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Agriculture, Fisheries and Rural Affairs

Drivers of Youth Out-Migration from Rural Scotland

Key Issues and Annotated Bibliography

DRIVERS OF YOUTH OUT-MIGRATION FROM RURAL SCOTLAND.
KEY ISSUES AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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Centre for Research on Families and Relationships

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

CONTENTS

1.   Introduction

The Centre for Research on Families and Relationships (CRFR) at the University of Edinburgh was commissioned to conduct a review of the research literature to identify the key drivers of youth out-migration from rural Scotland. Rural areas, unlike the rest of Scotland, experience a net loss of their young people and the Scottish Government wishes to gain a better understanding of the reasons behind this.

After describing the methods used for the review, a very brief summary is provided of key issues before presenting an annotated bibliography.

2.   Research Review Methods

A variety of search methods were used in order to source as comprehensive a list of relevant documentation as possible. With the help of Web of Science giving access to the Social Science Citation Index, library catalogues and search engines an electronic search was conducted to locate journal articles, dissertations, books, book chapters and grey literature available online or stocked in the university library or available on inter-library loan. Search terms used included various combinations of the following: 'rural', 'out-migration', 'migration', 'Scotland', 'youth', 'young people', 'drivers', 'social exclusion', 'youth transition to adulthood'. A search was also conducted of the bibliographic references provided in the relevant literature. The bibliographies of articles and other texts found were also explored in order to ensure as comprehensive a coverage as possible within the available timeframe. Broad, non bibliographic search engines were used (www.google.com and http://www.live.com/), as were the search engines accompanying particularly relevant websites. These included the Scottish Government and other Government or voluntary sector sites and research organisations such as Joseph Rowntree Foundation and a range of more specialised research centres and voluntary organisations like Children in Scotland and LGBT Scotland. Specialists within 15 organisations were also contacted to ensure that any unpublished consultations with young people or other forms of relevant but unpublished research was located (see list of organisations in Annex B below). This was a useful way of locating documents that had not been discovered through other search engines. Authors were also contacted directly in order to locate copies of their work.

Limitations
The time frame available for this literature review was short (5 days). Substantial time was required to locate copies of documents from a variety of sources, as listed above. It is also important to note that the review is limited to literature pertaining to Scotland, although short summaries of other documents are included by way of illustration as to the research that has been conducted elsewhere.

3.   Key Issues

3.1   Trends in migration
The general picture is not in doubt. Out-migration from rural areas is predominantly an exodus of young people. In terms of patterns of movement within Scotland, remote rural areas have the highest loss of population to other areas of Scotland. The

2001 Census shows an internal in-migrant to out-migrant ratio of 0.82 and accessible rural areas have the strongest net gain with 1.11 in-migrants for every 1 out-migrant (Scottish Executive, 2005, 16). Remote rural areas are ageing more radically than other types of rural and urban areas because of a combination of a more profound loss of young people and the older age of in-migrants returning to the area or arriving for the first time.

The peak ages for migrating are the late teens to mid-20s reflecting moves out of the parental home to attend higher education or take up employment (Registrar General, 2003). Migration into Scotland shows a peak of in-migration at age 19 and 20 as young people come to study in Scotland and a peak of out-migration at ages 23 and 24 as many of those who have come to study in Scotland leave, along with some graduates who had grown up in Scotland (Registrar General, 2006). One of the consistent findings of studies that focus more specifically on rural areas is that the fact of having to leave the area of origin for higher education contributes to the net loss of young people from some types of rural areas.

The Registrar General notes (2006) that the lack of comprehensive data makes it difficult to review trends in migration in detail. The migration section included in the Registrar General's annual review of demographic trends gives an overview of in and out-migration from Scotland by age and net population gain and loss by local authority areas rather than age-specific detail by urban and rural areas. This overview shows that Shetland and the Western Isles are among the areas with the highest net loss of population. The most comprehensive source of data on migration is the 2001 Census and a number of reports have used the census to provide greater depth concerning young people and rural areas (Fleming, 2005; Scottish Executive, 2005; Registrar General, 2003). The Economic Updates produced by Highland and Islands Enterprise provide a summary picture of migration from particular regions, such as the Highlands and Islands and Argyle and Islands.

3.2   Youth out-migration, education and employment

Some studies have focused on the future migration intentions of young people in rural areas [Glendinning et al.'s (2003) study in northern Scotland; Hill's study in Dumfries, undated; Hopkins et al.'s small study of 17 year olds in Dumfries; MacKinnon's (2005) study of 14-18 year olds in four areas: one island, one Highland, and two lowland, one accessible rural area and an area of former mining settlement]. Other researchers have gathered biographical accounts of those who have left rural areas [Stockdale's (2004, 2002a, 2002b) study of migrants from Roxburgh and North Lewis]. Some researchers have attempted to trace a cohort of young people who lived in the study area at a particular time, in order to explore why some have since left and some are still resident [Jones and Jamieson's follow up study of Borders' school leavers (Jones and Jamieson 1997; Jamieson 2001; Jones 1999)]. Other studies have concentrated on the biographies and views of young adults living in a particular rural area [Pavis et al.'s study of 18-24 year olds in Duns and Callander (2000, 2001)] or have embedded the issue of migration in a more general ethnographic study of a rural locality [Maclean's study of a Highland township (1997)].

While young people from rural areas are not a homogenous group and their experiences vary according to the characteristics of the area and their own social background, gender and biographical experiences, common themes emerge across all

of these studies. Above all, youth migration is fuelled by the need to move for higher education and better opportunities for employment elsewhere. All of these studies emphasise and to some degree demonstrate an association between migration and the desire for higher education and graduate employment or 'good jobs'. They give voice to young people's feelings that they have to leave rural areas in order to take up education and/or opportunities for employment that engage and develop their skills and qualifications. Young people with parents who take it for granted that their children will enter higher education are prepared for migration from an early age and some come to presume that this will be the beginning of a more permanent exit. When parents themselves are migrants into the rural area, anticipation of exit is enhanced (Jones and Jamieson, 1997; Jones, 1999; Jamieson, 2000; Pavis et al., 2000, 2001). All of these studies indicate that a portion of young people anticipate leaving the area from an early age, and that those who are most likely to be prepared for leaving have parents who benefited from higher education. Jones and Jamieson's study suggested that young people without university educated parents considering migration do not always receive adequate professional advice and guidance, and they thus argue that support and information are needed for the migrate-or-stay decision (Jones and Jamieson, 1999). Many of the studies illustrate a range of views among young people, including strong ambivalence about leaving and a wish to return at some future date, and as such government and local policy should be about offering real choice to young people rather than be designed simply to retain them in rural communities (Jones and Jamieson, 1997).

In giving voice to young people's attitudes to migration and staying, these studies reveal an often repeated view that leaving the area is evidence of seeking to make the most of yourself and being open to change, while staying is evidence of arrested development, lack of ambition and closed attitudes. These are stereotypes that reflect complex discourses with connotations of social class, including the presumption of the greater worth of formal qualifications over locally learned skills and that trade on the devaluing of rural places in comparison to the presumed complexity and sophistication of city life. While this view is more often repeated by would-be migrants and migrants in preparation for or justification of migration (Pavis et al., 2000, 2001), it is a view also repeated by young people who feel trapped in their local community (Jamieson, 2000).

Although this view is not in any sense a straight forward 'fact', it remains the case that rural areas lose many talented young people. Stockdale argues that the problem is not that young people leave but that they do not return, precisely because those who leave have or, in the process of gaining education and experience away from their place of origin, gain the human and social capital needed for rural areas to thrive. Policies should therefore focus on the creation of opportunities for young people to return, rather than simply encouraging them to remain. Canadian scholars have commented on the irony of 'defining educational success in terms of a mobile population of youth exported to urban areas' that leaves rural schools promoting the erosion of the human capital of their own area (Corbett, 2003). The University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI) Millennium Institute is potentially part of a remedy, enhancing the opportunity for young people to obtain degrees without leaving their local area. Whether this will have a radical effect on out-migration depends on how subsequent options for employment are perceived and on dissipating the widespread presumption that leaving the area is an important part of making a success of yourself.

The latter, in turn, may partly depend on the quality of the education experience and the extent to which it enables a sense of self-development judged to be the equivalent to the process of leaving and gaining experience elsewhere.

Studies have less to say about how young people who stay or return anticipate and negotiate a successful career, although some examples are given by Pavis et al. (2000, 2001) and Jones and Jamieson (Jones and Jamieson, 1997; Jones, 1999; Jamieson, 2000; Jones, 2001). Comparison of migrants and stayers generally confirm the overall gains in terms of occupational satisfaction and income of the decision to migrate (Stockdale, 2004; Jones and Jamieson, 1999). The majority of those with few or basic qualifications, or who left higher education before completing a qualification often lack secure and/or rewarding employment with few opportunities for advancement or promotion. Graduates often have to take similar unskilled work while searching for a graduate job (Pavis et al., 2000, 2001). Several studies point to the importance of local networks for assistance in finding paid employment and of family assistance in setting up local businesses. For young people in insecure and unrewarding work, friends and family are the compensation that binds them to the area.

3.3   Youth out-migration and lack of affordable housing

Lack of affordable housing was also noted in the literature as being an important driver of rural out-migration by young people. This was noted in Hall Atiken (2007), Jones (2001), MacClean (1997) and Stockdale (2002a). Jones (2001) explores the limited housing options available for young people in rural Scotland. In contrast to urban areas where the rental market is cheaper and more plentiful, with the option of sharing with a peer group, there is a small, expensive rental market in rural areas and a lack of a peer group to share with. Living at home is therefore one of the more viable options but this contrasts with the desire expressed by young people for example in Hill (Undated) to leave home and live independently from parents.

3.4   Gender and out-migration

Higher rates of out-migration of young women are a particular problem in many remote rural areas and this is highlighted in a number of studies. For example, the survey by Glendinning et al. (2003) suggests that by age 15/16 a higher proportion of girls than boys want to leave the area of the north of Scotland in which they are brought up either for good or for a few years and then return. Across Scotland a slightly higher proportion of young women have left home by each age across the teenage years and into the early twenties. In many rural areas, this gender difference in turn means more women have left the area at early ages than men. Gender difference in leaving home and in leaving rural areas reflects a range of factors including the different freedoms afforded men and women in family and community, heterosexual conventions, different patterns of consumption, the gendered nature of employment opportunities and greater emphasis on educational qualifications in the employment sectors dominated by women. While each factor is identified in the literature, no author puts relative weights on the balance of these factors and it is likely that they will vary in different localities and biographies.

Literature on age difference in men and women leaving home routinely notes that this reflects the conventions of heterosexual partnership, in which there is a two year age gap between men and women in age of cohabiting with a partner. Although the majority of young women leave home to take up education rather than to live with a

partner, at any age throughout early to mid adulthood, more women are living with a partner than men. Young women who are not pursuing higher education are to set up independent households triggered by cohabitation or the birth of a child (Pavis et al., 2000, 2001).

A number of studies suggest that women are more likely to feel constrained by living in rural areas than men and are more likely to feel they need to leave home and their home area in order to become independent. For example, Glendinning et al. (2003) suggest that constraints of living in a close-knit and controlling community are felt more strongly by women. Research on leaving home suggests that women are more likely than men to feel that they have to live away from their parental home in order to be independent (Hodsworth and Morgan, 2005; Jones and Martin, 1999). This does not mean that young women are more likely than young men to live on their own as neither the School Leavers Survey nor the Scottish Household Survey shows this. In fact, more young adult men live on their own than women in rural and urban areas (Scottish Household Survey, 2006), a difference which reflects the continued differential in young men and women's earnings and the consequent greater difficulty for young women in purchasing their own home (Jones, 2001). In rural areas, the range of opportunities for creating independent households is very restricted. Transitional arrangements such as sharing with peers or affordable rented housing are not typically available. After comparatively reviewing the housing careers of young men and women who have stayed in the Scottish Borders, Jones suggests that the combination of low-paid repetitive work and housing geared towards families and older people perpetuates gender inequalities by encouraging women to lower their aspirations for independent housing until they have a partner or a child.

Some young women are more likely to wish to participate in youth cultural activities at earlier ages than boys making them more discontented with available commercial facilities and transport options. For example, the study by Glendinning et al. (2003) compares the views of young people in the north of Scotland across three different age groups and demonstrates that agreement with the statement 'there's nothing for young people like me to do' is higher for girls across all ages and increases with age for both boys and girls. By age 13/14 two thirds of girls but only half of boys agree that there are 'too few shops that sell the things you want'. A larger proportion of 15/16 year old girls than boys agree that there is 'no transport to go places or do things you want'. The MORI poll of 11-16 year olds on 'Being young in Scotland 2005' shows girls being more interested than boys in listening to music, going to the cinema and shopping. In rural areas the latter two almost always involve public transport, if they are possible at all. For example, Pavis et al. (2000, 2001) pointed out that for young people in Duns the nearest cinema is in Galashiels, the cost was £5.60 return by bus and the last bus back left at 8.20pm. Boys, on the other hand, were more interested in computer games and internet surfing, which are more likely to be available in their home.

A higher proportion of young women than young men now typically do very well at school and young women who are not high academic achievers are more likely to be focused on further education than men, typically taking qualifications directing them to female dominated work. The fact that a somewhat higher proportion of young women are oriented to further and higher education is likely to also contribute to their greater propensity to leave some rural areas. The reasons for gender differences in

girls' and boys' attitudes to schooling are still debated. The sociology of education literature in the second half of the twentieth century noted that resistance to schooling was a means by which working-class boys asserted their masculinity. Their denigration of quiet studious behaviour as feminine posed no threat to their future employment if local opportunities included a demand for unskilled manual and masculine labour. For girls, regardless of their educational ability or class aspirations, conventionally the prospects of a 'respectable' job were improved by qualifications. The interaction of class and gender differences is a theme that persists in the literature.

Women's employment remains more concentrated in particular sectors than men's, and this tendency is typically exaggerated in rural areas. For example, the service sector, 'public administration, education and health', and the sector 'distribution, hotels and restaurants' both command a larger proportion of overall employment in the Highlands and Islands than in Scotland as a whole and 75% of women are employed in these two sectors with 50% in the former. Although about 25% of men work in 'distribution, hotels and restaurants', no other sector commands as large a proportion and men's employment is distributed across several sectors, most of which remain very male dominated, including the primary industries, energy and water, construction, transport and communication (Highland and Islands Enterprise, 2007). Despite no shortage of what is conventionally 'women's work', the survey by Glendinning et al. (2003) finds that girls (80% of 15/16 year olds) are more likely than boys (68% of 15/16 year olds) to agree that 'it would be hard to find a job that suits me here' suggesting that at that age girls are not ready to accept the work that they see as available and being done by women.

4.   Gaps in the evidence and opportunities for future research

Further work could be done to use existing statistical data to provide more detailed profiling of gender differences in patterns of out-migration and returning by young people across the urban-rural classification. This might include pulling together work currently done using existing statistical sources at local authority or enterprise agency level. More use could also be made of existing rolling surveys to gather relevant data. The Scottish School Leavers Survey, a government commissioned source of data, could be used to provide a more detailed insight into the views and migration intentions of young people but currently does not attempt any urban rural comparison or collect data on migration, although it does ask about leaving home. Previous generations of this survey allowed Jones (1992) to demonstrate that young people living in rural areas were over twice as likely to have left home at an early age than those in urban areas. The PhD by MacKinnon (2005) is suggestive of differences in orientations of teenage boys and girls to migration between types of rural area but the requirement of place anonymity and the small scale of the study makes the differences difficult to interpret. Data from rolling surveys of young people that are already commissioned would be a great deal more robust. In some years time, questions could be introduced to parents in the 'Growing Up in Scotland' survey about their assumptions concerning the future migration of their children.

It may also be helpful to pull together information and research on existing services for young people or particularly popular with young people to facilitate consideration of what more can be done to support such services in rural areas and to monitor their impact. For example, some studies have commented on the absence of certain types of

leisure facilities and several studies have recommended that young people in rural areas have a particular need for advice and support because of the radical nature of changes in the lives for all young people. Those who take up higher education in rural areas inevitably have multiple transitions, not having the option of staying at home taken up by some urban young people. Young people who stay in rural areas have to cope with a more radical loss of peers and more limited options than urban young people. If new advice or support services are established, or if current services are enhanced, then this is an opportunity for building in impact monitoring or action research or evaluation research.

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ANNEX A   Annotated Bibliography

This section provides an annotated bibliography which summarises key texts from academic and non academic literature. Most of the work is presented under the heading 'Scottish research' but a small number of texts from elsewhere, including the rest of the UK, which may be of interest to those conducting further research on this topic are included under the heading 'Outside of Scotland'. In each section, entries are organised alphabetically by author. Work by academics is not distinguished from work commissioned from commercial agencies but under 'Scottish Research' short briefings, summary reports and policy papers are placed at the end.

A small number of texts are included that do not focus directly on migration because they concern push or pull factors that are implicated in migration. These are the work by Cartmel and Furlong (2000) on unemployment, by Halden et al. (2002) on 'rural accessibility' and by LGBT Youth Scotland (2005) on the experiences of lesbian, gay, bi- and transsexual young people in rural areas.

Scottish Research :

Publication: Cartmel, F. Furlong, A. (2000) 'Youth unemployment in rural areas'. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
Aims: To explore the distinctiveness of youth unemployment and highlight the specific problems faced by those who live outside of the urban conurbations.
Research Data: The research was conducted in 1996-1997. The quantitative element of the research takes a sample of young people collected as part of a study of unemployed 18 to 24 year olds, funded by the European Commission. 'Interviewers were located in 18 Jobcentres in contrasting areas of Scotland; in rural areas additional names were collected by writing to postal claimants. The aim of the first phase of the project was to collect a sample of 18 to 24 year-olds who were both unemployed and who had been out of work for at least three months during the previous year. This exercise yielded a sample of 1,725 unemployed young people from across Scotland. The second phase of the research involved a postal survey which was conducted six months after the sample collection, in May 1997 and August 1997 (by which time some were employed, and others were unemployed, had withdrawn from the labour market or had embarked on routes through education or training). At this stage, 232 young people had moved home or become untraceable and the valid sample was reduced to the 1,493 who received questionnaires. After several postal and telephone reminders, the final achieved sample was 817, a response rate of 55 per cent. Given that the sample was intended to reflect the national unemployment picture, it is skewed towards males: it contains 527 males and 290 females. The sample covers the age range 18 to 24, with a mean age of 20.7.' p.38.

The sample was then used to select a total of 80 young people evenly distributed between the four local labour markets [we are not told exactly how these 80 were selected other than they met the criteria specified below]. 'Individuals were selected to ensure full coverage of a range of situations and experiences: account was taken of gender, age, educational qualifications, total length of unemployment, household

composition, main activity during the previous week, age first unemployed and employment status… The skew towards males reflects current unemployment trends in Scotland. Given that the sample is drawn from young people who had experienced a recent period of unemployment, the overall level of qualifications is below the national average… 47 participants were male and 33 were female.' p.42.

Interviews with 40 rural employers (10 from each area) and 25 key professionals (careers officers etc.) were also conducted [we are not told how these key professionals and employers were selected].

Areas researched: pp.1-2. Recognising that the term 'rural' is used to cover a wide range of circumstances, the qualitative study focused on four distinct types of rural area:

- a 'traditional' rural area in the South West of Scotland which was geographically isolated and had significant economic activity in the agriculture sector;
- an 'urban fringe' area north of Stirling in which employment opportunities were affected by proximity to a town;
- a 'seasonal' area in mid-Argyll where job opportunities in significant sectors of the local economy undergo strong seasonal variation;
- an 'ex-industrial area' in Ayrshire in which the decline of opportunities in the manufacturing and extractive industries has had a detrimental impact on local opportunities.

Key Findings: The report does not directly tackle the issue of out-migration but it highlights some of the key barriers to employment that young people in rural areas face [These could also be considered to be drivers of out-migration]. Worth noting, is the statement that there is 'evidence that seasonal, part-time and casual employment has increased' (p.3) in rural labour markets and that moving between poor quality or temporary jobs ultimately leads to young people moving elsewhere to secure a better future.

Publication: Fleming, A. (2005) 'Scotland's Census 2001 - Statistics on Migration'. Occasional Paper No. 11. General Register Office For Scotland
http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/files/op11-occasional-paper-11.pdf
Aims: To analyse the Census statistics.
Research Data: Statistical analysis.
Key Findings: Only the 4 main cities, plus Stirling and Falkirk, gained people aged 16-24. The main cities gained a total of 9,800 people in this age group. Further analysis showed that over 85 per cent of this gain in the main cities was accounted for by student migration. There was a loss to the rest of the UK of around 1,500 people aged 16-24 (Table 2C). Only six areas gained migrants of this age, including 3 of the 4 main cities. Edinburgh saw by far the biggest gain of over 1,100 people. Further analysis showed that Edinburgh's net in-migration consisted of a gain of almost 2,000 full-time students and a loss of approximately 850 non-students.

Accessible rural areas gained people of all age groups except those aged 16-24. All of the other area types lost people in the 16-24 age group to the large urban areas. The net loss of 2,200 people in remote rural areas was almost completely accounted for by the large net loss of those aged 16-24.

Publication: Glendinning, A et al. (2003). 'Rural communities and well-being: a good place to grow up?' *Sociological Review* **51: 129-156**

Aims: The study considers in what ways affective and social aspect of community are bound up with well-being, over and above young people's concerns for the future, rural youth transitions and out-migration.

Research Data: The data was collected in 1996-1998.

Research location: 'The survey locations were spread throughout northern Scotland, each with a secondary school and at least 50kms from either of the two smaller regional centres of Inverness and Perth, or the two larger cities of Aberdeen and Dundee. The survey locations purposely reflected a wide diversity of settings, as did the sub-set of interview locations. Locality differences are not considered in any detail in this article, but it is important to note that there were significant variations in the socio-demographic and economic profiles of the locations where the survey was conducted; and the sub-set of four locations where the interviews were carried out was chosen to reflect these differences. For example, in two of the interview locations there was a central rural township, as well as smaller villages and outlying farms and crofts, whilst in the other two interview locations there was no township.' Pp. 135-136.

16 group interviews were conducted with 15-18 year olds (60 young people total) and a school based self-complete questionnaire survey of 11-16 year olds in each of 8 unspecified study locations was carried out. There was a 95% response rate of school based informants.. 2500 young people participated in total, 850 of these 15-16 year olds.

Key Findings: The rejection or acceptance of the local area as a 'good place' was most clearly linked to migration desires. This was as significant as concerns about local employment opportunities or feelings about the future for young people who stayed on in the area [note conflict between 'most clearly linked' and 'as significant'].

In the group interviews, interviewees 'consistently saw rural areas as 'a good place to grow up in' and 'safer than in the cities' but 'a perceived lack of suitable amenities and particularly problems with transport and 'nothing to do', and 'difficulties with transport (limiting) employment opportunities' were seen as major issues meaning that the countryside was not so good for teenagers. This was supported by the survey findings where many teenagers felt 'that there was nothing for them locally, community life was intrusive and they were highly visible as a group and that the future and employment prospects for young people in the local area were poor' (p.144). 'Girls were more likely than boys to feel they did not fit in, and that their future prospects were limited… the majority intended to leave' (p.144). 'Everyday' features of rural life (lack of privacy, gossip, lack of leisure, transport, feeling close-knit) were less strongly linked with migration desires. Young women were the exception to this, with those who saw rural life as constraining and controlling wishing to leave the area.

Perceptions as to likelihood of out-migration change with age and also with gender. In response to the statement 'The future looks good for young people who stay', the majority of those who answered positively were boys aged 11-12 years (66%). At this age only 51% of girls responded positively. By age 15-16 only 25% of girls responded

positively and only 34% of boys. In response to the specific statement around migration intentions: 'When I've finished school I'd like to…' 58% of 15-16 year old girls wanted to move away, compared to 45% of boys. This had increased from 39% of 11-12 year old girls and 32% of 11-12 year old boys.

Publication: Halden, D. Farrington, J. Copus, A. (2002) 'Rural accessibility'. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.
Aims: To define how rural accessibility measures can be used in rural policy development, monitoring and evaluation.
Research Data: 5 case study areas: West Aberdeenshire, East Ayrshire, Central Caithness and Sutherland, east Lothian and Wigtownshire. Postal surveys were conducted with 725 residents and telephone surveys were conducted with 250 residents. Five focus groups were also conducted.
Key Findings: This article does not refer specifically to young people but is relevant to considerations rural accessibility and the migration of young people. Notably, when discussing social exclusion, rural dwellers focus on problems for young unemployed (and elderly people) and limited social and leisure activities for people of all ages due to access problems and the need for car ownership.

Publication: Hall Aitken (2007) 'Outer Hebrides migration study' for Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Western Isles Enterprise and Communities Scotland.
http://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/factfile/population/migrationstudy.htm
Aims: In 2005, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, in partnership with Western Isles Enterprise and Communities Scotland commissioned Hall Aitken and Ionad Nàiseanta na h-Imrich (National Centre for Migration Studies) to carry out in-depth research into the issues around migration in and out of the Outer Hebrides. They required a comprehensive analysis of all elements that contributed to demographic change and how they interacted.
Research Data: An internet survey completed by 1500 current and past residents, 20 interviews with service provider and stakeholders, a survey of employers, interviews with employers and international migrants, focus groups sessions with stayers, returnees and in-migrants and Lews Castle College students and graduate returnees (Stornoway) and leaver groups in Aberdeen and Glasgow, a population modelling exercise and a scenario planning workshop involving key agencies tasked with taking forward policies, a literature review. Full details of how participants were found or selected, numbers and characteristics of participants are not given.
Key Findings: There is a much higher rate of young adults between 18-30 leaving the islands than across other age groups. This is a long running characteristic but is more marked than elsewhere in Scotland. Out-migration is much higher among women and 71% of in-migrants are males. This is leading to a widening gender imbalance in the population.

Key drivers of out-migration over the past 20 to 30 years have been declining employment in traditional industries, limited local employment opportunities; particularly the lack of skilled jobs with progression opportunities, increasing numbers of young people going into further and higher education and a limited range of training and education opportunities in the Islands. There is a continued expectation that young people need to leave the islands to pursue education and job

opportunities on the mainland. While these trends are being experienced in many rural areas, the peripherality of the Outer Hebrides means that these factors are impacting more severely and rapidly than in less isolated communities. This also means that there is less of a corollary effect of counter-urbanisation, where wealthier urban households move into rural areas, a feature of more accessible rural communities. Other factors that influence population change include the cost and availability of transport, the availability of suitable housing, the general 'confidence' of the community; and the perception among some individuals of 'conservative' attitudes of some community leaders.

The limited opportunities for women have been widely identified as contributing to the gender imbalance in the population. The unique nature of the Outer Hebrides housing market makes it difficult for young people to access affordable housing. This may also be a contributing factor in population decline as young people (and more women than men) may leave to become independent. The strong sense of community that attracts many people to the Outer Hebrides can also be viewed as 'suffocating and excluding' by some; particularly by individuals who consider themselves to be different. This issue can be a factor in contributing to out-migration. The general confidence and optimism of the community is also seen as a factor influencing out-migration. The role of public agencies and the island media in promoting a pessimistic outlook has fuelled an almost exclusively negative portrayal of the Outer Hebrides in the national media.

The more general review of population trends noted a shift in population towards larger settlements, and particularly Stornoway; an upturn in people choosing to live in the Outer Hebrides because of quality of life reasons; employers increasingly turning to overseas migrant workers to address labour shortages; more short-stay and 'commuting' workers who leave partners or spouses on the mainland. There was growing evidence (both anecdotal and from GROS data) that more Islanders were returning to the Outer Hebrides (and particularly to the Greater Stornoway area) over the past couple of years after completing their study on the mainland, with increasing demand for post-graduate study opportunities at Lews Castle College and an increase in the number of applicants for Comhairle summer placements. The M-ploy project that seeks to help graduates to access employment opportunities also noticed increased demand. The trend appeared to be caused by several push and pull factors including the lack of affordable housing options on the mainland, the need to pay off student debt, the perception of change in facilities within the Islands, with more things to do for young people and a revival in interest in Gaelic culture and language.

For further detail on findings about in migrants see *CRFR Migration Research Scoping Review - Lived Experience of Migrants in Scotland*

Publication: Hill, C. (Undated) 'Shall I stay or should I go? The influences that shape a young person's choices of university and decisions to work (or not) in Dumfries and Galloway'. University of Glasgow: Glasgow. http://www.cc.gla.ac.uk:443/research/carol_hill/shall_I_go.htm
Aims: To understand how young people in Dumfries and Galloway select higher education institutions and determine the criteria that influence the decisions that

young graduates make about whether to return/remain in the area to work, as young professionals.

Research Data: The data was collected in 2004-2005 and primarily consist of a questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews with 34 pupils who responded to letters sent to all secondary schools in Dumfries and Galloway for distribution to S5 and S6 pupils by school staff. Pupils were drawn from 7 schools. The questionnaire was prepared following a focus group discussion with 12 S5 and S6 school pupils. (8 female, 4 male) in Dumfries High School. 85% of the pupils had lived in their local area for 10 years or more.

Key Findings: Of the 34 interviewees 79% said they were definitely going to university. Socio-economic background is important in understanding who migrates for HE. The study notes that the majority of those going to university still come from the typical background of white, middle class families with a history of HE participation. The 9% of interviewees who said they were not going to university all came from families where neither parent had attended university. 74% of those planning to go to university had parents with higher to intermediate occupations (socio-economic classifications 1-3). 23 out of the 27 pupils (85%) who wanted to go to university lived with home owning parents.

Lack of enjoyment of the local area appeared not to be related to the decision to leave - only 3% of those wishing to leave for HE stated that they did not like the area 'at all' and 74% stating that they liked the area 'all' or 'most' of the time.

In terms of the 'pull' of city life for study, the focus group ranking exercise revealed that informants believe that opportunities for graduate employment will be enhanced by living in a city and that the appropriate time to relocate is at the undergraduate stage of their career, even if it is cheaper to stay at home for HE. This was ranked fifth in importance when choosing where to go for HE. Many young people also believe that it will be easier to find part time work to fund studies if they live in a city (funding concerns were ranked 4th in decision making as to HE location, although it was ranked 8th by those taking part in the interviews). They also expressed a desire to leave home and have a 'full student experience' which cannot be achieved by living with parents (social life was ranked 3rd and independence from parents was ranked 6th). There is also a perception that there are enhanced possibilities of career progression in urban areas due to the absence of large businesses/industries locally. Finally the lack of social infrastructure and cultural diversity to attract and retain an upwardly mobile professional class was noted.

Publication: Hopkins, N. Reicher, S. Harrison, K. (2006) 'Young People's Deliberations on Geographic Mobility: Identity and Cross-Border Relocation' *Political Psychology* **27 (2), 227–245.**
Aims: To explore how social identities may shape group members' spatial behaviour, including possible migration.
Research Data: The date of data collection is unspecified in this article. Small scale interviews were conducted with 30 young people aged 17 in Dumfries. Fifteen of these were one to one semi-structured interviews lasting approximately 40 minutes. Young people were asked to categorise space in the UK, follow up questions were then made asking the young people to specify their categorisation, followed by a discussion of future plans and where they felt 'at home'. The other fifteen people were

engage in 3-4 person focus groups discussions. Similar topics to the above were brought up but discussion amongst participants encouraged. It is not clear how these young people were selected, other than being in their final year of secondary school.

Key Findings: National identity related considerations are not always salient in young people's deliberations about future geographical mobility. Yet, where national identity is salient and mobility is framed in national terms, participants cautious about relocating to England. Other identities, such as class and gender, could be more consequential.

Publication: Jamieson, L. (2000) 'Migration, place and class: youth in a rural area' *Sociological Review* **48, 203-223.**

Aims: To present young people's reasons for leaving or remaining in the Scottish Borders.

Research Data: The data was collected in 1988 in the Scottish Borders and is part of a broader study. See Jones (1999) for detail as to sampling. This article is based on a 'small random sample of young people in their early twenties who were all in their fourth year of secondary school' (p.207). The sample was classified according to parents' occupations, whether or not their parents were 'local or 'non local' and by their own pattern of migration. In-depth interviews were conducted with 45 young people (19 male, 26 female). 17 young people were from middle class backgrounds, 5 from intermediate backgrounds and 21 from working class backgrounds and in two cases there was insufficient information to make a classification. 12 young people had parents brought up in the region, 18 had one local and one non local parent, 14 had both parents non local and in one case information could not be collected. Roughly half the sample can be described as 'stayers' (8 men and 15 women) at the time of the interview and half as 'migrants' (11 men and 11 women) who were based elsewhere (p.207).

Key Findings: There is a statistical association between young people's migration and both father's occupation and whether or not parents were born and bred in the locality. Middle class children often take migration for granted. In response to the question around expectations and age of migration one informant, Peter, responded: 'I think because my Dad went to university I think it was always – and I was always quite good at school - I think there was always, I wanted to go to University. So you're not actually thinking of leaving Peebles for ever, but you're thinking I want to go to University and the next step is you leave home when you go to university' p. 209. Children of local middle class parents are less likely to migrate than children of middle class non local parents, majority of whom do leave. Working class children consider leaving the area if they do well at school. Overall, however, they migrate less than middle class children but those with local parents less likely to migrate than those with non local parents. In response to when she started to expect to leave, Carol, a high achieving person from a family with no history of either higher education or migration responded that 'I don't think that my mum or dad really wanted me to move away… but they wanted me to go to college, and they wouldn't have stopped me' and 'Because at 16 you feel comfortable… I could see myself living there. But then as you get to maybe seventeen, eighteen, you think 'but there's no jobs and I don't want to end up in the textile mill or whatever. So then you think, 'no'. ' pp. 208- 209.

Publication: Jones, G. (2001) 'Fitting Homes? Young People's Housing and Household Strategies in Rural Scotland'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 4(1), 41-62

Aims: To identify the strategies that young people have to employ in order to be housed in rural Scotland.

Research Data: See Jones (1999) below for sampling information.

Key Findings: Housing options for young people in rural Scotland is limited. There is a limited, expensive rental market in rural areas and a lack of a peer group to share with. The rental market is cheaper and more plentiful in urban areas, with the option of sharing with a peer group. Living in the parental home until marriage or childbirth was the preferred option for several stayers. The only option in rural areas to living with parents is to obtain good enough income to buy housing. In the study, this option was only available to men (or women in partnerships) or to gain enough points for social housing entitlement.

Publication: Jones, G. (1999) 'The same people in the same places? Socio-spatial identities and migration in youth'. *Sociology*, 33(1), pp. 1–22.

Aims: To study the development of socio-spatial identities in youth and how these explain migration behaviour.

Research Data: This article focuses on interview data, contextualised by some of the survey findings, from an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)-funded study of young people in rural Scotland, the main focus of which was to explore what lay behind decisions to migrate from or stay in the local community (Jones & Jamieson, 1997). The research was based on a qualitative follow-up to a cohort of the Scottish Young People's Surveys (SYPS) 1989/91. A 10% sample of all those in their final compulsory year at secondary school in Scotland was surveyed in 1989 at around 16 3/4 years and again in 1991 at around 19 1/4 years. For the purposes of our follow-up study, a subset was extracted of all 128 respondents who had been in schools in the Borders Region (now called The Scottish Borders, and referred to below as 'The Borders'). From this subset, we targeted 50% of respondents to both survey sweeps, plus all respondents to either one of the previous sweeps (*n* = 84), in an attempt to reduce sample bias by weighting towards non-response. Sixty-nine per cent of the target sample was traced and 54% (*n* = 45) interviewed in 1995 at age 22–23 years. The interviews were transcribed and the original language, which included local dialect, has here been modified. The interview data were supplemented and contextualized with secondary analysis of the original survey, and with analysis of the 1991 Census data. By the age of 22–23 years, the sample contained 21 migrants, 5 returning migrants and 19 stayers.

Key Findings: Youth migration is response to lack of local opportunity (i.e. to structural constraint) but there is individual level variation. Children may be socialised by their communities and families into migration, while others are socialised into staying on, not always happily. A family history of migration and rootedness is important and a sense of belonging to a community can be inherited, developed or inhibited during early life. Interviews conducted in the study show that belonging is a matter not only of individual choice but also of community acceptance. The latter can be obtained through following the 'system of social control' (p.10) which can sometimes come at personal cost. The author states that 'It is no wonder that there were some for whom migration to the relative anonymity of the city was seen as an escape' (p.10). At the individual level, the study reveals that there is a

tendency for conformists to stay and dissenters to leave. Thus the individual with ideas for change takes them elsewhere and the process continues. The study also looks at how children of incomers may feel excluded and how this can lead to their eventual migration.

Publication: LGBT Youth Scotland. (2005). 'Including young people in rural areas. Experiences of LGBT Youth Scotland'. Edinburgh: LGBT Youth Scotland
Aims: To highlight the experiences of LGBT youth in Scotland.
Research Data: Group discussions
Key Findings: This study does not directly address youth out-migration but highlights some of the difficulties facing young LGBT people in rural areas.

According to young people interviewed, life is more problematic for young LGBT people in rural areas due to greater invisibility and greater perceived homophobia within rural communities as well as the power of the church in rural areas. Furthermore less support services are available in rural areas. This leads to feelings of isolation, prejudice. Many have to leave 'or be straight to stay' (p.3). Furthermore, the rural LGBT community is still hidden, anonymous and invisible and there is a lack of clear research on this topic. The document provides examples of helpful initiatives, policy recommendations and a section with stories from young people.

Publication: MacClean, C. (1997) 'Migration and Social Change in remote rural areas: A Scottish Highland case study'. *PhD Thesis*. University of Edinburgh.
Research Data: In depth micro level study, using participant observation and oral history accounts.
Key Findings: Field work took place in 1995-1996. Migration always been present. Many elderly interviewees had non-local forebears despite a discourse that would presume great local ancestry. Migration is not deviant but normative throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries. Migration taken for granted by interviewees but was structured by constraints, chance and choice - gender and socio-economic status playing significant roles. 'Taking part' is positive and almost essential to belonging, while 'taking over' is negative, leading to resentment. Personal relationships have a strong role to play in migration decisions - constraint and choice - in addition to conventionally defined factors (jobs, housing, infrastructure, scenery, safe environment, peace and quiet). These include falling in and out of love; looking after infirm or elderly relatives; and escaping from relationships to a new life elsewhere.

Publication: MacKinnon, D. (2005) 'Becoming an adult in Rural Scotland'. *PhD Thesis*. University of Glasgow.
Research Data: A study of 14-18 year olds attending secondary schools in four rural areas Lochy Isle (island), East Forth (lowland accessible rural) and Glenrig (Highland) and Coalburgh (ex-mining communities). Questionnaire survey was completed by approximately 100 pupils in each location (90 in Coalburgh, 110 Locy Isle, 129 East Forth, 93 Glenrig) and follow up semi-structured interviews with 18 young people and 8 adults. The aim was to have a sample equally divided between the first two and the last two years of the 3rd to 6th year pupils but it was not possible

to achieve this in practice and the age distribution was not the same in each sample. The small numbers involved in this study mean some caution is required in interpreting the results and difficulties in reaching conclusions about the consequences for young people of different types of rural area are compounded by the need to give pseudonyms to the localities involved in order to protect the anonymity of schools and respondents. This is not a criticism of the PhD but a reflection of the constraints of a thesis.

Key Findings: With the exception of young men in East Forth, the majority of young men and young women said no when asked if they believed there are enough job opportunities in their area. (Data not available for Coalburgh). 82% of girls in Lochy Isle said no in comparison to 63% of boys. Across all areas the majority of pupils believed they would need to move out of their area to get their desired job but the proportion was much highest in Glenrig, but also in Lochy Isle and just over half in East Forth. In each area more girls held this view than boys.

The researcher notes that the lack of higher educational resources available, with the exception of the commuter area of East Forth, see young persons having to leave their home area to pursue education. In entering higher education, young people from rural areas face a serious financial commitment and greater personal change than urban youth.

Class differences were also noted, with 63% of middle class, 66% of skilled and 56% of semi/unskilled respondents expressing the belief that they would need to move for employment.

Whilst there is an emphasis by young people on their own individual agency and control over their possible adult selves, social class of origin, family background, place of residence and gender continue to shape their futures. While some rural young people are able to actively negotiate their way, others are acting through a paucity of alternatives. Decisions about migration are often constrained by financial situations and the social network that young people are familiar with and often dependent upon.

Despite young women being more likely to think there were no jobs for them locally and they would have to leave for work, they were not always more likely to want to leave the area. Young people were asked about their preference to stay in or leave their home area. A preference to leave was stated by 45% of Glenrig males and 38% of Glenrig females, 40% of Lochy Isle males and 39% of Lochy Isle females only 17% of east Forth males and 28% of East Forth females.

Publication: MORI. (2005). 'Being Young in Scotland 2005: Young People's Participation in Youth Work, Arts, Culture and Sport'. Conducted for Scottish Executive Education Department & YouthLink.

Research Data: The data was based on the Schools Omnibus Survey:2150 11-16 year olds and the Young People Survey 17-25 year olds: 1028 young people.

Key Findings: While not directly linked to rural out-migration this study provides a useful background to young people's interests and leisure activities and can shed light on 'push' factors. For example, 66% of 11-16 year olds are most likely to go to the cinema in a typical week. There is no cinema on Shetland so young people in Shetland are not engaging in an activity that the majority of their peers do engage in

on a weekly basis. Pavis et al. (2000, 2001) pointed out that for young people in Duns the nearest cinema is in Galashiels, the cost was £5.60 return by bus and the last bus back left at 8.20pm.

Publication: Pavis, S. Hubbard, G. and Platt, S. (2001) 'Young People in Rural Areas: Socially Excluded or Not?' *Work, Employment and Society*, **15, 291-309**
Aims: To explore whether labour market participation always enhances social inclusion and, if so, in what ways; how young people experience and balance the relationship between labour market participation and demands (and their priorities) in other areas, such as family life, education and housing; and how age, gender, lifecourse stage and local opportunities affect labour market participation and social inclusion.
Research Data: The data was collected in 1998. Young people were selected randomly from a general practitioner's patient list in Duns and from an old school register in Callander. 187 questionnaires were completed in Duns and 87 in Callander by young people between 18 and 25. In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with 30 young people in each location.
Key Findings: The five topics discussed- family, housing, education, employment and leisure and community - did not include out-migration. The only specific reference to migration is found on p.306-7: 'there was an 'expectation that the more able or ambitious young people would leave the area in order to pursue higher education or careers. Those who remained were often viewed and described as being the nohopers or as having less drive or ambition compared to the wider cohort of young people.'

Publication: Pavis, S. Hubbard, G. and Platt, S. (2000) 'Young People in Rural Scotland: Pathways to social inclusion and exclusion'. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. http://www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/eBooks/1859353398.pdf
Aims: To understand the experiences of young people in rural communities through an exploration of their pathways towards adulthood and of the processes that contribute to their social inclusion or exclusion.
Research Data: See above.
Key Findings: Variation in educational attainment and professional qualification emerged as the single most consequential factor in transitions to adulthood and in migration decisions. Children of middle class incomers are more likely to leave home to attend HE. [I think that the question of who does not migrate is also important in understanding out-migration. This article would be relevant if you wanted to go down that line as it can be extrapolated to mean that those who are most socially excluded are least likely to migrate and become further excluded]. The study also suggests that 'an awareness of not really being accepted as a 'true local' may partially explain why some young people were prepared psychologically to leave their rural area' (p.19).

Another key driver of out-migration is revealed to be dropping out of HE. The study reveals that those who had dropped out of HE either wanted, or expected, to move away from Duns or Callander. Employment and career aspirations were the major driving force. As one informant states 'I want to get out of Duns. It's like the Borders is gettin' paid off at the minute, everything's shuttin' down, there's no work' (p.26). The 'small-minded mentality' which young people perceive to dominate their rural

communities is also given as a reason for wanting to leave. 'These young people's accounts appeared to reflect a complex mix of: a heightened sense of dissatisfaction brought about by having seen other ways of life and places; psychological preparation prior to leaving; and a genuine social or cultural distance between those who had returned to the area and those who had never left (e.g. in terms of leisure pursuits, tastes in music, dress, etc)' (p.27).

Research gap: understanding experiences of those between 26-40 to have more longitudinal understanding: will they stay in low quality rented accommodation, in landward areas, will they stay in rural areas or migrate to urban areas, will they return to education/training or secure better quality employment? What happens to those who are most vulnerable as they age?

Publication: Scottish Executive (2005) 'Migration and Commuting in Urban and Rural Scotland - Statistics from Census 2001'
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/37428/0028867.pdf
Research Aim: To focus on migration and commuting in urban and rural Scotland based on statistics from Census 2001. These statistics became available in 2004. Given that Scotland's population is forecast to decline, and that remote rural areas are often perceived to be losing population, it is important to have a better understanding of migration in terms of who is moving into and out of Scotland and whether people are moving into or out of urban or rural areas.
Key Findings: Statistics from Census 2001 show that:

- All geographic areas in Scotland witnessed a net gain in population through migration. Large urban areas had the highest net gain, followed by accessible rural areas. The net gain in rural areas is because of migrants arriving from other parts of the UK or from outside of the UK.
- In terms of migration within Scotland different types of rural area have very different profiles. Remote rural areas have the highest loss of population to other areas of Scotland, with an in-migrant to out-migrant ratio of 0.82 and accessible rural area had the strongest net gain with 1.11 in-migrants for every 1 out-migrant.
- Out-migrants from accessible rural areas were most likely to move to urban areas (24% to large urban areas and 32% to other urban areas). Out-migrants from remote rural areas were most likely to move to large urban areas (21%) or other parts of the UK (22%).
- Out-migrants from rural Scotland were most likely to be aged under 25.

Publication: Stockdale, A. (2004) 'Rural out-migration: Community consequences and individual migrant experiences' *Sociologica Ruralis*, 44 (2): 167-+
Aims: To provide an insight into contemporary out-migration processes and their significance to current rural development approaches.
Research Data: The data are collected from people who have left two selected rural areas of Scotland that have experienced long-term population decline, Roxburgh, the Scottish Borders (a 'less remote rural' area) and North Lewis, the Western isles (a

'remote rural' area). Note that the sample from Roxburgh is very small and older respondents make up a larger part of this sample than the North Lewis sample.

Migrants were traced by three methods: obtaining current addresses of former household members from a postal survey of a sample of households within each of the study locations selected randomly from the electoral register; through a database of school leavers maintained by the relevant local authority and by a range of means of contacting whole families who had moved including advertising in a range of ways and snowballing. The traced migrants were then sent a postal survey resulting in questionnaires from 212 individual out-migrants, 54 from Roxburgh, 158 from North Lewis. Questions centred on decision making processes associated with move, personal migration histories and individual experiences. Twenty-five follow-up semi-structured interviews were then conducted to explore personal narratives of motivations and experiences.

Key Findings: The most common pattern of migration was leaving home as a young person in order to take up a place in university or college. 90% of traced migrants had moved as individuals rather with their family and 70% had migrated to pursue further or higher education, although, as discussed below there are differences by area. Those with academic ability and ambition appear to have little choice but to leave the rural community. Education is often a stepping stone before moving again (p.179). Those who plan to return after qualifying find related employment opportunities lacking and those who leave want to make a success of their move, to return often deemed as failure. Returnees earn lower incomes than non returnees. Individuals have benefited from moving - highly qualified, employed in secure and responsible positions and earn substantially more on the whole than they could in donor community. Education motivated migrants appear to do much better than employment motivated migrants.

In terms of gender difference, male migrants tend to attain higher qualifications than females and earn more (although the author states that these are not statistically significant, p. 180).

Some of the personal benefits of out-migration cited by informants are: freedom experienced to do as they wished, social and cultural experiences, employment benefits. Some of the difficulties expressed include: absence of family network, homesickness, loving for countryside and friendliness of small community, mixing with those from different cultural backgrounds.

The conclusion is a policy recommendation: personal transition experienced by migrants - independence, commitment to succeed, acquisition of knowledge and skills and so on - are paradoxically the very ingredients needed by rural communities to develop. There needs to be the creation of opportunities for young people to return to rural areas, as a means of attracting back 'the finished product'. Policy should not simply be about encouraging young people to remain, as is currently the strategy.

Publication: Stockdale, A. (2002a) Towards a typology of out migration from peripheral areas. International Journal of Population Geography, 8, 345-64

Aims: To demonstrate the complexity of the decision-making processes at work, involving the personal negotiation of different, and on occasions conflicting, influences using a typology of migrant types.

Research Data: As above.

Key Findings: Warns of dangers of generalising out-migration trends: although the largest category of migrants from both areas are young people leaving their parental home to pursue education or training, they are not the only type of migrant and their predominance varies between areas (79% of the traced migrants from North Lewis and 43% from Roxburgh) and 33% of migrants from Roxburgh left for employment reasons, often at ages over 30. Note that these later migrants were predominantly male.

Male out-migration from Roxburgh occurred at any age, whilst among the N. Lewis sample there is a significant peak for men and women in the 16-18 year cohort. Very few migrate after the age of 21. The author links this migration to the completion of secondary schooling. Female migration from Borders generally occurred during the late teenage years.

The study found that the largest group of out migrants are school leavers who leave to continue their studies in urban Scotland (70%). 90% of those who migrate in order to study were school-leavers and 10% were non school leavers predominantly males over age of 25 who mainly gave up their job for further study. In terms of reasons for migration, informants stated that 'There was an expectation to progress from school', 'From a young age I was encouraged to do well at school and as a teenager I knew I would leave the Western Isles at some point to do a college or university course or training of some kind. At no point did I consider the possibility of staying on in the Western Isles'. 'I was expected to go to University. To do that you have to leave. It is kind of natural' (p.356).

The second largest group are employment motivated migrants (18%) who are mainly older males over 30, employed on temporary contracts, and are therefore not relevant to this particular study.

6% of the sample migrated for personal reasons (31% school-leavers, 46% non school leavers) and these generally comprise females under the age of 25 (69%): 'The unwritten code of conduct of behaviour in the islands I found difficult. For a single woman in that type of environment it is oppressive, repressive, suppressive, obsessive… I found it very, very, extremely difficult' (p. 358).

7% of the sample migrated for 'Other' reasons, including quality of life/housing/combination of reasons. The age of these migrants is not specified in the article.

Publication: Stockdale, A. (2002b) Out-migration from rural Scotland, Sociologica Ruralis, 42, 41-63.
Aims: To consider the role of social and family networks in the out-migration of persons from rural Scotland.
Research Data: See above.
Key Findings: Leaving rural homes is part of the transition to adulthood, with young people seeking independence by way of employment (33% in Borders, 13% in North Lewis), education (43% in Borders, 79% in North Lewis) or for personal reasons (13% Borders, 4% North Lewis). Many migrants grew up with expectation that they would leave their home community. This is a recognised stage in life course, as

certain informants quoted state: 'I think it was a general expectation to go onto higher education' 'You were expected to go', 'I felt that part of growing up, fending for yourself, you had to leave home. It was almost part of the natural life cycle'.

The declining textile industry in the Borders was an obvious explanation given for the higher rate of departure for employment in the area. Family and social networks were important in first choice destination. As one informant interviewed stated: 'I went to Glasgow. It's where everyone was going at the time'. Another one reveals that: 'My older sister had moved to Edinburgh (…) so in many ways it made things easier (…) She had an established social circle'.

The author concludes that there is little evidence to support individualisation theory (Beck 1992). She suggests that this is perhaps evident in that individuals make choices on the basis of achieving their own potential (as opposed to constrained by family and other choices) but they are still dependent on the employment market and social and family networks do remain important, supporting social network theory (Granovetter 1973).

Briefings, Summary Reports and Policy Papers:

Publication: Bain, E. (2002) 'Social Inclusion in Rural Areas: Innovative Projects for Young People - Research Findings' Land and Rural Policy Research Programme. Scottish Executive. Research Findings No. 1/2002. Edinburgh.
Aims: To conduct a preliminary review of rural youth projects, following the publication of two Scottish Executive reports raising issues of social exclusion and young people in rural communities: 'Poverty and Social Exclusion in Rural Scotland and 'Services in Rural Scotland'.
Research Data: Literature review. Case studies: Scotland, Canada and Nordic countries. No further details given.
Key Findings: Successful youth projects require youth participation in all stages of the project. Limitations in rural areas include: distances volunteers need to travel and ensuring that projects are accessible to all young people in the locality e.g. providing subsidised transport.

Publication: Berry, K. (2004) 'Affordable housing'. *SPICe briefing*. No 4/41.
Aims: To provide background to the issue of affordable housing for a Member's debate in the Chamber.
Research Data: Literature review.
Key Findings: Defines affordable housing and summarises some of the key issues. Assessment of the situation in Fife.

Publication: Elrick, D. (2007) 'Can't afford to leave, can't afford to stay: Financial inclusion and capability in rural Scotland. Summary of findings'. Edinburgh: Scottish Council Foundation.
Aims: To address gaps in understating of how financial inclusion and capability apply to rural Scotland.

Research Data: A desk review was conducted followed by in depth interviews with 17 stakeholders (service providers, community planning partnerships) and 39 residents formed into Community Committees. Islay, Highland, East Ayrshire.

Key Findings: Provides recommendations for action for improving financial inclusion in rural Scotland. Combination of rural and non rural specific recommendations. These include the provision of free ATMs, inclusion of rural allowances in student debt, improving money advice and financial education, road tariff systems for discounted tax/petrol for car users, making it easier for young people to return home and settle.

Publication: Communities Scotland (2006) 'Affordability and migration with the Ayrshire housing system'. *Communities Scotland Precis* **No 108.**
Aims: To explore current patterns of migration within and into Ayrshire.
Research Data: Analysis of Sasines data 2000-2006 and analysis of Experian's Mosaic and Movers datasets (household demographic profiles). Three small surveys of recent purchaser groups were also carried out, along with economic analysis and forecasting, extensive analysis of secondary data, stakeholder consultations (details unspecified) and affordability modelling.
Key Findings: This article does not refer specifically to young people but is relevant to considerations of why young people may be needing to leave the area. For example, price to income ratios are in excess of affordability thresholds.

Publication: Communities Scotland and Scottish Executive (2005) 'Local housing need and affordability model for Scotland: Summary of Update'.
Aims: To assess local housing needs and affordability of housing.
Research Data: Uses national datasets and surveys
Key Findings: This article does not refer specifically to young people but is relevant to considerations of the influence of housing on out-migration by young people. For example, there was a net annual need of 8045 units of affordable housing in 2005 (net need= demand for affordable housing greater than the supply of lets available to new tenants). The document also provides a useful geographic breakdown if a more detailed analysis of housing and out-migration trends is needed.

Publication: Highland's Joint Committee on Children and Young People. (2005) 'For Highland's Children 2: Summary 2005-2008'.
http://www.highland.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/F90C8E46-5626-45DB-BF24-EB58669F1783/0/FHC2.pdf
Research Data: Policy Paper.
Key Findings: This is not directly refer to drivers of out-migration but it provides a statistical argument for why it is important to understand the drivers of out-migration. The report highlights that the population profile is an ageing one and that projections through to 2017 indicate a 23% fall in the number of children across Highland, with greater reductions in some areas. Within the same period, the "working age" population is projected to reduce by almost 8%, with the most economically productive age-band of 25 to 44 year olds projected to fall some 29%.

Publication: Jones, G. and Jamieson, L. (1997) Young People in Rural Scotland: Getting Out and Staying On. CES Briefing No.13

Aims: To explore why some young people stay and some people leave Rural Scotland.

Research Data: The research was based on the *Scottish Young People's Survey*, a 10% postal survey of a cohort of young people sampled during their 4th (final compulsory) year in secondary school in Scotland. Longitudinal survey data on young people at average age 16¾ in 1989 and age 19¼ in 1991 was extended with data from follow-up interviews in 1995 with a subset of 23-year-olds who had been in secondary school in the Borders Region, and also interviews with their parents in 1996. Analysis of the 1991 Census provided background information.

Key Findings: Scottish Borders is losing its young people, who feel they must leave if they want to get on in life (education, get better jobs). Key findings taken directly from the report (p.1) are that:

- Migration "works": among those with similar academic ability, migrants are in better economic positions at age 23 than those who have stayed on in the area. By then, some stayers feel discontented and trapped, and would like to leave but they lack the training and skills to compete for jobs elsewhere.

- Stayers are usually from local families. Migrants tend to be from families with a history of migration and extended family networks. While some young people are too attached to the area to leave even if they could do better elsewhere, others cannot wait to get away.

- Migrants sometimes long to return, but the local labour market does not attract them back once they have obtained qualifications. Aspiring returners, and the few who do return, tend to be from local families with strong local networks.

- Policies should be offering real choice to young people rather than be designed simply to retain them in rural communities.

- Support and information are needed for the migrate-or-stay decision. Parents are not all equipped to provide relevant information, and the formal guidance system fails to recognise the dilemmas and tensions involved.

Publication: Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1994) 'Disadvantage in rural Scotland' *Findings*. **Social Policy research 62, October 1994.**

Aims: To explore poverty and disadvantage in rural Scotland.

Research Data: The data was collected in 1993-1994. Research was conducted in Harris, Wester Ross, Angus and North Ayrshire (representing the four main types of rural area in Scotland).

A questionnaire survey of 500 households in 1993 was undertaken, followed by in-depth interviews with 120 respondents. In spring 1994, respondents and members of the public were invited to 'feedback meetings' presenting preliminary findings from the research; in all areas these were given strong approval.

Key Findings: While this study is not directly addressing youth migration, it contributes to our understanding of some of the 'push' factors in rural areas.

- Poverty and disadvantage in rural Scotland is widespread. 65% of heads of households surveyed had incomes below £200/week, compared with 55% for Britain as a whole. Moreover, 49% had incomes below half the median Scottish wage (£150/week). Yet the cost of living is higher in rural areas.

- Housing was perceived to be a pervasive problem. A shortage of affordable rented housing, and especially council housing, was seen to limit the options for low-income people wishing to stay in the rural area, and especially affected newly-formed households.

- Employment opportunities were very limited despite low levels of registered unemployment and this was viewed as a fact of rural life. The lack of opportunities for youth employment was perceived to be the most serious problem. The absence of childcare provision was another important problem.

- Services were a matter of concern. The crucial transport disadvantage was not solely access to public transport but especially the cost of maintaining a car, where car ownership was seen as essential. Other issues of service provision were the perceived underfunding of education, the difficulties of accessing family planning services and chemists, and the lack of leisure and recreation facilities for teenagers.

- Respondents in scattered communities identified a strong pressure for young people "to get on and get out". Many presented an image of young people forced to emigrate from rural areas and carrying forever a sense of loss. Respondents who had returned from urban areas, however, indicated that rural life only appealed when they had children or in middle age. It was clear that rural young people frequently feel that they can *only* achieve their potential in the urban areas. Nevertheless, the minority that wanted to stay or to return often could not because of the lack of affordable housing and employment.

Publication: MORI (2002) 'Young people and transport' Scottish Executive Social Research Findings. No 155/2002.
Research Data: 16 focus groups and 6 paired depth discussions (12-22 year olds) across Scotland.
Key Findings: Findings aren't rural- urban specific but interesting to read for those wishing to look at young people's perceptions of transport in more depth.

Publication: Scottish Youth Parliament. (2007). 'Our Scotland'. Scottish Youth Parliament Edinburgh.
Research Aim: Develop a manifesto for young people..
Research Data: 6000 young people consulted. Research tools included use of face to face questionnaire completion at schools and youth clubs and online.
Key Findings: Young people believe that the drivers of rural out-migration need addressing. Manifesto, paragraph 28: 'In order to encourage youth people to stay and contribute to their community, basic facilities in rural areas should be improved and sustained as well as links to these facilities.' 75.44% of over 6000 young consultees agreed with this statement.

Publication: Corbett, M. (2003) 'Rural Education and Out-Migration: The Case of a Costal Community' *Canadian Journal of Education* **28, 1 &2, 1-21.**
Aim: examining the relationship between formal education and out-migration in a Canadian coastal community from the early 1960s to the late 1990s.
Research Data: Attempted to trace all who graduated from school between 1963 and 1998 in ten coastal villages in southwestern Nova Scotia, living along the peninsula known as Digby Neck.
Key Findings: Although most people who grew up on Digby Neck between the 1950s and 1990s left their home villages, the majority remained within a 50-kilometre radius. Women were more mobile than men but their migration tended to be either within a 50-kilometer radius or no more than 250 kilometres away. Among the group that remained in the villages of Digby Neck, men outnumbered women by more than 2:1. Men in the younger cohort were less likely to migrate than men in the older cohort, the author suggests because of increased uncertainty of securing employment in the city and the ability of the local economy 'to provide some form of survival opportunities to a significant and apparently growing population of young men'.

'Gender has played and continues to play a central role in the relationship between education and migration. Young women have limited opportunities in family-based fishing operations. Consequently, young women face relatively more pressure to leave Digby Neck simply because the main sources of well-paid local employment are not open to them. Women also face greater pressure to succeed and conform in school because of the migration imperative most of them face. The need for at least a high-school diploma appears to extend into most aspects of work in locally based service industry work, which is predominantly done by women, typically for minimum wage' (p11).

Publication: Gabriel, M. (2006) 'Youth Migration and Social Advancement: How Young People Manage Emerging Differences between Themselves and their Hometown', Journal of Youth Studies, 9:1, 33 - 46
Research Data: 3 year study. 18 In depth semi structured interviews with young people from rural Tasmania. Each interview 1 hour long.
Key Findings: Rural-urban migration is positioned within a complex of youth transitions. Biographical approach to youth migration: helps understand complex, multi-layered nature of individual migration decisions and changes in migration pathways over time.
Structural explanations but individual agency (life projects, socio-spatial identities of young people) also important. Article explores how young people manage familial and communal ties upon leaving home.
- Personal conflict for young people: new economic realities of region, desire to broaden horizons. Once left home there tends to be a construction of the view that they are different from their hometown culture and way of life.
- Leaving meant upward social mobility: tertiary education, more secure career paths. This class transition doesn't preoccupy them instead they spoke of emerging differences in cultural tastes, outlook and lifestyle choices from those at home.

- Sense of personal advancement and change as a result of migration was source of pride and shame. [Note: Does this difference prevent return?]

Publication: Henderson, S. (2005) 'Sticks and smoke: Growing up with a sense of the city in the English countryside' *Young*, **Vol. 13, No. 4, 363-379**
Research Data: Ongoing qualitative longitudinal study of young people's transitions to adulthood, primarily focusing on the biographies of two young women sharing similar backgrounds but contrasting trajectories and outcomes.
Key Findings: Summary article available only. Focus on urban-rural migration.

Publication: Jeffrey, C and Mcdowell, L. (2004) 'Youth in a comparative perspective' Youth & Society, Vol. 36, No. 2, 131-142
Research Data: Desk based literature review. Introductory chapter to a collection.
Key Findings: Not immediately relevant but worth noting as potentially influential to migration decisions of young people.
   1. As economic pressures on young people and parents have become more intense, notions of what constitutes education and an educated person have become an increasingly important focus for processes of identity formation and social conflict.
   2. Importance of the role of social networks and connections in young people's transitions to adulthood.
   3. Educational institutions as sites of social change and spaces of socialisation.

Publication: Jentsch, B (2006) 'Youth Migration from Rural Areas: Moral Principles to Support Youth and Rural Communities in Policy Debates' Oxford: European Society for Rural Sociology.

Key Findings: This article argues for youth mainstreaming to empower youth and promote community development as a way of addressing young people being forced to leave their rural communities for education, employment and other opportunities. The author notes that the interests of youth and their communities may sometimes be in conflict.

Publication: Jentsch, B & Schucksmith, M. (eds.) (2004) *Young People in Rural Areas of Europe*. **Ashgate.**
Aims: A collection of articles on how young people live in rural areas in the UK, Ireland, Finland, France, Germany, Austria and Portugal focusing on the attractiveness of rural areas to young people; the impact of programmes under the European Employment Guidelines; rural youth in local community development and partnerships; rural development programmes and their impact on youth integration; the role of social networks; and the transition from education to employment.

Publication: Shucksmith, M. (2004) Young People and Social Exclusion in Rural Areas. *Sociologcia Ruralis* **44 (1), 43–59.**
Research Data: Young people in rural France, Britain, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Portugal and Finland interviewed.
Key Findings: Individualisation amongst young people is highly uneven: according to location, class, social networks (advice, role models) gender and occupation and can change over time for one individual.
- Traditional social commitments and assurances persist in many societies.
- Young people's pathways are rarely linear and planned: social provision must be able to adjust to individuals' changing needs.
Policy implications: long term horizon and continuing work with young people necessary to build young people's capacity.
Flexibility in educational systems to benefit all young people.

Publication: Shucksmith, M. (2000) 'Exclusive countryside? Social inclusion and regeneration in rural areas.' Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.
Research Data: Desk review.
Key Findings: Review of four studies on youth transition; unemployment; housing; and transport and the implications of these for understanding social inclusion in rural areas. With regard to young people, the author concludes the following:
- Young people in rural areas face additional barriers linked to geographical isolation and narrow range of opportunities for employment, training and housing available in their locality.
- Education and social class enable some to access national job opportunities in the same way as those from urban areas. But for those whose educational credentials trap them within local labour markets, further education and training are much less available and life chances reduced.
- Interplay between transport, employment and housing, which delays household formation among young people in rural areas. Live much longer in parental home and often ultimately leave the area. Lack of affordable housing and the necessity of car ownership to travel to work leaves many unable to afford independent living.

Publication: Thomson, R. and Taylor, R. (2005) 'Between cosmopolitanism and the locals: Mobility as a resource in the transition to adulthood' *Young***, Vol. 13, No. 4, 327-342.**
Research Data: Qualitative longitudinal study.
Key Findings: Abstract: Young people are torn between competing forces in relation to notions of home, tradition and fixedness on one hand and of mobility, escape and transformation on the other. The ways in which these tensions are negotiated at the biographical level are firmly embedded in gendered projects of self, through which young people work towards the kinds of men and women that they will be, drawing on family, community and cultural resources in the process.

Additional studies cited in Stockdale 2004 and 2002
Publication: Bramley, G. Smart, G. (1995) 'Rural Incomes and Housing Affordability.' Salisbury: Rural Development Commission.
Key Findings: In rural Scotland only 40% of those under the age of 30 can afford to buy.

Publication: Furlong, A and G. Cooney (1990) 'Getting on their bikes: teenagers leaving home in Scotland in the 1980s' *Journal of Social Policy* **19 (4) 533-551**
Key Findings: Young out migrants have difficulties finding accommodation, paying bills, managing finances and missing family and friends. The greatest difficulty was managing money (1 in 3 of the sample). Females more likely to miss family and friends.

ANNEX B: Organisations contacted

	Organisation
1	Scottish Government
2	Youth Scotland:
3	LGBT Youth Scotland
4	Scottish Youth Parliament
5	Scotland's Commissioner for Children and Young People
6	Children in Scotland
7	Youth Link Scotland
8	Young Scot
9	Capability Scotland
10	Children in the Highlands Information Point
11	Scottish Borders Council
12	Western Isles Council
13	Dumfries and Galloway Council
14	Dialogue Youth, Moray Council
15	Dialogue Youth, Shetland Islands Council

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