between the islands and the mainland, in order to maximise opportunities and minimise barriers to economic growth. This is mentioned by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change in the Outer Hebrides(published in 2007), which involved desk-based research, interviews with service-providers and stakeholders, an internet survey with residents, a survey of employers; a series of focus groups with employers and international in-migrants, and a scenario-planning workshop with key agencies tasked with taking forward policies [9].

7.48 Another key suggestion is for *more subsidies across existing transport modes*, in order to address issues of peripherality and market failure in many existing services operating around rural Scotland. This is also mentioned by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change in the Outer Hebrides (published in 2007), which involved desk-based research, interviews with service-providers and stakeholders, an internet survey with residents, a survey of employers, a series of focus groups with employers and international in-migrants, and a scenario-planning workshop with key agencies tasked with taking forward policies [9].

7.49 One source specifically recommends the *Transport to Employment Programme* (T2E) as '*an effective, reliable and popular transport service for job seekers in rural areas'*. It adds that this scheme can contribute to economic

and social sustainability, by offering '*an excellent return on investment for funding bodies and healthy economic benefits*', as well as reducing the out-migration of young job seekers and women of child bearing age [35]. This was a finding from a 2008 report on the Transport to Employment (T2E) Service, which included an evaluation of the service involving analysing booking and invoicing data, and surveying the programme's users, operators and stakeholders. It is useful in describing the benefits of a centrally coordinated, demand responsive, shared transport service, and in suggesting that this could be essential in more sparsely populated remote rural areas where public transport services '*are unlikely to operate any significant network on a purely commercial basis*'.

The key features of the T2E Programme are:

- The scheme's goals are '*to overcome barriers met by persons who do not have opportunities for learning and employment, to increase childcare initiatives to support access to work and to improve opportunities for women.*'

- It uses shared taxis to provide access to the workplace, training and childcare. Passengers book their journeys in advance and pay on a monthly basis.

- It operates in the remote rural communities of East Sutherland, Easter Ross and Southern Caithness.

The benefits of the T2E Programme include:

- Increased employment: it has enabled 95% of those surveyed to gain employment, which they would otherwise have been unable to access.

- A reduced likelihood of young women moving away from the local area: 70% of the T2E users are female.

- Improved access to learning and employment opportunities for young people: 36% of users were 16-19 years old.

- Benefits for local businesses, such as improved staff attendance, easier management of staff rotas, and a greater likelihood of employing staff from the local area.

7.50 One study comments that, given the frequently higher costs of rural living and financial issues incurred by this, policy could offer **discounted tax and/or petrol costs for car users** where no adequate public transport to the job markets is available [5]. This source in question is a 2007 qualitative study

exploring financial inclusion and capability across rural Scotland, which involved a literature review, in-depth interviews and focus groups.

7.51 One source (a 2009 survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands) calls for policy measures to make it easier for rural residents to ***travel to and from work*** [14]. Another source adds that introducing the Air Discount Scheme in Orkney has increased passenger numbers and helped to boost fragile communities. This is highlighted by the large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which incorporated an online survey, household survey, focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders.

7.52 There is also a call for ***better transport links to services and recreational facilities for young people***. This is mentioned by those participating in a large-scale survey of young people from across the Highlands and Islands, published in 2009 [14].

7.53 One source gives ***suggestions for how to improve transport for older people*** specifically. Although this source was published before the cut off date for this review, its suggestions have been included here as no comparably in-depth study of older people living in rural Scotland was found within the date range specified [11]. Its suggestions include:

- providing more widespread transport options targeted specifically at older people (for example, dial a bus, taxi-card, community car schemes);

- improving physical access to rural public transport services;

- supporting the development of services at a more local level.

7.54 One study includes ***suggestions for how to improve transport for younger people***. This is a 2000 mixed methods study of rural youth unemployment, which involved a survey and in-depth interviews with young people and employers in four rural areas (Cumnock, Argyll, Dumfries and rural Stirling) [3]. Its suggestions include:

- offering travel subsidies for young people living in rural areas;
- providing young people with driving lessons as part of the school curriculum;
- encouraging employers to operate flexi-time policies, to enable young people to make more use of existing bus services.

The Need to Change Perceptions

7.55 There is a need to change some of the perceptions associated with rural migration, ***particularly amongst younger people.*** As one study explains: '*initiatives need to be put in place that facilitate the return of former migrants at a young age as a positive step, rather than the currently perceived 'backward' step indicating individual failure. Accordingly, exogenous or 'topdown' strategies are needed at least initially to encourage the required human resource capital into depopulating areas, and enable that capital to undertake*

development options' [31]. This suggestion comes from a mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a household survey, questionnaire and interviews with out-migrants, published in 2004.

7.56 Another study highlights the need to address the quality of life perceptions associated with declining peripheral areas in order to attract more in-migrants with job creation and economic regeneration potential [32]. This was a mixed methods study of migration in North Lewis and Roxburgh, which involved a household survey, questionnaire and interviews with out-migrants, published in 2006.

Community Empowerment

7.57 Whilst this review has shown that migration can be key for determining the sustainability and consequent empowerment of rural communities, it also suggests that measures to improve rural community empowerment may help address the key issues relating to rural migration.

7.58 In particular, several sources suggest that **greater community involvement** at a grass-roots level could help retain residents in rural areas, by making them feel less detached, and by helping to develop services and facilities that are more in touch with their needs. This is mentioned by three large scale, mixed method studies of migration in Orkney (2009), the Shetlands (2007), and the Outer Hebrides (2007) [10, 9, 8].

7.59 **Suggestions for how to involve and empower rural communities** include:

- Identifying opportunities for devolving more powers and budgets to community enterprises (for example, through Community Development Trusts) in order to support voluntary efforts, as well as provide rural communities with a psychological boost [10]. This suggestion is made by a large scale mixed methods study of population change on Orkney, published in 2009, which involved a literature review, survey, in-depth interviews, focus groups and workshops.

- Involving older people in local decision-making, as this group is particularly prone to social isolation and poses particularly complex issues for policy makers [11]. This suggestion is made by a mixed methods study published in 1996, which has been included because of its unrivalled insight into the lives of older people living in rural areas. This study was based on a statistically representative survey and follow up interviews with older people living in 4 case study areas (Harris, Wester Ross Angus and North Ayrshire).

- Involving young people in local decision-making, as the needs and inputs of this group are frequently ignored [12]. This suggestion is also made by the above mixed methods study, published in 1997, but has been included because of the key issue posed by youth out-migration in many rural areas. This source highlights the importance of actively encouraging young people to become involved in local decision-making [12]. It also suggests that young

people could be encouraged to get involved in activities that have cross-generational appeal, so that they become better integrated into rural communities. In terms of how such involvement could be achieved, the source suggests that young people could be provided with the skills to become involved in community development and taught about civic awareness through the formal school curriculum [12]. It also suggests that area-based youth forums could be established, linking in with existing community councils and other agencies.

7.60 The Scottish Government, in partnership with the Economic and Social Research Council, ran a public policy seminar – 'Rural community empowerment in the 21st Century: building a "can-do" culture' – in March 2010. The event aimed to bring the knowledge and expertise of leading social scientists to give a fresh, practical perspective on community dynamism. A wide range of stakeholders shared their experiences and ideas, and discussed the challenges and opportunities facing communities. Many of the issues identified in the literature review were raised by the speakers and/or discussed during the seminar. For the seminar pamphlet, the speakers' presentations and a summary of the programme and issues discussed, please see:

http://www.esrc.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/about/CI/events/esrcseminar/ruralcommunityseminar.aspx

7.61 Issues relating to community empowerment were also discussed at a seminar held by the University of the Highlands and Islands in May 2010, in relation to a research study included in this review: 'Young people in the Highlands and Islands: understanding and influencing migration choice.' For outputs relating to the seminar, please see:

http://www.crrs.uhi.ac.uk/search?SearchableText=young+people+Highlands+and+Islands

7.62 In addition to these suggestions for how to empower rural communities, the rural migration literature highlights the need for local mechanisms to **better support the process of community involvement**, so that a balance of views is heard. One source (a Scotland-wide literature review, published in 1990 explains that this might be particularly important for rural areas experiencing high rates of migration as: '*in further developing consultation procedures, agencies may need to be more sensitive to migration-led changes in social mixes, notably the differential ability and willingness between…groups…to participate in such activities*' [6].

7.63 Several sources suggest that policy could play a key role in **offering support and advice to help integrate those moving into rural areas.** They suggest that this could be key for attracting more people to rural areas, and retaining them [8,19,10]. This is highlighted by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which involved an electronic survey, household survey, focus groups, interviews, scenario planning workshops, and the development of a population model. It is also mentioned by a 2007 mixed methods study of migration to/from the Shetland Islands, which used a literature review, web based survey, interviews, focus groups with

key stakeholders, and a scenario planning workshop. This latter study suggests that such support might be best achieved by local government (for example, Shetland Council) and other public sector bodies (for example, schools and colleges). The literature offers plenty of suggestions for what form this support and advice could take, including:

- Promoting greater exchange between in-migrants and local people – this is suggested by a mixed methods study of in-migration in the Highlands and Islands, which involved a literature review, small household survey, and interview study with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye, Raasay, and Wester Ross [19]. Another study (an international literature review of rural migration across Scotland, published in 1999) highlighted the importance of such exchanges by explaining that tensions can be due to '*the failure by long-term and local mover residents to appreciate that migrants bring benefits, and a failure by recent incomers from outwith Scotland to appreciate that problems have resulted*' [6].

- Addressing the underlying causes of friction between in-migrants and residents, such as the limited housing supply, low wage economy and shortage of jobs in certain rural areas. This is also suggested by the mixed methods study of in-migration in the Highlands and Islands, which involved a literature review, small household survey, and interview study with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye, Raasay, and Wester Ross [19].

- Providing support services for incomers to help them integrate effectively into local job markets and communities (for example, welcome packs and outreach workers). This is suggested by a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which involved an electronic survey, household survey, focus groups, interviews, scenario planning workshops, and the development of a population model [10].

- Raising awareness of in-migrants' needs amongst long-term residents, and building capacity for the local community to help address these. This is mentioned by large-scale, mixed methods studies of population change on Orkney (published in 2009) and Shetland (published in 2007), which each involved surveys, focus groups, interviews, and scenario planning workshops[8].

- Building trust between incomers and long-term rural residents, in order to enhance cooperation and community empowerment. This is suggested by a survey on trust across northern Scotland (published in 2008), which involved an exit poll survey conducted in Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire, Caithness and Sutherland at the 2007 Scottish election [1].

- Supporting the growth of local networks for assisting those looking for paid employment or looking to set up their own rural businesses. This is suggested by a Scotland-wide literature review of rural out-migration, published in 2008 [23].

7.64 One source, however, highlights that this *integration is likely to be more possible in some geographical areas than others*. It explains that

integration could depend on such factors as the number of migrants, and their difference from the local population in terms of aspects such as their economic status and socio-cultural confidence. This source is a Scotland-wide literature review of rural out-migration, published in 2008 [23].

7.65 Other sources suggest that policy might also want to *offer more support and advice for those thinking of moving to rural areas.* Again, this is suggested as a means for attracting more people into rural areas, and retaining them as long-term residents. This suggestion is made by a mixed methods study conducted across six rural areas in Scotland, which involved a statistically representative household survey and follow-up interviews. It is also highlighted by *a* 2007 mixed methods study of migration to and from the Shetland Islands, which used a literature review, web based survey, interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders, and a scenario planning workshop [8,19,27].

7.66 One source offers **suggestions for what form this support and advice could take**. This source is a large-scale, mixed methods study of population change on Orkney (published in 2009), which involved an electronic survey, household survey, focus groups, interviews, scenario planning workshops, and the development of a population model [10], and its suggestions include:

- Marketing the careers available in rural areas (for example, farming and food production) so that an individual's decision to move to a rural area does not incur major compromises to their career.

- Marketing rural job opportunities in a coordinated way, so that (again) an individual's decision to move to a rural area does not incur major compromises to their career. It is suggested that such marketing could be achieved by promoting a joint venture between the public and private sectors to develop a co-ordinated recruitment website.

- Promoting career progressions programmes so that (again) an individual's decision to move to a rural area does not incur major compromises to their career.

- Marketing the environment and quality of life available in rural areas.

Protecting and Promoting the Environment

7.67 Throughout the literature, the environment is highlighted as an important consideration when planning how to attract more in-migrants into rural Scotland. Several studies highlight **the important role that a high quality environment can play in attracting in-migrants**, and they often represent participants as being keen to protect it. However, one study highlights the importance of striking a balance between environmental protection and rural development, as rural job and strong local economies are also key for sustainable communities.

7.68 **The need to protect and promote Scotland's rural environment** is raised by two large-scale, mixed methods studies of population change in Orkney (2009)

and the Outer Hebrides (2007). The latter summarises this need by highlighting the requirement to *'retain and market the environmental and quality of life assets that are one of the key attractions to in-migrants' (4)* [9]. In addition, one study highlights the potential that developing rural tourism could have for attracting migrants into rural Scotland [19]. This study was a large mixed methods study involving a literature review, small household survey, and interviews with in-migrants and return migrants living in Arran, Skye, Raasay, and Wester Ross.

7.69 However, a key point from the Orkney population change study (2009) is the **need to balance environmental protection with rural economic development needs**. This study notes that, although the natural environment needs to be protected on Orkney, this should not automatically be a higher priority than building new developments which could lead to job creation.

Main Policy Implications

7.70 With so many key rural migration issues, and a plethora of ideas for addressing them, there is value in exploring the main policy implications that have emerged from this review.

7.71 The literature reviewed here suggests that the main policy implications in terms of rural migration should relate to the following, for which more details are provided below:

- The provision of **high quality jobs** in rural areas;

- The provision of **affordable housing options** in rural areas;

- The provision of **support and advice for people who have moved to** rural areas;

- The provision of **support and advice for people thinking of moving to** rural areas;

- **Involving both long-term residents and in-migrants** from all age and life-stage groups in local decision making;

- Developing **initiatives to encourage return migration**;

- Ensuring that policy makers take into account the **different needs of accessible and remote rural areas**.

7.72 In addition to the above implications, this review also highlights a need to **evaluate policies** that could have an impact on individuals' rural migration decisions, and **share best practice** amongst policy makers working at different levels and in different policy areas. Indeed, the evidence base used for this study suggests a shortage of such policy evaluations. Both evaluating and sharing best practice could be key for building on past successes and

developing more effective ways of addressing the issues surrounding rural migration.

7.73 Importantly, the literature also demonstrates that decisions by individuals to settle in or leave rural Scotland are often heavily influenced by the availability of housing, transport, education and job opportunities. Therefore, **policy makers at all levels, and in a number of different policy areas, need to take rural demographic considerations into account**. In the Scottish Government, the mainstreaming of rural policy ensures that rural interests are considered in policy development. However, it is not clear from the literature whether rural issues are taken into account in a similar way by local and community interests.

7.74 The first of the main policy implications listed above, and one which has been highlighted by the majority of studies used in this review, is the **need for high quality jobs throughout rural Scotland.** That is, jobs with good salaries, training, career progression, job security, job satisfaction, and jobs compatible with higher education qualifications. The literature's suggestions for how to do this include:

- providing incentives for rural employers to offer training and help employees access training opportunities elsewhere;

- reducing the predominance of short term and temporary contracts in rural areas;

- attracting more private sector investors to rural areas;

- devolving more public sector jobs to rural areas;

- offering financial incentives to highly skilled and/or academically qualified in-migrants; and

- developing more links between higher education / research institutes and productive economic sectors.

7.75 The literature also gives suggestions for how to **increase the volume of jobs available in rural areas**. These include:

- improving access to jobs in rural areas;

- widening opportunities for those in existing employment to work remotely from rural areas;

- supporting the development of higher education institutions capable of offering new employment choices; and

- developing a more entrepreneurial culture in rural communities.

7.76 In addition, the literature highlights **a need for more affordable housing options in rural areas.** This appears to be a key determinant for migration to or from rural areas, particularly for young people, families and older people. Much of the literature calls for more housing options in rural areas, in order to

maintain a sustainable demographic balance in rural communities. Housing options that have been identified as being in particularly short supply are supported housing and sheltered accommodation for older people, and shared rental accommodation for young people seeking to move out of their family home. The literature's suggestions for widening the supply of affordable housing options in rural areas includes providing:

- support for low cost home ownership (for example, grants and housing assistance);

- council accommodation in certain areas where this is scarce;

- council housing for young people in particular;

- joint initiatives with higher education and/or training providers to develop housing for young people;

- rental and shared equity properties; and

- support for initiatives addressing the housing needs of older people in particular.

7.77 The literature also highlights a need to provide **support and advice for those thinking of moving to rural areas**. Suggestions include creating online forums for communication between long-term residents and those thinking of moving; and establishing co-ordinated websites advertising rural job opportunities as and when they arise.

7.78 In addition, the literature highlights a need to **provide support and advice for people moving into rural areas,** to encourage such moves and minimise many of the potentially negative aspects associated with rural migration. Suggestions for what form this support could take include:

- supporting in-migrants' housing requirements (for example, through 'gateway' housing initiatives);

- aiding their integration into the local job market; and

- supporting their integration into the local community (for example, by promoting exchange between in-migrants and residents, and addressing the underlying causes of friction such as limited housing and jobs).

There is, however, a recognition that integration will be more possible in some geographical areas than others, depending on factors such as the number of migrants, and their social, economic or demographic difference from the resident population.

7.79 The literature also identifies a clear need to **involve both long-term residents and in-migrants in local decision making** and to include people from all age and life-stage groups. This is important not only for rural community empowerment, but also for stemming the out-migration of valuable community members, and attracting others who are capable of making a contribution.

7.80 Suggestions for how to improve local involvement in decision making include:

- identifying opportunities for devolving more powers and budgets to community enterprises;

- providing people with the skills and awareness needed to contribute most effectively to decision making;

- targeting older people and young people particularly, as evidence suggests they are least likely to be included in local decision making at present; and

- involving all age groups in activities that have cross generational appeal, to support the full integration of rural communities.

7.81 The literature also identifies a need for policy initiatives to **encourage return migration**, particularly amongst those in their twenties and thirties who have significant potential to boost rural economies. Many sources suggest a focus on return migration, given its potential for bringing new skills, expertise and human capital to rural areas, and for creating new jobs and businesses. Moreover, given the particular lack of 20-30 year olds in rural Scotland compared to the rest of Scotland, such a strategy could also help achieve more sustainable and well balanced rural populations.

7.82 Suggestions for how to encourage return migration include:

- addressing the negative perceptions associated with return migration to rural areas (particularly those held by young people);

- keeping in contact with out-migrants to make them aware of new opportunities (both economic and social) that have arisen in the area since they left;

- providing advice for those considering returning;

- promoting rural areas as family friendly; and

- encouraging people living away from their rural community to become more involved in local decision-making and community life (for example, through online forums), making them feel more included and attached to local life.

7.83 This review also **highlights the need to recognise regional differences in the factors likely to affect rural migration decisions** and, consequently, the kinds of policy approaches that may be most effective. This information points to a need for **more area-specific policies**, in order to effectively target the key regional issues impacting on rural migration. In particular, there are likely to be considerable differences in the issues faced by remote and accessible rural areas. For instance, throughout this review, remote Scottish islands such as the Shetlands and Harris have presented very different concerns (for example, in terms of the availability of jobs and training) when compared to more accessible rural regions such as the Scottish Borders. Moreover, the GROS statistics used to contextualise this review show that more accessible rural areas often experience higher rates of in-migration by older people/retirees, whereas an increasingly ageing population is not such a pressing policy issue

for their more remote counterparts[xii]. The geographically variable nature of rural issues would, therefore, be most effectively met by a more geographically variable policy response, perhaps designed at a more local level, rather than a one size fits all approach. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the main themes (for example, jobs and affordable housing options) are likely to be important in most rural areas, even if the specific issues associated with these vary.

[xii] Rural Scotland Key Facts is a useful key document here. This is a Scottish Government statistical publication, published annually since 2004. Its purpose is to summarise a range of key facts relating to rural Scotland compared with the rest of Scotland. It is a compilation of information from different sources, but the data is organised in a way that distinguishes between accessible and remote rural areas.

8 RESEARCH GAPS AND FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDS

Research Priorities

Quantitative Research Needs

8.1   This literature review highlights a large gap in ***statistically reliable research data in relation to rural migration***.   This points to the importance of undertaking more large-scale, statistically robust studies examining rural migration at a national level.   Such research is crucial for picking out broad trends and for making inferences about the main 'push', 'pull', 'stay' and 'return' factors that policy could address.   Moreover, such research could also illustrate how these factors vary at a more regional level, and thus allow for more targeted and effective policy-making [30,18].   In particular, it could identify key differences between accessible and remote rural areas, which are hinted at by many of the qualitative studies used here. Lastly, such research could help ascertain whether the perceptions mentioned by respondents in more qualitative studies are supported by statistically reliable data.   However, the feasibility of such studies will depend on their cost relative to the value they can be expected to add.

8.2   The evidence base also suggests a need for ***more segmentation in research*** that examines rural migration decisions.   This could help improve our awareness of when and why certain 'push' factors become 'pull' factors.   It could also help identify the demographic characteristics of 'in', 'out' and 'return' migrants, as well as those who choose to stay in rural areas.   Having such information would enable policy to target their initiatives at the most relevant population groups, and so be more cost effective in facilitating sustainable rural populations.

8.3   It would also be useful to have a better idea of the **impacts that in-migration** can have on rural communities, and on the migrants themselves.   A better grasp of the tensions and issues that arise as a result of rural migration could allow for more finely tuned initiatives to support and encourage in-migrants, and facilitate their integration into rural areas.   This could include exploring the factors that help in-migrants to feel more socially included in rural communities, which may be a key determinant for their sustainability.

8.4   This review also highlights a need to ***evaluate policies that address the key issues associated with rural migration***.   Therefore, there is a need for more evaluations of current and future policy developments in this area.   Such evaluations will be key for building on past successes and developing more effective ways of addressing the key issues surrounding rural migration.

8.5   In all the above cases, it will be crucial for research to use a ***definition of rural Scotland*** that is compatible with the Scottish Government's Urban-Rural Classification. Within this, it will be particularly important to distinguish between remote and accessible rural areas, as this is where many of the key distinctions between rural migration issues lie.

Qualitative research needs

8.6   This review has identified an apparent shortage of up to date studies examining **older people's rural migration decisions**.   Understanding what factors motivate older people to leave, stay, move to or return to rural areas may be crucial for future policy development, particularly given the rapidly ageing nature of many rural populations.

8.7   The findings from this literature review also highlight the importance of **understanding the motivations and expectations of return migrants** to rural Scotland.   Although this review has pointed to job creation as a crucial enabling factor for return migration, it would be useful to know what other factors play a role in motivating people to move to rural areas, and in helping them feel satisfied with their move.   Understanding these factors could help policy develop and facilitate highly effective initiatives for encouraging more return-migration.

Other Potential Areas for Future Research

8.8   The theoretical and conceptual frameworks underpinning the evidence base on rural migration, and consequently the **types of rural migration investigated,** appear to be quite limited in the evidence base used for this review.   For example, it could be useful to undertake research based on the concept of lifetime mobility: the idea that people often make multiple moves throughout their lifetime and are motivated by different factors at different stages [30]. Moreover, it could be helpful to examine the multiple incidences of migration (hinted at in this review) that occur between different rural areas, rather than simply focusing on rural-urban migration [28].

8.9   The initial scoping study for this review suggested additional motivations and issues that may influence **the rural migration decisions of specific groups**, such as women, those from different income bands, A8 migrants, people from an ethnic minority group, people from LGBT groups, and those with special needs.   More research on this would be useful for developing a fuller picture of rural migration decisions.   This need is reflect by some of the literature used in this review.   For example, several sources suggest there could be significant gender differences in relation to rural migration choices [17] [30], and another source suggests that socio-economic or class differences might be a useful area for exploration [16].

8.10 In   addition, much of the existing evidence base seems skewed towards younger people - perhaps at the expense of older people, for whom considerably fewer studies were identified.   It also appears to be skewed towards the Highlands and Islands at the expense of other rural areas in Scotland. It would therefore be useful if future research tried to present **a more balanced picture of rural migration in Scotland**.   However, a statistically robust survey of Scotland as a whole, such as that suggested in the Research Priorities section, would hopefully rectify any imbalances.

8.11 It could also be useful to look at the ***impacts of UK and European policy*** on rural migration. Scotland-wide surveys are already examining international migration at a national level, but it would be helpful to see how this manifests itself in rural areas more specifically.

8.12 It might also be helpful to get an idea of the ***priorities for rural migration policy,*** as suggested by local residents and/or those who have left rural areas.

8.13 Finally, this review has only explored rural issues that are explicitly mentioned in the context of migration. Clearly***, issues such as rural housing shortages, transport and the provision of rural services*** are much broader, and much may have been published on these without an explicit mention of rural migration. Perhaps, if this review prompts particular interest in a few specific issues, these could be explored in more depth by conducting broader searches that go beyond the specific context of Scottish rural migration.

9 CONCLUSION

9.1 The findings of this review reveal a great deal of ***individual diversity*** in the motivations given for moving into and out of rural areas. Often one person's motivation for leaving a rural area may be another's motivation for moving in, particularly for more subjective factors such as social relationships, quality of life and value for money. Moreover, the literature suggests a good deal of ***regional variability*** in the factors that can influence rural migration decisions, particularly between accessible and remote rural areas. For example, it suggests that rapidly ageing populations require a more urgent policy response in remote rural areas than in their more accessible counterparts. This variability makes it difficult to identify the key overall drivers for inward and outward migration in rural Scotland, but it does highlight the importance of appreciating individual and regional variations when developing policies to address rural migration.

9.2 ***Differences between accessible and remote rural areas*** are suggested throughout the literature, particularly by the fact that many studies have chosen to focus on remote rural areas when exploring the issues associated with rural migration in Scotland. More specifically, the literature suggests that issues such as the shortage of rural jobs, poor access to local services, and inadequate public transport provision could be more critical in remote rural areas than in many of their accessible counterparts. More detail on the differences between accessible and remote rural areas can be found in the Rural Scotland Key Facts publication [24]. This is a Scottish Government statistical publication, published annually since 2004, with the purpose of summarising a range of key facts relating to rural Scotland, and comparing these with the rest of Scotland. It is a compilation of information from different sources, and the data are organised in a way that distinguishes between accessible and remote rural areas, making it particularly relevant here.

9.3 Despite this regional and individual variability in the factors influencing rural migration, however, the literature does highlight ***some recurring considerations*** that are likely to have a more uniform influence. These include the availability of jobs and of high quality employment (in terms of pay, training, career progression etc.), which have both been highlighted as particularly prominent considerations. The availability of affordable housing, access to key services, and quality of life issues are also important considerations. For specific demographic groups such as young people, families and older people, the literature points to additional drivers such as the availability of good quality higher education, childcare services, and of sheltered/supported accommodation.

9.4 An analysis of the factors influencing rural migration decisions suggests that it could be useful for policy makers to think in terms of DEFRA's 4 Es approach to behaviour change. This approach could help give a comprehensive picture of the factors influencing rural migration decision making. Importantly, applying the 4 Es approach would also allow a distinction to be made between factors that encourage individuals to migrate in the first place, and those that enable such migration to take place. This distinction could be useful, as the factors

identified by this review suggest that individuals' motivations can indeed be divided into those that act as catalysts encouraging them to migrate, and those that enable this migration.

9.5 An initial analysis of the literature suggests that, for ***in-migration to rural areas***, some of the encouragers and their associated enablers could be as follows:

Table 3   Encouragers and Enablers influencing individuals' decisions to move into rural areas

Encouragers	Enablers
Employment	Awareness of local job opportunities High quality of employment (in terms of training, promotion, pay etc). Access to jobs (the availability of public transport, car journey times, flexible working options etc). Affordable housing within commutable distance from employment. Awareness of affordable housing options. Local cost of living relative to earning power.
Quality of life considerations	Job availability. Awareness of local job opportunities. An accurate perception of the quality of life available in rural areas. Affordable housing. Awareness of affordable housing options. Local cost of living relative to earning power. Quality and accessibility of the local environment. Access to outdoor activities and other leisure activities. Perceived strong sense of community in the local area. Social/family connections.
Family considerations (the assumption that rural areas offer the best environment for bringing up children)	Affordable housing. Awareness of affordable housing options. The availability of high quality childcare, nursery and school provision, and appropriate access to it. Awareness of the services and facilities available locally. Local family and/or social connections. Perceived strong sense of community in the local area. Access to key services such as doctors and dentists. Job availability / the ability to work remotely in current employment. Awareness of local job opporunities. Quality and accessibility of the natural environment.
Family ties / responsibilities	Job availability/ability to work remotely in current employment. Awareness of local job opportunities. Affordable housing. Awareness of affordable housing options.
Opportunities available for retirees to enjoy a change of lifestyle	Affordable housing. Awareness of affordable housing options. Quality and accessibility of local medical services. Availability of appropriate housing (sheltered/supported accommodation etc), and awareness of what is available. Public transport connections. Quality of the natural environment. Opportunities to get involved in local community activities. Good quality and appropriate shops, services and leisure facilities available locally.

9.6 In terms of out-migration, encouragers and enablers can also be indentified from this review. Nevertheless, it must be noted that even if policy does address all these factors, it is not likely to stem out-migration entirely as some groups (for example, young people) seem particularly determined to leave, no matter how good their quality of life in a rural areas becomes. Policy teams should also carefully consider whether they want to stem out-migration from rural areas, given the potential benefits that this can bring in terms of helping residents to acquire new skills and experiences.

9.7 The literature reviewed here suggests that some of the encouragers and associated enablers for *out-migration from rural areas* could include the following:

Table 4   Factors acting as Encouragers and Enablers for migration <u>out of</u> rural areas

Encouragers	Enablers
Desire to pursue higher education opportunities available elsewhere	Limited higher education opportunities available locally. Limited extra curricular opportunities available locally. Limited leisure facilities and/or opportunities to socialise locally for those in higher education. Limited opportunities for work experience and/or part time jobs available locally. Peer/family pressure to move elsewhere for higher education. Ambitions to have the best higher education available. Desire for more autonomy/personal freedom. Desire for adventure and new life experiences. Dissatisfaction with the choice of lifestyle opportunities available locally.
Desire for more autonomy / personal freedom	Dissatisfaction with the nature and priorities of the local community. Feeling under valued/ignored by the local community. Peer/family pressure. Dissatisfaction with the choice of lifestyle opportunities available locally. Dissatisfaction with local affordable housing options. Dissatisfaction with the local cost of living compared to the average earning power of young people in rural areas.
Desire to pursue job opportunities available elsewhere	Attraction of the range, nature and quality of employment available elsewhere, compared to that available locally. Attraction of the accessibility of jobs available elsewhere compared to those available locally (in terms of public transport connections, car journey times etc). Attraction of the relatively low cost of living relative to earning power available elsewhere, compared to locally. Social/family pressure. The attraction of professional contacts and networks available elsewhere, compared to locally.
Desire to experience an urban lifestyle	Dissatisfaction with the choice of lifestyle opportunities available locally. An accurate perception of the quality of life available in urban areas. Dissatisfaction with the number and range of leisure facilities and shops available locally (especially those suitable for young people). Sense of adventure and a desire for more personal autonomy. Dissatisfaction with the cost of living in rural areas. Peer pressure to try pursuing an urban lifestyle.

9.8   The above tables illustrate the highly qualitative nature of this review, and the subjectivity of the factors identified as influencing rural migration decisions. As a result, the main influencing factors vary considerably between different individuals, and also between different rural areas. We do not yet have a means of comparing the main motivations for different geographical areas, nor for different demographic groups. Consequently, it could be useful to have a large scale, statistically robust survey of rural migration across Scotland, capable of giving a broader picture of population movements, and identifying and comparing the key factors influencing rural migration decisions.

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ANNEX B – METHODOLOGY

Data Gathering

A literature review was selected as the most appropriate method to meet the broad aims and objectives of this project. This involved a transparent approach, whereby the search terms were made explicit and all the references gathered were listed. The search terms used are shown in Table 3 below.

Table 5

Rural migration Scotland
Rural migration remote Scotland
Rural migration island/s Scotland
Rural migration Scotland, characteristics
Rural migration Scotland, factors
Rural migration Scotland, decision/s
Rural migration Scotland, decision making/ers
Rural migration Scotland, motivation/s
Rural migration Scotland, push factor/s
Rural migration Scotland, pull factor/s
Rural migration Scotland, return/ing
Rural migration Scotland, staying
Rural migration Scotland, age
Rural migration Scotland, gender
Rural migration Scotland, young people
Rural migration Scotland, youth
Rural migration Scotland, teenagers
Rural migration Scotland, graduates
Rural migration Scotland, higher education
Rural migration Scotland, study
Rural migration Scotland, student/s
Rural migration Scotland, early career / early career stage
Rural migration Scotland, employment
Rural migration Scotland, job/s
Rural migration Scotland, older people
Rural migration Scotland, old people
Rural migration Scotland, elderly
Rural migration Scotland, retirement
Rural migration Scotland, retirees
Rural migration Scotland, women
Rural migration Scotland, female
Rural migration Scotland, girls
Rural migration Scotland, men
Rural migration Scotland, boys
Rural migration Scotland, LGBT
Rural migration Scotland, lesbian
Rural migration Scotland, gay
Rural migration Scotland, bisexual
Rural migration Scotland, transsexual

Rural migration Scotland, homosexual
Rural migration Scotland, house buyer/s
Rural migration Scotland, returning
Rural migration Scotland non returners
Rural migration Scotland, family/ies
Rural migration Scotland, young family/ies
Rural migration Scotland, tenant/s
Rural migration Scotland, rent
Rural migration Scotland, house sharing
Rural migration Scotland, housing
Rural migration Scotland, home owner/s
Rural migration Scotland, minority group/s
Rural migration Scotland, Polish
Rural migration Scotland, economic migrant/s
Rural migration Scotland, A8
Rural migration Scotland, in migrants
Rural migration Scotland, migrants
Rural migration Scotland, Iglicska
Rural migration Scotland, eastern Europe
Rural migration Scotland, Europe
Rural migration Scotland, international
Rural migration Scotland, immigrant/s
Rural migration Scotland, independence
Rural migration Scotland, opportunity/ies
Rural migration Scotland, culture
Rural migration Scotland, perception/s
Rural migration Scotland, wellbeing
Rural migration Scotland, leisure
Rural migration Scotland, services
Rural migration Scotland, inheriting property
Rural migration Scotland, end of career
Rural migration Scotland, social group/s
Rural migration Scotland, special needs
Rural migration Scotland, physical disabilities
Rural migration Scotland, learning disabilities
Rural migration Scotland, mental health

The search was restricted to journal articles published after 1999, to help ensure that findings and suggestions were relevant to the current policy context. However, as an initial scoping study was undertaken on all journal articles published since 1995, some highly significant studies published between 1995 and 1998 have been included in this report. However, these have only been included where they were thought to add particular value - ie: where the issues are still highly relevant to policy makers and where no comparable study has been published since.

Various search engines were used in this review, including Google and Google Scholar, and website-specific searches were also run on the Scottish Government website. The Social Science Citation Index on the Web of Science were also used, along with the databases offered by Idox and ASSIA. To make these searches

easier, the Scottish Government's Knowledge and Evidence Portal on Saltire was used, which saved time by allowing us to search more than one database at once.

In order to pick up relevant work in progress, or published material that might not be picked up by the search engine, analysts within the Scottish Government were alerted to the study and asked to give suggestionsn for appropriate reading material.

The literature gathered was then filtered using a set of criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of data sources. The selected sources were then analysed using a four stage process, the details of which are outlined below.

Analysis

All data that met the proposed Criteria For Inclusion (please see Appendix) was analysed using the following four stage process:

- The data was first analysed in table form, using each of the four factors mentioned in the Aims and Objectives section as a column heading. This made it easy to review and summarise the content of each article, as well as compare studies. In these tables, all the data was carefully referenced to avoid confusion at a later stage and provide information for the annotated bibliography.
- Each study/report's suggestions for policy was then recorded in tabular form. Again, everything was carefully referenced here.
- The overarching themes from the evidence base were then extracted. Where a large number of themes emerged, these were grouped into broader categories. Where possible, associative analysis was undertaken to link these themes and/or sub-themes to particular population groups and/or regions.
- Lastly, any gaps in the research were highlighted in order to help steer future research and make readers' more aware of this study's limitations.

During the analysis, good co-operation was maintained with senior analytical colleagues in order to ensure a high quality of research output. Moreover, strong lines of communication were maintained with policy colleagues in order to ensure that the analysis was appropriate to their needs.

Reliability

The evidence base used in this review was largely made up of small-scale, qualitative research studies, which reflected the experiences of residents living in specific areas of rural Scotland, rather than offering a statistically representative picture of rural Scotland as a whole. The available literature was therefore very much grounded in study respondents' experiences, perspectives, memories and even (occasionally) post-rationalisations. These are highly subjective, being dependent on respondents' personal circumstances, as well as the study's particular geographical remit. As a result, the following review focuses on key individual experiences of rural migration, rather than trying to pick out nation-wide trends in

terms of inward and outward migration. Moreover, this means that it has also not been possible to rank migrants' motivations for moving, nor single out the key driving forces on a regional or national scale. In short, this review aims to provide insight rather than undisputable facts about the issues concerning rural migration in Scotland.

Due to these limitations of the evidence base, this report aims to provide insight rather than undisputable facts about the issues concerning rural migration in Scotland. This insight comes from the participants' perceptions and memories of their own experiences, which cannot usually verified by 'hard' facts (for example, statistics). There may, therefore, be a future research need to explore whether such perceptions are grounded in fact.

Nevertheless, the reliability of this study has been enhanced by the following actions:

- excluding any information sources published before 1999, so as to provide only the most up to date, relevant information;
- only including sources that discuss Scottish migration, as opposed to general migration trends for the UK as a whole;
- noting the context of each source when it is used to support a point (for example, the study's size and geographical remit, how recently it was undertaken)
- clarifying when a source did not deal with migration specifically but took a broader look at rural issues – this was sometimes felt to be important to add more detail to the issues that arose in the literature on migration;
- noting when studies have used a statistically representative sample, so that their findings may be generalised more broadly;
- noting when issues or suggestions have been mentioned by two or more sources, so that the reader can get an idea of how widespread they are likely to be;
- only including research articles, as opposed to articles from the popular press that also touch upon this subject area; and
- only including studies that have used a methodology appropriate to their aims, and that have not generalised their findings beyond the sample (unless statistical methods were used).

Meanwhile, the insight provided by this study has been enhanced by:
- using a wide range of search terms, closely linked to the policy requirements, which can be found in Table 3;
- selecting qualitative studies based on how closely their aims link to those of this project, and how comprehensively their methodologies have addressed these;
- using examples of successful initiatives wherever possible;
- excluding articles from the popular press that are not based on social research methodologies, but rather conjecture and opinion.

However, the limitations of this study do need to be realised. Firstly, it has not been possible to measure or rank migrants' motivations as 'clearly there are great difficulties both in measuring migrant motivations and indeed in even proposing the concept that any one dominant motivation can meaningfully be singled out in studies

of this kind, given that most researchers view migration as the outcome of socially and temporally embedded values' (9)[33]. Secondly, most of the findings reported here are based on surveys, interviews and focus groups with participants and therefore reflect their opinions, memories and (possibly sometimes) post-rationalisation, rather than 'hard' facts about rural migration. And thirdly, not all the findings used the same definition of 'rural', and only a few used the Scottish Government's Urban-Rural Classification, or distinguished between remote and accessible rural areas. This may represent a future research need.

One final issue concerning the reliability of this review is the fact that not all the points made in the literature were explicitly mentioned in relation to specific age groups. As a result, they sometimes had to be attributed to the most appropriate age groups as part of the analysis process. This process, however, took into account the sampling frame and overall context of each study, and so is believed to have been done as reliably as possible.

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL RESEARCH

Social Science in Government

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