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COUNTERURBANISATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF QUALITY OF LIFE
IN RURAL SCOTLAND : A POSTMODERN FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

Counterurbanisation and Perceptions of Quality of Life in Rural Scotland:
A Postmodern Framework.

This study is original in that it draws upon postmodern theories on the perception and representation of reality to investigate the relationship between the perception of quality of life and counterurbanisation in rural Scotland.

Repertory grid analysis and a postal questionnaire were used in the research to determine the perceived importance of factors in the quality of life of various social and migrational groups in eight rural study areas.

The research revealed that counterurbanisation in all its forms is widespread in the areas investigated, and that a significant component in this process is migration to seek a perceived rural idyll, a form of migration which is unconnected to any economic component, or any changes in the location of industry.

Postmodern theories regarding the perception of reality in rural and urban areas were used to explain peoples' perceptions of what was important in their choice of where to live. The study area of the respondents, their migrational histories, socio-occupational class, housing tenure, and most significantly their age group, were all predictive in determining how important many quality of life factors were perceived as being. However, the main conclusion from the study was the similarity that existed between the perceptions' of all groups. Factors reflecting stereotyped images of the rural idyll and those of the problems of urban life, conditioned into the collective consciousness by the way in which these environments are portrayed on television, in the mass media, in literature, and in advertising, dominated in respondents' perceptions, along with other topical environmental concerns, over factors which reflected more 'traditional' problems and concerns of rural life.

These perceptions of an increasing differentiation between the quality of urban and rural life, which may bear little relation to reality, have, as was suggested above, resulted in an increasingly significant migrational process, as people move to the country from cities to seek their rural idyll. This process is relatively recent, is most significant in remote and physically attractive areas, and is characterised by migrants who are relatively young and economically active. This has been termed *postmodern counterurbanisation*.

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PREFACE

An elderly relation of mine once visited the family in Shetland, where I was born and grew up. He hailed from the South-East of England, but was keen to travel to the islands to discover his roots. On a memorable occasion, the fellow was taken by my father and grandfather to see the ancestral crofts on the northern island of Yell, a bleak place at the best of times as far as most Shetlanders are concerned. Upon seeing the sequestered setting of two abandoned crofts on the hillside where my grandfather grew up, evocatively named "Nettle Haa" (which means nettle hall,) and "Da Bog" (which means The Bog), my relative went into absolute raptures, and could not understand why anyone could possibly want to leave such a beautiful and romantic island idyll. I also recall that in a moment of madness, he also expressed a desire to move to the old family croft, now long abandoned and in a state of some disrepair.

My father, however, pointed out that people *had* to leave as the land was unproductive, and to stay would have meant starvation. My grandfather, also had a rather different perception of the place and the expression "hellish" perhaps best captures his feelings about *his* "rural idyll". My grandfather found nothing romantic about the grind of hard crofting life he experienced as a boy in what was perhaps the most impoverished and inhospitable part of the British Isles, and there was nothing desirable about having to walk seven miles to get to school, as he did with his sister during World War 1. My grandfather, in fact, considered himself more than fortunate that he was one of the eldest of his parents' six children, and was therefore one of the three they could afford educate. He was thus offered a welcome opportunity to escape croft life to a life of teaching.

Where my elderly relative fell in love with his island idyll, another, younger relative from Australia was also shown the ancestral crofts. Her reaction was rather different. She burst out laughing and suggested that she could not think of anywhere worse to live than a sodden, bleak, wind swept, nettle covered hole in the middle of a large expanse of featureless peat-bog (well it was raining when she saw it !) Her views, it would seem, were not a million miles away from my grandfathers.

This anecdote about rural life serves both as a preface to this study, and as a metaphor to some of the social phenomena which this research will be investigating. This story captures the idea of people searching for their roots, and a sense of place and kin, in these postmodern times. It also illustrates the

way an idyllic and romanticised stereotype of rural life can be built up, through various conditioning influences, in the mind of a person with no experience of it. This story illustrates at first hand a person from the bustling, placeless, ever-changing rat-race of the South-East of England finding a rural utopia in a peaceful islands setting. It also exemplify the fact that this perception may bear little relation to what life is actually like in reality in such a place, but the perception is so strong as to possibly influence a migrational decision (although luckily in this case, my elderly relative never did move back "home"). The story also indicates the differences which may exist between the perceptions of those who have grown up in rural communities, and those who perceive the quality and way of life from outside, and between the perceptions of people of different ages and backgrounds.

This rural crofting life in Shetland, which was regarded with such indifference by my grandfather, was actually held up by certain elements in Shetland as an icon for the threatened Shetland "Way of Life" when oil development arrived in the isles. This use of a romanticised cliché to conveniently rationalise such a complex and undefinable concept as a community's way of life illustrates the political nature of the rural image, and the fact that the image of life as held by the indigenous community can be as idyllic and mythical as the one held by the incomers who are "threatening" the community.

As was hinted at above, my relative, unlike many who have migrated north to seek their rural idyll, never made it back to Shetland to live, which is just as well really, because his views were looked upon with some cynicism by my family. Perhaps most cynical of all was my grandfather, who much prefers the mod cons, relative affluence and the relatively high quality of life which his career as a teacher and headmaster afforded him to the tough, crofting way of life he grew up in, a way of life much admired by many with little else but romantic stereotype to base their perceptions of it on.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a thesis, someone once said, is very much like climbing a mountain. There are innumerable different ways of scaling the same peak and none of them are the same. Difficult or easy, straightforward or complicated, closely supervised or unsupervised, swiftly or eternally. Each approach is different and equally valid if the end result produces an original and well structured piece of academic research.

I chose to climb my particular mountain simply because I studied the impact of oil development on the quality of life of the Shetland Isles and I was keen to pursue my interest. Allan Findlay at the Department of Geography encouraged me to undertake my research in Glasgow, and after securing a grant of sorts from the Shetland Islands Council the rest, as they say, is history.....or geography in this case! Although, I have sometimes thought that I have scaled my own personal mountain by the most arduous route possible, without oxygen, sherpas (well one, but that's another story!), climbing equipment or a map, it is still as satisfying to stand at the peak and look back at the years of effort, and the blood, sweat, tears, misery, depression, boredom, missed deadlines, expense and the few moments of elation that constitute Ph.D. research.

To stretch this rather tenuous mountaineering metaphor further, no attempt on a distant peak can be attempted without the help of an enthusiastic support team, and at the danger of sounding like the recipient of the Oscar for "Best Film", there are a few people, "without whom none of this would ever have been possible", who must be thanked (although *personally*, I'll never forgive any of them!). My parents, first and foremost, for their support and nagging, for their financial assistance (without which this thesis would not have got past page 1), and especially for their encouragement. Shetland Islands Council must also be thanked for giving me a grant of sorts, and for paying my fees for three years.

Warm thanks must be given to Arthur Morris, my supervisor, who must, along with my parents, have despaired at times of ever seeing this thesis completed. Grateful acknowledgements also to Allan Findlay, Robert Rogerson, John Briggs, and everyone else in the Department of Geography, Glasgow University, who offered me advice and encouragement.

A special word must be given to all those other climbers who scaled their personal peaks at the same time. Fellow toilers who shared the Ph.D. 'experience' at Glasgow, I salute you all, especially Kenny, Leslie, George and

Jim, who helped me enjoy many a "ploughman's and Neighbours" at the Heatherington. Those from further afield who have brought concern to the Mountain Rescue teams with their efforts include Liz Mooney, and Dr-Mr Andy Jones and "Bob" Gentle who laughed at me uproariously when I claimed last summer, that "it would be over by Christmas", to use an old quote. How right they were!

Thanks to Catriona for believing in me (and for the nagging !), and a word also for various flatmates and friends; Dave, Stuart, Ali, James, Dougie, Big Martin, Harry, John, and Paul, for being worthy distractions and for not laughing too loudly at each revised finishing date and the various caravanette disaster stories.

And finally a word of thanks must be given to Partick Thistle F.C. for the many inspirational afternoons they've provided me with, and the unknown chap who invented the "Spellcheck" function for the Microsoft Word Processing package, without whom the results would have been very embarrassing indeed, given my genetic inability to formulate words with the letters in the correct places.

Thanks to you all.....and if I ever see a mountain ever again.....

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is the result of an original piece of academic research, and the text, tables, and illustrations contained within, unless otherwise cited, are entirely the fruits of my own labour.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. Gray', with a horizontal line underneath the name.

David K. Gray

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Introduction

This study will critically examine counterurbanisation, challenging assumptions about it and illustrating that a significant element of the process, rather than being economically controlled, can be explained in terms of a perception led migration for a perceived better quality of rural life. The great strength of the movement in many parts of Scotland will also be illustrated, and it will be shown that migration over long distances for quality of life is actually one of the most important social processes in some locales. The study will use repertory grid analyses to investigate what respondents perceive to be important in their quality of life and a large scale questionnaire will be developed to investigate how perceptions of life quality vary between respondents in different areas, between respondents of different migrational histories and between people in different identifiable social groups. As well as making a major theoretical contribution in the field of counterurbanisation, the study also adapts postmodern theories on the perception of reality as a framework for understanding why rural areas, in contrast to urban spaces, are increasingly perceived as offering a high quality of life, a perception which has resulted in significant levels of migration from towns and cities to the country.

This chapter will set out the field of study of this research. It will outline the need for study in an area which draws together the three fields of counterurbanisation, quality of life studies, and postmodern cultural theory, with the aim of showing evidence that, as was suggested above, an element of in-migration to rural parts of Scotland from more urbanised parts of Britain can be explained by a collective perception that rural communities offer a much higher quality of life than can be found in urban spaces, a perception that has been reinforced as reality in the collective consciousness by the portrayal of stereotyped urban and rural images on television, in literature, the mass media and in advertising. This chapter will then outline the structure of this work, by chapter.

1.1.2 Why?

The title of this thesis is,
Counterurbanisation and Perceptions of Quality of Life in Rural Scotland: A Postmodern Framework.

It is often said that the hardest question for any politician to answer is the simplest one; why? It is no less difficult for an academic, and upon glancing at the title of this work, an observer of inquisitive mind may also feel inclined to ask why? Why look at counterurbanisation? Why and where does quality of life fit in with counterurbanisation? Why choose rural Scotland as the focus of analysis? Why adopt a postmodern conceptual framework?

Although the background of theoretical focus of the work will be discussed and outlined at length in the Conceptual framework in Chapter 2, the remainder of this Chapter will be devoted, using some more general literature, to answer the questions above about why this particular topic of research was chosen .

1.2.1 Why Counterurbanisation?

Of the questions outlined above, this is perhaps the easiest to answer. Although counterurbanisation will be dealt with in greater detail in the next Chapter, it must be noted that it is difficult to look at any rural area in any of the developed countries of the World without the process assuming significant importance. After decades, if not centuries, of people leaving backward rural areas for employment, and "streets paved with gold" which cities offered, the last few years has seen this process being increasingly reversed as people move back to the countryside in greater numbers.

Indeed, Champion (1989) suggests that this population turn around will become the most important planning concern of the nineties, and following his research in the United Kingdom, and those of the Australian government in Australia (1977), Bourne and Simmons in Canada (1979), Fuguitt in the USA (1981), Fielding in Western Europe (1982), and Vining and Kontuly (1978) who identified elements of the process in Japan, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Denmark, New Zealand, Belgium, France, West Germany, East Germany and the Netherlands, it would be more a question of why a rural researcher *did not* investigate an element of counterurbanisation in a study of rural areas at the present time.

1.3.1 Why Quality of Life ?

As will be fully developed in the following Chapter, one of the main hypotheses of this research is that 'Quality of Life' is an important component in the decision to move out from a city to a rural locale. As decision makers do not have perfect knowledge of all the economic, social, or cultural elements which influence life in a place, then the *perception* of the quality of

life in an area becomes critical. Whereas previous studies sought to measure differing qualities of life between urban spaces, this one will concentrate more on the factors which are perceived to be important in people's decision of where to stay (and given that people generally have imperfect knowledge, these are the sorts of perceptions about which a move is based on), and the sorts of conditioning influences which shape these perceptions.

Cutter (1985) defines quality of life as "an individual's happiness or satisfaction with life and environment, including needs and desires and other tangible and intangible factors which determine overall well-being."

This provides an immediate link with the counterurbanisation theme. After all, an important element of the movement of people from cities to the country is the search for "happiness", and satisfaction with "life" and "environment", which rural environments are popularly portrayed as providing. Also people moving from cities to the country are seeking to satisfy their "needs and desires" for life in an idyllic rural lifestyle, which have been conditioned by the sorts of positive images of rural life on television, in the mass media and in advertising which are very much a part of contemporary consumption based society.

This research is original in that it is using the perception of quality of life to investigate a rural phenomenon. Most previous quality of life studies have set out to measure quality of life, almost exclusively between cities or between the hinterlands of cities, and little work has been done in either the rural sphere, or in investigating why the factors which are perceived to be important in peoples quality of life *are* perceived as important.

'Quality of life' research, especially the measurement of it, grew in the 1980s, especially after the success of and the public interest generated in Boyer and Savageau's (1981) "Places Rated Almanac" which indicated the advantages and disadvantages of 329 American Cities in terms of the quality of life which they can offer their inhabitants.

Where the initial motivation in the field was to describe and explain why quality of life varies between places, as Rogerson et al. (1987) suggest, the second thrust for quality of life research emerged as a useful planning tool with comparative studies playing an important part in social monitoring and in the formation of policy decision making. Studies such as those by Morris (1979), Estes (1984) and McGranahan et al. (1985) were undertaken with the aim of identifying disparities as a result of present policies with a view to indicating where future targeting would be most effective.

The third tenet of quality of life research was the yardstick which popular perceptions of factors which are important in quality of life provided, against which measured variations in specific social and economic variations could be compared.

A fourth element of studying quality of life was that it could help investigate the perceived reality of the respondent. Johnston (1982) coined the term "geographical reality", which is a perception of reality which can be viewed only partially from the individual perspective of one person or group of people. It has been created by individual actions, and to a certain extent, the understanding will focus only on a part of reality, but put in context, this understanding helps to indicate a fuller picture of reality as a whole and the role of the part within the whole (Johnston, 1980; 1982). It is perhaps this last element of quality of life studies which is of greatest expediency to this work. As was suggested above, If the "geographical reality" of a migrant is based on competing images of quality of life in urban and rural spaces, then the understanding of this perception and the factors which condition it can help us gain a fuller picture in understanding the motivation behind the migrational decision. Therefore, by studying what is important in the perceptions of quality of life of people who move, rather than just attempting to measure differences in the quality of life of places, then we can start to understand more of why people are moving from cities to remoter rural places in increasing numbers.

1.3.2 Quality of Life and Rural Geography

In contrast to urban areas, the measurement of quality of life between different rural areas has been less prevalent, due mainly to the difficulty in obtaining statistics at a small enough scale to make it feasible. Some attempts have been made to study and measure quality of life in rural areas but these have been less than satisfactory. These have tended to be 'level of living' or social indicator research which, Rogerson et al. (1987) argue, are separatist developments from the fields of economics and sociology and only consider a limited dimension of quality of life. As is hinted at above, the measurement of the multidimensional nature of quality of life in rural areas has proved elusive.

The level of living approach has been used by Pacione (1980) who suggests that the basic elements of quality of life are related to health, standard of living, housing, education, leisure, mobility, availability of services, and the social and physical environment. Pacione suggests that the sum total of these

'life concerns' adds up to the quality of life, although he adds that the particular value or weight attached to each of the components varies from person to person and between social groups. Pacione (1984) suggests that,

"where the fundamental dimensions of urban deprivation are associated with problems of environmental decay, class and ethnic conflict, overcrowding, delinquency, criminality, and social disorganisation, deprived rural areas suffer more from the problems of inaccessibility, social isolation, and the lack of a threshold population large enough to attract and maintain even the most basic village threshold and services." (p201)

A noted example of the 'level of living' approach in rural areas, which illustrates the difficulty of utilising this approach, was carried out by Knox and Cottam (1981b). They used indicators derived from the propriety of range of material goods and Census derived social indicators to suggest that 25.1% of the households in the Ullapool area of Wester Ross suffered from multiple deprivation. The disparity between 'level of living' and 'quality of life' is illustrated in this study by the fact that the sample, a quarter of whom were multiply deprived, produced a mean rating of 8.8 out of 10 in rating their overall quality of life suggesting that they were, on average, very satisfied indeed.

It is interesting that the perception of satisfaction of rural people in that study did not relate to the 'quality of life' criteria that were defined for them, and it will be interesting in this study to compare the perceptions of the importance of quality of life factors of the rural respondents in this study with the criteria for rural deprivation outlined by Pacione.

Quality of life research has been taken to its most sophisticated by Findlay, Morris and Rogerson (1988b) who devised a sophisticated set of social, economic and environmental indicators, which were developed from and weighted by a nationally administered questionnaire, to rank British Cities in terms of quality of life. This technique used the labour market areas of the major cities in Britain to reveal the real distribution of quality of life, although, as was hinted at earlier, the difficulties of actually defining rural areas, the difficulties of obtaining a satisfactory scale of analysis, the problems of both obtaining indicator data at a small enough scale in rural areas, and formulating indicators for such intangible (but perceptibly important) rural factors such as community spirit and pace of life renders it unlikely that such research would be possible in the rural sphere.

1.4.1 Why Choose Rural Scotland?

Within Scotland, there is a wide variety of rural landscapes. There is the relatively sparsely populated Highlands to the north and west, the fertile, flat, and more densely populated agricultural lands to the east in Banff and Buchan, Aberdeenshire and Angus, the rolling hill-land of the Borders, the flatter more agricultural land of Dumfries and Galloway, and the densely populated hummocky landscape of the central belt. Therefore, there is no need to look any further than Scotland in the search for suitable and contrasting study areas.

There is also a wide variety of social processes going on in different parts of rural Scotland. The remote Highlands were once areas of massive depopulation. (Moseley 1962; Caird 1972). The population of the Highland counties actually fell from 381 909 in 1901 to 306 422 in 1971, mostly due to out-migration caused by a depleted resource base, restricted job opportunities, low pay, and the opportunities afforded by cities such as Glasgow. However, recent years have seen a massive influx of incomers, or *white settlers*, as they are pejoratively labelled, which has helped reverse the overall depopulation, but which has fueled tension and animosity within the communities themselves. These incomers have been attracted by the strong image of an idyllic quality of life in the Highlands. It will, of course, be interesting to investigate the significance of this idyllic image - which is one of the strongest regional stereotypes of rural life which can be identified in Britain - in the incomers' perceptions of what is important in their quality of life, especially in comparison to those of their indigenous counterparts.

This study will also set out to investigate whether counterurbanisation is a significant factor in other parts of rural Scotland and whether this strong stereotype of the quality of rural life is evident in the perceptions of migrants in other areas as well as the Highlands

1.5.1 Why Use a Postmodern Conceptual Framework?

This dissertation is also original in that it will use a postmodern conceptual framework (Chapter 2) to link and rationalise counterurbanisation and the perception of quality of life.

As will be investigated later on Chapter 2.4. the term postmodernism is a contentious one. Most people agree that it is some kind of reaction to modernism (Harvey 1987). Dear (1986) suggests that it can be applied to anything that the user happens to like. However, the fact that significant changes have occurred in Western capitalist economies since the early 1970s is

undisputed. The cultural, political and economic organisation of developed societies is changing perceptibly, with a significant driving force being the reaction to large scale planning, social policy, patterns of production and consumption, and meta theory; the increasing importance of individual perspective, and changes in the way that time and space are perceived.

Much work has been done on the experience of *urban* life (Raban 1974; Cooke 1980), on changes in urban form and trends in architecture (Dear 1986; Jencks 1984), on the movement of people within cities to reclaim symbolic space (Smith and Lefaivre 1984; Smith 1987), and on the shift from Fordist methods of production and consumption to an economy characterised, as Harvey (1987) suggests, by "a startling flexibility with regard to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption." Comparatively little research, however, has yet been done in the rural sphere.

This research will endeavour to go a little way to redressing this balance by arguing that counterurbanisation for quality of life is a symptom of the same sort of changes which have been highlighted in city based research. It will also be argued that rural space as a desirable symbolic commodity has become part of the postmodern consumption economy. It will be postulated that in this increasingly timeless and spaceless age, the quality of rural life, being fixed in time and space, has become strongly reinforced in the collective consciousness of people. In this world where the production of signs and images are of paramount importance, the image of the rural idyll, a common stereotype in literature and in television programmes which is anti-urban and therefore anti-modern, has increasingly been used in adverts which divorce the image of a product from its function, and associate the product with popular idyllic rural scenarios. Thus, the rural quality of life is positively conditioned in the perceptions of people, while in contrast, urban areas are increasingly portrayed on television and in the mass media as violent, polluted, chaotic and dangerous. This study will then attempt to justify the hypothesis that this differentiation in the perceived life qualities of urban and rural areas has fueled the counterurbanisation process, and that this is evident both in migrational patterns found in the more idyllic parts of rural Scotland, and in the sorts of factors which are perceived to be important by respondents.

1.6.1 Summary and Outline of Research

This research is original in that it will investigate the relationship between counterurbanisation and perceptions of quality of life under a postmodern conceptual framework.

Chapter 2 will describe in detail the conceptual framework of the research, drawing a link between certain elements of the counterurbanisation process and the perception of quality of life in urban and rural areas. This theoretical chapter will then briefly discuss postmodern theory in relation to rural areas, and illustrate, with examples, why the increasing perception of rural space as offering a high quality of life which can offer people a sense of place and time is a postmodern phenomenon. Chapter 2 will also discuss the mythical aspects of the rural idyll and the anti-idyll, before outlining the main research questions to be tackled.

Chapter 3 will use a technique called repertory grid analysis to investigate which factors are important in the quality of life of people living in a rural area. This technique aims to establish the important factors in respondents' perceptions with the minimum of interference or influence from the interviewer. From the results of this study a questionnaire will be developed.

Chapter 4 will outline the methodology to be used in the rest of the dissertation. The applicability of the methodology within the conceptual framework will be discussed, as will the suitability of using a questionnaire for this kind of perception research. The chapter will then justify the structure of the questionnaire before outlining and explaining the logic for choosing the eight study areas used in the study. Before the response rates from the study areas are outlined, the chapter will then explain the sampling procedure used for the questionnaire survey, and a critique of the methodology will be offered in the final part of the chapter.

The results from the questionnaire will be used to describe the social breakdown of the study areas in Chapter 5. The reasons for not using Census data will be briefly discussed, before the characteristics of the sample in each of the eight study areas are broken down by gender, age, marital status, housing tenure and socio-occupational class. The relationships between housing tenure and socio-occupational group, and between age and housing tenure in the sample will be briefly investigated, before the distances respondents travel to work and the place of work of respondents are outlined for each of the eight areas.

The 6th chapter will investigate comprehensively the existence and extent of counterurbanisation in the eight areas studied in this work. The nature and

significance of in-migration in each area will be investigated with the aim of building up a picture of the sort of incomers who are moving in and the kind of processes operating in each individual area. Given the results from one or two of the areas, the existence of postmodern counterurbanisation will be proposed, before the whole picture is synthesized to give an overview of counterurbanisation in Scotland. This will then be compared and contrasted to an early model of counterurbanisation, and then a revised postmodern model for the phenomenon will be proposed.

Chapter 7, 8 and 9 will investigate the ranking and rating of factors in terms of importance in the choice of where to live. Chapter 7 will investigate the perceptions of respondents in different areas, describing and accounting for the factors which are rated as important or unimportant by respondents, accounting for any similarities and differences that occur between the respective ranking lists, and discussing the reasons for respondents holding these perceptions. Special attention will be given to the factors which are perceived as the most important in respondents' perceptions with postmodern theories about the role of television and the mass media being drawn upon to explain these results.

Chapter 8 investigates the respective perceptions of local respondents and incomers in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live. This aim will study whether there are any significant differences between the perceptions of incomers and locals, and to account for and explain any similarities and differences. The influence of indirect or publicly derived images from agents such as television, advertising, literature, and conversation, on the perceptions of (in particular, migrating) respondents will be important in describing any similarities or differences in perceptions, while any significant differences between what is considered important by indigenous and incomer groups would lend evidence to support Baudrillard's theories about the nature of cultural conflict.

Where Chapter 7 looked at the relationship between the respondents in different places, and Chapter 8 investigated the perceptions of locals and incomers in different places, Chapter 9 looks at different identifiable social groups within the sample and searches for any patterns and trends which may significantly influence or even determine what respondents perceive to be important in their choice of where to live. This chapter will break down the respondent's perceptions by age group, socio-occupational class, gender and housing tenure groups to determine the influence of each of these on the perception of what is important in the choice of where to live.

Chapter 10 will draw the various strands of the research together such as comparing the results of the repertory grid analysis and the questionnaire research, and also to touch upon some of the other issues affecting counterurbanisation, perceptions of quality of life in rural Scotland, and how the two tie in under postmodern cultural theory. This chapter will discuss some of the other issues relevant to this research, but which are outside the direct research sphere, such as the actual impact, both positive and negative of counterurbanisation on the communities of rural Scotland where settlers migrate to, the factors which mediate both the potential and perceived effects of counterurbanisation on a community. Chapter 10 will conclude with discussions of the applicability of Baudrillard's theories, the existence of rural communities as discrete cultural identities, and the applicability of postmodern cultural theory in the rural field.

Chapter 11 will draw the conclusions together from the whole study.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun.

Max Weber

Our quest for identity is a desire to anchor ourselves on some unmoving rock where we may feel secure against the tides of change that sweep across our lives. Why else do we turn to the past - to history - to that which is fixed?

Anthony Jackson

2.1.1 Introduction

The aims of this chapter are to outline the conceptual framework upon which this research is based. Whereas the last chapter outlined the niche of the research in filling a gap both in a postmodern, human based approach to rural research and a rural approach to quality of life studies this chapter will use postmodern literature and other rural studies to outline the specific theoretical basis and justification for the research. Initially the rise of counterurbanisation will be discussed, then the reasons behind it focussing on the increase in movement to rural areas for 'quality of life' influenced by the increasing perception of rural spaces as idylls. Postmodern theory relating to the research will be outlined and examples from other rural research will be offered to illustrate the suitability of this philosophical stand point. In particular, Baudrillard's theories of the Sign as a basis for conflict and its applicability to the rural arena will be discussed. The counter-argument of the uniqueness of the rural way of life as a romantic, political invention will also be outlined. Finally the relevant research questions (to be answered in the rest of the thesis) arising from the conceptual framework will be outlined.

2.2.1 The Rise of Counterurbanisation

Since 1945 the dominant economic and demographic trend has been that of decentralisation. After one hundred years of rural demographic decline as rural villages became the poor relation of the booming city, the trend, in many areas, has been reversed. During the 1970s and the 1980s this *counterurbanisation* process has become stronger and become significant in an increasing number of more isolated areas. Champion (1991) suggests that,

"Coping with the urban-rural shift is emerging as the central planning issue of the 1990s, just as the north-south divide dominated discussions of spatial

policy in the 1980s and the inner-city problem took great prominence in the decade before that. The economic recovery and associated property boom of the late 1980s led to an acceleration in population movements away from the larger cities to smaller towns in the countryside. Meanwhile rural areas are facing problems adjusting to the legacy of the last period of strong growth in the early 1970s - particularly, increasing numbers of elderly people and the job cutbacks in the new industries and branch plants."

The discipline of Geography as a whole and the sub-discipline of rural geography in particular can perhaps be accused of being a little slow to react to the changing relationship between rural and urban areas. This, is perhaps an implicit criticism of the secular nature of academic study because while Cloke (1980) was complaining about the "conceptual famine" of rural geography, rural social anthropologists such as Jackson (1981a, 1981b & 1982), Forsythe (1980 & 1982), Lumb (1982), Condry (1982) Varwell (1981a & b) and Cohen (1982a) were tackling the phenomenon and social effects of counterurbanisation in small case studies.

2.2.2 Evidence For the Rise of Counterurbanisation

Recent studies have served to highlight the extent of the counterurbanisation process. Much work has been carried out using the results of the 1981 census, especially by Champion (1981, 1982, 1989; et al. 1987, 1991) at the Newcastle Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, which demonstrated that rather than being a statistical product of continuing metropolitan decentralisation, the statistical trends were, in fact, evidence of a "definite change in population trends affecting extensive rural zones and not just limited to the fringes of large cities." Between 1961 and 1985, the proportion of the British population living in urban areas declined from 67.5% to 61.5%. In rural areas the corresponding proportion increased from 32.4% to 38.5%. In a period of nationally falling population growth rates, the largest growth rates (although the smallest actual numbers) have been in extreme rural areas. In fact, since 1960 there has been an inverse relationship between population size and population growth rates.

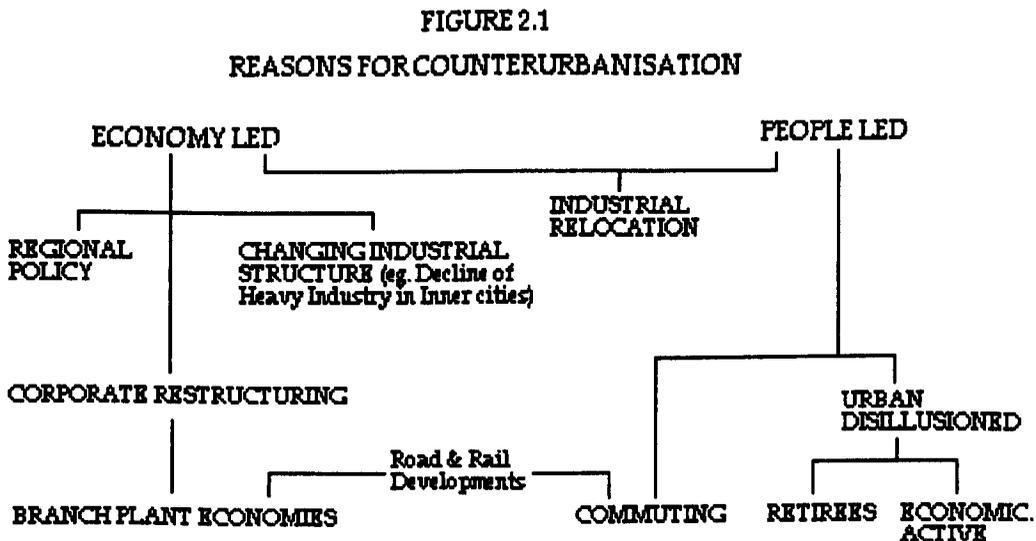
Champion showed that the most rural parts of Britain had a population growth rate which was 8.9 percentage points above the national average between 1971 and 1981 and the remoter rural districts were the only district type to have increased their rate of growth between the 1960s and the 1970s (moving against the national trend) and between 1971 and 1981 recorded higher population growth rates than other areas except those

containing New Towns. Similar research findings nationally and internationally have been made by Cross (1987), Fielding(1989) and others.

As was suggested earlier, it is not the case that the rural population turnaround was restricted to areas close to existing urban centres, and in particular strategic locales such as the South East of England. The trend has been shown to be extremely widespread with some of the largest upward movements occurring in the most rural and remote areas (Champion 1982). Case studies in England by Perry, Dean and Brown (1986) in Cornwall and Bolton and Chalkey in North Devon (1990) have demonstrated this trend.

In Scotland, Jones, Caird, Berry and Dewhurst (1986) found that in the Highlands and Islands the population increased by 8.6% between 1971 and 1981 while in the same period the English and Welsh population of the region increased from 7% to 9% of an expanded total population, comprising about 30% of the increase in resident population; and that the growth rates for the English born population have been highest in the less populated enumeration districts, which are predominantly in the remoter rural areas. This process of migration to areas of traditional demographic decline was labelled "counterstream migration" by Campbell and Johnston (1976).

2.2.3 The Reasons For Counterurbanisation



The factors which have precipitated this population turnaround have to do with changing industrial and economic trends, advances in industrial and

transport technology and changing perceptions about what urban and rural areas offer in terms of quality of life. These are illustrated in figure 2.1.

2.3.1 Counterurbanisation Influenced By Industrial Decentralisation and Regional Planning

Fothergill and Gudgin (1982) have highlighted the changing industrial structure of British Industry. Trends in corporate reorganisation, restructuring and the emergence of the branch plant economy and the decline of heavy industry since 1945 (traditionally located in major inner city areas) have all contributed to the decentralisation of industry from its traditional base in the inner cities to cheaper more readily available sites close to relatively uncongested road (at the expense of rail) networks in New Towns, small rural towns, rural industrial estates and suburban locations. The rise of commuting with the improvement in road and rail technology over increasingly great distances encouraged the counterurbanisation process within 'proximate' rural areas - proximate to employment in the cities (for mainly service, financial or small business employment) while the new decentralised industry in more rural (although still close to urban markets) locations further expanded feasible commuting distances beyond areas whose previous economies had been based on agriculture or other primary forms of production.

"Alongside the industrialisation of agriculture has come the ruralisation of industry." Healey and Ilbery (1985) and Townsend (1991) suggest that the urban-rural shift in the location of manufacturing has been the most potent element in the rural population's turnaround of the 1960s and the 1970s to the extent that the proportion of the workforce engaged in manufacturing in rural Britain is only marginally lower than the national average. The decentralisation of industrial branch plants into some rural areas introduced some of the economic relations of a Fordist mode of regulation into limited rural locations which have been historically dependent on agriculture.

In Scotland the commitment to a regional policy of decentralisation led to the construction of several New Towns while The Highlands and Islands Enterprise Board attempted to introduce a growth pole economic policy in which large scale industrial plants such as a Pulp Mill at Fort William and the Aluminium smelter at Corpach were given financial inducements and large grants to locate in relatively remote and isolated areas.

2.3.2 The Urbanization of the Countryside

Although the decentralisation of manufacturing has played a major part in the counterurbanisation phenomenon there have been an increasing number of people who have been commuting over increasingly longer distances to service jobs in the major cities. As Cloke and Goodwin (1992) suggest, "areas which are visibly dominated by agricultural landscapes are now increasingly affected by processes of economic restructuring and social recomposition emanating from far beyond the agricultural sphere."

Pacione (1984) defined the urbanization of countryside as "a process of social change involving the extension of urban ideas and ways of life into rural areas." Pacione also suggests that most post war growth has occurred at the urban fringe, so that, although the physical differentiation between rural and urban areas may be maintained, the social and economic differentiation has been blurred producing "metropolitan villages" which are rural in physical character, but where the lifestyles and economic focus (vis-a-vis commuting) of the inhabitants are urban.

2.3.3 Counterurbanisation for Environmental Reasons

As was mentioned before many of the largest increases in population have been associated with the remotest rural areas which have the lowest population densities. These areas are far outside the economic core areas of manufacturing production and service industries and it would seem that a significant component of counterurbanisation is people migrating from urban centres to remoter rural areas for reasons of *quality of life* either to commute elsewhere, to become economically active within the recipient community, or to seek a more pleasant living environment.

Sarah Harper (1991), in a study of south Hampshire and south Staffordshire, examined the behavioural reasons for counterurbanisation. Featuring strongly in respondents' reasons for moving to a rural area were *environmental* factors; "the encroachment of industrial, residential and commercial blight, alteration in racial or ethnic composition of the neighbourhood or in transport provision, might lead to the relocation of the household." Harper also noted that at the end of the life cycle, elderly people reveal a high index of mobility, as formal employment ties are relinquished and priority can be given to environmental and leisure concerns and also that there was an identifiable group of younger residents - the urban disillusioned - whose influence in the migratory process was the simple desire to leave their current (usually urban) environment, with no associated life cycle or

employment component. The most common negative urban features were environmental, social and, in the West Midlands, racial.

Harper noted the mass movement of people to new rural developments, which are "typically unknown to the household prior to the relocation, the move being based on *abstract preconceptions* of the area." (my emphasis) There is evidence that the relocation decision is being made with greater regard to the settlement and less to the property itself. The respondents in Harper's study also cited stereotyped rural preconceptions about the setting: the "peace and quiet" and the "sense of community" and, especially among the wealthier, older residents, the search for a "particular lifestyle." This preconception of the nature of the rural area will be seen to be centrally important in this dissertation as it will be investigated both whether these have been important in attracting incomers to Scotland and whether these are found in respondent's perceptions about what is important in their choice of where to live.

2.3.3 Counterurbanisation and the *Rural Idyll*

In the Scottish context, Diana Forsythe (1980), an anthropologist, did a study in Orkney on the fictitious island of Stormay, about which she concluded that the (predominantly English) migrants, or *great white settlers* as they have been christened, moved to the island during the 1970s in search of a perceived rural utopia which Forsythe christened the *pastoral ideal*.

Edward Condry (1982) working in the Western Isles painted a similar picture describing English immigrants who arrived seeking a rural idyll of their own imaginings (my emphasis) of a romanticised crofting lifestyle; "a way of life" as Condry puts it, "which has never existed."

Jones et al. (1986) showed that oil developments in the Highlands and Islands had little to do with population increases in the most remote parts of the Highlands and that the major concern in moving to these areas was a desire to live in a better area. Figure 2.2 describes the main reasons for people moving in to the area from their 338 interviews is as follows

Respondents' answers were dominated by the desire to live in a more pleasant area. The study recorded responses which emphasised the physical beauty of the area; the scenic beauty, tranquillity, space, remoteness, outdoor recreation. Also dissatisfaction was fairly evenly divided between the physical nature of urbanism (built-up conditions, congestion, noise traffic pollution) and the associated problems of crime, coloureds and the single

most important citation , the stresses and strains of the 'rat-race', findings which are backed up by Harper's studies in the English Midlands.

FIGURE 2.2
REASONS FOR MOVING TO THE HIGHLANDS

Employment Reasons	24%
Housing Reasons	2%
To live in a nicer area	57%
To be near friends or relatives	9%
Other reasons	8%

(From Jones et al. 1986)

2.3.4 The Urban - Rural Dichotomy

Thus, all these studies serve to underline the importance of the environmental or non-economic or public welfare aspects of the counterurbanisation phenomenon, which may be termed counterurbanisation for *quality of life*. Also, from all these studies certain major themes present themselves. The negative images of the quality of life experienced in urban areas ; the industrial blight, the decay, the pollution, the violence, the crime and the stress of living in the urban rat race. This is in contrast with the idyllic images of rural life, the environment, the peace and quiet, the tranquillity, the lack of crime and the security. What is also very apparent are the abstract preconceptions in-migrants have of living in the country, the rural stereotypes, the utopian idyll and the search for a sense of identity, community and a "rural" way of life.

Forsythe (1982) listed many of the perceived dichotomies that caused scores of "newcomers" to move out of the cities in search of a higher quality of life in the rural areas which Fielding (1982) called "prestige environments".

Such is the strength of this urban-rural dichotomy in terms of perceived quality of life that it is even being used as a tool for attracting inward investment. It has always been recognised that a significant element in the decentralisation of manufacturing has been that company executives prefer to live and work in the countryside.

FIGURE 23
THE URBAN - RURAL DICHOTOMY

CITY	COUNTRY
Rat Race	Slow pace of life
Noisy	Peace and quiet
Artificial/unnatural	Natural
Dirty	Clean
Bad place to raise children	Good place to raise children
Anonymity, crime	Friendliness, honesty, being known
Corruption	Innocence
Unbounded, unstable	Bounded, stable,
Restrictive of personal freedom	Allows room for physical and spiritual
crowds, red tape, police, machines,	freedom : no police, no beaurocracy, can
set working hours	set own working hours.

(From Forsythe, 1982)

Therefore the attraction of living and working in an area such as the prestigious Gower Peninsula in South Wales are obvious, so much so that the West Glamorgan Structure Plan acknowledges the need for providing land for those employers requiring exceptional environmental conditions or prestigious locations. Furthermore, there has been a strong emphasis on the quality of life available to in-coming entrepreneurs in such scenic areas as the Brecon Beacons National Park and the Gower Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Thus as Cloke, Phillips and Rankin suggest (1991), an integral element of the economic image of the area has been the availability of appropriate housing in appropriate rural locations for the different middle class fractions who might be attracted in either as entrepreneurs or as key managerial workers. Indeed, such is the perceived importance of the area's rural quality of life that the Welsh Office has intervened to "make special provisions for certain class fractions to gain access to appropriate housing in rural areas.....in prestigious and exclusive villages suitable for colonisation by the managers and other class fractions favoured..."(Cloke et al. 1991)

2.4.1 Postmodernism and the Perception of the Rural Idyll

It is important to understand more about why these perceptions about the relative quality of life in urban and rural areas have strengthened so much in

recent years that they are actually a significant cause of migration, and indeed a marketing tool for attracting investment. To understand why the 'Newcomers' hold such strong preconceptions about rural areas and why they are seeking a particularly idyllic (quality of) way of life, a sense of community and a sense of identity it is necessary to study the recent social and cultural history of Western consumer capitalism. As Cloke and Goodwin (1992) observe,

the "social recomposition and economic restructuring recently witnessed in rural Britain can be seen against the background of those broader changes which have swept through the economies and societies of the capitalist nations."

As well as providing an insight into the values, stereotypes and perceptions of the incomers, a dip into postmodern theory will also serve to illuminate the contrast between those perceptions held by the incomers and the values, stereotypes and perceptions of the local indigenous population who have to accommodate - often acrimoniously - the in-migrants. Also an outline of the recent cultural and social trends - the so called Postmodern trends - will serve as a frame of reference in the analysis of the results of the following survey (Chapter 6) to ascertain what is important in respondents' choice of where to live.

2.4.2 Postmodernism and the Consumption Economy

The term "postmodern" is a contentious one to say the least. Many people regard it as a major new movement of the 1970s and 1980s while others are more sceptical. Postmodernism implies a rejection of modernism. Proponents look for differences, drawing upon the perspective of the individual rather than uniformity. The term has also been applied to production processes, art forms and architectural fashions as well as human attitudes. However, arguments abound as to whether the economic, cultural and academic events of the late 1970s and 1980s indeed signaled the genesis of a new social epoch or whether they represented merely a new, mature manifestation of Western capitalism. However, one thing is for certain; as Harvey(1990) proclaims,

"There has been a sea-change in cultural as well as in political - economic practices since around 1972. This sea change is bound up with the emergence of new dominant ways in which we experience space and time."

Harvey suggests that the catalyst for this sea change was the severe recession of 1973-5 and the trend was consolidated by the savage deflation of 1981-2. Since the early 1970s recession and against a backdrop of changing

patterns of -"Post-Fordist"- production and consumption, any industry which survived earlier spatial restructuring largely absented itself from the inner cities. The accelerated massive restructuring of the 1970s and early 1980s left often large areas of the inner cities derelict and unused. The problems of the inner cities came to be increasingly recognised and this, allied with large scale unemployment and the dismantling of the welfare state and nationally planned intervention under the Conservative government resulted in an increase of decay, poverty, physical pollution and social problems. Inner cities were increasingly perceived as threatening places, especially for the middle classes, a perception which was reinforced by significant increases in crime and violence.

As well as the end of the Fordist systems of production and consumption, the recession also sounded the death-knell for large scale economic and social planning which were the flagship of 'Modern' academic utopian principles and the traditional 'shop floor' relationship between management and the trade unions. Capital accumulation by Fordist modernization was characterised by rationality, functionality and efficiency and this was represented in space through fashions in planning and architecture. By 1972, modernist architecture was as stifling and torporous as the corporate power it represented . The "new regime" which was firmly established by the mid-eighties was marked by a startling flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, patterns of consumption and imaginative and radical architectural styles drawing on collage, imagination and flair at the expense of efficiency. Western societies in this time developed into what Clarke (1991) calls *consumption* economies.

Also in the 1970s, to quote David Harvey,

"a new and relatively affluent generation of professional and managerial workers raised on the cultural discontents with modernism in the 1970s came to dominate whole zones of inner city urban space seeking product differentiation in built environment, quality of life and command of *symbolic capital* (the collection of luxury goods attesting to the taste and distinction of the owner" - Bordieu)".

This trend was mirrored by an increase in migration to areas of attractive living environments by families wishing to escape from the harsh living surroundings which cities were perceived as providing. Harvey describes the concern with quality of space and place which developed in the late 1970s. Whereas the inner cities were reclaimed in often sizeable developments by entrepreneurs for the "young upwardly mobile", rural areas were settled by

traditionally middle class families who had become disenchanted with city life. The latter group, rather than claiming abandoned inner city spaces were competing for space with the indigenous populations of rural areas who may enjoy a completely different lifestyle. Also this inward migration for reasons of quality of life was not restricted to rural areas close to the centres of production. As has been illustrated in section 2.3.1. Rural areas became attractive as much for their remoteness, their unspoilt nature, and their attractive physical environment as for their proximity to centres of employment. If "Modernism was an art of Cities" then rural environments seem to provide the aesthetic alternative following their decay. Jones (1990) proposes that counterurbanisation is defined as the hallmark of modern, capitalist societies.

One could argue that counterurbanisation is the geographical hallmark of postmodern, capitalist societies. Therefore rural environments have emerged as places offering *symbolic capital* (based on the perception of the rural idyll) to be *consumed*. This has been evident in the commodification of the rural idyll and in the use of the countryside as a new theatre of consumption. Cloke and Goodwin (1992) have observed that rural culture has been iconized and marketed, and rural values are marketed as specific and generally a problem free commodity.

2.4.3 The Concept of The Sign

Key concepts of the Postmodern thesis in cultural terms are the influence of language, information and communication and especially the relationship between what are called the *Signifier* and the *Signified*. In the rest of this text the following terms will be used. The signifier or the *medium* is an empty raw sign. It can be an object, a word or even a place. The signified or the *message* is what is being said, how an object is being portrayed, how it is being seen, signifieds are a way of seeing the World. When a signifier and a signified are brought together a *Sign* is produced. Whereas modernists believed that there was a tight and identifiable relationship between signifiers and signifieds which produced universally clear Signs, the postmodern thesis contends that there are no one-to-one relationships between signifiers and signifieds and these are continually breaking apart and re-attaching themselves in new combinations. Clarke (1991) conceives of a society where commodities, in addition to use-and exchange values possess sign-values by virtue of the fact that they constitute a *semiotic* system or system of symbols. For example, to the fashion conscious youth, a pair of jeans has ceased to represent a mere

casual leg garment. Due to advertising and 'youth culture' a pair of jeans is now marketed as a statement, a cultural expression and a self-referential-peer-group-identifier. In the case of Glasgow, the *signifier* is the city itself. However there are two competing *signifieds*; that of the "City of Culture," and the alternative of the city desperately trying to come to terms with the loss of its traditional industries and the resulting severe social problems. The perceived Sign depends on the perspective of the group or the person who perceives it (Boyle and Hughes 1991).

2.4.4 Rural Areas as Signs

In the rural context, following Jackson (1981a), concepts such as the land, the sea, the church, the plough, Spring, harvest, the boat etc can evoke images of a whole pattern of life or way of life. However the images would differ between different people. The *signifiers* employed by urban dwellers, it could be argued, would probably be different than those of rural dwellers and would be likely to correspond to a rural idyll of village life characterised by a slow, pure, safe harmonious existence. The *signifiers* employed by people with actual experience of living in a rural area would perhaps be different referring to a more realistic way of life with identifiable economic and social patterns and networks based on reality rather than imagination .

2.4.5 Political Implications of the Rural Sign

The first tenet of the postmodern thesis contends that there is no one-to-one relationship between the signifier and the signified. The second part suggests that, as in the case of the Glasgow example, the connection of certain signifiers and signifieds is a political process with implications for the division of interests between different groups, and critical to the reproduction of power relationships and the potential production of conflict. For example in the case of the Western Isles, to paraphrase Judith Ennew(1981), for most of the twentieth century the Hebrides has been regarded by the Government and academia as under-developed. State policy has thus increasingly identified the area through the existence of an unemployment problem. It has been *defined* (my emphasis) as a region of difficulty , marginal and poor in resources,....economically depressed and backward, relics of pre-industrial society which need to be brought into the twentieth century. Thus, the Highlands and Islands are interpreted by an institutionalised *Sign* which has been implemented and reinforced by both the state and academics. Knox and Cottam (1981b) did a study in the West Highlands which showed that over

25% of the households were multiply *deprived*. Yet the mean satisfaction rating of the respondents in the households regarding their quality of life was 8.8 out of a possible 10! Therefore there are different and often conflicting signifieds held by institutions and individuals and this study will attempt to look at the situation as expressed by the individuals in their communities.

2.4.6 The Influence of Television, The Mass Media and Advertising in Shaping Reality

The third tenet of the postmodern thesis is the influence of the mass media and advertising - especially through television - in shaping societies' perceptions, values, patterns of consumption and images of what constitutes reality. To quote David Harvey (1990 p 61),

"It is hard, also, not to attribute some kind of shaping role to the proliferation of television use. After all, the average American is now reputed to watch television for more than seven hours a day, and television and video ownership (the latter now covering at least half of all US households) is now now so widespread throughout the capitalist World that some effects must surely be registered....."

Television is also , as Taylor (1987, 103-5) points out,

"the first cultural medium in the whole of history to present the artistic achievements of the past as a stitched together collage of equi-important and simultaneously existing phenomena, largely divorced from geography and material history and transported to the living rooms and studios of the West in a more or less uninterrupted flow."

Therefore the potential of television to distort reality, history and the way people perceive the world is enormous. The effect of television, advertising and the mass media results in society being constantly bombarded with signifieds or messages about the way the World should be interpreted. The average person is being overloaded with images so that the reality interpreted from signifieds becomes increasingly distorted. Harvey emphasizes the *immediacy* of the *image*, the *appearance* and the *spectacle* and writes of the World losing its depth and threatening to become a glossy skin, a stereoscopic illusion, a rush of filmic images without density. Thus the reality of events and places in mass society becomes indistinguishable from that which is presented on T.V. and in the tabloids.

The influence of advertising in shaping the public's taste and collective signifieds is of paramount importance also. Clarke (1991) highlights the growth of marketing as producers try both to predict and shape patterns of

taste and demand. Postmodern advertising has developed this further by increasingly distancing the image and message of the advert from the actual function of the object. Thus, due to advertising, it is not simply a case of consuming an item but a case of buying the image, the lifestyle, the status and the prestige that the signified present in the advert suggests is associated with the commodity. Harvey (1989) suggests that this process is the.....

"production of needs and wants, the mobilisation of needs and fantasy , of the politics of distraction as part and parcel of the push to sustain sufficient buoyancy of demand in consumer markets to keep capitalist production profitable (p 61)."

2.4.7 Postmodern Advertising and the Rural Idyll

Clarke (1991) points out that advertisements are increasingly being set out of place and time. As part of these recent trends it has become increasingly common for a scenario depicting a rural idyll to be used in advertising a product. As was mentioned before during the 1970s the Modern cities were increasingly perceived as areas of decay, violence, blight, pollution and depression and associated with a particular Modern time in history. These are not images with which companies would wish their product to be associated. Rural areas, however, came to be seen as places which were untouched by the ravages of modernism. Pure, unpolluted, safe, with friendly people and beautiful environments ; rural areas were increasingly perceived as providing a much better, timeless quality of life than the city; the 'timeless antithesis to the art of modernity'. Societies' increasing placelessness in both space and time requires people to search for a source of stability. Rurality provides this, being both firmly rooted in place (the countryside) and in time (the nostalgic past). Also, each rural place is seen as different, individual and intimate. This is in contrast to urban spaces, many of which are standard and homogeneous. As was mentioned before, postmodernism seeks out difference.

Thus, it has become increasingly common for commodities to be advertised using idyllic rural locations in order that the higher quality of life suggested by the location would be associated with the product. Car manufactures have frequently used spectacular mountain scenery as a "backdrop" to show off the merits of the latest model; recent adverts for Whyte and Mackay whisky (an example of which is illustrated in Figure 2.2) in newspapers have associated the product with utopian scenes of the West Highlands of Scotland (even though the majority of the locals drink Grouse!), and even British Rail in a

FIGURE 2.4 : IMAGES OF THE RURAL IDYLL IN ADVERTISING
NEWSPAPER ADVERT FOR WHYTE AND MACKAY WHISKY



**“The English say
the Scots
know about Whisky.
At least we agree
on something.”**

DOUGLAS CAMPBELL



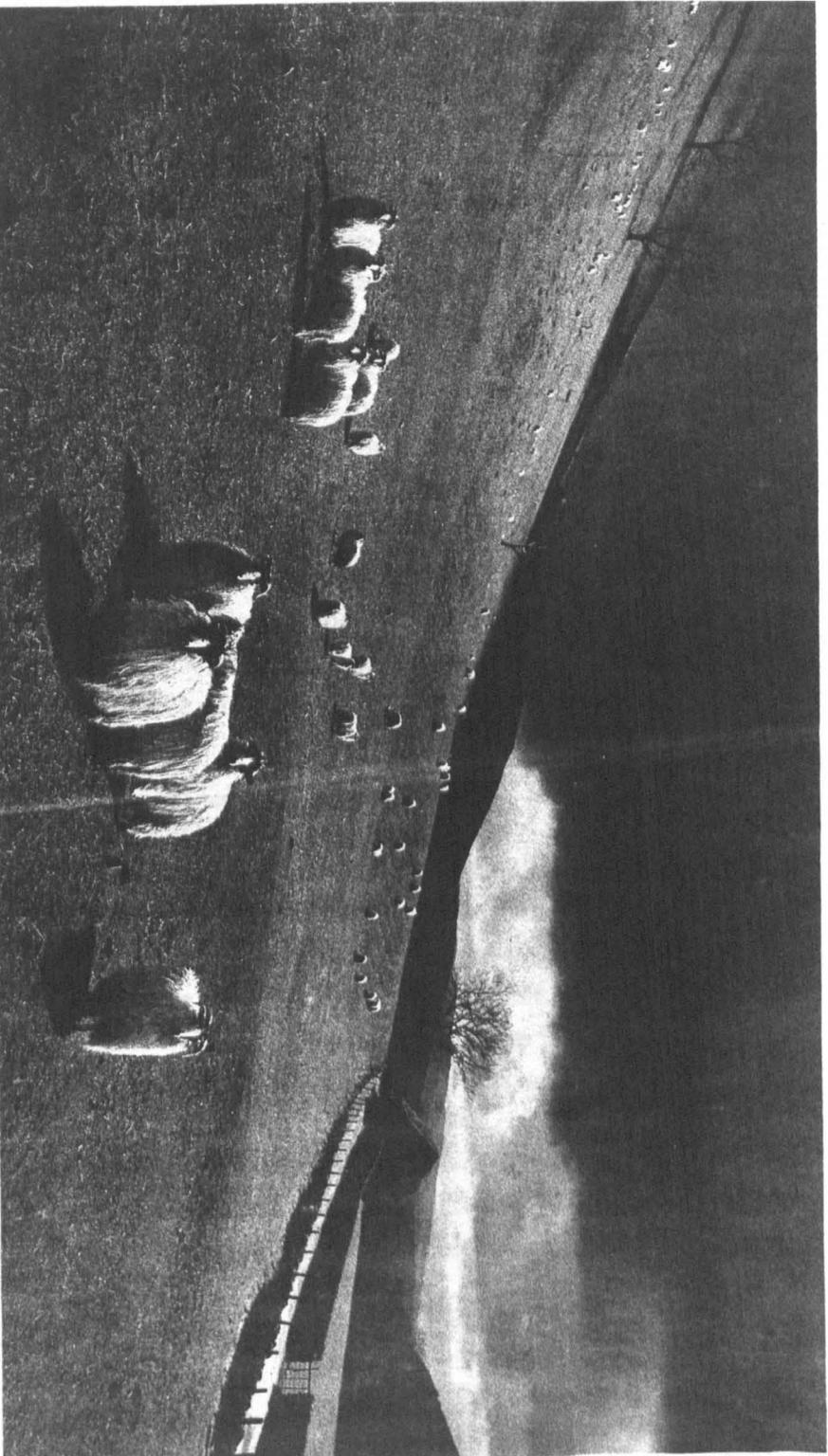
FIGURE 2.5 : IMAGES OF THE RURAL IDYLL IN ADVERTISING
NEWSPAPER ADVERT FOR BRITISH RAIL

Thursday 18 April 1991

THE INDEPENDENT

INTERCITY

Scene on a Cumbrian hillside from a Carlisle to Euston train.



**Health farm for stressed
executives. (First Class**

recent television and newspaper campaign (illustrated in Figure 2.3) have emphasised the quality of the rural environments and the feelings of relaxation which they induce which can be experienced from the comfort of their trains.

The result of this process of bombardment of signifieds is that the perception of an area or a way of life can develop not from personal experience but from a collage of media and advertising images. Therefore the perception of the signifier (for example, a rural village) amongst a large section of the public may bear only a partial resemblance to reality.

2.4.8 The Rural Idyll as Common Stereotype

As has been demonstrated above, certain images condition directly. Television, advertising and the mass media would appear to present certain idealised images of urban and rural life which are easily observable. However, the stereotype of the rural idyll and the urban hell are also undoubtedly conditioned by less direct influences. After all, not everyone watches television or reads the more hysterical sections of the press and it would seem that these stereotypes are held deeply in the collective consciousness and are reinforced in conversation, in other written images and in the media and other communications which are not actually selling anything but which are still unconsciously conveying the message. As will be investigated later, these images, signifieds and stereotypes are liable to be held by all sections of societies and suggests a complex chain of conditioning which would be difficult to study directly.

2.5.1 The Perception and Representation of Space

As Geographers we are concerned with space and spatial relationships. Therefore the way that space ie. places, cities and villages and the way they are portrayed in the mass media and perceived by people living in them (or not as the case may be) is of great significance. Lefebvre (1974) provides a useful framework for the way that space is perceived and represented. He specifies three kinds of what he calls spatial practice; Material spatial practices, Representations of space and Spaces of representation.

Material spatial practice or the experience of space refers to "the physical and material flows, transfers, and interactions that occur in and across space in such a way as to assure production and social reproduction." This includes the built environment, social spaces and the division of space.

The *Representation of space* refers to the way that space is perceived. Thus it could refer to individuals' mental map of where they live, to perceptions of community and regional culture, and - in rural areas - the spatial expressions and bounding of "way of life" and "identity" associated with a village or rural community.

Spaces of representation on the other hand is the imagined, rather than the experienced or perceived, space. It is the utopian and imaginary landscapes and the spaces of desire and fear built up by the mass media, advertising, popular stereotyping and what is known as 'tradition'.

Thus since the recession of the mid 1970s the dominant spaces of representation have been those which were illustrated in Forsythe's urban/ rural dichotomy (Table 2.2) those of the negative images of urban areas : crime, inner city blight, industrial decay, violence, pollution, racial problems, social problems, anonymity, drugs, congestion, poor environment etc which are reinforced mainly in the press and in news bulletins ; and the positive images of rural areas : lovely scenery, clean, safe, friendly people, no traffic, no pollution and a sense of identity and community - from adverts, popular "pastoral" stereotypes and programmes such as *The Archers* and *Last of The Summer Wine*. Thus the late 1970s and 1980s saw the polarisation of the way urban and rural spaces were perceived and imagined ; the rural idyll and the urban hell. So strong were these signifieds of rural and urban space that there is evidence to suggest that the perception of differentiation in *quality of life* was a major component in the counterurbanisation process which was described earlier in the chapter using evidence from Harper (1991), Forsythe (1982) and Condry (1982) and their description of the stereotypical preconceptions of rural idylls which incomers held.

2.5.2 The Representation of Space in terms of the Urban/ Rural Dichotomy, and Counterurbanisation

It can therefore be deduced that the perceived urban-rural dichotomy (Table 2.2) has developed through the emphasis of signifieds in the mass media which condition all classes and which have further extrapolated the "traditional" differences between life in the city and life in the country. Mormont (1990) suggests that,

"people, as say, entrepreneurs , residents and leisure-seekers, continue to make decisions with reference to some imagined concept of 'rural' thereby attributing behavioural validity to a concept of rurality which relies on the social production of meanings."

This is exemplified by Diana Forsythe (1982) referring to what the indigenous community call the "urban refugees",

"As a group, Stormay's urban migrants are quite diverse in background and in the circumstances which have brought them to the island. But when asked why they left the city and came to Stormay, they give remarkably similar answers. The incomers' statements about their migration consistently express a dislike of cities, an assumption that urban and rural life are intrinsically different, and a belief that rural life offers a solution to dissatisfaction experienced in the urban setting. The incomers' move is thus presented as a response to the difference between city and country life."(p 27)

Judith Ennew (1982) describes the Western Isles as representing a "refuge of peace, quiet and tranquillity; an available image to contrast with the images of urban stress. To the romantic *imagination* (my emphasis), fostered by summer visitors and tourist agencies, there is no Hebridean problem and the contrast operating between here (urban areas of the UK) and there (the Highlands and Hebrides) are the Rat Race versus the Good Life, the present versus the past and the pedantic versus the romantic."

Migrants move from urban areas to rural environments to seek certain facets of a way and a quality of life which they have been conditioned to believe exist in the countryside. It has been mentioned before (section 2.3.2) that migrants move to the countryside because they feel more secure. Harvey (1989) commenting on the Postmodern consumption society describes the attraction of secure spaces, safe from violence or political agitation.

Cohen (1982a) suggests that the production of rural culture becomes an essential bulwark against the cultural imperialism of the political and economic centres (ie. Modernity), while Mcleery (1991) emphasises the heterogeneous nature of rural cultures and communities and suggests that this cultural specificity is the antithesis of urban values. Therefore the production of rural culture is the production of difference which is a central tenet of postmodernism.

Condry (1982) contrasts the distinctive Gaelic culture with a dull British uniformity. It seems that rural *spaces of representation* provide a specific security of place, time and individuality that contrasts with the increasingly homogeneous, alien, violent and disturbing *spaces of representation* which cities are perceived as offering. To use the second quote by Anthony Jackson (1981b) that precedes this chapter, incomers are seeking for the same kind of sense of identity and community which rural dwellers hold (for they are under the same mass media influences as urban dwellers and their

perceptions of urban areas will be the imagined spaces of representation) in order to "anchor ourselves on some unmoving rock where we may feel secure against the tides of change that sweep across our lives. Why else do we turn to the past -to history - to that which is fixed?" This sense of identity and community is found in the traditional rural way of life.

Therefore three important elements of counterurbanisation for quality of life have been highlighted. The search for a sense of identity, community and place, a search for a certain 'way of life' and the environmental aspects of the rural idyll. These three issues warrant investigation in greater detail calling upon earlier work carried out by rural social anthropologists.

These are elements are touched on by Cloke and Goodwin (1992) who observe that underlying counterurbanisation,

"lies the cultural notion of the rural idyll. The idea of idyll seems very ethnocentric. It may be a particular house, a particular type of landscape, being part of a specific community, with a lifestyle that offers strong ties with the land and nature."

2.6.1 Identity and The Rural Idyll

It was suggested earlier that the mass media and advertisements bombard people with a fusillade of images and signifieds to such an extent that it is difficult to grasp what is reality and take stock of what one's values are. Jackson (1981b) argues that,

"People have to relate their lives in a meaningful way to others and this involves obtaining confirmation that what they are doing is 'correct', 'purposeful', etc... In today's plurality of values (*and images*) -in these Postmodern times - this moral bolstering-up of one's activities in a meaningful way is much harder to find and it accounts for the current search for support that simply was not so necessary in former times. This results in what one could characterise as the search for group support (way of life) and self support (identity)."

2.6.2 The Rural Idyll and 'Way of Life' & 'Community'

Jackson (1981b) argues that we seek an identity outside rather than look within. The postmodern thesis would interpret this as seeking an identity for one by identifying with certain signifieds which are presented to one. In an effort to crystallize "identity", people adopt various Signs such as a particular style of clothes, a particular kind of car, living in certain kinds of house, or furnishing one's home in a defined way, or even adopting certain styles of

living. There is no more clearly crystallised style of living than a rural way of life and spatial remoteness heightens the sense of identity both from outside and within the community. Condry (1982) describes the relatively recent colonisation of some of the remoter parts of the Western Isles and suggests that, "unlike earlier incomers (landlords, factors, shooting parties) many of these incomers wish to share in what they believe to be the local way of life. Naomi Mitcheson (1970) hints at the way that a stereotypical Highland Way of Life would provide an identity in times of image and message overload in postmodern times by providing a link with the past and a sense of continuity which is lost elsewhere. Indigenous populations thus value deeply a way of life that gives people a sense of identity and security of being part of a community and this is sought by the comparatively rootless incomers .

2.6.3 The Rural Idyll and The Environment

The environment is perhaps the most important element of the rural idyll as well as the most tangible. This is highlighted in the studies cited earlier by Harper (1991) and Jones et al. (1986), where environmental concerns were reported to be paramount in the counterurbanisation process. Many "white settlers" have visited rural areas as tourists and the actual physical environments around which advertisements are based do exist, and therefore it is these areas which conform to the most attractive rural environments with the most picturesque settlements which have, become prestige locations.

2.7.1 The Mythical Element of The Rural Idyll

It is easy for urban dwellers to develop an idea of life in the rural areas which bears more in common with romanticism and utopian idylls than it does with reality ; what could be termed a *mythical rural idyll*. Condry (1982) describes what happened in the Western Isles when incomers holding a particular set of signifieds arrived seeking a traditional crofting way of life.

"The incomers contrast their own enthusiasm for the crofting way of life, as they picture it, with the apparent lethargy of the islanders, and their seeming unconcern for the land and the resources that are open to them. Incomers comment critically on the over stocking of grazing land with sheep, which is done simply because hill sheep receive a worthwhile subsidy. Incomers have a vision of the island way of life as a self-sufficient and therefore an ennobling harmony with nature, and this vision is not fulfilled. To the islanders crofting rarely means self-sufficiency.....The islanders do not keep cows, because it is easier to buy milk in bottles; they do not live in black houses, because they

prefer the dry warmth of a modern dwelling ; they do not dig the lazybeds, because this is back breaking work which is not often justified by the return of a few bags of potatoes. This has nothing to do with cultural decay as many incomers believe, but is rather an exercise in economic rationality. It is for this reason that many islanders still dig peat, since the saving on fuel costs is worthwhile. The picture, so briefly drawn here, is of a group of incomers who seek a way of life which has never existed. " (Condry 1982 p 62)

It would seem that in this example of counterurbanisation it is a case of the "space of representation (the imagination)" of the migrants being at odds with the "representation of space (the perception)" of the indigenous population. This scenario and the conflict that arises from it will be discussed at length later on in the chapter.

To return to the idealised, mythical view of rural life that is held by incomers, Thrift (1987) has shown that "service classes" have manifest residential preferences towards rural areas; they have a strong cultural affinity towards the rural idyll and the set of values said to emerge from rural communities of the past; and they wish to conserve this idyll while adapting the places present day needs of consumption. In a geographical context this means has meant that certain rural localities have been attractive to these class fractions. Champion and Watkins (1991) suggests that,

"this image often being derived from either memories of what village life was like earlier in the century, or from media pictures of village life" is a snapshot of village life as it might have existed in the 1950s at a time before greater personal mobility and at a time of traditional "Fordist" patterns of production and consumption."

This can result in gentrification of the rural settlement by incomers and great demand for housing in prestige environments, especially those close to existing urban settlements. As Cloke, Phillips et al. (1991) point out,

"if it is perceived as rural by potential colonising fractions, with all the facets of whatever rural idyll they hold dear, then its rurality (as perceived) does make it a target for social recomposition ."

2.8.1 The Economic Activity of Postmodern Migrants

As a result of postmodern migration to rural areas, especially to those remote prestige environments, beyond more traditional spheres of counterurbanisation it may be theorised that there would may be a development of a *substitution of ability* (See Chapter 6.10.2) where the control of means of production in the indigenous economy changes from being

controlled by local people to being controlled by incomers. Young people, especially in the most remote and peripheral rural areas, leave in search of an education, training or a career. This leaves a residual of the less able youth. Incomers, often in a later stage of the life cycle, with greater access to capital and wanting to escape the negative elements of the city come in to buy and run local shops and local hotels. Top managerial positions in forestry, the estates, tourism and the Service Sector are also often filled by incomers. Diana Forsythe (1980) in Orkney describes on the pseudonymic island of Stormay how "two grocery shops, a small fish-processing factory, plus a pottery and combination pub-hotel are run by urban migrants, who are generally of a younger age than the members of the indigenous community. This control of the business and managerial positions can be a source of conflict within small communities.

These economically active migrants within very remote communities reject the assumption that Great White settlement for reasons of quality of life is a phenomena of elderly retirees. As Champion (1989) notes,

"There is sufficient evidence to refute the suggestions made early in the counterurbanisation debate that the rural population turnaround was largely caused, if not by the elderly, by others who were not gainfully employed, including early retirees, those dependent on unemployment benefits or other welfare payments and drop outs or hippies in search of alternative lifestyles."

Indeed the migrants of the early seventies to Stormay in Orkney were young in relation to the receiving population. 53% of them were under 30 compared with only 38% of the indigenous population. It would seem that Stormay proved to be too far away from the Rat Race to retire to as the elderly prefer to colonise attractive environments which have reasonable access to either major urban settlements or their old stomping grounds. This is why villages in physically attractive locations in Dumfries and Galloway have proved popular with retirement couples especially from the North of England because of the proximity of the main road South, the M74.

2.9.1 Baudrillard's Theory of Postmodern Conflict

There have been hints before at the conflict that often occurs as a result of the colonisation of rural communities by middle class, often wealthy urban folk who use the village either as a timeshare destination, a base from which to carry on their urban orientated lifestyles or a stage on which to act out their utopian rural fantasies. This conflict results from differences in the perception of village life and as was suggested earlier can arise when one group or

person's "space of representation" meets another's "representation of space". This chapter so far has dealt with the perceptions of the migrant and little has been said about the perspective of the indigenous rural dweller. Again using a postmodern framework and drawing specifically on the work of Jean Baudrillard (1988b), the next part of this chapter will theorise how the perceptions of the indigenous rural populations *may* differ from the urban migrants and how this is the basis for conflict between the two different 'communities'. Baudrillard's terminology and concepts will be used through the remainder of the work.

Clarke (1991) proposes that Baudrillard "offers the possibility of an anti-humanist theory of the human subject." The first part of Baudrillard's theory - which concerns rural Geography - contends that some ways of seeing or perceiving the World - Meta narratives or Signs - are found in many places in the World. These include, for example, the Islamic world and Western consumer capitalism. Baudrillard also suggests that these Signs are institutionalised and are *locally* embedded. Baudrillard argues that these Signs are merely versions of interpreting reality and are no more than social constructions. However, to the people who have been conditioned within a certain Sign they *are* reality. Such is the strength of these social constructions in peoples' minds that it is difficult to interpret reality in terms of another Sign. Thus, Westerners cannot reconcile the seemingly sexist, primitive and often brutal reality of the Islamic world whereas Muslims despise many of the profligate values present in the West.

2.9.2 Baudrillard: Representation and Simulacrum

Baudrillard (1988b) also differentiates between reality and myth in peoples' interpretation of reality. As Lefevre made the distinction between the *representation of space* and the *space of representation*, Baudrillard makes the distinction between *Representation* and *Simulacrum*. As with Lefevre, representation is the actual reality as perceived by the subject or subjects where the Simulacrum are the myths that are propagated within the particular Sign and which help its reproduction. These myths, in the West, take the form of the images and advertising messages and shallow media images that people are constantly bombarded with. An example is Glasgow. The *simulacrum* would be the City of Culture and the successful regeneration through the arts which is in contrast to many peoples' *representation* of a city struggling to come to terms with the loss of its manufacturing base and in desperate need of a better image to attract inward investment (Boyle and

Hughes 1991). Another example of a Simulacrum would be the image of the mythical rural idyll. Baudrillard contends that the Simulacrum dominates over the Representation in peoples consciousness; myth dominates over reality. As Harvey suggests,

"What does it matter if the world thereby momentarily loses its skin, a stereoscopic illusion, a rush of filmic images without density. (Jameson 1984) The immediacy of events, the sensationalism of the spectacle (political, scientific, as well as those of entertainment), become the stuff of which consciousness is forged." (1990)

2.9.3 Baudrillard : *Hyperreality* and the Importance of The Media

As has been hinted at above, Baudrillard (1988b) believes that the mass media are omnipotent in shaping people's interpretation of reality and the ability of the mass media to dominate space, to spread the codes of the Sign across space and to produce Simulacrum as fundamental to the reproduction of the Sign. As Clarke suggests,

"Baudrillard highlights 'consumption' and the 'media' as the most significant forces defining the nature of advanced capitalist society.....The media, as a means of changing the nature of events, of transforming the nature of 'reality' are central to a consumer society" (1991).

Harvey, Taylor and Clarke as was mentioned in section 2.4.6 of this chapter stress the importance of the media particularly television, given the fact that the average American watches T.V. for more than seven hours a day. "Baudrillard tries to access the "significance of a World where real events, from famines to wars to electoral campaigns are presented to us in a sanitised, packaged media representation that has become, for most of us, far more real than the original" (Clarke 1991).

Baudrillard, therefore describes a kind of *hyperreality* where the perception of reality bears more relation to the simulacrum of mass media images and signifieds than it does to actual representation. Of adverts, Clarke suggests that we can no longer conceive of commodities apart from their meaning in adverts. Also in terms of space, people cannot perceive city or rural spaces without bringing up *hyperreal* images presented in the mass media and advertising.

2.9.4 Baudrillard : Local Narratives and the *Petite Locale*

A third tenet of Baudrillard's thesis is perhaps of most concern to rural geographers. The French philosopher suggests that rather than any single interpretation of the Sign being geographically omnipresent, the interpretation actually varies slightly from place to place in producing what is termed *localised narratives*. Cohen, a rural anthropologist, describes,

"our over-simple view of the nature of British culture, a caricature much exploited by politicians and the mass media, although thoroughly misleading and reviled by the members of localities, who see it as a gross misrepresentation of their distinctive cultures." (1982a)

Cohen also suggests that all the communities are crucially related through economic, political and informational ties to the complex state systems of the British Isles and, indeed, beyond. But while these links present powerful constraints, they do not determine form. Their influence is translated into - absorbed by - indigenous idiom and experience and, therefore, eventuates in sharply differing forms. The forms exerted from the centre thus do not result in a cultural monolith. Therefore, absorbed in the postmodern framework, Cohen's observations tie in with Baudrillard's theory that the interpretation of the Sign evolves idiosyncratically, interacting, conflicting and meshing with the individual social and cultural histories of places, and their unique geographies. Cumulative affects of many reactions to the Sign and many differing interpretations of it result in what Baudrillard calls the *fragmentation* of Space into *petite locales*. These are comparable in cultural terms to the "pays" of Vidal de la Blache.

Vidal de la Blache is regarded as the founder member of modern French geography and the main figure of the French School of Regional Geography. He claimed, after studying the rural regions of France that it was unreasonable to draw boundaries between natural and cultural phenomena, as each community adjusts to prevailing natural conditions in its own way, and the result of the adjustment may reflect centuries of development. Each single small community therefore has characteristics which will not be found in other places, even in places where the natural conditions are practically the same. The study of these locales, an inductive regional geography, was best suited to regions which were local in the sense of being isolated from the world around them and dominated by an agricultural way of life.

Therefore Baudrillard's *petite locales*, applied initially to urban settings, would seem, in the best traditions of French geography, to be ideal for describing rural communities, with locales defining themselves against the

totalising effects of the Sign in rural areas in terms of local culture, dialect, sense of identity and community and the perception of the local 'way of life' which has evolved independently over a long time. Therefore, a community's collective 'representation of reality' within the Sign is one of difference in interpretation of the Sign locally from the overall meta-interpretation of the Sign. As Cohen suggests, this "sense of difference becomes incorporated into and informs the nature of their social organisation and process. The sense of difference lies at the heart of people's awareness of their culture..."

2.9.5 Scottish Examples of *Petite Locales* and the Emergence of Conflict

In the rural and in particular the Scottish context, Ennew (1982) describes how the interpretation of the Sign within a *petite locale* such as the Western Isles is institutionalised by the Free Kirk which provides a reaction against the totalising effect of the signifiers and images of the meta-Sign and thus protects the distinctiveness of the culture and the sense of difference which makes the locale unique. "The church regulates the cultural life of Lewis and it is the forces of such bodies as the Lord's Day Observance Society which are active in challenging the forces of modernity such as the oil industry which threaten the way of life of the island; for in some cases the way of life is synonymous with some religious ideal."

Thus, differing interpretations of the Sign result in differing perceptions of reality geographically, and this is particularly important when considering the relationship between the interpretation of the Sign in rural communities who have a greater emphasis on the community history and on the sense of community and identity, who hold perceptions of difference and ideals of traditional *collective community consumption* and urban dwellers who are thought to have a weaker sense of identity and community and would therefore be more reliant on the simulacrum of media images in their interpretation of the sign and more conditioned in the postmodern concept of *individual consumption*.

Forsythe (1982) in her study of Stormay demonstrates the observable differences between the indigenous community and the urban migrants.

"Oradians also share a distinctive style of public behaviour. Stormay folk are rather non-assertive. They take pains not to draw attention to themselves, not to exert authority over other adults in public. Dislike and disagreement are usually expressed through avoidance (plus gossip) rather than through confrontation. People who make a practice of public confrontation in Stormay are considered very unpleasant.....islanders generally make collective

decisions by informal consensus rather than by voting or public debate. The urban migrants, on the other hand, are used to a more assertive, explicit style of communication, and to more formal methods of decision making. Many of them react to the Orcadian's indirect style as inarticulate or even backward, and try to take a leadership role themselves....Despite the incomers' expressed desire to fit into the community, leadership qualities which may have held them in good stead in an urban setting impede communication with the islanders. Since the newcomers are insensitive to the islanders indirect methods of social control, and the islanders resist the more direct methods at control practiced by urban migrants, a self-perpetuating gulf in communication divides the two groups, causing frustration and irritation on both sides." (p 38)

Therefore the differences in the interpretation of the Sign between the urban incomers and the indigenous dwellers of the Petite Locale of Stormay resulted in conflict. As Jackson (1982) suggests, it is possible to choose a community but a Way of Life is Involuntary.

This idea of a conflict arising when two differing interpretations of the Sign overlap is an important part of Baudrillard's thesis and one which is of particular significance to rural geography in general, particularly when considering the impact of counterurbanisation on an indigenous community .

Baudrillard suggested that conflict arose when the "traditional" interpretation of the sign clashed with the imported institutionalised interpretation. This could take the form of the reaction to influence of modernism by the Free Kirk in the Western Isles, the inappropriateness of newcomers behaviour regarding local politics on an island in Orkney or as Baudrillard suggested in the example of the Docklands area of the East End of London where the consumption culture of the young upwardly mobile who were colonising was in conflict with the traditional working class culture of the area. Similarly, in rural areas, as was suggested by the example from Forsythe, conflict occurs either when incomers use a rural community as a base for their urban lifestyles or when 'Newcomers' come into a community and criticise the indigenous way of doing things because it does not conform, as was highlighted by the example of the Western isles in section 2.7.1 of this Chapter, to their preconceptions - conditioned by the simulacrum of the rural idyll - of how things ought to be done (this is an example of the space of representation of one group intersecting the representation of space of another). Newcomers may also be under the impression that the local way of doing things is not as "good" and is primitive in comparison to the way they

did things in the city (or conflicting interpretations of the Sign between the urban, ubiquitous form and the petite locales). These forms of conflict are perceived to exist in many rural areas.

Forsythe (1982), an anthropologist, seems to provide convincing evidence to back up much of what has been discussed in this Chapter in general and what Baudrillard was alluding to in particular with the findings from her study in Stormay.

"As city people, few of the migrants had had personal experience of rural life prior to their move. Their notions about the nature of country life were mainly acquired at a distance, through television, literature, visits to the country, and general popular culture. None of the migrants knew Orkney well before moving there ; some made the decision to move there without having been to the archipelago.....The values and standards of the incomers are urban ones. Despite their verbal appreciation of the pastoral qualities of rural life, few of them seem to know or care much about how the Stormay folk really lived before their arrival on the island. Stormay seems to attract many of the incomers primarily as a setting for their own venture "back to nature" rather than for a way of life valuable in itself.....Unlike the Stormay folk, who find meaning in the repetition of certain traditions, the continuation of events in the same way year after year seems to strike the incomers as indicative of a lack of originality; they see Stormay as badly in need of new ideas. But the new ideas they have to offer are not really new at all, except to the islanders. They are ways of thinking which are quite standard in urban centres throughout Great Britain.....In short, far from settling in to enjoy what they describe as the peace and quiet of country life, the migrants appear to reorganise the island. Many islanders have concluded that the urban refugees' commitment to rural life as it really is at best superficial.

When they come here they think us delightfully old-fashioned and quaint, but no sooner are they established than they want everything that's part of the rat race." (p 39,40,41)

2.9.6 Incomers: "Great White Settlers" or Useful Additions to The Community

It has been illustrated that conflict seems to arise when incomers do not conform to the local way of doing things, the local way of life, the local culture and therefore to the *localised narrative* of the Sign. Alternatively, incomers are accepted both if they marry in to the community - and therefore if they are not stereotyped negatively - and are perceived to be carrying on the ways of the community or if the incomers adopt the *local* way of doing

things. If incomers do adopt the local narrative then it is likely that they will integrate into the community successfully. Forsythe (1980) provides an example of the former when she suggests that the indigenous population of Stormay make a distinction between the *urban refugees* and those who were born outside but were related by blood or marriage to Orkney folk.

"By virtue of this connection, connected immigrants are recognised by the locally born inhabitants as belonging to the community. Together Orkney folk and connected in-migrants make up the receiving community for Stormay's migrants from the city, who have no Orkney connection and therefore no prescribed place in island life. (1982)"

Condry (1982), in the case of the Western Isles, suggests that people who marry into the island are certainly regarded as different but they are widely accepted and their presence causes little comment.

"There are also many incomers who are accepted, although not related in any way to an islander. This is not to say that they are regarded as the same, their origins are indeed remembered and may be quoted in times of dispute, but these people have achieved some measure of acceptance. In the words of an old lady in Lewis : "You're not a sassenach if you live the way we do ."

This quote almost serves to sum up this part of the chapter in a sentence and Lumb (1982) backs this up by suggesting that where,

"incomers come to participate in and not deliberately to change local society they are not only tolerated but welcomed in communities which were only too well aware of their decline in numbers and fragile demographic structure."

2.10.1 The Production of Identity from Signifieds in Postmodern Times

It is evident that postmodern signifieds, the creation of simulacrum and the counterurbanisation process have altered the way that rural communities are viewed both from the perspective of the members of indigenous community looking out and looking at themselves from within and from those wishing to move there to seek a better quality of life. As Harvey (1987) points out,

"decentralisation and deconcentration taken together with the cultural concern with the qualities of space and place creates a political climate in which the politics of community, place, and region can unfold in new ways, at the very moment when the cultural continuity of all places is seriously threatened by flexible accumulation."

As was mentioned before, while the indigenous community looks inwards on itself for an expression of identity in these times of image bombardment, for the migrant moving from the anonymity of the city to a rural village one of the main constituents of the rural idyll they are seeking is that the simulacrum of the rural village is one set in a specific time where one may come upon a sense of identity and community within a tight knit rural settlement. Where the indigenous populations are able to turn to their perception of way of life, dialect and tradition to seek identity, the urban migrant, in contrast, has to seek a signifier for their perceived need for identity - in this case a rural setting. The counterurbanisation move thus is associated with what Baudrillard terms a *phantasy* - which is defined as the translation of a thought or an image into an experience. Forsythe sheds light on this term by postulating that at a decision making stage the potential migrant draws upon what Geertz (1973) calls *models for reality* or learned mental blueprints for possible behaviour which define his perception of the options open to him. Not only does the migrant call on these models of reality (or signifieds) before moving but they tend to rationalise their migration decision after the arrival, again using a *model of reality*.

As Forsythe (1982) observed, "each migrant's explanation for their move is very abstract and very positive. Individual circumstances are conspicuously absent from the migrants self-presentation. Rather they call on the signifiers of the urban rural dichotomy in their explanations."

Thus, their moves are rationalised using simple simulacrums forged out of hypereality to explain often complex moves. This dissertation will go on to investigate (in Chapter 8) whether incomers' perceptions of what is important in their choice of where to live are based on rationalised idealised images of rural life while those of the indigenous populations of rural areas are related to the economic, housing and cultural circumstances of the local community and personal social circumstances.

Therefore, many migrants are using romanticised images of a rural idyll to influence and / or *rationalise* a move and many are often frustrated - leading to conflict - when the reality of the situation does not conform to their conditioned perceptions. As Condry (1982) suggests, about the Western Isles, "(the) local people, whilst their self-determination to some extent owes its origin to just such a romanticism, wish to play no part in other people's fantasies."

One facet of the consumption economy which postmodern theory seeks to describe is the production of individual desire using signifieds in the mass

media and advertising. Baudrillard describes this desire as an infinite unconscious process and fixity necessary for social existence which is in the process Lacan terms the mirror stage. This process is one in which we find (or rather we think we find) a stable identity capable of determining the structures of the world, but which actually rests on a mis-recognition of our insatiable and fluid unconscious desires. Thus some people find an identity in terms of an ever changing mix of signifieds and fashions while for others it is in the "traditional" sense of , community, dialect and way of life found within the *petite locale* which by it's very nature gives it's inhabitants a sense of difference and place in the maelstrom of modern influences and images.

2.10.2 The Politicising of Local Identity and Way of Life

As was mentioned before, the *petite locale* is as much fighting against the influences of the modern world as it is assimilating it within familiar structures. Modernism can be seen to pose a threat to the perceived "identity" and the "way of life" of the "indigenous" members of the community both externally in the forms of incomers and internally through the same sources of image, information and simulacrum that condition the mis-conceptions of the "great white settlers." This threat can politicise itself locally with increased awareness and concern about the preservation of the local culture, the local dialect, the local community spirit and the local (quality of) way of life. Taking the external threat from postmodernity, as was cited before this often manifests itself in a perceived conflict between the locals and the immigrants. Cohen (1977) argued, in the cases of Newfoundland and Shetland, that the encroachment of urban-inspired social change produces conditions of marginality which demand that the local populace adopt new strategies of identity-management which is a social process because identity is always constructed with reference to others. The propagation of an identity is a presentation of self, designed in accordance with one's expectations of how others will react and respond; It is frequently informed by strategic attempts to evoke a desired response in others. Therefore identity becomes politicised when it is perceived to be under threat from urban forces in order to protect the identity of the members sharing the localised narrative of the Sign. Similarly Cohen contends that *way of life* and *quality of way of life* assertions are only made when the values in question are felt to be threatened - by other values of course (those of the institutionalised, urban, modern interpretation of the Sign). Thus way of life assertions and doubts about self-identity are closely related. As Jackson suggests,

"the crystallisation of way of life ideas in people's minds comes about by planting the seed that their ways are not sanctrosanct..... It is only when we become aware of alternative forms of behaviour that any doubts arise. Hence cultural differences, when forced upon one's awareness may give rise to reinforced adherence to the norm's of one's own group. After all, threats to one's own meaning and purpose to life are mainly posed by outsiders.....when called upon to describe one's way of life, people may choose certain symbols in an apparently random way which, however, make perfect sense to their own group since they can be fitted into a common background of shared experience but which to outsiders are only disconnected images. The point here is that way of life is mediated by symbols (or signifieds) which remain latent until called into question.....Such way of life symbols function in precisely the same way as words do in poetry - they are evocative. It may be no coincidence that there is at present a great deal of poetry written in dialect which commemorates and laments the passing of the old ways. In this connotation, even language itself becomes a symbol (or signifier) for the way of life." (1981a)

These indigenous populations, it must be stressed in these days of mass ownership of television, are influenced by much the same conditioning influence as their urban counterparts. Indeed rural folk with little experience of living in the city are just as likely to develop a simulacrum of the negative aspects of living in the city through the images of the worst aspects of urban life which they implicitly or explicitly use to defend the integrity of their way of life and their community when their identity is being questioned. Thus the negative aspects of city life cited earlier in Forsythe's urban-rural dichotomy (Table 3.2) are often quoted in expressing way of life and community concerns.

2.10.3 Television and the Erosion of Indigenous Values

Baudrillard, as was mentioned previously, contends that the influence of the mass media and television in particular is critical in influencing how people perceive the world and their lives. The influence of television it can be argued is far more important in the erosion of the identity and unique culture of locales because unlike the case of urban migrants who visibly present a threat which then produces a tangible politicised reaction to maintain the local narrative, television, which has been welcomed with enthusiasm into almost every home, poses a "Trojan Horse-like" threat to local values and local ways of life. Through television and advertising, compelling persuasion

for the merits of other ways of living and consumption are beamed into homes of the indigenous populations to influence the watcher in a way that a conspicuous and outspoken newcomer never could. Young people who have grown up in a background of widespread television availability in rural areas and islands are particularly vulnerable and this often manifests itself in a conflict between the young and their elders who were brought up in a more "traditional" environment and who believe that the young people of today have little interest in furthering the traditions of the community and more interesting in fostering new materialistic and consumptive values. As Jackson (1982) postulates,

"films did not jar one's ideas about one's way of life because films were plainly dramatic and fictional - not to be taken seriously. However TV adds a realistic dimension which more convincingly displays, often deliberately, other ways of life."

This, together with schooling, from the 1950s onwards, might have powerfully affected the attitudes people had towards their own 'way of life'. What is being suggested is that 'way of life' only became problematical as a general phenomenon during the last quarter century.

2.11.1 Rural Way of Life as Romantic Myth

As with most arguments and hypotheses the postmodern framework to counterurbanisation and the perceived conflict that arises from it is not so clear cut as it initially seems. Indeed the very concept of the 'indigenous' rural society as a pure and undiluted entity is rather romantic to say the least. Recent contributions to the Shetland Times seem to lend weight to this argument. Jack Priest initiated the debate by writing,

"George Priest, udaller, Ooterskaw, 1600. Mans Manson, udaller, Helliness, 1540- no, not the start of a lengthy family tree, merely presenting the credentials of Jack Priest, Shetlander. not an Englishman, Scotsman or any other alien man but an indigenous native of Shetland. Not by any means unique. Let me assure you , there are thousands more from Fair Isle to Flugga who have no doubt about either our identity or place on the map.

In no way is Shetland part of an integral Scotland. We are a distinct ethnic people evolved over generations into a separate race who by breeding and environment have developed the rare ability to think for and by themselves. We do not need a toffee-nosed Tory, a pink Communist or a renegade Teuchter to tell us who our next foreign overlord should be....." (Shetland Times, 21/2/1992)

Lesley Johnston replies,

"With reference to Jack Priest's letter in last weeks Shetland Times, leaving the devolution issue aside, could it be that Shetland had its very own Adam and Eve and is Jack a direct descendant of the original inhabitants of this northerly Garden of Eden or is it more likely that his ancestors were once 'aliens' from other shores? If so then it's thanks to the "aliens" that Jack is here to tell us that Shetland can manage its own affairs." (Shetland Times 28/2/1992)

These two letters represent in the former case the myth of the pure, indigenous population while the latter suggests a more realistic paradox that all "indigenous" populations can trace their ancestry back to incomers! Indeed rural communities have never been closed systems that were insulated against impurity until the dreaded "great white settlers" arrived like a Viking raiding party to rape the local way of life and pillage the local culture. Rosemary Lumb (1982) in a study of several communities in the Highlands and Islands found that non-migration was by no means the norm. Highland communities do not comprise, as is so often assumed, a residue of people born and bred in the place who remain after great numbers have left. Mobility is high and the single most significant type of movement is from outside the locality (incomers). Therefore one should be sceptical when considering the impact of counterurbanisation on the indigenous populations as the indigenous population has been coping with incomers for centuries and logically the local narrative of the Sign has evolved through the interaction between the people coming into the community and those already there. Counterurbanisation has merely, in some cases, presented the community with task of assimilating a group of very identifiable (and therefore stereotypeable) incomers who may not be so interested in the local way of doing things or as interested in integrating into the community as previous incomers were and this has resulted in the conflict.

2.11.2 'Way of Life' as a Political Invention

Not only can the concept of the 'indigenous' community be questioned but also the issues of an 'indigenous way of life' and a 'local culture.' There are reasons to suggest that these concerns with way of life and culture are very political and manufactured locally to justify a perceived uniqueness and the perceived threat to it by the homogenising forces of modern capital accumulation and individual consumption. Cohen (1982a) argues that the

"consciousness and valuing of difference - the awareness of commitment and of belonging to a culture - is, as I suggest, a ubiquitous feature of peripheral communities.....Peripherality, marginally, can be collective self-images, informing and informed by a communities perception of it's inability to affect the course of events - even to affect its own destiny. It is often expressed economically in dependence upon very limited exploitable resources and competitive disadvantage. It is often expressed politically in dependence upon centralised patronage, and in consequent resentment which stresses the locality's view of itself as misunderstood, powerless, misrepresented, exploited, ignored or patronised.....There is often in such a fierce milieu a fierce desire for self determination, bolstered by the community's certain knowledge that it is more expert in resolving its own affairs than are politicians and bureaucrats of the county council and the central government, and by a conviction in its own values which make interference from outside appear an insufferable and presumptuous intrusion."(pp 6-7)

The letter to the newspaper from Jack Priest illustrates this point perfectly when he suggests, "In no way is Shetland part of an integral Scotland. We are a distinct ethnic people evolved over generations into a separate race who by breeding and environment have developed the rare ability to think for and by themselves. We do not need a toffee-nosed Tory, a pink Communist or a renegade Teuchter to tell us who our next foreign overlord should be."

Condry (1982) also describes the political importance of identity using the case of the Western Isles when he postulates that,

"(the) idea that the islanders have a separate culture differentiates them from many other areas of Britain (we would not talk of the culture of Partick, Stirling or Gala, for example). The idea that the islanders have a culture - a unified and distinctive way of life - is a politically important and effective notion. It confers both advantages and disadvantages and is quoted in many debates on the social and economic development of the Highlands. But within the Highlands, the notion of their distinctiveness is far less monolithic and unbreakable than the concept of culture permits."

This declaration and even exaggeration of identity as a political weapon is common and Ennew (1982) suggests about the Western Isles,

"while the the virtues of the Hebridean identity are strongly asserted, there is a simultaneous tendency to over-stress the position of economic and political disadvantage."

2.11.3 The Romantic 'Way of Life' : The Case Study of Shetland

The classic example of the use of notions of identity and way of life politically came when oil was discovered off Shetland in the early 1970s and there were great fears over what effects such large scale developments would have on the islands. There were widespread concerns over the effect of a large number of incomers on the "Shetland Way of Life" and these were typically expressed by Stella Sutherland in the "New Shetlander" of Spring 1974.

"When I first tried to crystallize what I think is meant by the Shetland way of life, at first I came up with the usual things. Shetland doggedness, that so often gets the improbable, not to say the impossible done. Faith, patience, humour.....I thought of Shetland honesty. Trust amongst neighbours. Doors that don't need to be locked. Help freely given. The family feeling towards fremd folk as well as your own. The creative element of thrift, despised by the foolish and careless.

I thought of the low crime incidence, the absence of cruelty to children.....The wholly civilised attitudes of the ordinary Shetlander.....A way of life stems at its source from actual human thoughts, opinions and principles. Personal values and behaviour shape unspoken and unwritten rules by which the community lives, wittingly or not. Through the centuries, each of the many selves that went in to our making left us something of the Shetland they knew and their attitude towards it.

And the wells of our thinking are still fed consciously or not, from their distilled experience. A man can teach his son to handle a boat or a tushkar, as his own father or grandfather taught him. In subtler ways, thoughts and concepts as native to our rock are handed down from mind to mind. "

Stella Sutherland therefore in her description of pre-oil Shetland touched on some of the familiar concepts of the rural idyll in describing the islands. Johnathan Wills (1976) was somewhat more sceptical about the idyll of the "Shetland Way of Life" that was being portrayed and which was perceived as being under threat. Although he recognised that Shetlanders did have a strong self identity and local culture (corresponding to Baudrillard's conception of a Petite Locale) he questioned both the idyllic nature of it and the fact that it was so much different from the ways of life experienced in other parts of Scotland and Britain,

'The independent way of thinking has been rightly praised but it can also manifest itself in bloody-mindedness, in apathy to all forms of social and economic co-operation. It is pure vanity to describe Shetlanders as a monopoly of free thinking individualism.

Is the way of life really a refuge from the anonymity, the loneliness and the hectic, mindless hyperactivity of urban life? It is mistaken to assume that no-one wants anonymity, for that is exactly what many Shetland school leavers do want - a few years away from a community where everyone knows all about you whether you like it or not. Rural life can be very stifling to a young person and those of us who have had the opportunity to go south and experience for ourselves the delights and disasters that the city has to offer have no room to speak of encouraging young Shetlanders to stay and resist the temptation to go and see 'it' for themselves.

Even if no-one remains anonymous in Shetland for very long it is still all too easy to be lonely here in the midst of the much publicised and vital social life around us. To hear some of the 'way -of-lifers' speak you would think that no-one in the cities had any friends or social contacts with whom to enjoy working and social life. For the old, the alcoholic, for the very poor, for the housewife with young children, and for the socially disadvantaged or unfortunate, life in Shetland can be very rough, even in the teeming housing estates of boomtown Lerwick. For a woman with a drunken husband (and vice-versa) Shetland can be a place of utter despair.....(Of incomers) Some 'go native' immediately, but there are many who dislike our weather, our drinking habits, bleak landscape and sense of humour.....and never stop telling us about it. It is not surprising that there is considerable anti-incomer sentiment in the isles, for Shetlanders are used to hearing from 'white settlers and summer visitor alike how splendid they and their archipelago are.....Being nice to strangers takes time if it is to be done properly and this leads to a myth; a myth that that life is not 'hectic' and that we follow the 'well worn traditional paths' at a steady unhurried pace and always have time to stop work for a chat. Its not quite like that; Shetland's office and factory workers have timetables and deadlines like their counterparts anywhere in Britain..... To the visitor sullied with the routine of factory and office the working day of the average Shetlander has a certain appeal connected with romantic notions about the hard but satisfying work of the countryman. But for the Lerwick factory worker who has no croft, doing boring and repetitive work on a knitting machine or at fish filleting, the life of the only partly industrialised country folk has a similar appeal. Hence the popularity of mawkish dialect poetry glorifying "da aald days apo da croft". The truth is that there are thousands of different ways of life in Shetland. The way of life of the Lerwick clerk, has little in common with the North Isles crofter, the Whalsay fisherman or the country shopkeeper. (pp 31,31 & 33).

2.11.4 Counterpastoralism & The Urban Idyll

Wills' elegant critique of the concept of the 'rural idyll' and the 'traditional way of life' raises some important points. He touches upon the opposite trend of moving to the country from the city to obtain a better quality of life. This is the notion of the bright lights of the exciting city, where you can express and enjoy yourself in a more anonymous and more open-minded environment than is often found in small tight knit communities. This is what Forsythe (1982) terms *counterpastoralism*, which is equally familiar to Westerners - "which portrays cities as exciting, full of opportunity, in contrast to rural areas which are seen as dull backward and stagnant." This counterpastoralism image, like that of its opposite, is also one of the many simulacrum of urban life which are suggested through the mass media, advertising and popular stereotype through the signifier of the city as the focal point of all the fashions, fads and innovations of modern society - particularly, as Wills was suggesting - for the young. Indeed, as Wills also hinted, there are many signifiers which portray life in the country in a much more negative light. Crime is by no means the preserve of the urban inner city. The fact that crime is associated with cities is because more people live there and therefore more crimes are committed there. Much recent rioting in England has not occurred in inner cities or problem peripheral estates but in affluent small rural towns. Rural areas are perceived as being better places to bring up children but the paradox is that a child is more likely to be picked on and bullied in a small rural community because their parents have chosen to move there and they are *different*. Intolerance of difference is also not restricted to the very young in rural areas. As Wills (1976) suggested, the popular conception of village life is of friendliness and community spirit but tight knit rural societies can be intolerant of deviance, scathing of personal expression, aggressive towards anything that does not conform to the norm, veritable bastions of narrow-mindedness and cynical of anything 'cultural or artistic'. Macho almost sexist values prevail and much is often made of one's capacity to drink vast amounts of alcohol. Heaven help anyone in a small community who turns out to be a homosexual. These values tend to be reinforced amongst the young residual population and this can lead to two opposite poles of opinion of those who reinforce the local values and dismiss anything alien, and those who are more influenced by the positive signifiers of urban areas and care little of the intolerant rural values. This counterpastoralist idyll has probably been partly responsible for the traditional rural to urban migration of the

young searching for a certain way of life as well as career and educational opportunities.

2.11.5 The Relative Strength of the Rural & Urban Idylls

Therefore, it has been shown that there are negative as well as positive signifieds for rural life and detractive aspects to rural living which are not suggested by the common simulacrum of the rural idyll. Correspondingly there are also attractions to living in cities and positive signifieds associated with urban life. It would be logical to assume, however, that given the overall trend of decentralisation that the positive images of rural life and the negative images of urban living are stronger than the negative realities of living in the country and the attractions of living in the city (although for a significant number of commuters, the benefits of living in the country and the facilities, amenities and services of urban living are both enjoyed). Also, given the continued trend of the young people leaving rural areas to be replaced by people who are in a later stage of the life cycle, it may be postulated that different simulacrum influence and different signifieds may be of more significance to different people - particularly those of different ages. It may be hypothesized that the many programmes and advertisements pertaining to youth culture strongly reinforce the lifestyle, music and fashion of the urban street culture, particularly American urban street culture and portray the excitement and the energy of living in the city. Conversely, programmes like 'The Archers' and adverts for commodities such as cars and first class rail travel - which are aimed at those sections of society who are in a later stage in the life cycle - demonstrate the merits of a rural environment.

However such is the strength of the signifiers portraying the positive aspects of rural life and the strength of the sense of identity and community and community consumption that for the people in remote rural areas in particular, the simulacrum of their traditional way of life and the quality of that life, as Wills was suggesting, takes on the perception of reality with negative aspects of the way of life which are as much a part of the way of life as the positive aspects being dismissed and even the reality of their own way of life are ignored. As Wills points out this results in the popularity of mawkish dialect poetry glorifying 'da aald days apo da croft' of which many of the people who are glorifying it have no concept. Jackson (1982a) backs this up by suggesting that as far as indigenous populations are concerned 'way of life' is often couched in terms of traditional versus modern. 'This is a case of separating memories from experience, romance from reality, a hard problem

for exiles and local patriots alike. Ennew, in the Western Isles describes the promotion of the peaceful rural idyll which ignores the available statistics on "two prevailing island enigmas: alcoholism and clinical depression. The drink problem in particular is not allowed to intervene in the literature without fierce opposition from the Hebrideans themselves."

A similar story is found in Shetland where Sutherland's description of the traditional way of life ignores the aspect of society in which 36.9% of divorce cases, 90% of cases of children in care and 84.4% of criminals or road offences involve at least one problem drinker (Gray 1987).

2.11.6 Rural Cultures : Identifiable Ways of Life or Aesthetic Frill

Although rural communities, particularly remote rural communities, definitely perceive themselves to be different the question must be asked how great are these differences in reality. Indigenous populations all watch the same TV and read the same press as the urban dwellers. As Mcleery (1991) suggests,

"the indigenous cultures of remote rural areas are under threat, even when the population is not already in decline. Because modern channels of communication are highly developed, metropolitan values can and do penetrate into the farthest reaches of geographical remoteness, by means of television, tabloids and tourists. The expectations and aspirations of the inhabitants of remote rural areas are inevitably altered." (p 146)

Despite some differences in lifestyle they are all part of the same consumption orientated capitalist society and are influenced by the same marketing strategies and buy the same goods as each other. It could be argued that although there were great differences between urban and rural areas even up to twenty five years ago the influence of the widespread use of TV and the decentralisation of industry, greater personal mobility and the rise of commuting have resulted in a more homogeneous relationship between rural and urban areas. A society where the similarities between the narratives of the Sign of urban and rural of life far outweigh the insignificant differences between the petite locales. As Cohen (1982a) observes "some critics would certainly object that the postulation of diverse cultures in a closely integrated and predominantly urban-industrial political economy such as Britain is little more than mystification of the superficial, and therefore trivial differences. They would argue that such 'aesthetic frills' no more affect the working of the state systems within the British Isles than the colour of the paintwork affects the running of a motor car."

Forsythe (1982) in her study on Stormay interviewed the spouses or relatives of Orcadians who had experience both of urban living and life on the Islands. Their attitude based on experience of both rather than experience of one and simulacrum of the other tended to suggest that the differences between city and rural life have been exaggerated.

"I enjoyed living here, but I also enjoyed living in a city. There are things I like here and things I like in the city." The connected in-migrants tend to deny that urban and rural values are in fact polar opposites.

"I liked living in the city fine. I think that living in the city, as long as you have a group of friends, is very much like living on Stormay or in a small community. You are one of a group."

2.11.7 The Perception of the Problem

It may also be the case that people go around their normal daily lives unconcerned or unaware that their culture and way of life are under threat, or if they are it is only one small thing to worry about in the multitude of concerns in a modern recession bound society of consumption and image. As Condry (1982a pp 66-67) postulates,

"notions of cultural assimilation and integration.....take little account of individuals, who may live their lives contentedly without the fact of difference being noted. The problems of cultural clash, or regional underdevelopment and so on are more likely to be felt in local authority offices, or in government, or in university departments. This is not to say that people are unaware of their supposed cultural differences; they are well able to quote it to interested inquirers such as journalists and anthropologists. But this will occur in certain contexts, and the notion of being culturally different, or of living a unique way of life is not a full time experience. The idea of cultural "barriers", with their associated problems of "integration and "assimilation" are not necessarily continually apparent to local people. The concepts of "culture" and "way of life" are far more important political tools which are useful , for example, in the battle for the maintainance of economic rights. "

2.12.1 The Geographical Impact of Counterurbanisation and the Importance of Place

An important thing to bear in mind as geographers when considering this framework is that counterurbanisation will vary in intensity and impact from place to place, from region to region, from district to district, from parish to

parish and even from village to village within the same parish. This will be more fully discussed in Chapter 10.3, although the history and geography of any community is important in the impact of the counterurbanisation process. There is a strong argument for a geographical basis to investigate the issues of counterurbanisation and the perception of which factors are important to a quality of life in rural areas. The many examples quoted from the field of rural anthropology served to exemplify concepts such as local identity, local community, local way of life and conflict as a result of counterurbanisation by urban orientated 'white settlers'. However, all the case studies were carried out in remote communities at the rural periphery where attitudes will be most crystalised and take little account of those rural areas close to urban centres.

2.13.1 The Research Framework and the Locale

From this chapter there are various research questions which present themselves to be based on a locality based study for the reasons outlined above.

1. To what extent is counterurbanisation apparent in rural Scotland? What is the nature of it - restructuring of industry, commuting or to seek a better quality of life - and how does the extent and ratio of the sub-processes vary in different locales, and different regions and what factors seem to influence this? Is there any evidence in Scotland of any economically active Postmodern migration. ?

2. What are the elements of quality of life that people are searching for when they move to rural areas, and what are the incomers' perceptions of their desired way of life and the quality of that life. How do these compare with the perceptions of the indigenous population (in the Scottish context.)? Does the perception of what is important in the choice of where to live vary between different identifiable social and demographic groups suggesting that some messages are more relevant to specific groups ?

3. Is there evidence in the responses of what is important in the respondents' quality of life to support the theory of Postmodernism regarding the urban/rural dichotomy reflected in positive and negative signifieds and the formulation of a perception of reality which is based on myth rather than reality of rural and urban life?

4. Is there any evidence to support the specific Postmodern Theory discussed in this chapter regarding Baudrillard's three tenets of i) Representation and Simulacrum ii), the production of hypereality regarding rural areas from television and the mass media, and iii) the production of

localised narratives of the sign which differ from the national interpretation of the Sign of incomers to form the basis of conflict?

5. Are the significant differences found between respondents of different ages suggesting that the positive rural pastoralist idyll which influences counterurbanisation is reinforced in respondents of certain age groups while the positive urban counterpastoralist idyll which influences depopulation is exhibited by other age groups as a result of differential marketing and advertising which targets different age groups regardless of geographical location and migrational history and which dominate over the spatial processes which Baudrillard proposed ?

6. Or alternatively, is there little difference between all identifiable respondent groups suggesting either that the increase in television usage and economic changes since the war have had a homogenising influence on the Scottish population or that the signifieds and the Simulacrum portrayed in television, advertising and the media are so strong that all respondents rationalise their responses about what is important in their quality of life using these images rather than their own, often limited, personal experience ?

7. What have been the effects on the communities where this in-migration has occurred? Is there any effect on the quality of life and is there any perception of conflict? What are the factors which mediate the perceived impact of counterurbanisation in a rural community?

These are the main research questions which will be investigated in the rest of this dissertation.

2.14.1 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has argued that a significant element of the counterurbanisation process has been migration, often to rural areas outside centres of economic activity, for 'quality of life reasons', primarily to seek some element of a 'rural idyll'. This counterurbanisation, often of people who are still economically active, has been caused in the main by the positive image of rural areas in comparison to cities especially following the recession of the 1970s and the sea change in the developed World economies towards the consumption of symbolic capital and the rise of rural space as consumption space, a situation which has been reinforced by advertising, television images, the mass media, literature and popular stereotype. There is evidence that migrants are moving because of the image of the rural idyll which has been divorced from the reality and this has implications for conflict with the

indigenous population who, as Baudrillard suggests, have a different perception of their own space and culture than the incomers.

The chapter also acknowledged the political nature of the indigenous way of life, the fact that it can be as romantically portrayed by the indigenous population as much as by incomers as well as the homogenising effects of television of the whole of British society and the existence of the counterpastoralist idyll which may appeal to younger elements of society.

CHAPTER 3: REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS

3.1.1 Introduction

The aim of this Chapter is to identify what are the main 'quality of life' factors as seen by the respondents. A questionnaire will then be developed around these results from which the main findings of the research will be based.

One of the major criticism that postmodern theory holds over 'modernist' academic and planning approaches is that the factors which are perceived to be important, especially in rural areas, are so perceived from the comfort of academic departments or council planning offices. Postmodern theory emphasises the validity of all perspectives, including those of individual rural communities. In this Chapter a special technique - repertory grid analysis - has been used, the purpose of which was to allow maximum interviewee freedom about their perceptions of quality of life factors with the minimum interference from the interviewer.

In order to avoid confusion, the theory, methodology and results of the repertory grid analysis will be treated separately - in this chapter - from the rest of the research.

Firstly the theory of repertory grid analysis will be outlined and its applicability in the field of postmodern rural quality of life research discussed. Then the study area for the analysis survey will be outlined as will the procedure adopted, the sampling technique and the modifications to the technique made in the field. The results will then be discussed showing how the subsequent questionnaire would be developed from them.

3.2.1 The Theory of Repertory Grid Analysis

The elicitation and analysis of repertory grids have been developed by psychologists since the 1950s. The technique has been developed to investigate the perceived world of an individual with the minimum of interviewer interference. (Townsend 1977).

The technique was developed as a result of work in the field of psychology by George Kelly. Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (1955) stated that an individual at any moment organises his perceived world around a set of constructs. Each construct has two poles eg. wet-dry, clean-dirty, high-low. The majority of these constructs will be held in common with most of humanity, the constructs pertaining to any individual will be personal to him in their relative significance and their organisation.

These constructs are used by a person to scale or describe an object or stimulus such as a place. When considering the quality of life of a place a respondent would use constructs to describe a quality of life of a place and to differentiate between places which are perceived as having varying quality of life. An evaluation may, for example, in terms of constructs such as "quiet-busy", "clean-dirty" or "safe-unsafe".

The repertory *grid* for any respondent comprises a set of elements along the horizontal axis and a set of constructs along the vertical. The elements are a set of tangible phenomena such as farms or people, and in this study refer to a set of *places* that a subject has knowledge about and the 'field' of the grid' is defined by these elements. The personal constructs which respondents use to differentiate these elements refer, in this case, to a set of factors which respondents use when differentiating places in terms of quality of life.

3.2.2 Repertory Grid Analysis in Geography

Repertory grid analysis has been used in human geographical research by other researchers (Hudson 1980), but not in the field of quality of life studies. Hudson (1974) developed the use of personal constructs in the geographical sphere using repertory grid analysis to study the perceptions of shoppers while Townsend (1977) used the technique in her study of the perceived world of the colonists of the tropical rainforest in Colombia. The technique has also been used extensively in the field of agricultural development as Floyd (1977) used the technique in a study of farmer's perceptions and motivations in small scale agriculture in Trinidad. In Africa, personal constructs have been used in the identification by farmers of their ecological and environmental problems and in understanding farmers' environmental images (Barker, Oguntoyinbo and Richards, 1977; Barker, 1977), while Briggs (1985) used personal constructs to investigate farmer's crop choices in the Sudan. In the developed World, Ilbery and Hornby (1983) used repertory grids to investigate the agricultural decision-making process in mid-Warwickshire in England.

3.3.1 Repertory Grid Analysis in Relation to The Conceptual Framework

Perhaps the most relevant use of personal constructs to this research was made by Stringer (1976) who used repertory grids to investigate the perception of countryside locations in North-West England and North Wales.

Stringer found that respondents differentiated different recreational areas using constructs such as 'man made' - 'hilly and natural', 'urban - 'wild and

rugged', 'populated - unpopulated', 'crowded - uncrowded', etc. It is noticeable that these are the sorts of constructs which make up elements of Forsythe's urban/ rural dichotomy (see chapter 2.3.4) so there would seem to be a precedent of a sort for using this form of research in quality of life studies.

Also repertory grid analysis and the theory of personal constructs dovetails nicely with the theory outlined in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2). As Stringer (1976 after Kelly 1955) suggests,

"In essence, personal construct theory depicts man as making sense of the World around him in terms of the constructions he places on it. A construct system evolves which is a representation model of the World and the constructs allow for the interpretation of some objects and events being alike and yet different from other objects and events."

If postmodern theory is accepted it would be logical to assume that the representation of the world would be conditioned by the images which are signified on television, in advertising and in the mass media. Consequently, the constructs which evolve as a representation of the World in terms of urban and rural spaces should conform to the stereotyped perception of urban and rural space illustrated by the urban/ rural dichotomy, and these would be evident when respondents in rural areas attempt to differentiate places in terms of quality of life.

Also by using a technique in which the influence of the interviewer is kept to a minimum while the interviewer defines their own field of perception, the relevant perceptions of the quality of life of the members of a rural community are being studied rather than what the researcher perceives to be important. By using places that the subjects know as elements, the factors which they use to differentiate areas in terms of quality of life can be identified. The technique is one which requires the respondent to reflect on their perceptions of places which they have knowledge of. If these perceptions are strongly based on signifieds of the rural idyll and the urban hell then postmodern theory regarding the influence of television, the mass media and advertising in shaping peoples perception of 'reality' will be supported. If peoples' perceptions are strongly weighted towards factors which reflect peoples' social, housing and economic circumstances, with less emphasis on the constructs relating to Forsythe's (1982) rural/ urban dichotomy, then postmodern theory can be largely rejected.

Quality of life and the quality of space and place are central concerns of postmodern culture, so it is indeed relevant to investigate what is perceived

to be important in peoples' quality of life in a rural community, and to contrast this with studies done in urban environments.

3.3.2 What are Repertory Grids ?

The repertory grid for the respondents, as was mentioned in section 3.2.1, comprises a set of elements and a set of constructs. The elements defining the field of analysis in this study are places that a subject has knowledge about. The personal constructs in this case refer to a set of ('quality of life') factors which respondents use to differentiate these places in terms of quality of life. Kelly (1955) suggested that individuals use between 13 to 20 constructs to describe any 'field' and these were shared by the majority of the population.

A pre-test is administered to several subjects to define a list of commonly held constructs and elements which can be administered to all the subjects in the main test so that their perceptions could be compared to each other. Also the pre-test serves in the fashion of a pilot study would in a questionnaire study, to discover any of the methodological and procedural difficulties which can be sorted out before the main test.

3.3.3 Rural Quality of Life : Elements

The elements were designed so that the subject would have knowledge of them, so that they would have contrasting qualities of life, and so that they would include rural spaces. In theory, if the subjects are talking about places that they know, then they are more likely to elicit factors which they actually consider important in their quality of life rather than just relying on stereotyped imagery of urban and rural spaces described by Forsythe's urban/ rural dichotomy (see section 2.3.4). If the subjects do indeed draw on these kinds of constructs then it could be concluded that in this postmodern age, people's perception of 'reality' is indeed conditioned by television, the mass media and advertising.

During the pre-testing a standard set of elements to be used in all of the Main Tests were developed. These were as follows;

RESPONDENTS HOME SETTLEMENT

NEIGHBOURING SETTLEMENT

A PLACE CONSIDERED BY THE RESPONDENT TO HAVE A HIGH QUALITY OF LIFE

A PLACE CONSIDERED TO HAVE A LOW QUALITY OF LIFE

A PLACE THE RESPONDENT HAD VISITED AND LIKED

A PLACE THE RESPONDENT HAS VISITED AND DISLIKED

A PLACE WHERE THE RESPONDENT HAS LIVED PREVIOUSLY

A PLACE WHERE FRIENDS/ RELATIVES STAY

A PLACE WHERE FRIENDS/ RELATIVES STAY

The respondent's home settlement and a neighbouring settlement were included as standard elements. This insured that the respondent would be differentiating between places - using personal constructs of quality of life -, two of which at least are rural in nature. Also elements which the subject perceived to have a high 'quality of life' (Q of L) and a low Q of L and a place that the subject had visited and liked and visited and disliked were included so that subjects would have elements of varying perceived qualities of life to differentiate between. Other known places such as where a respondent had lived before and other places where friends and relatives lived were also included so that a wide variety of places were included in the grid. It was hoped that the subject being interviewed would be able to provide a place to correspond with as many of the elements as possible in order to complete the grid. Unfortunately, the concept of quality of life can prove a difficult and intangible one to grasp for some interviewees and therefore not all the respondents were able to nominate a place for all the categories thus reducing the absolutely rigour and validity of the Repertory Grids (The validity and rigour of this method will be discussed in greater detail further in section 3.9.2). Indeed, as the aim of the whole exercise was to define constructs which relate to rural people's perception of quality of life, it is not surprising that some of the subjects had problems in identifying what quality of life was given the profligacy of use of the term in recent times, often in circumstances which bear little relation to their own lives

Also, not all the elements could be applicable to all the respondents. For example a person who has lived in a village for all their life would be unable to nominate a place where they previously lived.

In the actual main testing, 8 respondents nominated places for all 8 elements, 14 respondents nominated places for 7 and 3 respondents nominated 6 places.

3.3.4 Rural Quality of Life : Constructs

In repertory grid analysis subjects were asked to differentiate between different elements, in this case places were perceived to have differing quality of life. A factor which a subject used to differentiate between these places is a construct.

At the start of the grid technique, subjects were asked to compare different places in terms of quality of life. When a factor was mentioned it was noted down. This is termed the elicitation of constructs.

3.3.5 Rural Quality of Life : Completing the Grid

In Kelly's original theory, during the elicitation stage the respondent is presented with three of the elements and asked how one differs from the other two.

ie. "Is element A more like element B or element C?"

The subject would indicate which of the latter elements the former was most closely related to. They were then asked Why? The constructs used to differentiate, compare, and contrast the elements were then noted.

However when investigating quality of life 'in the field' it was quickly discovered that presenting elements in groups of three was too complex for such a subjective, intangible and often difficult subject as quality of life. Therefore subjects in the pre-test and the subsequent main tests were asked to compare pairs of places. As subjects talked it was often necessary to help them to crystallize their ideas into workable constructs. It was often found to be more productive, therefore, to crystallize constructs by more formal eliciting although the utmost effort was taken not to influence the thought processes of the subjects.

Therefore, subjects were asked,

"How do these two places compare in terms of the quality of life they offer?"

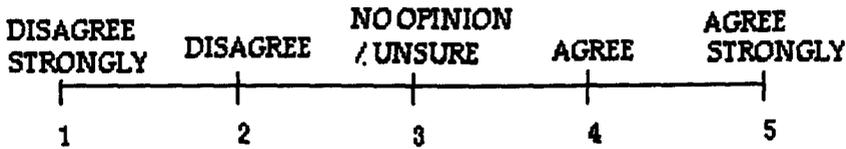
The procedure of comparing pairs of places to elicit constructs was repeated until the subject had exhausted his repertory of constructs. The grid was then completed. As well as being necessary to develop a standard set of elements the pre testing was used to develop a standard set of constructs to render the grids between different subjects comparable in the main test.

For each of the constructs for each of the elements a statement was made describing the element (the place) using the Construct. Each statement was presented in a manner which suggested a high quality of life.

eg. "Gairloch has a high level of personal security"

This was done so that the respondent would not be confused with statements which alternated between positive statements of quality of life and negative ones.

The subject had to respond to each statement within a five point scale.



A grid was then completed for each element and each construct. An example of a completed grid is included in the Appendix.

However, due to pressures of time and the difficulties some subjects had in grasping the technique, it was not possible in reality for respondents to complete the grid for all the elements. Therefore, 9 respondents completed construct statements for 6 elements, 16 respondents completed construct statements for 5 elements and 2 respondents completed construct statements for only 4 elements.

3.3.6 Rural Quality of Life : Rejections

A construct is considered to have been rejected when the respondent has given uniform answers to the statements made concerning the constructs for each element (place). Elements defined ranged from places of high quality of life to places of low quality of life and places which were liked and disliked by the respondents. Therefore if uniform answers were given, the respondent would not appear to be using the construct to actively differentiate between areas of differing quality of life. Thus, if a grid of 6 elements was completed and 5 or 6 of the replies were the same for a construct then the construct would be rejected. Similarly, for a grid of 5 elements, 4 or 5 responses had to be the uniform and for the two four element grids all 4 responses had to be uniform for each element for a construct to be rejected.

3.3.7 Rural Quality of Life : Standard Deviations

Although the rejection method is useful it is quite crude. For example, if a construct has responses for five elements of 11115, then the construct would have been rejected although the respondent might well have been actively using the construct to differentiate between elements. Therefore, a more sophisticated technique was developed which would more accurately show the extent to which each construct was used to differentiate between elements of varying quality of life nominated by the respondent.

For each respondent the *standard deviation* of each standard list construct was calculated. A standard deviation is a measure of the dispersion of values around the mean. Therefore the greater the dispersion the greater the

standard deviation. In this case, the higher the dispersion, the greater the utility in differentiating areas of varying quality of life. Correspondingly, the lower the standard deviation, the smaller the range of construct statements response scores and less the utility of the construct to differentiate between different elements.

3.4.1 The Study Area

The survey was carried out between the 30th August and the 28th September 1989. In that time 30 interviews were completed, 10 pre-tests and 20 main tests. Respondents were approached from an area in Wester Ross in the West Highlands of Scotland stretching from Torridon in the south to Laide in the north. Most of the interviews were carried out in Gairloch and Kinlochewe. In addition 6 main tests were completed by students studying in Glasgow who have attended Gairloch High School within the previous three years. These took place between February 12th and March 7th 1990. In addition to these formal repertory grids, 3 pupils from Gairloch High School were interviewed informally on November 9th 1989. Although the constraints of time didn't allow for formal repertory grid interviews to be undertaken, their views on their quality of life were very enlightening and these have been included in the discussion.

3.5.1 The Pre-Test : Aims

As was mentioned in section 3.3.2, the aims of the pre-test were to iron out the difficulties in the methodology and the survey procedure, to see what worked and what didn't work in the the structuring of the grid and to formulate a standard set of elements and more importantly constructs which all respondents could be tested on so that the results of different cases could be compared.

3.5.2 The Pre-Test : Procedure

In the pre-test, a sample of taking every fourth house from the Western edge of Gairloch was initially adopted. Every house at which no answer was received was revisited twice. However after a very demoralising first week when a very few number of people were actually contacted in houses and only three grids were completed the sampling technique was aborted in favour of an 'ad hoc' approach which consisted of looking for signs of life at any house and then knocking on the door to try and arrange an interview. This provided a more successful rate of interview "take up" although due to

the length of the interview (up to an hour and a half in duration in many cases) only one interview was arranged for each four to five households contacted.

Unless otherwise invited, the interviews were not completed at night due to the length of time the repertory grids took to complete. As described previously, with each completed grid usually taking between an hour and an hour and a half to complete (not including the mandatory tea and biscuits and polite chit-chat), it was decided that it would be a bit rude to detain people for such a length of time during the evening (when they would probably be much rather be spending their time relaxing after work). It must be noted that the take up rate was not significantly different during the evening than from during the day although respondents were noticeably unhappier about undertaking interviews when they were approached during the evening. Therefore out of 36 completed interviews, only 6 or 7 were completed during the evening.

As will be discussed in more detail later on in this Chapter (section 3.9.2), this approach could lead to an unrepresentative sample of respondents. Although a few grids were completed at weekends the sample would still tend to be biased towards people who are at home during the day, and have a lot of time to spare i.e. housewives, shift workers and the retired and against people who work during the day, absentee second home owners and people who have little time on their hands.

3.5.3 The Pre-Test : Respondents

All the pre-test interviews were completed in Gairloch village. The type of respondent in the pre test ranged from a widowed housewife who had stayed in Gairloch for all of her 61 years (and who found the conceptualization's of quality of life and the nomination of elements difficult) to a hotel manager from Reading who had a degree in Geography from Stoke Polytechnic (and who found the interview extremely interesting and the concepts easy to work with). He had lived in Gairloch for a year. 9 of the 10 respondents in the pre-test were incomers. Their lengths of stay varied between one year and eighteen years.

3.5.4 The Pre-Test : Results

In the ten pre-tests each respondent filled in a grid of constructs (only those elicited by the respondent) for six elements. From these pre-tests, each construct that was elicited was recorded and those which were rejected were

also noted. As was mentioned above, if five or more of the responses were the same then the the construct was rejected as the respondent appeared not to be using it to differentiate places which had been perceived as having varying quality of life.

Table 3.1 shows the constructs which were elicited during the pre-testing phase of the repertory grid analysis

TABLE 3.1
REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS:
CONSTRUCTS CITED DURING PRE-TESTING

Constructs of Crime and Personal Security

Violent Crime	4 elicited	(0)subsequently rejected
Non violent Crime	5 elicited	(0) rejected
Personal Security	5 elicited	(0) rejected
-family security	1	(0)
-"feel safe"	2	(0)
-Total	8 elicited	(0) rejected

Services and Amenities

Access to Health Care	1 elicited	(0) rejected
Education Provision	3 elicited	(0) rejected
Shopping Facilities	7 elicited	(2) rejected
Sports Facilities	2 elicited	(1) rejected
Access to Leisure, recreation and recreation	7 elicited	(2) rejected
-"culturally rich"	2	(0) rejected
-"possessing a good football team"	1	(0) rejected
-Total	10 elicited	(2) rejected
Level of local Amenities	8 elicited	(1) rejected
Level of local Services	4 elicited	(0) rejected

EMPLOYMENT

Employment Prospects	5 elicited	(0) rejected
- "opportunity to do well"	1	(0)
- "boom town"	1	(0)
- Total	7 elicited	(0) rejected
Low Unemployment	3 elicited	(0) rejected

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Wage Levels	3 elicited	(0) rejected
Cost of Living	2 elicited	(1) rejected

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Climate	6 elicited	(2) rejected
Access to nice Scenery	10 elicited	(1) rejected
Levels of Pollution	7 elicited	(0) rejected
- environment has been preserved	1	(0)
- Total	8 elicited	(0) rejected
Living Environment	4 elicited	(0) rejected
- lack of heavy industry	1	(0)
- "clean and tidy"	1	(0)
- desirable location	1	(0)
- "quaint"	1	(0)
- "unspoilt"	1	(0)
- Total	9 elicited	(0) rejected

HOUSING

Quality of Housing	3 elicited	(0) rejected
- "quality of council housing"	2	(0)
- Total	5 elicited	(0) rejected
Quality of Architecture	2 elicited	(0) rejected
Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	2 elicited	(0) rejected
Access to Council Housing	1 elicited	(0) rejected
Cost of Private Rented	0 elicited	(0) rejected
Well Planned Environment	2 elicited	(0) rejected

ACCESSIBILITY

Travel to Work time	4 elicited	(0) rejected
- "traffic congestion"	3	(0)
-Total	5 elicited	(0) rejected
Accessibility	4 elicited	(1) rejected
- "communications network"	3	(1)
-Total	7 elicited	(2) rejected

RURAL LIFE

Convenience of Size to Live In	7 elicited	(1) rejected
- "claustrophobia"	1	(0)
-Total	8 elicited	(1) rejected
Community Spirit	10 elicited	(1) rejected
- "close knit community"	1	(0)
-Total	11 elicited	(7) rejected
Friendliness of People	8 elicited	(5) rejected
- "openness of community"	2	(2)
- "outlook on life of people"	1	(0)
-Total	11 elicited	(7) rejected
Pace of Life	4 elicited	(1) rejected
- "people under pressure"	1	(0)
-Total	5 elicited	(1) rejected
Impersonal	5 elicited	(0) rejected
- "atmosphere of place"	2	(0)
-Total	7 elicited	(0) rejected
Peace and Quiet	3 elicited	(0) rejected
Racial Harmony	1 elicited	(0) rejected
Prevalence of Monetary Values	1 elicited	(0) rejected
- "commercially orientated"	1	(1)
-Total	2 elicited	(1) rejected
Old Fashioned Values Prevailed	1	(1)

OTHERS

Social Problems	2 elicited	(0) rejected
Adverse Affects of Tourism	2 elicited	(0) rejected
Religious Attitudes Detract	1 elicited	(0)rejected

As can be seen from the results in Table 3.1, constructs which were very similar were grouped together under a main construct and from this a list of the main constructs elicited in the pre-test was made and ranked. This is shown in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS
 RANKING LIST OF IMPORTANT CONSTRUCTS FROM PRE-TESTS

<u>FACTORS</u>	<u>ELICITATIONS</u>
1. COMMUNITY SPIRIT	11(1)
2. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	11(7)
3. ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	10(1)
4.ACCESS TO LEISURE, ENTERTAINMENTS AND RECREATION	10(2)
5. LIVING ENVIRONMENT	9(0)
6= PERSONAL SECURITY	8(0)
6 =LEVEL OF POLLUTION	8(0)
6= CONVENIENCE OF SIZE	8(0)
9. LEVEL OF AMENITIES	8(1)
10= TRAVEL TO WORK TIME	7(0)
10= IMPERSONAL	7(0)
10= EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	7(0)
13= SHOPPING FACILITIES	7(2)
13 =ACCESSIBILITY	7(2)
15. CLIMATE	6(2)
16= LEVELS OF NON-VIOLENT CRIME	5(0)
16= QUALITY OF HOUSING	5(0)
18. PACE OF LIFE	5(1)
19= LEVELS OF VIOLENT CRIME	4(0)
19= LEVELS OF LOCAL SERVICES	4(0)

3.5.5 The Pre-Test : Production of Standard List of Constructs

The ranking list shown in Table 3.2 formed the backbone of the Standard List of Constructs administered to all respondents in the main test. To make up the standard list, it was decided to include other main quality of life factors derived from Findlay et al.'s (1988a) study on British Cities. These were included so that the research from this rural quality of life study would be more comparable with those done in the urban sphere (see section 10.2.3)

These factors were,

RACIAL HARMONY

COST OF PRIVATE RENTED HOUSING

EASE OF ACCESS TO COUNCIL HOUSING

COST OF OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING

COST OF LIVING

WAGE LEVELS

UNEMPLOYMENT

SPORTS FACILITIES

LEVEL OF EDUCATION PROVISION

ACCESS TO GOOD HEALTH CARE

QUALITY OF COUNCIL HOUSING

In addition to these the constructs, 'ACCESS TO LEISURE, ENTERTAINMENT AND CULTURAL FACILITIES' was split up into

'PLACES TO GO AND THINGS TO DO IN SPARE TIME' and

'LEISURE AND ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES'

This was done to refine one broad construct into two more precise ones which would facilitate easier analysis of the factors respondents perceive when differentiating places in terms of quality of life. The same theory was applied to accessibility with this main construct being split up into '(IS) ACCESSIBLE' and 'WELL SERVED BY PUBLIC TRANSPORT'.

It could be argued that public transport is not in fact an important subject as few respondents are actually dependant on it due to the poverty of the service. Certainly many incomers would be wealthy enough to bring their own car and for the the indigenous population a car is a necessity due to the lack of supply. However a lack of service is not indicative of a lack of demand (Farrington and Harrison 1985) and there may be some respondents for whom a accessibility and a public transport (or lack of it) is a major factor when considering quality of life.

The thirty four constructs on the standard list were completed by the addition of 'PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT'. Although this was not brought up in the citation of constructs, it was often mentioned in subsequent discussion after the grid was completed. Therefore it was included because, although not overtly elicited, it may be a construct which people do use when differentiating between places of perceived differing quality of life. Also, it was added to see if it was a significant factor in the perceptions of economically active incomers who have chosen a place to move into to set up a business, perhaps in the tourist sector. This completed the standard list of 34

constructs to be completed by all respondents in the main test and these are displayed on the sample grid which has been included in the Appendix.

3.6.1 The Main Test : Aims

The aims of the main test were to build up a large enough sample of repertory grids from a rural locale so that some firm conclusions could be made about the sorts of factors which people in rural areas use to differentiate places in terms of quality of life.

3.6.2 The Main Test : Procedure

The procedure for the main test was much the same as for the Pre-Testing. Subjects were again chosen as much for their willingness and availability than for any social sampling reasons although more effort was made to get members of the indigenous community to participate in the research.

The main difference between the main test and the pre-testing was that after the elicitation stage the subjects were asked to agree on statements for all the constructs on the standard list for as many elements as possible, not only the ones which they had cited. In this way, the repertory grids for all the respondents could be compared and contrasted.

3.6.3 The Duration of the Grids

The length and duration of the pre-tests varied considerably due in no uncertain part to the role of the interviewer. The interview duration decreased with the amount of practice (and the initial teething, organisational and formatting problems being sorted out) with the first pre test taking 1 and 3/4 hours and the 10th and final one taking 35 minutes.

In the main-testing the interviews took between 1 and 1 1/2 hours to complete although one difficult interview was aborted after half an hour and another lasted over two tortuous hours.

3.6.4 The Main Tests : The Length of Residence of Respondents

Of the main repertory grid tests 18 of the 26 interviewed were incomers. Respondents ranged from a newly arrived teacher of English to a Primary School teacher who had lived in Gairloch for all of her 60 years. Also there was a lady who moved into Kinlochewe 18 years ago making her length of stay as long as some of the students who were born and brought up in the area.

FIGURE 3.1.
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS : LENGTH
 OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS

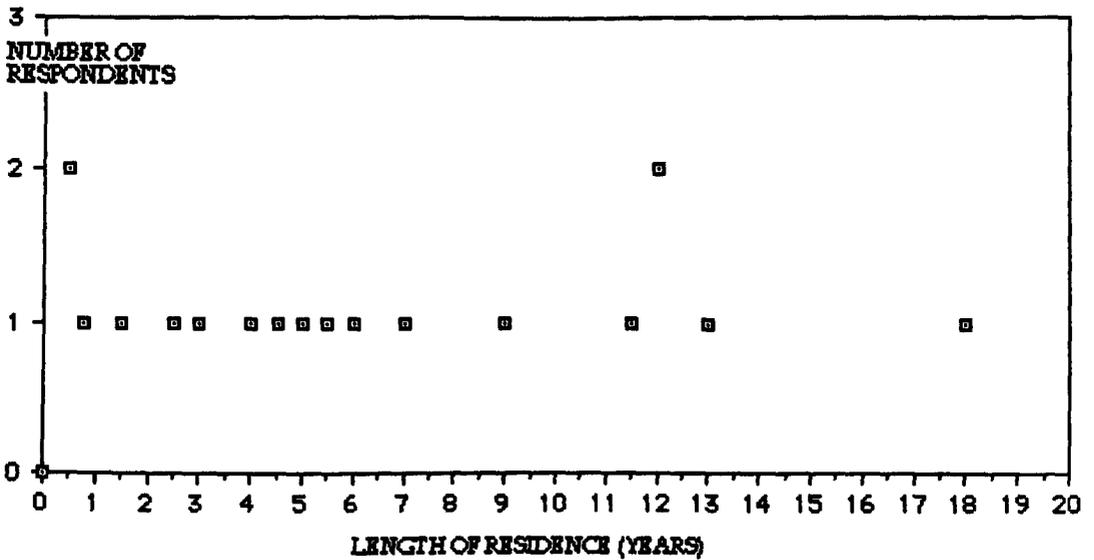


Figure 3.1 shows graphically the length of residence of subjects who have moved into the study area who participated in the main test. It can be seen that the majority of the incomers moved into the area during the ten years previous to the testing and there is only one of the incomers who moved in more than 13 years ago. This suggests either a very recent influx of incomers into a very remote and isolated area, or a rural area with a very high population turnover. The fact that the majority of respondents in the study were incomers backs up both the former explanation, and also work by Champion and others on population growth rates in the most isolated rural areas which may also suggest that an influx of incomers in recent times is perhaps related to people migrating to search for 'quality of life' and a sense of community and identity in postmodern times.

3.7.1 Results: Introduction

Three methods of analyses have been used to analyse the grids provided by the subjects. The constructs which were most frequently elicited by subjects will be considered, as will the frequency with which they were subsequently rejected. Also the standard deviation for each construct and each subject will be calculated and summed to give an overall score for each construct. The higher the sum the greater the utility of the construct in differentiating places in terms of 'quality of life'.

3.7.2 Elicited constructs

Table 3.3 is the ranked list of constructs elicited through comparisons of places perceived to have varying qualities of life by the interviewees. Each respondent elicited an average of 14 - 15 constructs during the first part of the test when they were required to specify the factors which separated places in terms of quality of life. This is comparable to other research using repertory grid analysis where subjects generally elicit between 13 and 20 constructs during a test. The list was compiled by simply summing the the number of times each construct was elicited from a total of 26 Main tests. The totals were then ranked with the highest being the construct which was elicited most frequently when a respondent was asked why a place has a higher or lower quality of life than another place.

Table 3.3 shows that of the constructs which were elicited by subjects, the factors which reflect positive signifieds of the rural idyll dominate the ranking list; 'the quality of the living environment', 'the friendliness of the people', the 'convenience of size to live in' and 'access to nice scenery' are found at the top of the list. These were elicited more often than more traditional rural concerns such as the 'quality of shopping facilities', 'level of local services' or any of the factors relating to housing. Other aspects of the rural idyll which also feature strongly in the ranking list include whether or not a place is 'impersonal' or not, 'community spirit' and the 'pace of life'. At the bottom of the list, no-one elicited the 'cost of private rented housing', merely one respondent mentioned 'ease of access to council housing' in describing why two places differ in terms of quality of life, and only two used the 'traditional' rural welfare concerns 'of employment prospects', the 'quality of council housing', the 'travel to work time', the 'prospects for economic development' and 'levels of non-violent crime'.

Surprisingly only two subjects mentioned the 'degree of racial harmony'. It would have been expected given Harper's studies in the English Midland's (1991) that this would have been a more common factor volunteered by respondents, especially when such a high proportion of them were incomers. Subjects may have been too embarrassed to volunteer a construct relating to such a controversial subject such as racial problems believing that by doing so that they may be suggesting that they are themselves racist.

TABLE 3.3
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS
 RANKING LIST OF CONSTRUCTS ELICITED IN THE MAIN TEST
 (In Differentiating Areas in Terms of Quality Of Life From Standard List of Constructs)

<u>FACTORS</u>	<u>ELICITATIONS</u>
1. LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN AND AROUND	24
2. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	21
3. CONVENIENCE OF SIZE TO LIVE IN	20
4. EASE OF ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	19
5. QUALITY OF SHOPPING FACILITIES	18
6. WHETHER OR NOT PLACE IS IMPERSONAL	17
7. COMMUNITY SPIRIT	16
8. LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES	15
9. PACE OF LIFE	14
10= QUALITY OF HOUSING	13
10= QUALITY OF LEISURE/ ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES	13
12. EXISTENCE OF PLACES TO GO/THINGS TO DO IN SPARE TIME	12
13= LEVELS OF POLLUTION	11
13= LEVEL OF EDUCATION PROVISION	11
13= LEVEL OF PERSONAL SECURITY	11
16 ACCESSIBILITY	10
17. LEVEL OF AMENITIES	9
18= QUALITY OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE	8
18= QUALITY OF SPORTS FACILITIES	8
20= WAGE LEVELS	5
20= CLIMATE	5
22= COST OF OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING	4
22= EASE OF ACCESS TO GOOD HEALTH CARE	4
24= VIOLENT CRIME LEVELS	3
24=COST OF LIVING	3
24= UNEMPLOYMENT	3
27= NON-VIOLENT CRIME LEVELS	2
27= PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	2
27= TRAVEL TO WORK TIME	2
27= DEGREE OF RACIAL HARMONY	2
27= QUALITY OF COUNCIL HOUSING	2
27= EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	2
33. EASE OF ACCESS TO COUNCIL HOUSING	1
34. COST OF PRIVATE RENTED HOUSING	0

'Violent crime levels', the cost of living and unemployment levels also fared poorly in the elicitation phase of the repertory grid analysis. The performance of the 'crime' constructs in the elicitation stage was most surprising because in Findlay et al (1988a) questionnaire study of factors being perceived as being important in the quality of life in British Cities low rates of violent crime and non-violent crime perceived as the most important aspects in a high quality of life. In the same survey of urban dwellers, 'the cost of living' and a good 'health service', in the opinion of the respondents were also important and

these do relatively poorly as well in the elicitation stage of the repertory grid analysis. By way of contrast, shopping facilities and scenic quality access which do feature highly in the national opinion survey are also prominent in the perceptions of rural interviewees with respectively 18 and 19 of the 26 respondents suggesting these factors when differentiating between areas which have varying life qualities.

Some of the explanation for the patterns described in the Table could be that respondents were concentrating on 'quality of life', which tends to be a positive sentiment, and on positive aspects of places drawing heavily on the positive elements of the rural idyll. The constructs which were most frequently elicited during the interviews such as the living environment, the friendliness of the people, convenience of size to live in, 'ease of access to nice scenery', 'community spirit' and degree of impersonality, are all very subjective constructs.) They are quite easy to deal with and come easily to mind, especially when comparing the increasingly popular romantic ideal of living in the countryside against the postmodern perception of living in the cities; where many of the respondents had moved away from and most of the indigenous interviewees professed not to like. While these positive factors are easy to deal with, other factors only impinge on the consciousness as negatives, and do not readily come to mind when considering such a positive concept as 'quality of life'. This may explain the relatively poor performances of the crime and racial factors.

Respondents, when asked to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life, often find it difficult, and are more likely to plump for broad, semantic, popular concepts which reflect popular stereotypes based on the romantic, image of life in rural areas which is presented in television, advertising and the media - the 'pastoralist' view of rural life. There are also communicational difficulties. People do not readily remember what are some major attractions of a quality of life, or can't describe them; or they say what they believe the interviewer wants to hear.

Although the factors elicited most frequently are undoubtedly important in a high quality of life their synonymity with elements of the rural idyll perhaps give a misleading picture against those constructs which are more specific and require more knowledge and facts than subjective constructs such as the convenience of size and the friendliness of the people.

3.7.3 Rejected Constructs

TABLE 34
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS:
 RANKED LIST OF CONSTRUCTS REJECTED IN MAIN TEST

(The Extent to Which Respondents Gave Uniform Responses to Constructs to describe places of perceived differing quality of life.
 -rejections involving uniform answers to all elements in brackets)

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>REJECTIONS</u>
1= ABSENCE OF VIOLENT CRIME	0 (0)
1= GOOD SHOPPING FACILITIES	0 (0)
3. ABSENCE OF NON-VIOLENT CRIME	1 (0)
4= HIGH LEVEL OF PERSONAL SECURITY	2 (0)
4= WELL SERVED BY PUBLIC TRANSPORT	2 (0)
6= LOW UNEMPLOYMENT	2 (1)
6= NICE LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN AND AROUND	2 (1)
8= EASY ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	3 (0)
8= HIGH LEVEL OF AMENITIES	3 (0)
8= NOT AN IMPERSONAL PLACE	3 (0)
8= GOOD SPORTS FACILITIES	3 (0)
12= GOOD EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	4 (0)
12= LOW LEVELS OF POLLUTION	4 (0)
12= CONVENIENT SIZE	4 (0)
15= GOOD LEISURE & ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES	5 (1)
15= COST OF OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING IS LOWER	5 (1)
15= PLEASANT PLACE OF LIFE	5 (1)
15= STRONG COMMUNITY SPIRIT	5 (1)
19= LOW COST OF LIVING	5 (2)
19= GOOD QUALITY OF COUNCIL HOUSING	5 (2)
19= HIGH DEGREE OF RACIAL HARMONY	5 (2)
22. QUALITY OF HOUSING IS GENERALLY HIGH	6 (1)
23= GOOD PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	6 (2)
23= LOW JOURNEY TO WORK TIME	6 (2)
25. EASY TO GAIN ACCESS TO COUNCIL HOUSING	6 (4)
26= HIGH LEVEL OF EDUCATION PROVISION	7 (2)
26= GOOD LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES	7 (2)
26= HIGH WAGE LEVELS	7 (2)
29. PEOPLE ARE FRIENDLY	9 (2)
30= ACCESSIBLE	10 (1)
30= PLACES TO GO / THINGS TO DO IN ONES SPARE TIME	10 (1)
32. EASY ACCESS TO GOOD HEALTH CARE	11 (4)
33. GOOD CLIMATE	11 (5)
34. PRIVATE RENTED HOUSING IS CHEAP	11 (6)

Table 3.4 takes a different approach to the problem. Rather than asking the respondents why they perceive places to have a varying quality of life and thus run the risk of receiving answers which conform to the traditionalist romanticised 'values' of rural living or the rural idyll and the urban hell. Table

3.4 is a ranking list describing the number of times a construct was 'rejected' by respondents during the completion of the grid.

The rejections for each construct were then summed and ranked and the constructs with least rejections are found at the top of the ranking list (the ones which were universally used to differentiate between areas of perceived varying quality of life and therefore the most utilised construct) with those constructs which were most frequently rejected, at the bottom.

The ranking list shows that two constructs, 'violent crime' and 'shopping facilities', were used by all the 26 respondents in the main test to differentiate between places of varying quality of life. 'Non-violent crime' was rejected only once whilst 'personal security', 'public transport service', 'unemployment' and 'living environment' were constructs which were only rejected by two respondents ; the latter being completely rejected (ie. all 5 or 6 elements yielding uniform scores) by one respondent. Also featuring highly are 'access to nice scenery', 'level of amenities', whether a place was 'impersonal' or not and sports facilities.

At the bottom of the ranking list , the 'cost of private-rented housing' was subsequently rejected by eleven respondents (six of them completely), as was 'the climate' and 'access to good health care'. Other constructs which were rejected quite frequently were 'accessibility', 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time' and 'the friendliness of the people'.

The distribution of constructs in the ranking list of rejected constructs differs markedly from those in the table of elicited constructs (Table 3.3). As there were fewer rejections than elicitation, the ranked list of rejections has a much tighter distribution than the corresponding list of elicitation. Also the construct of 'living environment' which was ranked 1st in the elicitation list is now ranked equal 6th, while the friendliness of people, which 21 people elicited, was ranked 29th in the rejection list. Also, other - arguably - more subjective elements of the 'rural idyll', constructs such as 'convenience of size of place to live in' and 'community spirit' have slipped significantly down the list. Correspondingly, constructs such as 'crime', 'personal security', and 'unemployment prospects' - negative elements of the urban rural dichotomy associated with cities - have all done significantly better in the elicitation phase as have 'sports facilities' and 'quality of public transport'.

The construct of 'shopping facilities' is the only one which has maintained its position at the top of the rankings between the two lists, while constructs such as the 'cost of private rented housing', 'climate' and 'health care' have failed to improve on their ranking significantly between the two lists.

The mythical nature of the rural idyll is illustrated in the table for rejections. Many urban communities have friendly people and other non-rural places have an acceptable pace of life when people actually have to think about it, and these constructs have therefore been subsequently been rejected. With 'violent crime' and 'non-violent crime' at the top of the list of rejections (Table 3.4) and 'pollution levels' and 'shopping facilities' also featuring highly with the 'cost of private rented housing' anchored at the bottom of the rank of rejections there is a complexion more like the ranked weightings from the national opinion survey of quality of life in British Cities (Findlay et al 1988a). The rank would also suggest that factors reflecting the negative simulacrum of urban life such as crime and personal security are very powerful in differentiating places in terms of quality of life. Again, this may be based more on stereotype rather than knowledge. There is a perception that urban spaces *are* more dangerous than rural areas and, unlike the constructs relating to the rural idyll, the subjects do not have any evidence to refute that hypothesis. Also, it is strongly perceived that urban areas are more polluted than rural areas. This is true of parts of inner cities and industrial zones of cities. However, these are unlikely to be the parts of cities which either respondents moving to rural areas have actually moved out of or that rural dwellers would visit when they visit the city.

It can also be argued that the reason many constructs are rejected by respondents is because people lack knowledge of the construct to differentiate between places of varying life qualities. People may lack knowledge about things such as the 'cost of private rented housing', 'wage levels' and 'access to council housing' in different locations so they would be inclined to answer in a uniform manner for each place. The same could be applied to constructs such as the 'climate', 'education provision' and 'service provision' which although important in the 'quality of life of respondents do not differ enough in the quality and distribution of the construct to be utilised to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life.

At the top of the rejection list there are similarly two explanations as to why respondents used certain constructs to differentiate strongly between areas differing in perceived quality of life. 'Violent crime' rates, non-violent crime and personal security are emotive subjects which are synonymous with areas of poor quality of life and a strong post-modern image of the decaying big cities. These are subjects which feature strongly in the media where instances of criminal acts (especially violent acts) in areas reported to have a low quality of life are well documented. Other construct which reflect the realities

of living in a remote rural locale such as 'shopping facilities', 'public transport service', 'level of amenities', 'unemployment' and 'sports facilities' are perhaps factors relating directly to the area where the research was carried out in. The area around Gairloch is a traditional West Highland environment where the public transport service is poor and amenities, shops and services vary from village to village, and from this peripheral area to other areas closer to urban centres. With at least two local communities included amongst the elements and these constructs prominent in the minds of people in the Gairloch area, then the afore-mentioned constructs are unlikely to be rejected by the people of the area when comparing their home settlements against other areas in terms of quality of life. The converse is true for unemployment. Although jobs are poorly paid in the study area, everyone has employment of some description and therefore unemployment is an element of life quality associated with other places and is therefore unlikely to be rejected when other areas are compared to those in the Gairloch area.

3.7.4 Constructs Analysed by Standard Deviation

The standard deviations for each construct were summed and ranked. The ranking list of constructs is shown in Table 3.5. In this Table the elements at the top are those which have been utilised to the greatest degree by the respondents as a whole to differentiate between places nominated to have varying qualities of life. The constructs at the bottom end of Table 3.5 were those which had the lowest variance of construct statement responses and therefore the smallest corresponding utility in terms of differentiating places of varying quality of life.

Table 3.5, the ranked sum of standard deviations, exhibits a broadly similar pattern to the rank of rejections, only it is one which has been refined using a more sophisticated technique. The constructs ranked highest in the list are again those which reflect the negative urban elements of Forsythe's urban/rural dichotomy (Chapter 2.3.4). 'Non-Violent crime rates', with a sum of standard deviations of 33.92, is ranked as the most important factor in differentiating places in terms of quality of life. 'Violent crime rates' is ranked 2nd, 'personal security' is ranked 4th and 'levels of pollution' is ranked 5th. Aspects of the other side of the urban / rural dichotomy (those relating to the rural idyll) are also strongly ranked suggesting that they are important in differentiating between areas of high and low quality of life. The 'quality of the living environment' is ranked 6th, the 'pace of life' 7th, and whether a place is 'impersonal' or not is ranked 8th.

TABLE 35
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS:
 RANKING LIST OF CONSTRUCTS RANKED BY SUMMED STANDARD DEVIATION

<u>FACTORS</u>	<u>SUMMED STANDARD DEVIATIONS</u>
1. NON-VIOLENT CRIME	33.92
2. VIOLENT CRIME	33.68
3. SHOPPING FACILITIES	30.68
4. PERSONAL SECURITY	30.39
5. LEVELS OF POLLUTION	30.32
6. LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN AND AROUND SETTLEMENT	30.10
7. PACE OF LIFE	28.90
8. IMPERSONAL (OR NOT)	28.46
9. SPORTS FACILITIES	26.79
10. PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE	26.67
11. CONVENIENCE OF SIZE TO LIVE IN	25.94
12. LEVEL OF AMENITIES	25.74
13. ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	24.74
14. LEISURE AND ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES	24.06
15. UNEMPLOYMENT	23.62
16. UNEMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	23.35
17. TRAVEL TO WORK TIME	22.36
18. COMMUNITY SPIRIT	21.93
19. QUALITY OF HOUSING	21.81
20. LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES	21.57
21. DEGREE OF RACIAL HARMONY	21.42
22. ACCESSIBILITY	21.33
23. EDUCATION PROVISION	20.95
24. PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	20.72
25. WAGE LEVELS	20.43
26. PLACES TO GO AND THINGS TO DO IN SPARE TIME	20.08
27. COST OF LIVING	19.43
28. QUALITY OF COUNCIL HOUSING	19.38
29. COST OF OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING	19.37
30. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	19.22
31. ACCESS TO COUNCIL HOUSING	16.67
32. ACCESS TO GOOD HEALTH CARE	16.51
33. COST OF PRIVATE RENTED HOUSING	13.97
34. CLIMATE	13.69

Although an exception is found, with 'shopping facilities' being ranked as the construct which is the 5th most widely utilised to differentiate places, these postmodern images of the urban / rural dichotomy are ranked above the more traditional concerns of living in a remote rural area. 'Sports facilities' is ranked 9th, the 'public transport service', 10th are important in differentiating areas in terms of quality of life but these are not as important as the less tangible factors which reflect the popular stereotypes of urban and rural

areas. Other such constructs, the 'convenience of the size' of a place and the 'scenic quality access', are also ranked quite highly.

At the other end of the ranking list the 'climate' and the 'cost of private rented housing' again bring up the rear in constructs used to differentiate between elements as does 'access to good health care' which is ranked 32nd. Also relatively unimportant in people's active consideration of quality of life are 'access to council housing', the 'cost of living', 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time', 'wage levels', and 'prospects for economic development'. These are again factors which subjects do not have an adequate knowledge of the factors to use them to differentiate places.

The middle of the ranking list is occupied by those tangible factors which are traditionally perceived by planners and academics as "concerns" of rural living. The 'level of amenities' is ranked 12th, 'leisure and entertainment facilities' is ranked 14th, 'unemployment' and 'employment prospects' are ranked 15th and 16th respectively, the 'travel to work time' 17th, and 'community spirit', 18th. Other such rural concerns include 'the quality of housing', the 'level of local services', 'accessibility' and 'education provision' which are ranked only 19th, 20th, 22nd and 23rd respectively

The same reasons can be tentatively put forward for the distribution of the list of summed standard deviations of constructs (Table 3.5) as were postulated for the ranked list of construct rejections (Table 3.4). The elements which were most actively used to differentiate places in terms of quality of life were those which reflected the signifieds of the negative aspects of life in the city. Some elements of the rural idyll were also ranked quite highly. These were ranked above the more traditional concerns of living in a remote rural area while factors relating to housing were not used to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life. The distribution could be said to be either geographically omnipresent or requiring of specialised knowledge about the distribution of a factor.

3.7.5 Discussion of Results

The findings of both the elicitation of subjects and standard deviations of construct utilisation seem to back up much of what was hypothesized in the conceptual framework and therefore the results seem to suggest that 'postmodern' cultural theory is, in this example, supported. The factors which respondents as a whole utilise most actively to differentiate places in terms of quality of life are those which reflect the popular simulacrum of urban and rural life illustrated in Forsythe's urban/rural dichotomy (1982). These factors

dominate over the more traditional concerns of life in remote rural areas. Respondents evidently disregard their own experiences and draw upon images presented on television, in advertising and in the mass media to formulate their model for reality when asked to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life.

Another reason that housing and other factors associated with the problems of life in the Highlands did so poorly in the ranking list as a whole is because such factors as 'employment prospects', 'wage levels', 'access', 'education provision' and 'access to council housing' are only of critical importance in the decision making process of certain sectors of the population. 'Access to housing' is only critical to people who need access to a house, 'employment prospects' and 'wage levels' are only major concerns to those who are unemployed and poorly paid, 'access' is a worry to those without a car and education to those with children of school age. Furthermore, these sectors are most likely to be found amongst the young indigenous population and are unlikely to be very significant in a sample of which almost two thirds were incomers.

Whereas rural 'concerns' are critical to a minority of the population, television and the mass media condition everyone so that these factors are used to differentiate places by the whole sample, even when knowledge is incomplete and based on image and stereotype while more specific concerns of access and housing are utilised only by certain elements of the population.

These results are interesting because these are factors upon which people may actually base their migrational decision. Therefore their decisions are based not on a perfect knowledge of a place but on postmodern images and arguably, on the extent to which a place fits a perception of their rural idyll. This would explain why migration to the remotest rural areas has increased in recent years since the passing of 'modernity'

3.8.1 Results by Migrational Group: Introduction and Classification

Although the sample is relatively small, it was decided that it would be an interesting exercise to break down the results further. As was discussed at length in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2) there has been much speculation in academic circles and in rural areas themselves about the 'great white settlers' and the counterurbanisation phenomena. As it is theorised that people have moved from metropolitan areas to tranquil remote rural areas for reasons of quality of life, a worthwhile study would be to break down the sample into 3 groups; recent incomers, established incomers and indigenous

subjects. The recent incomers were deemed to be those people who had been in residence for less than five years. This was done for no other reason than to get a reasonably comparable size of groups. The established incomers were those who had been in residence for 5 years or more but who had been born outside the study areas. The indigenous group consisted of people who were born within the study area and includes the four students interviewed in Glasgow.

As the groups contain only 8, 10 and 8 respondents respectively, it is not, of course, possible to attempt to make any concrete assertions about group tendencies as in groups of these size individual differences probably overshadow any group similarities so it must be stressed that no more than tentative suggestions are being made about the results.

3.8.2 Elicited Constructs Analysed by Migrational Group

Table 3.6 shows the top constructs which at least half the members of the group had elicited during the repertory grid testing. The tables were constructed in a similar manner to the main construct list with the respondents being split up into their groups and each construct's citations being summed for each group. At the bottom of the table the mean number of elicitations per group member is shown. One respondent's citation was left out in the established incomers class because he was old, senile and unable to understand the concept of the exercise, and only managed to elicit one construct which has been disregarded.

The mean number of constructs are almost the same for the respondent groups which disproves an assumption that incomers would have a higher mean number of constructs. Incomers have actually made the location change decision based on quality of life decisions and they have had more experience of other environments than indigenous respondents, and are therefore able to crystallise better why one place has a high quality of life while another has a low one.

In the ranking list for indigenous respondents it is the constructs which reflect the positive elements of the rural idyll and those factors which can be said to be traditional rural concerns which dominate the perceptions. The 'quality of the living environment' is the factor which is most important in differentiating places in terms of quality of life for these respondents while the 'friendliness' of the people is ranked 2nd.

TABLE 3.6a
REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS:
INDIGENOUS POPULATION ; MOST COMMONLY ELICITED CONSTRUCTS
(In List of Standard Constructs)

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>ELICITATIONS</u>
1. LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN AND AROUND	8
2. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	7
3= SHOPPING FACILITIES	6
3= EDUCATION PROVISION	6
3= QUALITY OF HOUSING	6
6= LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES	5
6= ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	5
6= CONVENIENCE OF SIZE TO LIVE IN	5
6= COMMUNITY SPIRIT	5
6= IMPERSONAL OR NOT	5
11. LEVEL OF AMENITIES	4

Number of Respondents 8

Total number of constructs elicited including those out with standard list) 123.

Mean number of constructs per respondent 15.4

TABLE 3.6b
REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS:
ESTABLISHED INCOMERS ; MOST COMMONLY ELICITED CONSTRUCTS
(In list of Standard Constructs)

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>ELICITATIONS</u>
1= LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN AND AROUND	8
1= FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	8
3= ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	7
3= COMMUNITY SPIRIT	7
3= CONVENIENCE OF SIZE TO LIVE IN	7
6= SHOPPING FACILITIES	6
6= PACE OF LIFE	6
6= IMPERSONAL OR NOT	6
6= ACCESSIBILITY	6
10= PERSONAL SECURITY	5
10= EDUCATION PROVISION	5
10= LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES	5
10= ACCESS TO LEISURE AND ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES	5
10= PLACES TO GO AND THINGS TO DO IN SPARE TIME	5

Number of respondents 9

Total number of constructs elicited (including those out with standard list) 144

Mean number of constructs per respondent 16

TABLE 3.6c
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS
 RECENT INCOMERS; MOST COMMONLY ELICITED CONSTRUCTS
 (In list of standard constructs)

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>ELICITATIONS</u>
1= LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN AND AROUND	8
1= CONVENIENCE OF SIZE TO LIVE IN	8
3. ACCESS TO NICE SCENERY	7
4. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	6
4= IMPERSONAL OR NOT	6
6= SHOPPING FACILITIES	5
6= LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES	5
6= ACCESS TO LEISURE AND ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES	5
10= PLACES TO GO AND THINGS TO DO IN SPARE TIME	4
10= LEVELS OF POLLUTION	4
10= COMMUNITY SPIRIT	4

Number of respondents 8

Total number of constructs elicited (including those out with standard list) 123

Mean number of constructs per respondent 15.3

The local concerns of 'shopping facilities', 'educational provision', and the 'quality of housing' are ranked 3rd equal while those factors ranked equal 6th (the 'level of local services', 'access to nice scenery', the 'convenience of size' of a place, 'community spirit' and whether a place is 'impersonal' or not) are also those which are elements of the rural idyll and local concerns.

The factors which were most commonly elicited in the two incomer groups are almost exclusively those which conform to the simulacrum of the rural idyll and the local concerns which were elicited by the indigenous subjects are less prominent. Seven of the nine most commonly elicited constructs of the established incomers conformed to those associated with the rural idyll as do the top five of those elicited by recent incomers.

Therefore it can be concluded that whereas the perception of incomers are dominated almost exclusively by the images of the rural idyll which are found universally given the ubiquitous nature of television and the mass media, those of the indigenous group include factors which can be said to be locally embedded in issues which are important to the particular locale such as the 'educational provision' (Gairloch High School has the reputation, locally, of being a very good school,) , the level of 'services' (there are none) and the quality of housing. This is a little evidence to support the theories of Baudrillard (see section 2.9.4) on the national manifestation of the sign and its distortion into local narratives.

3.8.3 Constructs Analysed By Summed Standard Deviation Broken Down By Migrational Groups

TABLE 3.7
 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS:
 RANKING LIST OF SUMMED STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF CONSTRUCT
 RESPONSES BY MIGRATIONAL GROUPS

<u>INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS</u>			<u>ESTABLISHED INCOMERS</u>		<u>RECENT INCOMERS</u>	
RANK	CONSTRUCT	SUM	RANK	SUM	RANK	SUM
1	LIVING ENVIRNMENT	10.32	7	10.23	9	9.55
2	NON-VIOLENT CRIME	9.95	2	12.59	2	11.38
3	VIOLENT CRIME	9.39	1	12.79	1	11.50
4	IMPERSONAL	9.35	13	9.34	7	9.77
5	POLLUTION LEVELS	9.31	5	10.84	5	10.17
6	SHOPPING FACILITIES	9.08	4	11.05	3	10.55
7	CONVENIENT SIZE	9.00	18	8.08	12	8.86
8	PACE OF LIFE	8.96	8	10.12	6	9.82
9	PERSONAL SECURITY	8.51	3	11.05	4	10.42
10	QUALITY COU. HOUSE	7.99	28	6.90	33	4.49
11	PLACES TO GO	7.98	27	6.94	30	5.16
12	LOCAL SERVICE LEVEL	7.76	30	6.22	19	7.59
13	LEISURE FACILITIES	7.73	25	7.62	13	8.71
14	PUBLIC TRANSPORT	7.60	9	9.92	11	9.15
15	SPORTS FACILITIES	7.50	11	9.63	8	9.66
16	AMENITY PROVISION	7.38	15	8.93	10	9.43
17	EMPLOYMENT PROS	7.26	19	8.02	16	8.07
18	EDUCATION PROVON	7.16	22	7.86	26	5.92
19	HOUSING QUALITY	7.13	20	8.00	23	6.68
20	ACCESS TO SCENERY	6.93	12	9.36	14	8.45
21	RACIAL HARMONY	6.84	23	7.83	22	6.75
22	ACCESS TO COUNCIL	6.79	31	5.84	34	4.49
23	COMMUNITY SPIRIT	6.72	16	8.86	24	6.35
24	COST OF OWNER OCC	6.44	26	7.18	27	5.73
25	ECONOMIC DEVELOP.	6.07	14	8.95	28	5.70
26	UNEMPLOYMENT	5.74	6	10.54	20	7.34
27	TRAVEL TO WORK	5.73	17	8.79	18	7.84
28	HEALTH CARE	5.55	32	4.97	25	5.99
29	ACCESSIBILITY	5.84	24	7.82	17	8.03
30	WAGE LEVELS	5.15	29	6.86	15	8.42
31	FRIENDLINESS	4.39	21	7.96	21	6.87
32	COST OF LIVING	4.25	10	9.74	29	5.44
33	COST OF P. RENTED	4.13	33	4.86	32	4.98
34	CLIMATE	3.88	34	4.70	31	5.11

Table 3.7 shows the Ranking List of Summed Standard Deviation for the three groups; recent incomers, established incomers and indigenous people. The methodology for the construction of these tables is the same as that which was used to construct Table 3.7. The standard deviations for construct statement responses for each respondent were summed for the three groups and then ranked.

It is interesting to note that for all three groups factors which reflect the positive aspects of the rural idyll are not as prominent in the ranking list of summed standard deviations as they were in the ranking list of elicited constructs. Indeed, for all three groups the factors which reflect the negative simulacrum of urban life have greater utility in differentiating places of varying quality of life.

The distribution of constructs for the two groups of incomers are very similar which is perhaps an encouraging comment on the potential validity of the exercise. 'Violent crime rates' tops both lists, followed in each case by 'non violent crime'. These are followed by 'personal security' and 'shopping facilities' while 'pollution levels' are the 5th most important construct used to differentiate areas of perceived varying quality of life for both groups of incomers. Interestingly, the 'quality of the living environment' is ranked as the 7th and 9th most important factor by established and recent incomers respectively, while it is ranked as the most important factor by the indigenous respondents. Other factors which reflect the positive side of rural life are also ranked highly by all three respondent groups. The 'pace of life' is ranked 8th by the indigenous respondents, and established incomers while for recent incomers it was the construct which was the sixth most important in differentiating places by quality of life. Similarly, whether a place is 'impersonal' or not was the 4th most important factor for the indigenous respondents in differentiating place, the 7th most important for recent incomers and the 13th for established incomers. This suggests that the indigenous people strongly value these positive facets of their rural life against the life quality (or the negative images of it) of the bigger cities where life is quicker, the living environment less salubrious, the people impersonal and the size too large to be comfortable in, while incomers are also moving away from urban centres to escape these ills.

The 'shopping provision' was actively used by respondents of all groups to differentiate places which perhaps reflects the lack of quality shopping provision that all people feel in remote rural areas, For similar reasons the

'public transport provision' was also actively used by all the respondent groups.

The middle range of constructs are once again those which correspond to the traditional concerns of living in rural areas and if the respective groups are compared many of these are used equally to differentiate between places. However, there are several factors which are used much more actively by the indigenous respondents than by the incomers to differentiate between places. The 'convenience of the size' of a place is the 7th most actively used construct for the indigenous group in comparison to rankings of 18th by established incomers and 12th by recent incomers. The 'quality of council housing' is the 10th most important factor in the ranking list of incomers in comparison to 28th in the list of established incomers and 33rd in the list of recent incomers. Similarly 'places to go and things to do' is the 11th most active construction the the indigenous population in comparison to the 27th and 30th in the lists of established and recent incomers respectively, the 'level of local services' is ranked 12th by incomers in comparison to 30th and 19th by the two incomer groups respectively, 'access to council housing' is ranked 22nd by incomers in comparison to 34th and 31st and the local education provision is ranked 18th by the indigenous group, 22nd by established incomers and 26th by recent incomers. This would appear to suggest that there are more respondents in the indigenous sample who are concerned about the state and the ease of entry into council housing, who actively differentiate between places of varying quality of life using the service and educational provision of a place and the number of things to do in one's recreational time. As was mentioned before, these differences emphasise the fact that the incomers are older and wealthier and almost certainly owner occupiers who are not concerned with the local housing situation and for whom the beauty and tranquillity of the area more than compensated for the lack of services and things to do.

However, there are also factors which are used more actively to differentiate between places by the two incomer groups in comparison to the indigenous one. 'Travel to work time' is ranked 17th in the list for established incomers and 18th in the list for recent incomers. In comparison it is ranked 27th in the list created by the indigenous respondents, which perhaps reflects the incomers experiences of working in more urban environment, For the indigenous communities of Wester Ross, people are used to living near to where they work. Whether 'people are friendly ' or not is ranked 21st by both the incomer groups and only 31st by the indigenous respondents which suggests that this is an aspect of the rural idyll which fits migrants image of

the rural idyll while the indigenous subjects who hail from very friendly communities take it for granted. Similarly, the indigenous respondents who are used to living in isolated communities do not differentiate places using accessibility (ranked 29th) as much as incomers who have moved to a very inaccessible place from more central locales (ranked 24th and 17th respectively)

These patterns are reflected in the Spearman's Rank correlations between the three ranking lists (a full explanation of the technique including the formula can be found in the Appendix). The strongest correlation of 0.75 is found between the two incomer groups. This is significant to the 99% confidence level which suggests that there is no significant differences between the two ranks which could not have occurred by chance. Weaker correlations are found between the rank produced by the indigenous respondents and those of the two incomer groups. The Spearman's rank correlation between the indigenous ranking list and that of the established incomers is 0.561 while with the recent incomers the correlation value is 0.76. Although these correlations are still significant to the 99% confidence level the Spearman's Rank figures do suggest that there is more similarity between the ranking list produced by the two incomer groups than between the individual incomer group and the indigenous group. This is a little evidence to support the hypothesis of Baudrillard's theories on the interpretation of the meta-Sign and its absorption into local narrative which differ slightly from the meta narrative when respondents utilise constructs to differentiate between different places in terms of quality of life.

The least important constructs for all the respondent groups (i.e. those with the lowest variance of grid response scores) are yet again those ones which show perceptible variation from place to place (regardless of quality of life) is low ; climate and access to health care ; and those constructs for which it would be logical to assume (although no firm evidence for this is available) that respondents have insufficient specific knowledge about to actively use them to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life. The cost of private rented accommodation is in this class.

3.9.1 Results Analysed by Migrational Groups: Discussion of Results

The results seem to back up the findings of Jones, Caird et al (1986). Respondents used emotive constructs which reflect the negative image of urban life such as crime, personal security and pollution to differentiate between of high and low quality of life, places they liked or disliked and two

rural areas; constructs which featured strongly in the study by Findlay, et al. (1988a) on British Cities.

People also used constructs which could be said to represent the quality or the popular perception of the quality of rural life. These broad subjective constructs which were actively used are in contrast to those which were not used to differentiate between places of varying life quality which *are* perhaps important to a person's quality of life but which could be applied equally across all elements or which respondents perhaps don't have the required specific knowledge to be able to differentiate between elements using the construct.

Perhaps most importantly, as far as this research is concerned the postmodern theory regarding the influence of television, advertising and the mass media in shaping peoples representations of 'spatial reality' seem to be backed up. Subjects drew upon postmodern stereotypes of the urban, inner city nightmare and the rural idyll to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life. There is also a little evidence to support Baudrillard's (1988b) theories of the meta narratives of the Sign and its absorption and distortion into individual cultures which produces localised narratives.

3.9.2 Discussion of Methodology

Respondents varied in their ability to come to grips with the conceptualizations of quality of life required to complete the test. Some respondents found the task of nominating places they believed had a high and low quality of life difficult, and describing factors which differentiated between them (constructs) equally difficult. In contrast other interviewees found the task interesting and stimulating. Also the degree to which respondents used constructs to differentiate between places of varying quality of life varied, as did the time taken to respond to each "construct statement" made about an element. This variation between respondents in ability to come to grips with repertory grid analysis was reflected in the variation in the time taken to complete each interview, the number of elements that were filled in on the form, the number of elements which the 'construct statement' grid was completed for, the number of constructs that were not used to differentiate between areas of varying quality of life, and the number of elicited constructs each respondent produced. Although this is not evident from the completed grids, the degree of boredom and enthusiasm for the interview and the grid technique, also varied between the respondents and

this often dictated how long the interviewer was prepared to let the interview go on for.

However, despite the explanation for the distribution, the list does show the ranking of constructs which people use to separate places which they live in and are knowledgeable about from places which they perceive to have higher and lower qualities of life. This differs from the normal questionnaire survey in that it doesn't set the parameters by asking respondents how important (eg. on a scale of 1 to 5) factors are to a quality of life. The respondents set their own parameters for the study in terms of what they define as quality of life with their choice of places to correspond to the element categories. The only constants are the constructs included in the standard list.

There is, however, a problem with the size of the survey sample and the uniqueness of the study area. A sample of 26 taken in one very relatively sparsely populated area which has an idiosyncratic economic and social system is insufficient to make concrete extrapolations to other rural areas but the results are interesting all the same.

Also, although the repertory grid analysis raised some interesting results its validity and rigour in this case specifically and for quality of life studies in general must be questioned and noted. In George Kelly's *Theory (1955) for clinical psychology*, the grid was presented rigorously over a much longer time period, under clinical conditions, conditions which could not be replicated in the field. The respondent in the earlier study was presented with three of the elements and asked how one differs from the other two. This had to be abandoned when places and their quality of life were being considered. The technique relied upon using constructs to differentiate between different elements, in this case places. Normally subjects utilise between thirteen and twenty constructs. This grid required them to consider 34 and to answer 34 construct statements about a place accurately requires some in depth knowledge about the place being considered. It must be questionable whether respondents had sufficient knowledge of five or six places to complete the grid and many of the respondents did, in fact, complain of simply not knowing. This lack of knowledge could well account for the apparent lack of utility of a few of the constructs towards the lower end of the list, although the precise levels of respondent's place knowledge and for which constructs and elements can only be speculated at.

Also the lack of a rigorous sampling system, biased by the length of time a potential respondent could spare, a lack of interviewing during the evening and the variation of elements completed for different grids must detract from

the validity of the repertory grid analysis. There is no way that this sample could be said to be representative of the population as a whole. Also counting against the test as a practical research method of an acceptable degree of rigour are the problems of the relative and variable degrees of interest in, and boredom as a result of, the technique experienced by the respondents and the basic ability of the interviewee to conceptualise quality of life. An interested, attentive and intelligent respondent would always produce a much a much better, a much more stimulating and probably a much more useful test than a bored and disinterested one, and the technique is completely undermined if the respondent cannot conceptualise either quality of life or the basic logic of the technique. These problems manifested themselves as differences in test performances between the respondents.

However, despite the apparent drawbacks, the technique has some notable advantages over other forms of survey. Repertory grids involve the minimum of user interference. Also the respondent sets the parameters of the study. When a questionnaire is designed the researcher chooses the questions and is therefore choosing the constructs which the respondent is then forced to deal with. In repertory grid analysis the constructs were developed from pre-testing and the technique analyses to what extent the respondent utilises each construct (therefore denoting the importance) using elements chosen by the respondent. Therefore, the technique is an ideal way of doing preliminary fieldwork to establish the field of research with the minimum of culturally biased assumptions from the researcher.

It can be argued that these results are actually very meaningful. The results may not be a comprehensive, weighted list of factors important in peoples' quality of life, but they are a rank of the most important factors people use when differentiating places of varying quality of life. Therefore if a person is contemplating a move to gain a higher quality of life then the criteria they use for a move are going to be based on the knowledge of different places and the perception of the quality of life there whether it be *actual* knowledge or a collage of half facts, romanticised images or rural life based on media and advertising images and negative perceptions of the quality of modernist, Fordist urban life. This research would seem to reflect this criteria. People, it can be argued, may have had imperfect knowledge while completing the grid, but they are also going to have imperfect knowledge when making a migrational decision so that the constructs at the top of the list are perhaps those they actually use when considering a place to move to which - they perceive - possesses a higher quality of life. This is perhaps a reason why,

although not reflected in the results, it was felt that (older) indigenous respondents did find conceptualizations of quality of life harder than incomers of a comparable age. It could be argued that this is because the incomer has made the decision based on quality of life criteria comparing the virtues and drawbacks of various places, using criteria which is reflected in the rank of standard deviation constructs.

However useful the results from repertory grid analysis may be, the practical utility to research into quality of life must be considered. It is a difficult concept to deal with for many respondents. Also there are problems in that it is a technique which tends to bore people and there is always a danger that respondents will lose interest after a while. To be administered rigorously the technique requires a lot more time per interview than was available in this case. It is perhaps acceptable for the grids to take up to two or three hours under clinical conditions but it isn't when the interview is arranged on the doorstep and when the interviewee is already being very generous in giving up their time in the first place (and perhaps getting bored to distraction into the bargain). The utility of the technique is further undermined by the low sample size and the length of time a small sample size took to complete. The sample size was too small to compare different economic, social and demographic groups within the sample. Only very tentative comparisons were able to be done using very small sample groups and the rigour of the technique was not such that some of the mathematically advanced and sophisticated techniques available to study the results could be feasibly applied.

The length of time taken to complete the sample in Gairloch means that it would take far too long to complete large enough samples in several contrasting rural areas and that these results would form the basis of a questionnaire which will be the main research tool used in this Ph.D.

3.10.1 Summary and Conclusions

The previous chapter outlined the conceptual framework upon which the research is based. Chapter 3 sought out the main quality of life factors which people use to differentiate between different places. A special technique, repertory grid analysis, was used to elicit these factors with the minimum of interviewer interference and the maximum of interviewee freedom. In this way 'quality of life' could be investigated from the perspective of the residents of a rural community rather than from the perspective of the academic, and this is in line with the theory outlined in the conceptual framework.

Despite certain procedural and sampling difficulties in the field, the technique produced some interesting results. The theory regarding the perception of reality in postmodern times, and the importance of television and the mass media were supported by the results. As was suggested in Chapter 2, subjects did tend to draw upon the factors which reflected the postmodern signifieds of the romanticised rural 'idyll' and the urban 'hell', which are strongly reinforced on television, in the mass media, in advertising, and in literature, when differentiating places in terms of 'quality of life.' More 'traditional' concerns of rural living were not so widely used to differentiate places, mainly because they are not so strongly reinforced by the agents listed above and because they only critically affect certain sections of the population, while the popular images of rural and urban places are held by everyone. Factors which do not form part of the postmodern simulacra of rural and urban life, factors about which people had little knowledge or whose distribution does not vary perceptibly between different geographical locations, were not actively used to differentiate places in terms of quality of life.

Although there was some difference in perceptions between incomers and indigenous respondents there was no firm evidence to support the theories based upon Baudrillard's hypotheses on local narratives (section 2.9.4).

The procedural, sampling and time difficulties encountered using the technique in the field, and the small sample of subjects raise questions about the reliability and validity of the technique which preclude the major part of this study being based upon it. However, the results are useful and the questionnaire upon which the rest of this dissertation is based on (which will be discussed in the next Chapter) has been developed using them. Therefore the questionnaire has been developed from results which have been elicited from the perceptions of rural quality of life of members of a rural community, with the minimum of input from the academic.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1.1 Introduction

The last chapter identified the areas of concern in terms of factors which are used to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life. Chapter 4 goes on to make detailed field study of eight areas chosen to cover a variety of geographical situations. The structuring of a questionnaire will also be discussed, the aim of which is to explore the social and demographic structure of the areas, to elicit the migrational histories of the respondents within the areas, to explore which factors respondents' perceive to be important in their choice of where to live, and respondents' reasons for either moving into an area, or for remaining in an area for most of their life. This in turn relates postmodern theories about the perception of quality of life to the processes of counterurbanisation, both of which were discussed in the Conceptual framework. The results of this research will make up the bulk of the findings for this study.

Firstly, an explanation of the field of the research within the conceptual framework will be made. The production of the questionnaire from the results of the repertory grid analysis and other theory will be discussed. Then the eight study areas used for the survey will be described and the reasons for choosing them outlined. Fourthly, the sampling technique employed to elicit potential respondents for the survey will be discussed and justified. Fifthly, the response rates in the eight study areas will be outlined, as will the procedures for boosting the response rates in certain areas and an outline of the interviews undertaken with senior community figures in the study areas. Lastly, a critique of the methodology used in this study will be offered outlining the advantages and drawbacks of the technique.

4.2.1 The Methodology Within the Conceptual Framework: Locales

The philosophical approach outlined in the conceptual framework placed emphasis on the importance of studying individual communities and places. This is an approach which is in sympathy with the postmodern approach to social scientific research. Rather than trying to create laws which are applicable to all rural areas, the approach must be to look at the situation at a few 'petite locales' and describe what similarities and differences there are between them and to try and pick out the general trends rather than define all encompassing and definitive laws. Consequently a study based on a comparison of several locales was opted for. Pictures of the social and

demographic processes operating within eight individual locales will be built up and compared and contrasted to each other to synthesis any patterns and trends. The study areas were carefully chosen within three contrasting regions. Within these regions study areas were chosen at comparable distances from urban centres. Therefore, in two of the regions a rural area was chosen which was proximate to a major urban centres, within all three regions an area was chosen which bordered a small market town and within each region a more remote and isolated study area was identified. Therefore study areas contrasted with each other within a region and were comparable between regions. Therefore, using eight locales carefully structured in three regions any local, regional, or national patterns in respondents' perceptions of 'quality of life' could be identified.

4.2.2 The Methodology Within the Conceptual Framework : Social Groups

The questionnaire will also ask questions which touch on the migrational history of the respondents ,so that the perceptions of 'indigenous' respondents can be compared to those of 'white settler' to investigate whether incomers base their perceptions of quality of life on *wants* related to elements of the 'rural idyll', while the local populations' perceptions are conditioned by local geographical *needs*.

The questionnaire will also ask questions about housing, gender, occupation and age, to see if any relationship occurs by social group, with special regard to age to investigate if elements of the 'pastoralist' rural idyll and the 'anti-pastoralist' urban idyll are apparent in the perceptions of different age groups.

4.2.3 The Methodology Within the Conceptual Framework : Quality of Life

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the introduction, this research aims to fill the hole in two markets, those of a postmodern, locale based approach to rural geography in general and counterurbanisation in particular, and that of offering a rural perspective to 'quality of life' studies, which have previously tended to concentrate on the quality of life available in different cities. It is very difficult to measure quality of life in small rural locales as data used to formulate indicators rarely exist on a small enough scale to make the technique worthwhile. Planners and previous studies have tried to measure 'level of living' in rural areas using whatever data and census statistics are available but the results for small areas can never be satisfactory.

This study seeks to investigate, using small area samples, the perception of what is important in people's quality of life in rural areas. This approach can be regarded as *postmodern* for four reasons. Firstly, small individual communities are being investigated with the emphasis being on painting a picture of individual locales and individual communities and highlighting, comparing, and contrasting circumstances in different areas rather than looking to generalise findings in large study areas to look for statistical 'laws'. Secondly, by not measuring level of living or welfare, and by using repertory grid analysis to define the frame of reference, the researcher is not defining what's important and relevant to the same extent that most large scale 'Modernist' statistical studies do. Thirdly, the increasing preoccupation in society with quality of life is very postmodern, and to quote Harvey (1990),

"the perceived and imagined qualities of 'space and place', and the symbolic capital that places possess which can often be defined as the 'quality of life' are fundamental to Postmodernism".

Fourthly, whether people's perceptions, rationalisations and justifications for either moving into a rural area or staying in a community for all of their life is based on experience, fixed reference points in their lives and on their personal social and economic circumstances, or whether they draw on simulacra, signifieds, popular images and stereotype which they have absorbed from television, the mass media and advertising, formulated when they answer a questionnaire relating to quality of life issues, is fundamentally postmodern research.

4.3.1 Using a Questionnaire

Chapter 3 used repertory grids to identify the relevant issues, with free rein given to the perceptions of the respondents. A questionnaire was used to follow up with more socially representative samples, to reach far more respondents in several locales, and to achieve a much deeper level of statistical analysis.

It is a widely acknowledged problem that postal questionnaires also yield very low response rates which are biased towards more affluent socio-economic groups but it was decided that once the initial questionnaires were sent out, time and energy which may have been used on repertory grid analysis could be spent contacting the respondents in order to boost the overall sample.

4.3.2 Questionnaire Size

It was thought that the questionnaire should be as short as possible so as to maximise the response rate as it would be assumed that there would be a direct relationship between size of questionnaire and lack of interest from respondents. Therefore, it was decided that a questionnaire of no more than four A4 pages would be unlikely to put off potential respondents to a great extent, and that sending out a questionnaire with a letter which stressed how important the individual's contribution to the research was and how confidential their answers would be a good psychological tactic. A copy of the letter is enclosed in the Appendix.

The questionnaire, although constrained by size, had to adequately deal with three fundamental concepts; social breakdown, migrational history and quality of life issues vis-a-vis "what is important in the choice of where to live". The first of those, the social breakdown of respondents was dealt with in the first nine questions of the questionnaire.

4.3.3 Questions Alluding to the Social Breakdown of Respondents

The respondents were initially asked to indicate their age group. The age groups were chosen not with regular intervals, but by specific age groups which may be crucial to the rural issues being investigated. Teenagers and those under 25 correspond to the young, possibly single respondents who may be at the bottom end of the employment structure and who may have different needs and wants in life than older family based respondents. Those aged between 26 and 35 would predominantly be those respondents who are parents in young families and who are perhaps endeavouring to buy a house or gain access to a council house for the first time, a difficult process in many rural areas under pressure from incomers. The difficulty of being young parents who are perhaps struggling financially in rural areas may be reflected in terms of what is rated as important in their choice of where to live. Those aged between 35 to 50 were thought to be middle aged and this group may be more affluent than the younger age group, and therefore greater financial, housing, and material security may lead to a change in respondents needs and wants which are reflected in their rating about what is important in their choice of where to live. Respondents aged between 51 and 60 were singled out because this corresponds to the age when many people took early retirement and elderly retirees were thought to make up a very significant proportion of great white settlers who move to rural areas to seek out their rural idyll. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate whether the

perceptions of this group in terms of what is important in their choice of where to live differs from those in younger age groups. The last age group are those respondents who are over 60 and relate to the most demographically senior elements of society

Question 2 asked the respondents for their gender either male or female while question three asked them for their occupation. It was decided that the respondents' occupation would be recorded and then the occupations would be broken down into discrete socio-economic classes at a later date (see Chapter 5.6.1)

The respondents were then asked about their marital status. Again, as with occupation, this would be broken down and categorised after the survey was completed. The fifth question asked respondents how many children they had while the seventh asked the respondents to state the occupation of the head of household if they themselves were not the head of household.

This is a controversial point as many females object to the term "head of household" as being sexist. But in order to classify each respondent socio-economically, including the many respondents who would classify their occupation as housewives, students and the unemployed, it is necessary to use the occupation of the person in the house who has the most prestigious or most gainful employment and there is no realistic alternative to "head of household".

As well as the occupation of the head of household, the place of occupation of the head of household was asked for in question 7. This was included so that issues such as the proportion of respondents commuting to work in different social and migrational groups in different areas could be compared, as could the distance travelled to work by respective social groupings.

4.3.4 Questions Alluding to the Residential & Migrational History of Respondents

Part 2 of the questionnaire dealt with the residential history of the respondent. Question 8 asked the respondent to state how long they had lived in the present area. From this and their residential history (question 10), it could be stated whether the the respondent was a native, a recent newcomer to the area or had moved in but been established in the area for a significant time. Question 9 dealt with the housing situation of the respondent. The respondent was asked to indicate whether the house they lived in was owner-occupied, a council house, a housing association tenancy, a private rented

dwelling, a housing co-operative house, a tied house or another form of housing.

Question 10 was designed to establish the migrational history of the respondent. Respondents were asked to list all the places that they previously lived and the years they did so. If they had lived in more than five places, they were asked to list the five that they spent the most time in. In doing this the respondents would indicate what category of Lumb's "rural migratory types they were; non-migrants, returned migrants, local in-migrants, local returned migrants or incomers (1982). Also where the incomer had moved in from could be established.

4.3.5 Questions Alluding to Quality of Life Factors

Part three of the questionnaire dealt with the rating of factors in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live. As was seen in the elicitation stages of the repertory grid analysis (Chapter 3.7.2), the use of the term 'quality of life' tended to conjure up responses which were strongly related to elements of the rural idyll and the urban hell, and therefore the term was deliberately not used to see if factors which may bear more relation to the individuals personal circumstances would be expressed. If the results using phrasing based around the concept of a factor being important in a 'choice of where to live still' resulted in responses which reflected idealised images of rural life or strongly negative images of urban life, then there are obviously strong postmodern conditioning influences determining peoples values. and shaping their perceptions of reality. Therefore, in order that such results would not have been invited by the wording of the questionnaire, 'quality of life' was not used directly, and therefore the results should indeed reflect what is important in respondents needs and wants. Clearly there is a pay off between not using the wording 'quality of life' to keep the results clear of excess imagery and and using 'importance in a choice of where to live' which by the wording may lead to the exclusion of certain elements of the sample. These include those less affluent respondents who do not have a *choice* in where they live such as the poor, who are dependent on council accommodation and Tied housing, and farmers whose families have farmed in an area for hundreds of years and who have no interest in moving, but it was hoped that this could be overcome with canvassing of respondents who had not returned the questionnaires initially.

The section was therefore worded:

If you were to choose to live anywhere in Scotland or the rest of the UK, how important would certain factors be in influencing your your decision? Please rate the level of importance of each factor by scoring on a scale below giving a number between one and five.

5 = VERY IMPORTANT IN CHOICE OF WHERE TO LIVE

4 = QUITE IMPORTANT

3 = OF LIMITED IMPORTANCE

2 = QUITE UNIMPORTANT

1 = NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT IN THE CHOICE OF WHERE TO LIVE

DK = DONT KNOW

The respondents were therefore asked to rate 35 factors on a scale of 1 to 5 on how important they were on influencing their choice of where to live. The factors were basically the 34 that had been developed in the repertory grid analysis with an 'active local community' being added as this had subsequently come to light as being important in conversation with interviewees during the repertory grid stage. For the same reasons 'personal security' was changed to 'safety for children' in the questionnaire. A five point scale was used because it was simple to work with and the Glasgow Quality of Life group had had considerable success in using just such a technique (Findlay et al. 1988b).

The factors were grouped together by subject on the questionnaire. First there were five housing factors, then three relating to transport, travel and access. Factors relating to environmental considerations were grouped together, then came financial considerations (the cost of living and wage levels). The three factors pertaining to employment were taken together as were the three relating to crime and personal security. Seven factors concerned with the ideal rural community were included together as were the factors relating to leisure and recreation. Finally factors relating to the provision of services, amenities, shopping, education and health were grouped together at the end.

Section four of the questionnaire was divided in to two parts. People who had lived in an area for mostly all their life were invited to fill in part A, while respondents who had moved into the area from elsewhere were asked to fill in part B. In Part A respondents were asked to rate how important factors were in keeping the respondent in the area. They were 'employment', 'quality

of life', 'attachment', 'a lack of opportunity to move', 'family ties', and 'inertia'. Once again respondents were asked to rate the importance of the factors in keeping them in the area on a five point scale. The factors listed were thought to be ones which were the most likely to keep indigenous rural people in their area. Obviously, if a person had employment in their home area it would be an important factor in keeping them in it. Also, if a person perceived that their community enjoyed a high quality of life then they may be less likely to move elsewhere, while having a strong attachment to the local community would also serve to persuade local people not to move away. The lack of opportunity to move away may be a factor, especially for younger respondents while family ties could also be important, especially in agricultural areas where farming tends to be a family business and in remote Highland areas where kin ties are generally stronger than elsewhere. Also, inertia could be a factor in keeping respondents in a rural area. A person may have lived in and worked in an area for the entirety of their existence and may simply never have got around to moving elsewhere.

Respondents in part B were asked to rate how important six factors were in their decision to move to the area. Again, as was discussed in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2.2.3), 'employment' was included as much of the increase in population in rural areas since the Second World War has been attributed to the decentralisation of industry, agricultural workers have historically moved around to find housing and employment, and people have always been transferred to rural areas to work in banks and other services. The 'cost of living' may be a factor in respondents' choice of where to live. Many retiring couples move into rural areas because house prices are lower and the cost of living in rural Scotland is lower than in the South East of England. The perception of the 'quality of life' (Chapter 2.3.2. & 2.3.3.) is of course critical to certain groups moving into rural areas such as elderly retirees. Mooney (1990) has shown that when couples get married in rural areas it is generally the female that moves into the male's community so that moves by people before or after they marry and by children who have to move because of their parents employment are a very significant part of the in-migration into rural areas. Another factor which is traditionally significant in rural areas is the availability of both affordable housing and council housing in rural areas, especially since both counterurbanisation to rural areas has increased and young indigenous families can no longer easily compete in the housing market in their own community, and the large price differentiations developed between urban and rural house prices which

further encouraged people to move out of the cities to the country. Therefore, 'housing reasons' were included in Section 4B of the questionnaire.

In both Parts A & B respondents were respectively asked to specify any other reasons which have either kept them in a rural area or have attracted them into it.

4.4.1 The Pilot Study

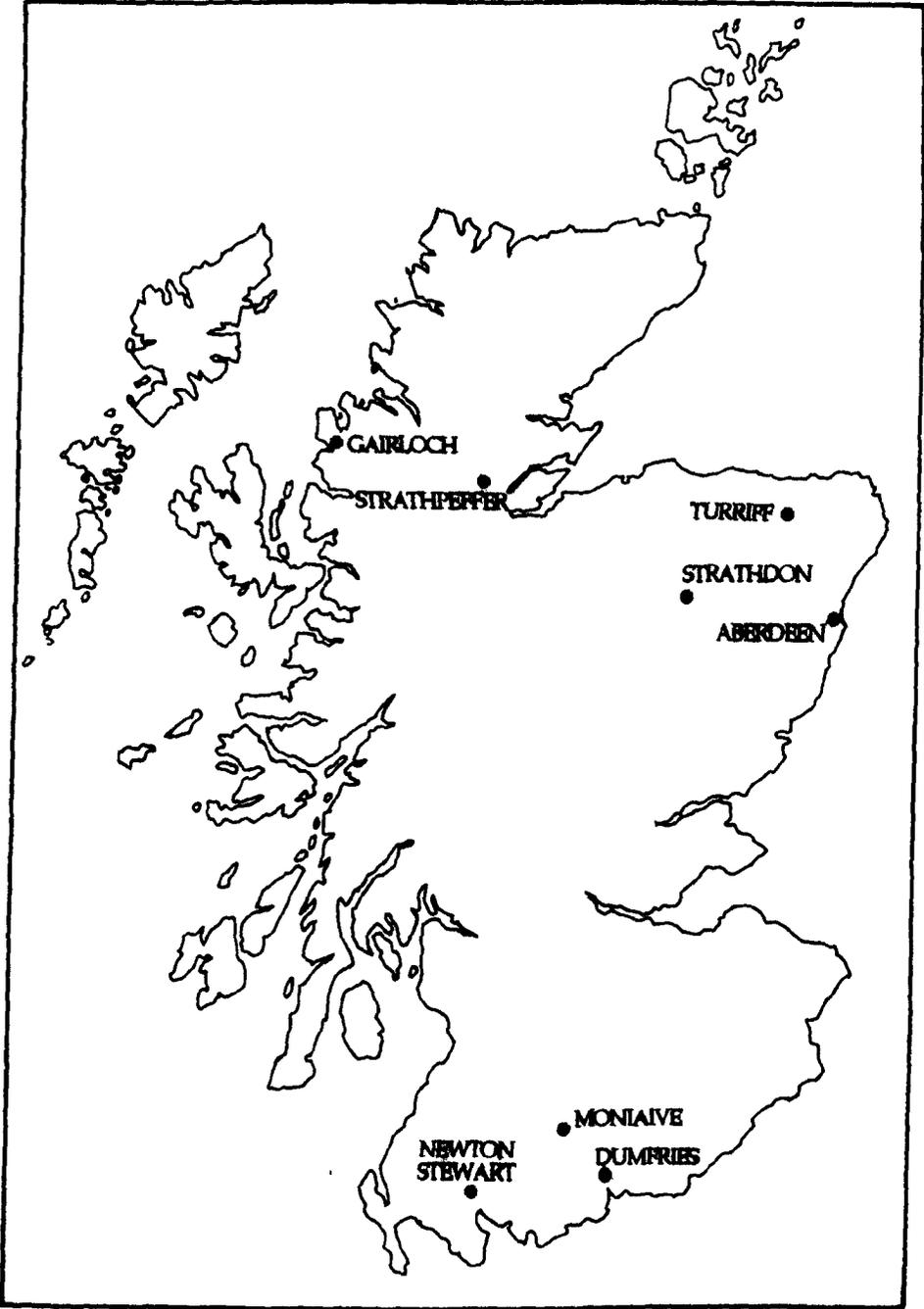
Using the questionnaire outlined above, a pilot survey was undertaken using a sample of twenty. This consisted of 16 people taken out of the phone book, eight from the Gairloch study area and eight from the Strathyre area of Central Region. Questionnaires and a copy of the cover letter were sent out to each respondent and eight of them returned the completed questionnaire. In addition six 'acquaintances' who live in rural areas were contacted and asked to fill out a questionnaire. They were also asked to give their views on how the questionnaire could be improved. From their comments and the responses of the eight *bona fide* respondents, several changes were made to the questionnaire. To make answering the questionnaire simpler for respondents, the wording for the factors in section 3 was modified to clarify what they actually were, and to avoid confusion all of the questions were phrased in a positive manner. Therefore, rather than putting merely, 'Size of place' and 'pace of life' which can be ambiguous as to whether they are attractions or detractions from a place the wording 'convenient size of place' and 'pleasant pace of life' were used. Much the same was done for part 4. This then was the questionnaire which was sent out in the main postal survey. A copy of it is included in the Appendix.

4.5.1 Survey Study Areas: Introduction

The survey was administered in eight study areas in three regions. They were chosen in order to achieve as much contrast between the study areas as possible. The three Regions where the study regions were located were chosen because they included large areas of 'rural' land. Highland, Grampian, and Dumfries and Galloway Regions were also chosen because they were all located at the geographical extremes of Scotland, so as much geographic contrast could be achieved between them as possible.

Within the Regions themselves, the study area of Gairloch and Loch Torridon was chosen because it offered a significant catchment population in a very remote and isolated area. The same can be said of Strathdon and

FIGURE 4.1
MAP OF STUDY AREAS WITHIN SCOTLAND



Glenbuchat in Grampian, and Moniaive in Dumfriesshire. Obviously, there are more isolated settlements in all three regions, but these were not used as the populations were too small to yield more than a handful of sampled respondents. Therefore, a balance had to be sought between choosing an area which was peripheral, isolated, and small enough to be classified as a rural community which is outside the direct sphere of influence of an urban centre, but is large enough to be able to get a worthwhile sized sample. Although the Gairloch study area is perhaps ideal, certain problems exist with the other two. The Strathdon and Glenbuchat study area, although very remote and isolated, still has a relatively low population, despite several individual settlements being included in the study area. In contrast, although the Moniaive area has a large enough population, it is only some 14 miles from

Dumfries at its nearest point - hardly very isolated or peripheral. However, in Dumfries and Galloway, the most isolated rural areas have an almost negligible population density so it is difficult to sample from the most sequestered rural populations and a compromise between population and isolation had to be made.

Three study areas were also chosen which were close to minor urban centres. These were chosen because it was thought that people living next to a minor centre would have different needs and wants and than respondents who live either in isolated rural areas, or in rural areas which fall under the sphere of influence of major urban centres, and this type of rural area may be undergoing a different form of counterurbanisation from those in isolated or suburban rural areas. Therefore, the rural areas adjacent to Dingwall in Easter Ross (Strathpeffer and Contin), to Turriff in Banff and Buchan (Cuminestown) and to Newton Stewart in Wigtownshire (Creetown and Kirkcowan) were chosen.

Finally, 'rural' areas which were located next to major urban centres were used. This was done to provide a contrast with the isolated study areas. Presumably the people of these areas have much different lifestyles and corresponding needs and wants to people in remote rural areas and the counterurbanisation processes in these areas is also going to be dominated by much different processes. Thus, the settlements to the West and to the East of Aberdeen and Dumfries respectively were chosen. The position of these study areas within Scotland is illustrated in figure 4.1.

4.5.2 Region 1: Highland

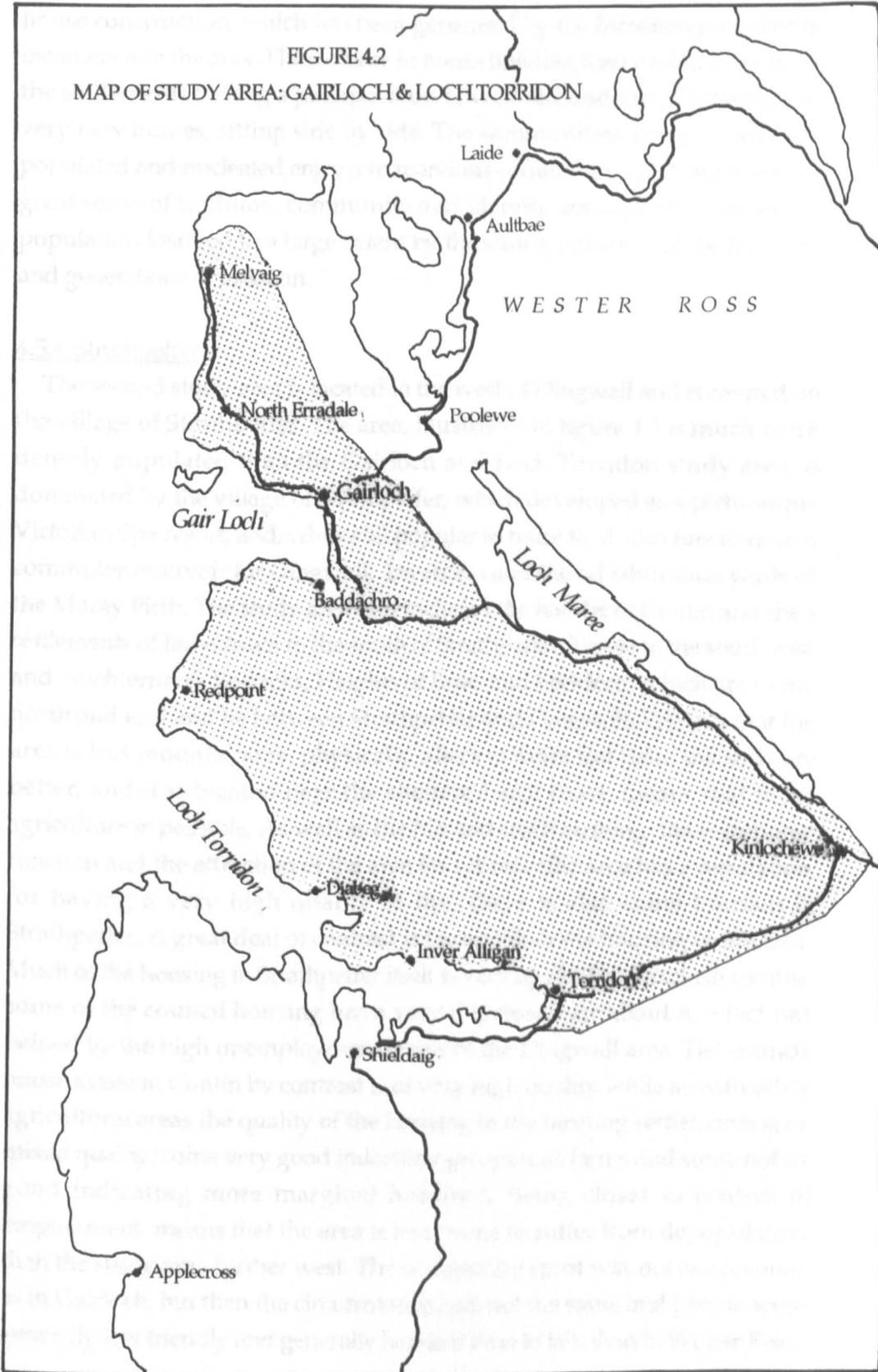
As was mentioned above, two study areas in Ross-shire were chosen because they offered a contrast to one another, both geographically and in the types of processes that may be operating in them. The Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area is very remote and isolated and population densities are low and the settlements are very nucleated. The Strathpeffer study area in contrast lies just three miles from Dingwall at its nearest point and just 15 miles from Inverness, the population density is much greater and the settlement is less nucleated.

4.5.3 Gairloch and Loch Torridon

The Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area (illustrated in the map, Figure 4.2) covers less area than the study area used for the repertory grid analysis and includes the actual settlement of Gairloch which meanders around the head of the sea loch from which it takes its name and is made up by the townships of Strath, Gairloch and Charleston. Also included are the crofting townships of Big Sand, Altgrishan, North Erradale and Melvaig which are located to the north-west of Gairloch, and are really no more than a collection of crofts. The area is dominated by the Torridon mountains and settlement is either confined to the low ground along the valleys in villages such as Kinlochewe and Torridon or clustered into very small crofting townships on the raised beaches at the junction of mountain and sea. Examples of the latter are found at Badachro, Port Henderson, Opinan and Red Point which lie on the southern edge of Loch Gairloch and Inveralligan and Diabeg which lie on the northern edge of Loch Torridon. The population, both in terms of numbers and density, is very low and this is illustrated by comparing the map for Gairloch to that of Strathpeffer. Both maps are at the same scale and both areas contain roughly the same population. As was mentioned before the physical geography of the area is dominated by heavily glaciated mountain, valley and sea loch. The acidic soils of the ancient Torridonian rocks and the harsh winter climate and heavy rainfall make agriculture difficult and crofting, mainly part time, dominates, aided by EEC grants.

The West Highlands of Scotland has traditionally been prone to depopulation of the young, and in this area obvious sources of large scale employment are scarce. The main sources of employment include the Forestry Commission, the National Trust for Scotland (who manage the Benn Eighe Nature Reserve), fishing and fish processing (which is centred on Gairloch), salmon farming, tourism (which is increasingly important and seasonal), and

FIGURE 4.2
MAP OF STUDY AREA: GAIRLOCH & LOCH TORRIDON



SCALE 1:250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

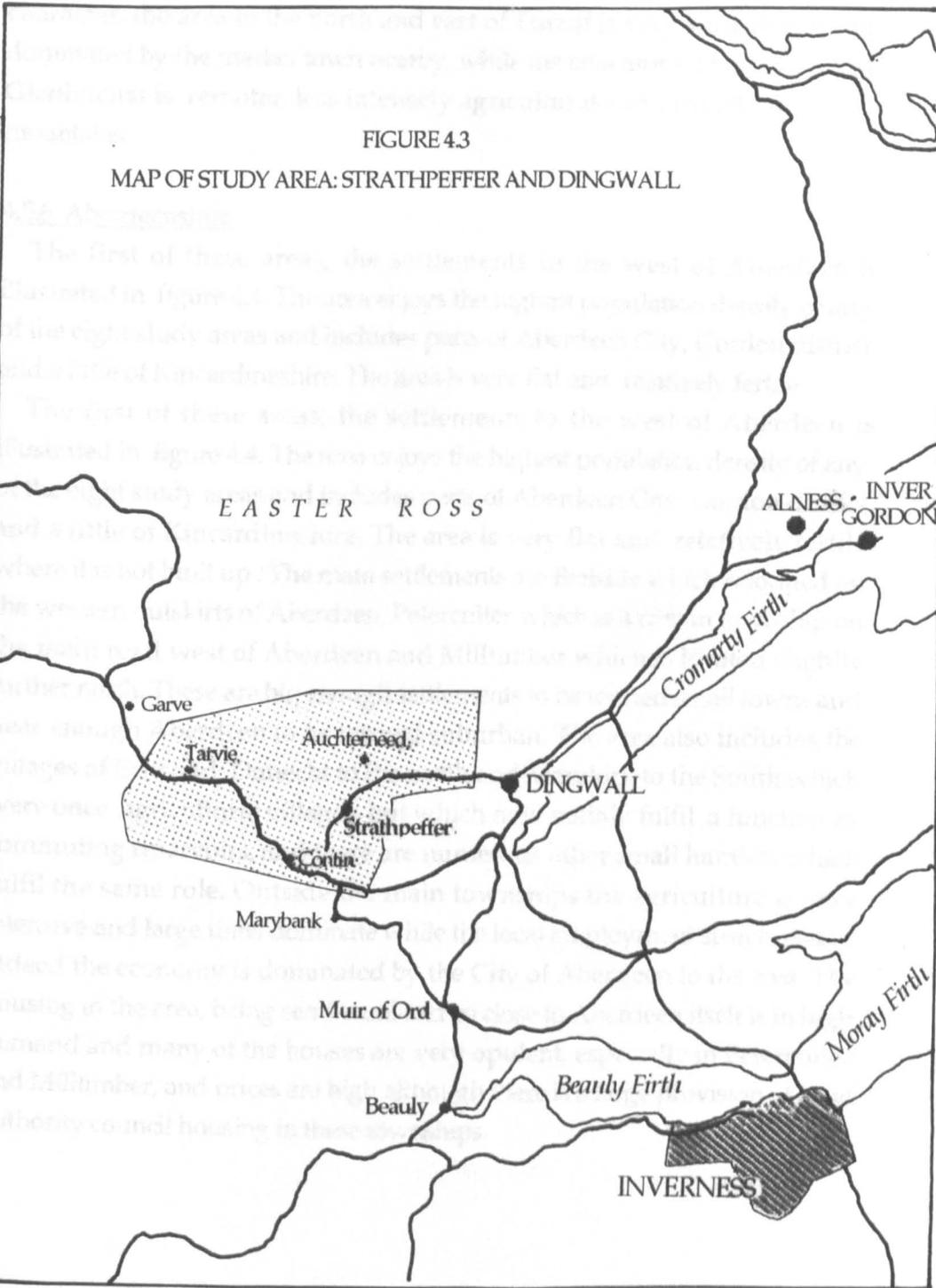
house construction, which has been generated by the increasing number of incomers into the area. The increase in house building has resulted in many of the settlements having a juxtaposition of very old traditional housing and very new homes, sitting side by side. The communities, being so sparsely populated and nucleated, enjoy a tremendous community spirit and there is a great sense of tradition, community and identity amongst the indigenous population fostered to a large extent by the strong influence of the free Kirk and generations of isolation.

4.5.4 Strathpeffer

The second study area is located to the west of Dingwall and is centred on the village of Strathpeffer. The area, illustrated in figure 4.3 is much more densely populated than the Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area, is dominated by the village of Strathpeffer, which developed as a picturesque Victorian Spa resort, and, while still popular to retire to, it also functions as a commuter reservoir for Dingwall, Inverness and the oil fabrication yards of the Moray Firth. The study area also includes the hamlet of Contin and the settlements of Jamestown to the south of Strathpeffer, Tarvie to the south-east and Auchterneed, Bottacks, Heights of Brae and Fodderty which are to the north and east and lie between Strathpeffer and Dingwall. The fact that the area is less mountainous, physically, there is more flat land, the soils are better, and it is located near the sheltered east coast, means that more agriculture is possible. As well as the hill and stock farming, the commuter function and the attraction of the area for retirees (the area has a reputation for having a very high quality of life) there is also some tourism in Strathpeffer. A great deal of contrast is found when the housing in the area. Much of the housing in Strathpeffer itself is very opulent and exclusive while some of the council housing has a very depressed air about it, a fact not helped by the high unemployment levels of the Dingwall area. The council house estate in Contin by contrast is of very high quality while as with other agricultural areas the quality of the housing in the farming settlements is of mixed quality; some very good indicating prosperous farms and some not so good indicating more marginal holdings. Being closer to centres of employment means that the area is less prone to suffer from depopulation than the study area further west. The community spirit was not as apparent as in Gairloch, but then the circumstances are not the same and people were generally less friendly and generally had less time to talk than in Wester Ross.

4.52 Regional Development

The study area in Grampian Region offers good geographical contrast. The area immediately to the west of Aberdeen is the most densely populated area in the region.



SCALE 1 : 250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

4.5.5 Region 2 : Grampian

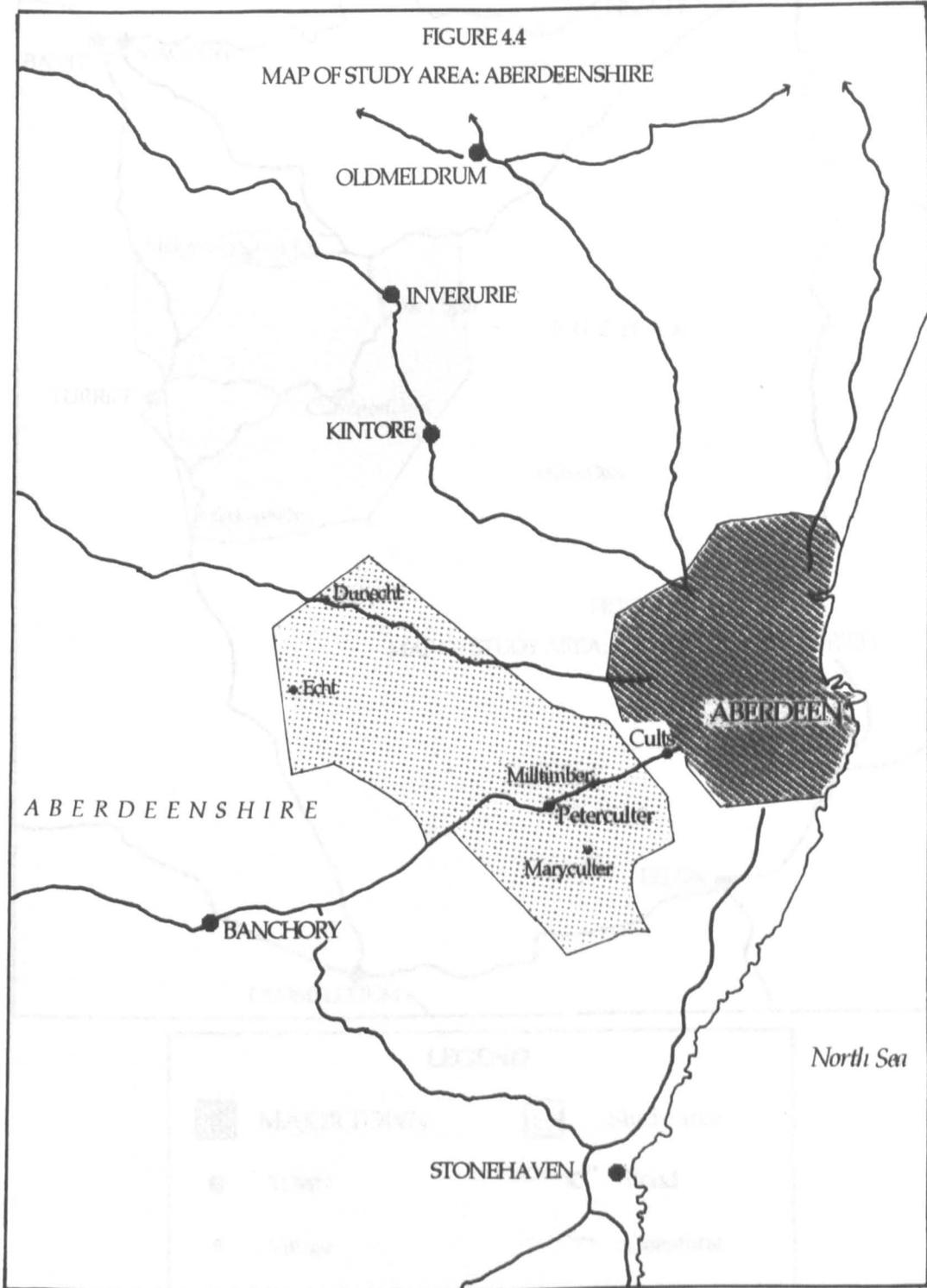
The three study areas in Grampian Region offers great geographical contrast. The area immediately to the west of Aberdeen is almost urban in character, the area to the north and east of Turriff is very agricultural and dominated by the market town nearby, while the area around Strathdon and Glenbuchat is remoter, less intensely agricultural and virtually up in the mountains.

4.5.6 Aberdeenshire

The first of these areas, the settlements to the west of Aberdeen is illustrated in figure 4.4. The area enjoys the highest population density of any of the eight study areas and includes parts of Aberdeen City, Gordon district and a little of Kincardineshire. The area is very flat and relatively fertile

The first of these areas, the settlements to the west of Aberdeen is illustrated in figure 4.4. The area enjoys the highest population density of any of the eight study areas and includes parts of Aberdeen City, Gordon district and a little of Kincardineshire. The area is very flat and relatively fertile where it is not built up . The main settlements are Bielside which is located on the western outskirts of Aberdeen, Peterculter which is a ribbon township on the main road west of Aberdeen and Milltimber which is located slightly further north. These are big enough settlements to be termed small towns and near enough Aberdeen to be termed suburban. The area also includes the villages of Echt and Dunecht to the north and Marykirk to the South which were once agricultural villages but which now mainly fulfil a function as commuting reservoirs, and there are numerous other small hamlets which fulfil the same role. Outside the main townships the agriculture is very intensive and large units dominate while the local employment structure and indeed the economy is dominated by the City of Aberdeen to the east. The housing in the area, being semi-rural and so close to Aberdeen itself is in high demand and many of the houses are very opulent, especially in Peterculter and Milltimber, and prices are high although there is a large provision of local authority council housing in these townships.

FIGURE 4.4
MAP OF STUDY AREA: ABERDEENSHIRE



SCALE 1:250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

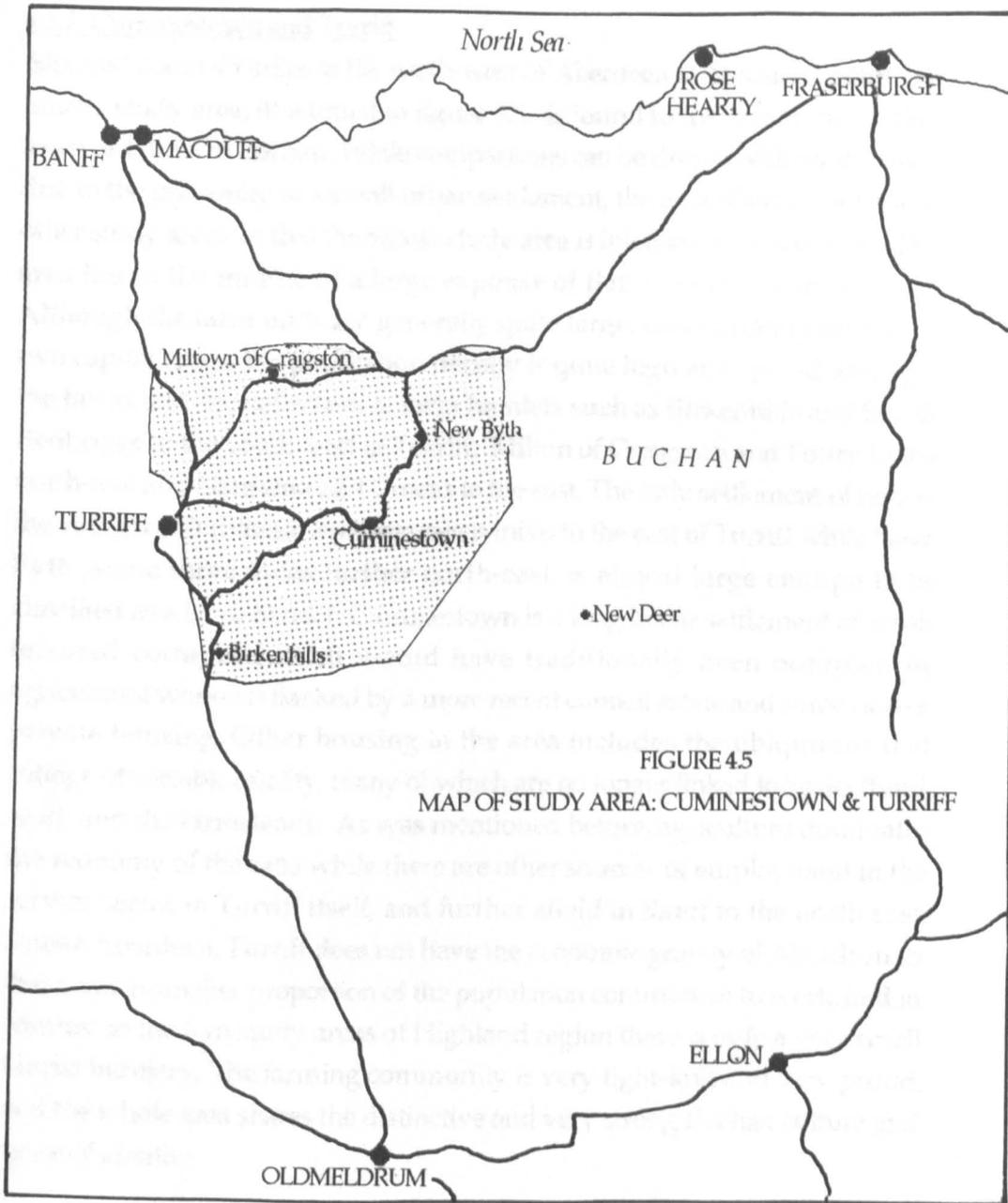
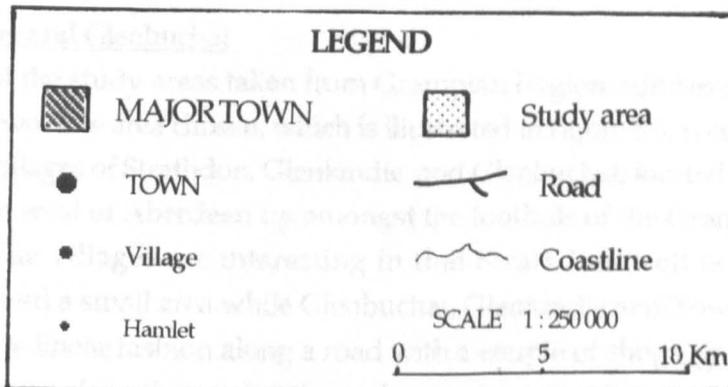


FIGURE 4.5
MAP OF STUDY AREA: CUMINESTOWN & TURRIFF



4.5.7 Cuminestown and Turriff

Situated about 45 miles to the north-west of Aberdeen at its nearest point, the fourth study area, illustrated in figure 4.5, is found to the east of the market town of Turriff in Buchan. While comparisons can be drawn with Strathpeffer due to the proximity of a small urban settlement, the area offers a contrast to other study areas in that the whole study area is intensively agricultural. The area lies in the middle of a large expanse of flat, very fertile arable land. Although the farm units are generally quite large, concentrating on one or two capital crops, the population density is quite high and spread amongst the farms and the collection of farm hamlets such as Birkenhills and South Redbriggs to the south-east of Turriff, Milton of Craigston and Fintry to the north-east and Garmond and Greens to the east. The only settlement of note is the village of Cuminestown some seven miles to the east of Turriff while New Byth, some three miles further north-east, is almost large enough to be classified as a large hamlet. Cuminestown is a long linear settlement of small terraced cottages (which would have traditionally been occupied by agricultural workers) flanked by a more recent council estate and some newer private housing. Other housing in the area includes the ubiquitous tied cottage of variable quality, many of which are no longer linked to agricultural work and the farmsteads. As was mentioned before, agriculture dominates the economy of the area while there are other sources of employment in the service sector in Turriff itself, and further afield in Banff to the north east. Unlike Aberdeen, Turriff does not have the economic gravity of Aberdeen so that a much smaller proportion of the population commute in to work, and in contrast to the two study areas of Highland region there is only a very small tourist industry. The farming community is very tight-knit and very proud, and the whole area shares the distinctive and very strong Buchan culture and sense of identity.

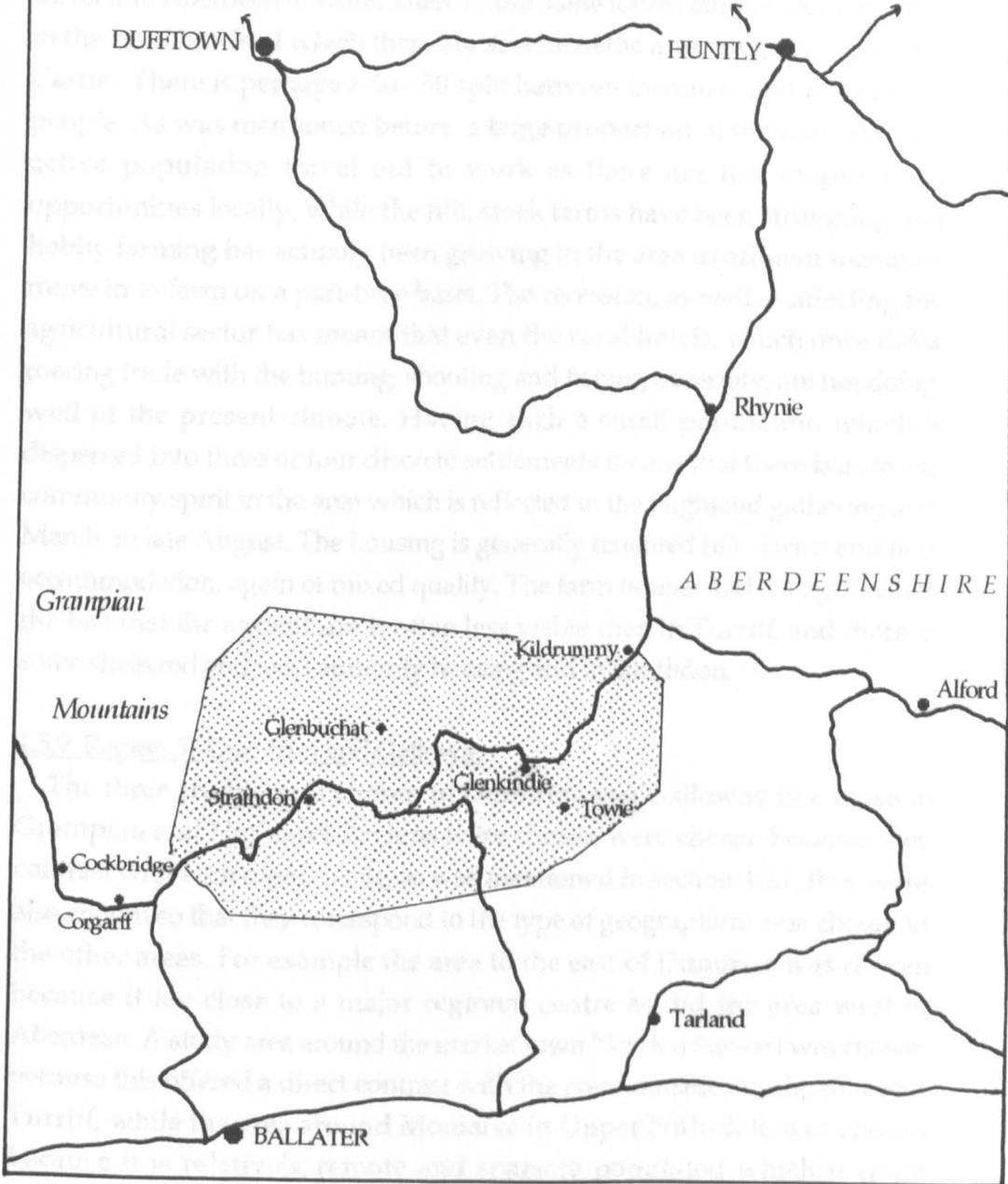
4.5.8 Strathdon and Glenbuchat

The third of the study areas taken from Grampian Region contrasts with the previous two. The area chosen, which is illustrated in figure 4.6, is centred on the small villages of Strathdon, Glenkindie and Glenbuchat, located some 45 miles to the west of Aberdeen up amongst the foothills of the Grampian mountains. The villages are interesting in that Strathdon itself is quite nucleated around a small area while Glenbuchat, Glenkindie and Towie are distributed in a linear fashion along a road with a couple of shops, garages and a hotel strung along the road with no obvious focus for the settlements.

The area as a whole is very sparsely populated. The main...

FIGURE 4.6

MAP OF STUDY AREA: STRATHDON, GLENBUCHAT & KILDRUMMY



SCALE 1:250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

4.2.1 Rural Dumfriesshire

The first of these areas is illustrated in figure 4.7 and covers the area around the eastern fringes of Dumfries stretching from the outskirts of the town...

The area as a whole is very sparsely populated. The main sources of employment include forestry, hill farming, and estate work, while some commuting takes place out of the area to Alford where Stuart Mill Construction employs some 700 men, to Farquers in Huntly, and some even travel into Aberdeen to work. There is also some tourist employment, mainly in the rural hotels of which there are several in the area, and at Kildrummy Castle. There is perhaps a 50 - 50 split between incomers and indigenous people. As was mentioned before, a large proportion of the economically active population travel out to work as there are few employment opportunities locally, while the hill, stock farms have been struggling and hobby farming has actually been growing in the area as affluent incomers move in to farm on a part-time basis. The recession, as well as affecting the agricultural sector has meant that even the rural hotels, which once did a roaring trade with the hunting, shooting and fishing fraternity, are not doing well in the present climate. Having such a small population which is dispersed into three or four discrete settlements means that there is a strong community spirit in the area which is reflected in the Highland gathering and March in late August. The housing is generally tenanted hill farms and tied accommodation, again of mixed quality. The farm houses and cottages reflect the fact that the agriculture is often less viable than in Turriff, and there is some sheltered and local authority housing and in Strathdon.

4.5.9 Region 3: Dumfries and Galloway

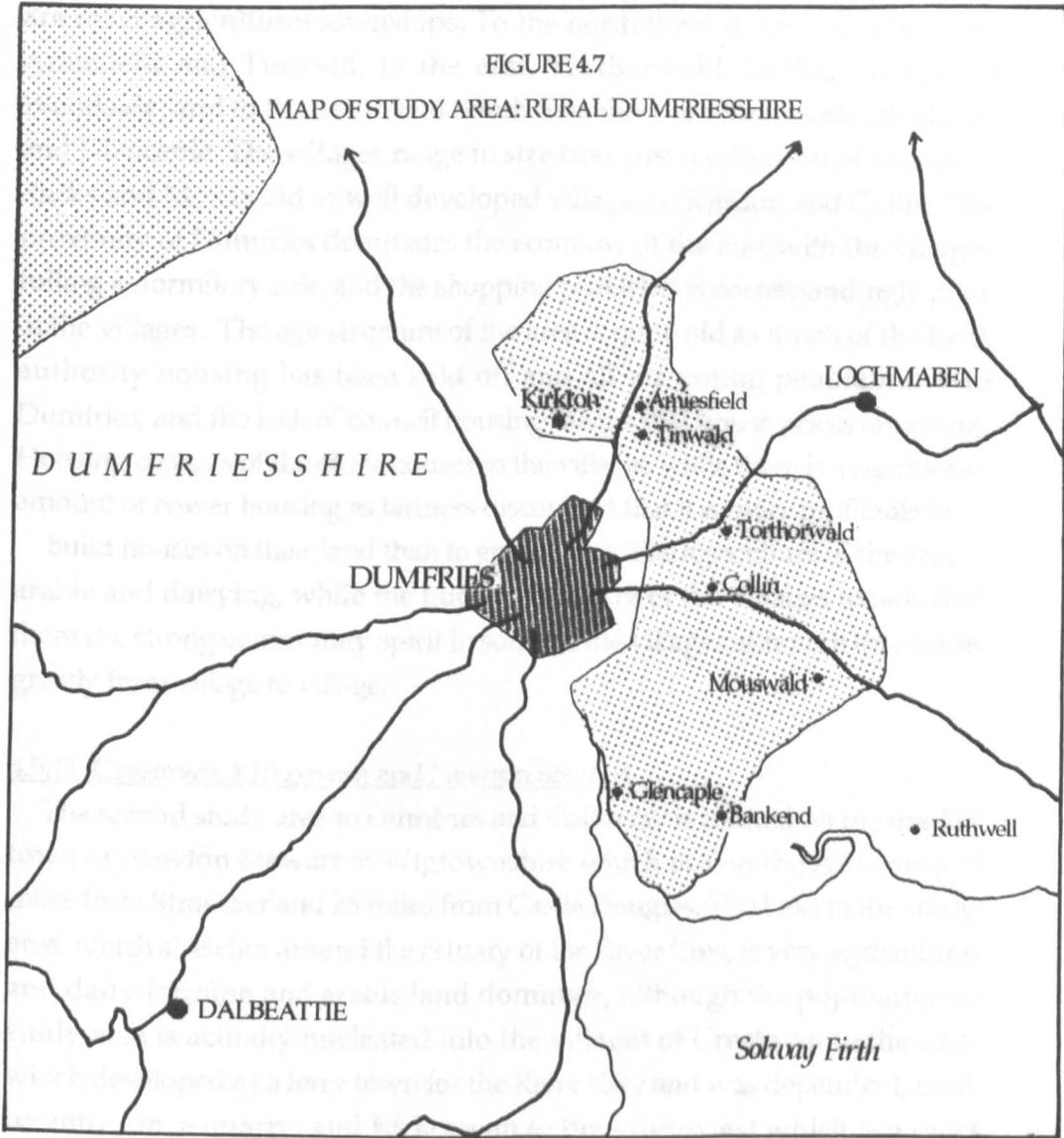
The three study areas chosen in Dumfries and Galloway like those in Grampian and Highland Regions were chosen because they contrast with each other, while, as was mentioned in section 4.5.1, they were also chosen so that they correspond to the type of geographical area chosen in the other areas. For example the area to the east of Dumfries was chosen because it lay close to a major regional centre as did the area west of Aberdeen. A study area around the market town Newton Stewart was chosen because this offered a direct contrast with the areas outside Strathpeffer and Turriff, while the area around Moniaive in Upper Nithsdale was chosen because it is relatively remote and sparsely populated which is more comparable with the areas of Gairloch and Loch Torridon.

4.5.10 Rural Dumfriesshire

The first of these areas is illustrated in figure 4.7 and covers the area around the eastern fringes of Dumfries stretching from the outskirts of the town to

about a variety of farm or tenement, the area is particularly rich in small farms around the eastern end of the River Nith, where the water runs up a high, steep ground to the east. The area is quite agricultural although the presence of Dumfries facilitates the population density. It is a typical rural area of the Aberdeenshire study area. The population density is about 100 per square mile.

FIGURE 4.7
MAP OF STUDY AREA: RURAL DUMFRIESSHIRE



SCALE 1 : 250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

Both are about seven miles away from Dumfries, which has a population of 2,000 and has a high provision of services for its size to cater for the relatively high agricultural population. The economy of the area is dominated by farming and the service jobs in Dumfries, although the area is a renowned unemployment blackspot with one of the highest unemployment rates in Scotland. There is also unemployment in the

about a radius of four or five miles. The area is generally very flat as it lies around the estuary of the River Nith, while the relief rises up to higher ground to the east. The area is quite agricultural although the proximity to Dumfries dictates the population density is quite high, second only to the Aberdeen study area. The population is nucleated into small villages which are relict agricultural townships. To the north there is Kirkton, Duncow, Amisfield and Tinwald, to the east, Torthorwald, Collin, Racks and Woodside, and to the South and South East there are Mouswald, Bankend and Glencaple. The villages range in size from just a collection of houses in Racks and Mouswald to well developed villages in Kirkton and Collin. The proximity of Dumfries dominates the economy of the area with the villages fulfilling a dormitory role, and the shopping provision is correspondingly poor in the villages. The age structure of the area is quite old as much of the local authority housing has been sold off and all the young people move to Dumfries, and the lack of council housing means that house prices are rising. Housing consists of the older houses in the villages while there is a significant amount of newer housing as farmers discovered that it is more profitable to

build houses on their land than to grow crops. The agriculture in the area is arable and dairying, while the nucleated nature of the villages means that there is a strong community spirit in some of the villages although this varies greatly from village to village.

4.5.11 Creetown, Kirkcowan and Newton Stewart

The second study area in Dumfries and Galloway is centred on the market town of Newton Stewart in Wigtownshire which lies on the A77 some 25 miles from Stranraer and 26 miles from Castle Douglas. The land in the study area, which stretches around the estuary of the River Cree, is very agricultural and dairy farming and arable land dominate, although the population of study area is actually nucleated into the villages of Creetown to the east, which developed as a ferry town for the River Cree and was dependent, until recently, on a quarry, and Kirkcowan to the south-west which is a relict agricultural village. Both are about seven miles away from Newton Stewart, which has a population of 2 000 and has a high provision of services for its size to cater for the relatively high agricultural population. The economy of the area is dominated by farming and the service jobs of Newton Stewart, although the area is a renowned unemployment blackspot with a rate of 18% which is the third highest in Scotland. There is also employment in tourism

FIGURE 4.8

MAP OF STUDY AREA: CREETOWN, KIRKCOWAN & NEWTON STEWART

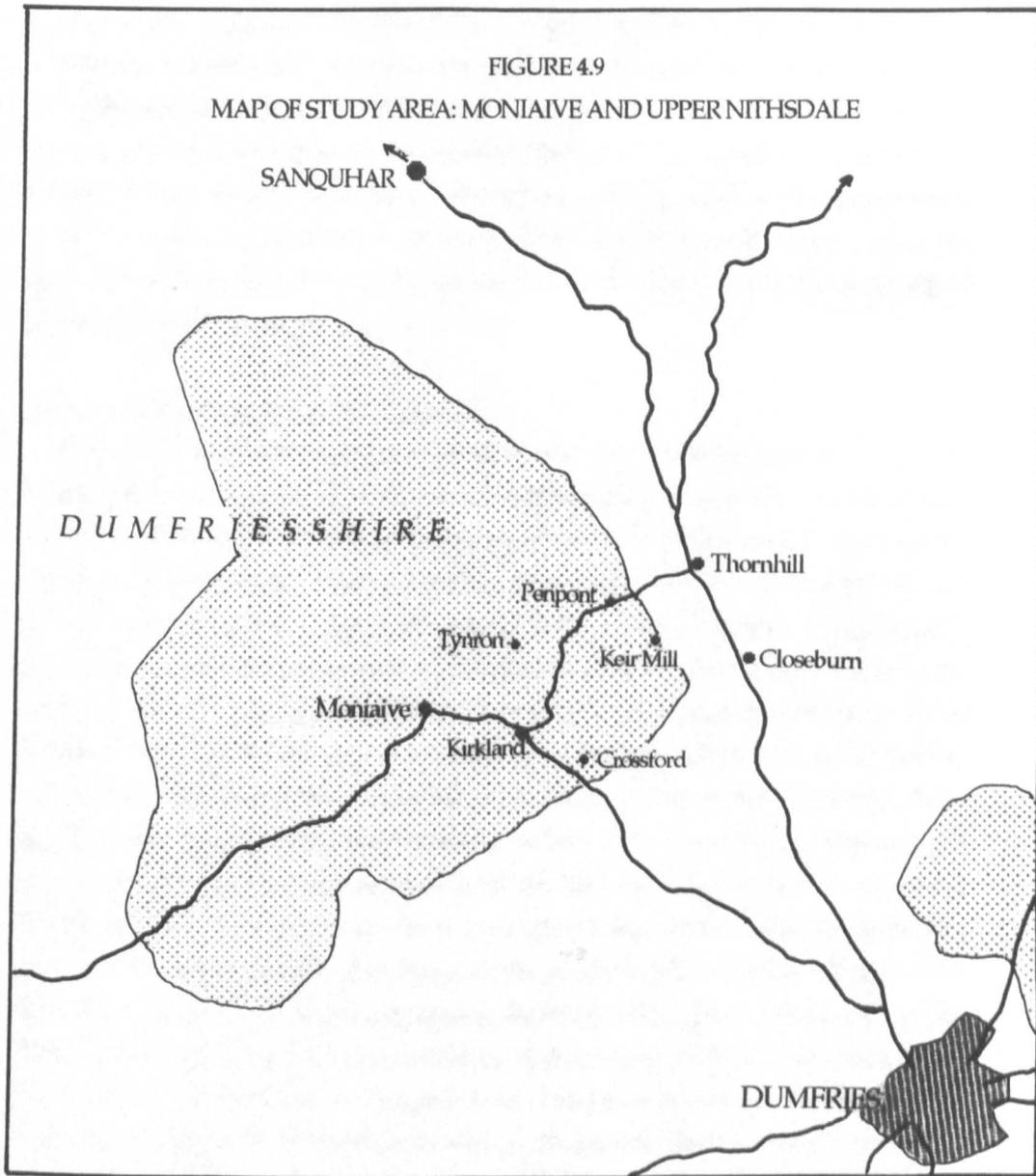


SCALE 1:250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

FIGURE 4.9

MAP OF STUDY AREA: MONIAIVE AND UPPER NITHSDALE



SCALE 1:250 000

For Legend see Figure 4.5

and forestry, and limited opportunities in agriculture for anyone who doesn't belong to a farming family. The land is generally flat and fertile in the study area although the relief rises sharply to the north away from the coast. The survey population is also made up of several small hamlets such as Blackcraig, Palnure and Minigaff which lie along the A77 to the east of Newton Stewart and Shennanton to the south-west. The housing in the villages is traditionally low and terraced. Kirkcowan is quite linear reflecting its agricultural origins although, like Cuminestown near Turriff, there are newer private housing and small local authority developments. Creetown is a bigger village and it is less linear, although it is focussed on a long main street and contains a significant number of council housing. Once again the agricultural housing stock in the area is of mixed quality, while the housing in Minigaff is quite exclusive.

4.5.12 Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale

The final study area is located some 14 miles to the north-west of Dumfries, although the village of Moniaive is seventeen miles away and the furthestmost farms up the valley of Scaur water are at least 30 miles away. Most of the survey population are concentrated in the villages of Moniaive and Penpont and the hamlets of Kirkland, Tynron and Keir Mill. The area, illustrated in figure 4.9, is relatively sparsely populated and is therefore comparable to the study areas of Gairloch and Loch Torridon, and especially Strathdon and Glenbuchat. The study area is located up in the hills of the Upper Nithsdale Valley, north of Dumfries where hill stock farming dominates (although there is some beef production) the economy, where local sources of employment are scarce out with the agricultural sector and where family farming dominate. Some of the farms have amalgamated and are actually quite big units while others are allied to larger units in Thornhill, which is village a few miles to the east. Apart from farming there are some jobs in forestry, in the three hotels and in miscellaneous shops and services, although the area is not a commuter zone due to its distance from Dumfries and the lack of economic gravity of the town. Tynron is a widely dispersed farming community of about 100 people, Moniaive is a larger village of about 400 which has been populated in recent years by elderly retirees while Penpont is much smaller and less self contained than Moniaive, being two miles from Thornhill where more work is available and where there is a correspondingly younger population. The housing situation again reflects the agricultural history of the area, and like other areas the agricultural dwellings are of mixed quality.

Moniaive, again, is linear in character although there is some local authority provision and much of the private stock has been improved.

4.5.13 The Study Areas: Summary

Therefore the eight study areas were chosen because they are comparable areas at comparable distances from urban centres in widely different Regions. The areas close to Aberdeen and Dumfries are comparable as are those near Dingwall, Turriff and Newton Stewart while the patterns produced in three more isolated study areas of Gairloch, Strathdon and Moniaive can be compared.

4.6.1 Sampling: Introduction

The aim of a sampling procedure is obtain a representative sample of a population, in the case a chosen study area, which is a reasonably accurate social microcosm of that population. The most straightforward way to do this is by random sample, in which, as Mandheim and Rich (1986) observe,

"...each and every individual or case in the entire population has an equal opportunity to be selected for analysis " and that "the sample must be chosen in such a manner that each and every possible combination of n cases, where n is simply the number of cases in a sample, has the equal opportunity to be selected for analysis."

It was on this basis that the sampling technique was engineered.

4.6.2 Sampling: Methodology

A systematic random sampling technique was used. It was decided that, on the basis of population size, one in every five or 20% of the households in each study area would obtain an accurate cross section of the population and a workable size of sample. The sampling procedure to obtain a sample of the population in each study area involved the post codes of the areas and the voters roll.

It was decided that the voters roll would be used to elicit the names of potential cases as this provides the most complete and up to date (or so it is claimed) list of names, addresses and often postcodes for the adult population of almost 18 and over. The disadvantage is obvious in that the voters roll does not contain people under 17. However, it was decided that this was irrelevant as the proportion of people who were under 18 and directly active in the decision making processes of families is minimal as most of the teenage population up to sixteen or seventeen are still residing with their parents.

Initially, each study area was outlined on a map and using a Royal Mail directory of postcodes the postal codes which corresponded to the settlements in each study area were recorded. Then using the Voters Roll for Scotland - contained in the National Library in Edinburgh - the voting wards for each study area were identified using the postcodes of the wards. If these were not available the addresses in the postcode directory were cross checked. It was found that 5% of the total population was roughly the same as 20% of the households. Therefore, starting at a random place in each ward, obtained by using a random number table, the voters roll was entered and the name and address of every twentieth person was recorded. After this was done, one or two more names were needed in each ward to complete the 20% household sample. These were taken at random. After this was completed for each study area 20% of the households in each study area and roughly 5% of the adult population were sampled. In the case of Aberdeen, the size of the population of Peterculter and Milltimber were so great that only 10% of the households were contacted. Even though, the Aberdeen area still had the largest number of potential respondents in the sample.

4.6.3 Sample Sizes Per Study Area

The numbers in the sample in each study area are outlined in table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1
POSTAL SURVEY SAMPLE SIZE PER STUDY AREA
(20% OF HOUSEHOLDS)

GAIRLOCH	114
STRATHPEFFER	140
ABERDEEN	313
TURRIFF	156
STRATHDON	72
DUMFRIES	229
NEWTON STEWART	127
MONIAIVE	127

Therefore, Table 4.1 illustrates the number of potential respondents in each of the eight study areas. The sampling yielded 114 names in Gairloch and

Loch Torridon and 140 in and around Strathpeffer, even though the study area covered a much smaller geographical area. The area to the west of Aberdeen, even with a 10% sample in some areas, yielded 313 names in comparison to 136 in Turriff, while the low population density around Strathdon, Glenbuchat and Glenkindie meant that only 72 names were sampled. The high population density around Dumfries is reflected in the fact that 229 names were recorded from the sample area and 128 names were recorded both in Newton Stewart and Moniaive. This produced an overall sample of 1278 potential respondents

A questionnaire was therefore sent to each of the people in the sample along with a covering letter and a stamped addressed envelope for the respondents to send back the completed questionnaire. Each questionnaire contained an individual number so that the respondents of the returned questionnaires could be identified. The questionnaires were sent out in June and July 1990.

4.7.1 Initial Response Rates of Survey

TABLE 4.2
POSTAL SURVEY : SAMPLE RESPONSE RATE PER STUDY AREA
(20% OF HOUSEHOLDS)

AREA	INITIAL REPLIES Nos (%)	FINAL RESPONSE
GAIRLOCH	58 (50.9%)	66 (58.4%)
STRATHPEFFER	51 (35%)	68 (48.6%)
ABERDEEN	157 (50.1%)	157 (50.1%)
TURRIFF	60 (38.5%)	77 (49.4%)
STRATHDON	28 (38.9%)	38 (52.7%)
DUMFRIES	97 (42.4%)	113 (49.3%)
NEWTON STEWART	56 (41.7%)	63 (49.6%)
MONIAIVE	50 (39.4%)	69 (54.3%)
OVERALL	557 (43.5%)	651 (50.9%)
	Area mean 42.1%	Area mean 51.6%

A month to six weeks were allowed for each area to obtain the initial questionnaire responses. Table 4.2 shows both the initial and final response rate gained in each study area.

A very encouraging 43.1% of the respondents - or 557 individuals - replied to the questionnaire initially. As one third of the respondents returning the questionnaire was expected at best, this survey was very successful and reflected that the questionnaire was short and that the cover letter was very effective. As far as individual study areas are concerned, the proportions ranged from an initial response rate of 35% in Strathpeffer to over 50% in Gairloch and Loch Torridon and Aberdeen and the average response rate for a study area was 42.1%. The relative numbers of respondents and initial proportions are reflected in Figures 4.10 and 4.11.

In Gairloch, the initial response rate was staggering, over 50%, and there was generally a good spread across all the settlements, although all the respondents from the small township of Baddachro, 9 of the 13 respondents from Alligan, Torridon and Diabeg returned their questionnaires, while only 4 of the 10 respondents from Kinlochewe bothered to return the questionnaires initially. It was observed that a significant proportion of those respondents who had not returned their questionnaires lived in council housing, and this was a problem which existed in all the study areas and reflects the widespread social survey phenomenon of less affluent people in local authority housing being less inclined to participate in surveys.

The study area centred on Strathpeffer had the lowest initial participation rate of the eight study areas with only 35% of the sample returning their questionnaires. Although the response rate was not particularly high from any of the communities in the study areas the rate was particularly low in the council estate of Strathpeffer which turned out to be a rather depressed place where people were disinterested in the research. In contrast there was a much higher response rate in the local authority development in Contin which was of much higher quality, the residents seemed to be much more affluent and people were relatively interested in the research. The fact that the area is

FIGURE 4.10
GRAPH OF RESPONDENTS PER AREA

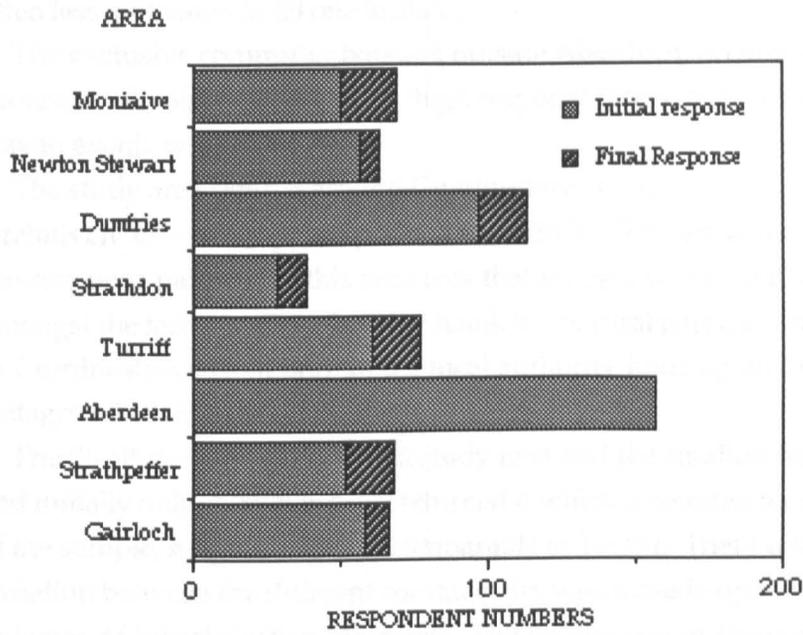
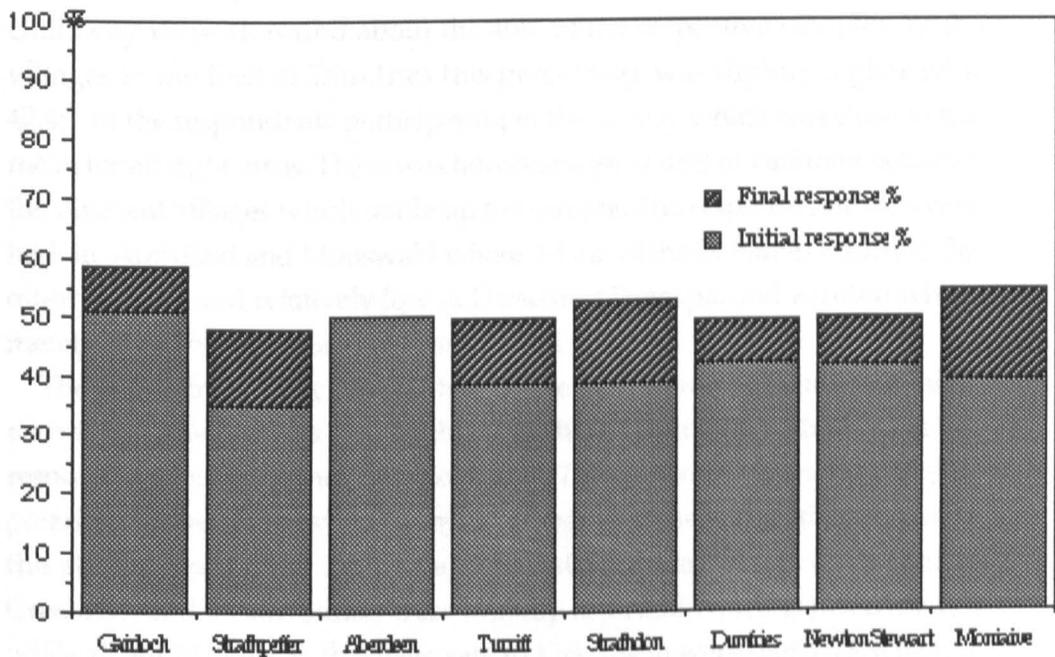


FIGURE 4.11
SURVEY RESPONSE RATE PER AREA (%)



popular with old people as a place to retire perhaps also contributed to the low response rate as the elderly are often confused by a questionnaire and often less motivated to fill one in also.

The exclusive commuter housing outside Aberdeen, occupied largely by professionals, also yielded a very high response rate of over 50% which was spread evenly within the area.

The study area centred around Cuminstown to the east of Turriff yielded a relatively low initial participation rate of 38.5%. The interesting fact about the response pattern for this area was that the rate was actually quite high amongst the farms and the farming hamlets, the rural part and relatively low in Cuminstown itself both in the local authority housing and in the small cottages which line the main street.

The Strathdon and Glenbuchat study area had the smallest initial sample and initially only 28 respondents returned it which accounted for some 38.9% of the sample, a figure which is comparable to Turriff. There was also some variation between the different communities which made up the study areas in terms of initial participation rate. The proportion of respondents who returned their questionnaires from Strathdon and Glenbuchat was relatively low, while a large percentage of the questionnaires which were sent to the Towie ward which includes Glenkindie and Kildrummy were returned.

The initial response rates from the three study areas of Dumfries and Galloway were all round about the 40% of the respective samples. In the villages to the East of Dumfries this percentage was slightly higher with 42.4% of the respondents participating in the survey which was close to the mean for all eight areas. There was however a great deal of variation between the different villages which made up the sample. The response rate was very high in Amisfield and Mouswald where 14 out of the 24 names returned the questionnaire and relatively low in Duncow, Glencaple and Kirkton where merely 18 out of 40 respondents participated.

The penultimate study area centred on Newton Stewart produced an initial response rate which was comparable with that of Dumfries with 41.7% of the respondents returning their questionnaires. The response rate was also highly polarised between the two villages which provided the bulk of the sample for the study areas. Only 24 of the 67 questionnaires which were sent to Creetown and its surrounds were initially returned which is just over 1/3 while all but 14 of the 36 that were sent to Kirkcowan were sent back which is well over 50% of all those contacted.

In final study area centred on Moniaive in upper Nithsdale, 50 of the 127 residents who were sent questionnaires responded, yielding an initial response rate of 39.4% which was generally evenly spread amongst the communities, although the remote hill farming community of Tynron yielded replies from only 3 of the 13 people contacted.

4.7.2 Final Response Rates

Although an initial response rate of over 40% was achieved, initially, it was decided to do further following up work with the aim of boosting the overall response rate to over 50%. Follow up work would also help alleviate bias as much as possible, both between settlements in the same area, and against respondents in certain socio-economic groups or housing tenures. This took the form of fieldwork in the study areas, and as many of the respondents as possible who had not returned their questionnaires were contacted by visiting personally, or by phone. To avoid wasting unnecessary funds or energy a list of the names of potential respondents who had not responded to the questionnaire was taken to the local post office to establish which respondents had either died or moved away from the area since the electoral role was updated. The proportion of the population who were in this category tended to vary from place to place and tended to be just under 10% of the sample, which highlights the problems of using the voters roll. In the case of Newton Stewart, 10 of the 69 respondents (or almost 15% of the sample) were deceased or had moved away, which helps explain why there was such a low initial response rate from the area.

The decision to follow up respondents to try and boost the sample size was partially successful. In areas such as Cuminstown and to a certain extent Creetown, respondents reacted positively to being reminded about the questionnaire while in the council estates of Strathpeffer, and amongst the elderly, the efforts to boost the sample had little effect. Obviously, most effort was put into the areas where the participation rate was lacking and overall a 50% final response rate for the survey was achieved overall with 651 respondents returning questionnaires producing an overall response rate of 50.9%. The mean for the eight study areas was also more than 50% (51.6%), and as can be seen from Table 4.2 and figures 4.10 and 4.11, the overall response rate for each of the eight study areas after the follow up work was done, was boosted to around 50%. In Gairloch the response rate was eventually boosted to some 58.4%, while in Strathpeffer 68 respondents eventually filled in and returned the questionnaire yielding a response rate of

48.6%. Of the study areas in Grampian region, the 157 respondents from the west of Aberdeen were considered large enough and no further work was warranted, while in contrast in Turriff the response rate was eventually boosted up over 10% from 38.5% to 49.4%. In Strathdon, the overall response rate went up to a very healthy 52.7% from 38.9%. In the three study areas of Dumfries and Galloway, the Dumfries, Newton Stewart and Moniaive the final number of respondents from each area was 113, 63 and 69 producing proportions of 49.3, 49.6 and 54.3% respectively.

4.8.1 Interviews

As well as using fieldwork to boost the questionnaire sample, attempts were made, mainly by speaking to local people, to get 'a feel' for the study areas. Also, efforts were made to secure interviews with as many local District and Regional councillors in the study areas as possible. Some were enthusiastic, others refused, and eventually the following councillors were interviewed on matters such as the housing situation in the area, the economic structure of the area, sources of employment and where people worked, the proportion of incomers in the area and the affects they had on the indigenous communities, the social fabric of the communities and the strength of the traditional culture, whether communities were open or closed, and other such questions which were related to the research topic. Councillor D.P. Grant, Nithsdale District Council who lived in Moniaive, Councillor J.C. Hogg, Nithsdale District Council who lived in Mouswald near Dumfries, Councillor Mrs J.M. McMurdo, Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council who lived in Torthorwald near Dumfries, Councillor V. Davidson, Gordon District Council who lived in Alford near Strathdon, and also David Johnston who is a local Government officer for Wigtown District Council who lives in Kirkcowan near Newton Stewart, were all interviewed

4.9.1 Discussion and Critique of Methodology

The main criticism of any social survey, especially a postal questionnaire, is the degree to which the sample is representative of the population. The *sample* may reflect the social characteristics of the population, but the respondents who participate will always be biased towards those elements of the population who are willing to participate in the research. This generally means that there is bias towards the more affluent and educated socio-economic groups who tend to be middle class and who are more likely to own their own homes, and there tends to be bias against the less affluent, less well

educated manual and unskilled classes who are relatively immobile socially, and who are more dependant on council housing. Therefore, although 50% of the respondents returned the questionnaire, it still means that half of those contacted cannot be accounted for in the survey results. It may well be that this is the half of the population which would yield the most interesting results. The situation, as was mentioned earlier, was perhaps exacerbated by the decision to use the importance of factors in the choice of where to live as opposed to 'quality of life' because this immediately means that many people who either do not have a *choice* in where they live, or do not want to move, will be less likely to participate in the survey. This would suggest that people dependent on council housing, the indigenous elderly who have lived in an area for all of their lives and have no thoughts of moving, and members of farming families who have farmed the farm for generations and have no thoughts of moving, are less likely to be proportionably represented in the sample, while incomers who have moved into the area and made their decisions by weighing up factors in their quality of life are more likely to be over-represented in the survey, as they have actually moved and have considered what is important in their choice of where to live.

The voters roll also caused some problems. Although it was meant to be up to date, it was inaccurate by about 10% on average in each area due to people either moving away or dying, or young people having moved away but still being registered at their parents house. In effect a tenth of the sample would not be participating before the questionnaires are even sent out.

Another problem concerned the questionnaire. Although the cover letter was made as explicit as possible and clarity was sought at all stages of the questionnaire design, some respondents still found it difficult to understand. The majority of these were elderly, and this resulted in a number of questionnaires being returned which were quite useless for the purposes of research. However, if the questionnaire was too much for some potential respondents it serves to underline the wisdom of the decision of not basing the whole research on the repertory grid analysis, which is a much more difficult technique for the respondents to grasp, and which would have led to the marginalisation from the research of a much greater proportion of the population.

Other positive points about the technique is that it seems to have been relatively successful, with over a half of the sampled residents of the study area participating in the questionnaire. Also, almost 50% of those sampled in each study areas eventually participated in the research, so the results from

each area are equally valid. Given that a participation rate of over 30% would have been satisfactory initially, and even allowing for the reservations of sampling bias, a greater amount of confidence can be expressed over the perceptions of the respondents in each sample area being representative of those for the respective populations as a whole. Also, using eight study areas in three contrasting regions, rather than just two or three, means that any trends, relationships, or findings which may be applied to a wider population can be stated with much more confidence.

However, as with all doctoral research there is a limit on the amount of research that can be both achieved in three years and funded on a limited budget. It could be pointed out that there is no account taken of the central belt or the south east of Scotland or any of the Scottish islands. But realistically, eight study areas were the most that could be reasonably handled and the structured geographical nature of the study areas means that they contrasted within each region and were comparable across regions so that the inclusion of areas in the central belt would have meant that 11 study areas would be necessary, which would be far too many. As far as the Scottish islands are concerned, they are all so disparate in nature, and comparing each of the islands to each other (never mind anywhere on the Scottish Mainland) is a large task.

4.10.1 Summary and Conclusions

A questionnaire survey (based on the non-interfering repertory grid analysis) which examined quality of life issues in eight carefully structured rural locales was used to investigate postmodern perceptions and trends in counterurbanisation in Scotland. Eight study areas were chosen in three regions, which contrasted within each region but which were comparable between regions. A systematic random sampling technique was used to select potential cases in each study area to which a carefully structured questionnaire, developed from the results of the Repertory Grid analysis, was sent. Initial response rates varied geographically and socially both between study areas and within study areas. However, further work was carried out to try and even out response rates and ultimately 50% of cases participated in the research.

CHAPTER 5 : THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STUDY AREAS

5.1.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 described the eight study areas geographically, the survey methodology and the questionnaire response rates. Chapter 5 breaks down the areas to paint a social picture of the respondents in each area in terms of age, marital status, housing tenure, gender and socio-occupational class. Also, the travel to work time and place of occupation of the respondents will also be considered. From this initial social picture of the study areas, firm conclusions regarding counterurbanisation, the migrational processes, and the factors influencing the respondents' perceptions can be made in the following chapters.

5.1.2 Census Data and the Study Areas

It was initially thought that data from the 1981 Census could be used to paint a social picture of each area and to try and gauge the extent to which the sample is representative of the study area. This approach, however, proved to be extremely problematic. Firstly, although census data could be used at the enumeration district level, the study areas which were chosen in regard to their geographic locations do not correspond exactly to any enumeration district, or combinations of enumeration districts, so that any comparison is a generalisation to begin with.

Secondly, and more importantly, the data from the 1981 census is ten years out of date. This study's survey was carried out in 1990, so the 1981 census data takes no account of processes, many of which were dominant in the 1980s, which this thesis is attempting to analyse. Therefore, no more than a very rough and possibly misleading comparison could be attempted between the respondent sample and the older census population.

The difficulty of defining the characteristics of the population of each study area are reflected in that the sample for Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area contains all of enumeration area IV21 2, but only a little of IV 22 2, so the question arises whether to include the latter in the census data or not. A further problem arose with the study areas which were located near to urban settlements. Enumeration districts which covered the rural part of the study areas also included a significant proportion of the population of the urban settlement. This problem was encountered to some extent in Strathpeffer and Newton Stewart, and to a great extent in the rural areas outside same applied to the rural areas adjacent to Turriff and Dumfries. In the latter two cases a

large proportion of the survey sample were included in urban enumeration district and the proportion of the area included in a purely rural enumeration district is very small. Also the study area of Strathdon and Glenbuchat only contributed only a fraction of the population which made up the related enumeration district.

5.2.1 The Gender of the Respondents in Each Study Area

Table 5.1 describes the breakdown of respondents by gender in each of the eight study areas of the respondents participating in the social survey used in this study.

TABLE 5.1
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY
RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES BY AREA

AREA	MALE	FEMALE
GAIRLOCH	50.0%	50.0%
STRATHPFER	53.6	46.4
ABERDEEN	50.9	49.1
TURRIFF	54.1	45.9
STRATHDON	44.5	55.5
DUMFRIES	44.6	55.4
NEWN STEWT	55.0	45.0
MONIAIVE	50.0	50.0

Table 5.1 shows that the ratio between the sexes actually fluctuates quite markedly between the study areas. In the sample, the proportion of the respective genders around the mean fluctuates by around 10% across the eight study areas. This can mostly be put down to random fluctuation in the sampling and the response rates. For the study areas of Strathdon and Dumfries just under 45% of the respondents are male while, correspondingly, over 55% are female. The opposite is the case for the respondents' groups of Strathpeffer and Contin, the area to the East of Turriff and the area around Newton Stewart where there are more men are in the respondents' groups with percentages of 53.6, 54.1% and 55% respectively. The proportions between the sexes for the other three respondent groups are much closer to 50%.

Interestingly, the study area with the largest number of respondents, and therefore the sample which is least likely to suffer from random fluctuations, Aberdeen, had a proportion of 50.9% to 49.1% in favour of males which is very close to the overall mean. Correspondingly, the study area with the smallest number of cases, Strathdon, produces the largest amount of variance between the two genders. Despite the fact that 50% of those sampled responded to the questionnaire, with only 37 respondents the results from the Strathdon study area will have to be treated carefully as one or two freak responses could affect the overall pattern for the area.

5.3.1 The Age of Respondents in Each Study Area

The age of the population in rural areas is an important factor. More remote rural areas traditionally have an aging demographic structure as the younger, indigenous members of the community are forced to leave in order to get either a job, an education, or a house, which leaves a residual of elderly, less mobile people who need a disproportionate amount of service and (geriatric) health care. Therefore, it may be expected that the more remote of the eight study areas would contain a greater proportion of more elderly respondents while those closer to urban centres would contain a high proportion of younger respondents, as these areas are often recipient of young people migrating from elsewhere in the region in search of a job, and families moving out from bigger cities in order to commute from an area perceived to provide a better quality of life.

Given that the age groups are not broken down equally, z-scores have been produced between the age groups in each study area to standardise them and show how the proportion of the respondents in each area varies in relation to other areas. The actual calculation for the z-scores is included in the Appendix, but put simply, the proportion of respondents in an age group is compared to the mean of the proportion for that age group for all areas and calculated in terms of the standard deviation around the mean (or the spread of the results). Therefore, the age groups which produce disparate or closely clustered results can be calibrated and compared to each other. Therefore, with z-scores calculated with reference to other areas the proportion in each age group in any area can be compared. Ideally, the values used to calculate these z-scores should be normally distributed, especially if they were subsequently to be used for multivariate or regression analysis. However, in this example, the standardised scores are being used in a purely descriptive manner to make interpretation of the results easier, and it is therefore less

critical that the distribution of the values in Table 5.2 do not correspond to a normal curve.

Table 5.2 shows that the proportion of respondents who were teenagers in each area varies a lot between the individual study groups. The age group is the smallest of the six chosen and contains the fewest number of respondents, which produce a large variation in the relative proportions between the study areas.

TABLE 5.2
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY :
AGE GROUP BROKEN DOWN BY STUDY AREA

AREA	TEENAGERS		20-25 YEARS		26-35 YEARS	
	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z
GAIRLOCH	5.5	-.04	13.7	1.22	19.2	1.83
SPEFFER	0	-1.41	10.1	.05	14.5	-1.6
ABERD'N	6.5	.21	14.3	1.41	17.5	.59
TURRIFF	13.5	1.96	12.2	.73	16.2	-.36
SDON	8.1	.61	8.1	-.6	16.2	-.36
DUMFRIES	3.5	-.54	7.1	-.93	16.8	.08
NEW. ST.	5.2	-.11	6.9	-.99	17.2	.37
MONIAIVE	2.9	-.69	7.2	-.89	15.9	-.58

TABLE 5.2 (CONTINUED)
AGE GROUP BY AREA

AREA	35-50 YEARS		51-60 YEARS		OVER 60	
	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z
GAIRLOCH	31.5	.19	16.4	1.68	13.7	-1.29
SPEFFER	26.1	-1.21	11.6	-.2	37.7	1.51
ABERD'N	35.7	1.29	9.7	-.94	16.2	-.1
TURRIFF	25.7	-1.32	13.5	.55	18.9	-.68
SDON	32.4	.43	8.1	-1.56	27	.26
DUMFRIES	32.7	.51	12.4	.12	27.4	.31
NEW. ST.	34.5	.97	13.8	.66	22.4	-.28
MONIAIVE	27.5	-.85	11.6	-.2	34.8	1.17

This large spread is reflected in a standard deviation of 4.01 which is very large given that the mean for the proportion of the respondents who were teenagers in each group is only 5.65%. In the study areas themselves, these proportions range between 0% in Strathpeffer and 13.5% in Turriff. The corresponding z-scores are -1.41 for the former and 1.96 for the latter, while scores of -0.69 and -0.54 are produced by the 2.9% of the population of whom are teenagers in Moniaive, and the 3.5% who are in that age group in Dumfries. The z-score of 0.54 for Strathdon reflects the fact that the 8.1% of the respondents who are teenagers represents a proportion that is significantly greater than the mean for the study areas as a whole. It is interesting to note that the areas which have the greatest deficiencies in the number of teenagers, Strathpeffer and Moniaive are those which have proved very popular with elderly couples seeking to retire to a scenic rural environment. This would result in a proportionally older sample with younger respondents being under represented. The opposite is the case for the agricultural area around Turriff and Cuminestown which has not proved popular with respondents seeking their rural idyll. Younger respondents in this area are disproportionately over represented. It would seem also that Strathdon, despite being remote and physically attractive, surprisingly has a large proportion of teenagers. This may suggest that its very isolation has made it unpopular with very elderly people.

The second age group, those aged between 20 and 25 or the young working respondents, would be the group containing people most likely to leave an area for employment or housing. It is also a smallish group in terms of numbers with the average proportion per area being 9.95%. The fact that it is a group with a relatively small proportion of the sample again causes some variation between the different age groups, and the spread in values between some 7.1% in the villages to the north and east of Dumfries to some 14.3% in the communities to the West of Aberdeen produces a standard deviation of 3.09 which, although not as great as the variation for teenagers, is still quite large in comparison to the mean. The proportions of those aged between 20 and 25 in the sample areas are actually quite highly polarised. In the three areas of Dumfries and Galloway and the remote farming communities of Strathdon and Glenbuchat, there is a deficit of these young people of working age, while in the two areas of Highland Region and the other two areas of Grampian, there are proportions of this group which are greater than the mean. The areas which perhaps have a lower proportion of those respondents aged between 20 and 25 are perhaps areas which conform to the traditional

picture of rural areas. There are probably very few employment opportunities for young people in the rural areas of Dumfries and Galloway and the remote farm and estate land of Strathdon and therefore there is proportionately less of this age group left in the area, while the lack of opportunities to enter the housing market for the young, and the pull of the big towns and cities, also exacerbate this situation for younger respondents. As was mentioned before, the popularity of Moniaive with elderly retirees will leave a lower proportion of respondents in other age groups, so that a decrease of one or two percent in a small age band such as this will make a significant difference, while the fact that the area around Newton Stewart is a known unemployment black spot is reflected that while it had an average number of teenagers in the area, there is a disproportionately fewer number of those in the young working age group.

The lack of members in this age group around Dumfries is quite surprising given that one would expect employment to be available in Dumfries. although the area is not as large or as economically strong as an area such as Aberdeen, which has probably attracted young people to work there from economically sterile rural communities such as Strathdon and Glenbuchat.

The prosperity of Aberdeen and its importance as a regional centre of employment, is reflected in the fact that 14.3% of the respondents in the area are in the young working age group producing a z-score of 1.41. Strathpeffer is in a similar position in that it is close to both Dingwall, which is a local centre of employment, and Inverness, which is a regional centre. Therefore young people will be attracted to the area from all over Highland Region for employment, although the area, of late, has become something of an unemployment blackspot. However, it is quite surprising that there is a high proportion of young people in the respondent group of Gairloch and Loch Torridon. One would expect that Gairloch would conform to the traditional problems of the west Highlands and be unable to hang on to its young people of working age who would go to University or College, migrate to the employment centres of the east or further afield, or be forced out of the area as a result of marginalisation from the housing market. But 13.7% of the respondents from Gairloch are in this age group producing a z-score of 1.22 which is only marginally lower than the figure for Aberdeen. There is no logical explanation for this figure, although it may be postulated that this figure is produced by incomers coming in to work in the tourist industry. Once again the proportionately higher figure of the age group in Turriff probably has more to do with the lack of elderly incomers as much to do with a high proportion of young people.

The third age group are those respondents who constitute members of young families; those aged between 26 and 35. In contrast to the younger age groups which contained a small proportion of the sample, and which varied greatly from place to place, this age group constitutes quite a consistent proportion of the respondent group for each of the eight study areas. The percentages range between 14.5 to 19.2 with a mean of 16.7% and a standard deviation of only 1.37% which is relatively small, suggesting that any differences could well be put down to random sampling variation.

Gairloch, which has the highest proportion of young families, 19.2%, produces a substantial z-score of 1.83. Again, this is surprising as it would be expected that Gairloch would have a lower proportion of young families as is the case in Strathpeffer and Moniaive where the demographic structure is affected by a large proportion of elderly respondents (producing z-scores of -1.6 in Strathpeffer for a percentage of 14.5 and values of -0.58 and 15.9% for Moniaive), but instead the proportion is even greater than Aberdeen (with a percentage of 17.5% and a z-score of 0.59) which is an employment reservoir. It may be the case that many young families can live in areas like Gairloch where there is a lucrative tourist industry, and employment opportunities in the construction industry and building; while the locals, as was suggested earlier, are perhaps augmented by younger families who also move in to work in the tourist industry.

That the proportion is not lower in Aberdeen may be due to the fact that younger families may not yet be affluent enough to move out to the more expensive commuter towns and villages to the west. This is exemplified by the percentages and the z-scores for the next age group, those in their middle age, aged between 36 and 50, where the commuter settlements to the west of Aberdeen produce a z-score of 1.29, with a proportion of 35.7% of the respondent group. This is logical as the older families are generally more affluent and have more access to capital, and can therefore afford to move out to the more expensive outer environs. They are correspondingly over-represented in this particular commuter zone. There are also more middle-aged respondents from outside Newton Stewart which produces a z-score of 0.97 (which may be both a function of some commuting and a higher proportion due to the lack of younger respondents) and Dumfries which produces a corresponding value of 0.51 and which, like Newton Stewart, could also be due to both a commuting function and a lack of younger respondents who have moved away to gain employment possibly in Dumfries itself. Only 25.7% of the respondents in Turriff (which produces a z-

score of -1.32), 26.1% of the Strathpeffer respondent group (which results in a score of -1.21) and 27.5% of those in Moniaive (with a z-score of -0.85) are in this middle aged group. The latter two are again due to their popularity as a place to retire to as this produces a disproportionate number of respondents in more mature age groups so that the others are over-represented. Also, neither the study areas around Moniaive or to the north and east of Turriff are major commuter reservoirs.

The 35-50 age group produces a mean of 30.8% of the population and a standard deviation of 3.84% of the population which is small in comparison to the mean and suggests that there is quite a consistent quotient of respondents in this large age group between the eight study groups. This is in contrast to the next age group - those in their 50s or approaching retirement age - which produces a standard deviation of 2.56 which compares to the previous figure of 3.84 but which is relatively large against a mean of only 12.1%. Again this is due to a narrow age band with a low number of cases where a few respondents can produce a large variation in the percentage. The proportions in this age group range between 8.1 and 16.4%. The latter figure is found in the respondent group from the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area which produces a z-score of 1.68. With a percentage of 13.8 and a z-score of 0.66 the area outside Newton Stewart also has a relatively large proportion of respondents in this age group. Both these areas have been popular with English incomers, and it is interesting that these two areas do not have a high proportion of those in the older age group which suggests that they are popular with those seeking early retirement. Indeed, one retiring respondent who was interviewed during the repertory grid analysis in Gairloch suggested that a move there would only be for a certain amount of time, as the lack of access to health care, and the physical distance from many essential services and amenities would get too much for him, and that at a second move back nearer to an urban centre would be necessary eventually. This could help to explain why in a remote area, which by traditional theory should have an aging population, is very under-represented in the age group of those respondents who are over 60 with a z-score of -1.29 from a proportion of 13.7%.

The area around Newton Stewart, especially in Kirkcowan, has only become popular with English retirees in the last few years and this may explain why the respondents aged between 50 and 60 are over-represented in the sample, while in contrast, the age group which would represent retirement

counterurbanisation over a greater length of time - those who are over 60 - are under-represented.

Interestingly, the two areas which have proportionately fewer respondents in the 50-60 age groups are those of Aberdeen and Strathdon and Glenbuchat. In the former some 9.7% produces a z-score of -0.94, while in the latter area a proportion of only 8.1% of the population produces a z-score of -1.56. The Aberdeen result may have been expected, not because the older age groups are necessarily under represented in the population, but because there are a higher number of the younger economically active respondents who have been attracted to boom town Aberdeen. Therefore the 50-60 age group and the over 60 age group, with a z-score of -1.00 from a percentage of 16.2, both have a proportionately lower share of the sample. The result from Strathdon and Glenbuchat is more of a surprise. Despite the fact that the area appears to be of those populated by both retiring counterurbanisers and a residual elderly population, the respondents in the 50-60 age groups are very under-represented, while those in the over 60 age group produce only a very small positive z-score. It may be that the area has proved popular with younger respondents who are seeking their idea of a rural idyll, or it could simply be that the very small sample from Strathdon and Glenbuchat has provided unrepresentative results.

The results from the over 60 age groups are dominated really by two areas. Over one third of the respondents in the survey areas of Strathpeffer and Upper Nithsdale are over 60. This compares with a mean of 24.8% for all the areas as a whole with the spread ranging up from Aberdeen, where only 16.2% of the population are over 60, and the area to the north and east of Turriff, where 18.9% are in this age group. The Turriff area, as has been mentioned, has not proven particularly attractive with people, particularly retiring couples, seeking their quiet rural idyll, and this explains the relatively low proportion of elderly respondents in this area. Contrast this with the Strathpeffer and Moniaive areas which are both very rural and secluded without being too remote, which are attractive scenically, and which are quiet and peaceful. The perceived rural idyll which appeals to elderly retiring couples has almost become these areas' economic *raison d'etre*, and this explains the huge proportion of the sample who are aged over 60.

5.4.1 The Marital Status of the Respondents in Each Study Area

Table 5.3 shows the breakdown of respondents by marital status and area.

The variation of marital status through the respondents by area is closely related to the variation in the proportion of respondents in different age groups in each area. For example, areas which had a high number of younger respondents, such as Aberdeen and Turriff, have a high number of respondents who are single and a lower proportion who are married or co-habiting. A third of the respondents in the area to the west of Aberdeen are single and 60% are married, which are the highest and lowest figures respectively.

TABLE 5.3
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY:
MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA

AREA	SINGLE	CO-HABIT MARRIED	DIVORCED SEPARATED	WIDOWED
GAIRLOCH	27.8%	69.4%	1.4%	1.4%
STRATHPEFER	21.7%	68.1%	1.4%	8.7%
ABERDEEN	33.1%	60.0%	3.9%	2.6%
TURRIFF	28.4%	63.0%	1.4%	6.8%
STRATHDON	11.1%	83.3%	0	5.6%
DUMFRIES	16.8%	71.7%	1.8%	9.7%
NEWN STEWT	26.7%	66.7%	0	6.7%
MONIAIVE	17.1%	72.9%	6.2%	2.9%

Although this pattern is directly affected by age there is also an element of social conditioning in these results. In many rural areas there is more implicit social pressure to marry at an early age, especially for females for whom employment opportunities are limited, and where there is a lot of peer and family pressure to find a good man and set up a house. Therefore, in areas like Strathdon and Dumfries, where the population is not significantly older than in other areas, the proportion of the respondents who are single are merely 11.1% and 16.8% respectively, while the proportion who are married are 83.3% and 71.7% respectively. The proportion would be even higher in Dumfries if it not for the 9.7% of the respondents who were widows or widowers. Therefore one finds that in rural areas many more of the young respondents are married than in urban areas, where there are fewer social pressures, more opportunities for women, and where attitudes are more broad minded, especially regarding the role of females in society. However

the main determinant in the proportion of respondents who are married in any area is still the proportion of the respondents in each age group. Consequently Moniaive, which had a high proportion of elderly respondents, has a relatively low proportion of single respondents - some 17.1% - and a higher proportion of married people - some 72.9%. Also Strathpeffer, with only 21.7% of the respondents being single - a relatively low proportion - reflects the high number of elderly people in the sample, and although the proportion of respondents who are married is not particularly high at 68.1%, this is offset by a very high proportion of respondents who are widowed or widowers at 8.7%. In the other areas the single respondents accounted for just over one quarter of the sample, while those who were married or co-habiting account for about two thirds of the respondents.

It is interesting that in all the areas the proportion of those respondents who were divorced or separated accounts for between 0%, in Strathdon and Newton Stewart, and 6.2% in Moniaive. This very low and probably inaccurate figure again says much for the social pressures of living in rural areas. In tight-knit rural areas where everyone knows each other, and where there is a lot of social pressure to conform to the norm, there is a lot more social and family pressure to get married and to stay married, and a lot of stigma attached to being divorced than is apparent in cities where peoples business is more private. This explains both the low divorce rate amongst respondents and the unwillingness of respondents to admit on a questionnaire that they are divorced or separated.

The proportion of the respondents in each area who are widowed varies between 1.4% in Gairloch and 9.7% in Dumfries. The proportion in Gairloch is again related to the lack of respondents who are over 60, and is surprising given that one would expect in a traditional rural area that there would be a bias towards older respondents, but this does not seem to be the case. It may be that demographic effect of the the older indigenous respondents is being masked by greater numbers of slightly younger recent incomers. Aberdeen, again with a high proportion of younger respondents has a low number of widowed respondents, which is also the case rather more surprisingly in Moniaive where there was a high number of respondents over 60.

5.5.1 The Housing Tenure of the Respondents in Each Study Area

Table 5.4 examines the break down of the housing tenure of the respondents by study area. The housing tenure groups used were owner occupation,

council dwelling, housing which was tied to a business or employment, and other rented accommodation.

As was mentioned above in the introduction to this Chapter (section 5.1.2), there would have been two main problems in using Census data to undertake an investigation of housing tenure in the study areas. The first drawback is that areas which can be considered urban make up part of some of the rural enumeration districts and there is much more council housing in urban areas than in rural areas. Secondly, and more importantly, the figures are ten years out of date and therefore take no account of the 'Right to Buy' policy of the 1980s where council house dwellers were encouraged to buy their own property, so one may expect that in 1991 the population from which the survey sample was drawn would have a much higher proportion of owner occupied housing and a much smaller proportion of council housing. Also, in the 1980s there was little new council housing built, while in areas such as Gairloch and Dumfries there was a significant number of private housing built. Therefore one would expect householders in the sample to be dominated by owner occupiers (especially as there are more likely to participate in the survey), and fewer householders to be council dwellers.

TABLE 5.4
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY:
HOUSING TENURE OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA

AREA	OWNER OCCUPIED		LOCAL AUTHORITY		TIED HOUSING		OTHER RENTED	
	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z
GAIRL	75.3	.73	5.5	-.91	11	.89	8.2	-.44
SPEFF	77.6	.92	14.9	.63	1.5	-1.48	6	-.6
ABERN	66.5	-.03	11	-.01	6.5	-.24	15.5	.07
TURRIFF	67.6	.07	14.9	.63	10.8	.84	6.8	-.54
SDON	40.5	-2.25	2.7	-1.37	8.1	.16	48.4	2.39
DUMFRIES	75.2	.72	8.8	-.37	5.3	-.54	8.8	-.4
NEWST	67.8	.09	22	1.79	3.4	-1.01	7.8	-.47
MONVE	63.8	-.26	8.7	-.39	13	1.38	14.5	0

Once again the z-scores have been calculated to facilitate ease of comparison between the different housing types (see section 5.3.1 and the Appendix) within each study area, because in almost all of the cases the samples are bias towards respondents who are living in owner occupied

accommodation. However this breakdown of respondents also exposes the potential difficulties of a respondent group which only contains 37 respondents, as the responses from Strathdon are very much out of step from the larger sample groups of the other areas. Whereas in the other areas the proportion of respondents living in accommodation which was owned by the occupants ranged roughly between 65 to 75%, the proportion in this housing group in Strathdon was only 40.5%. Also, for other rented accommodation, the proportions for the other seven areas ranged between 6 and 15%, the figure for the 37 respondents of Strathdon was 48.4%. These figures, needless to say, have had a significant influence of the z-scores of the other seven areas and this has to be born in mind when studying the results from the individual groups.

It may well be, however, that owner occupied accommodation is under-represented in the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area. After all it is a remote upland hill farming and estate area, and it is very likely that many of the houses and farms are not actually owned by the occupier but are rented off the estate. Nevertheless, the actual proportions must be taken with a pinch of salt given the low number of people involved. The lack of Local Authority (or council) housing in remote rural areas is highlighted in the Strathdon area by the fact that only 2.7% of the respondents live in such accommodation and 'the slack' of people who cannot afford to buy their own house is taken up by housing which is rented off estates and tied to jobs (in this particular area the majority of jobs would be in agriculture and on the estates). The proportion of respondents who live in tied accommodation in the Strathdon area is 8.1%, which is slightly higher than the mean .

In the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, over 75% of the respondents live in housing which they own themselves, producing a z-score of 0.73. This again reflects the dependence in such a remote rural area on owner occupied housing. This also explains the source of conflict which can arise when the young indigenous, often newly married, element of a community cannot get a house because waiting lists for Local Authority housing can often be measured in decades (only 5.5% of the respondents in Gairloch live in council housing producing a z-score of -0.91 standard deviation units below the mean for all areas), the supply of private rented accommodation is limited to say the least (8.2% in Gairloch live in rented accommodation which, again, is less than the mean), and in such an attractive and idyllic and tight knit area, any available housing is being rather publicly bought by mature incomers who have a much greater capital advantage and access to capital, enabling them to

easily outbid the young, indigenous people for any housing. In Gairloch 11% of the respondents live in housing which is tied to their job. As well as estate and forestry work, in this area tied accommodation would also be linked to the National Trust and, more importantly, to the tourist industry.

In Strathpeffer, like Gairloch, over three quarters of the respondents live in owner occupied accommodation (77.6%). However, unlike Gairloch, a relatively large proportion of the respondents live in Local Authority accommodation (14.9%), with a smaller proportion of respondents living in tied accommodation and rented housing, with percentages of only 1.5 and 6.0. Once again the dependence on owner occupation is highlighted in the results from Strathpeffer and the surrounding area. The Strathpeffer sample area has the largest proportion of respondents living in owner occupied accommodation and the lowest living in tied housing, highlighting the limited importance of intensive agriculture and estate work in the local economy, and the under-representation of working families in the sample due to the large proportion of elderly retired respondents. The relatively large proportion of respondents in Local Authority housing can be put down to the council housing estates of mixed quality in Strathpeffer itself, and one of high quality in Contin. Thus, with council housing available, in the area due, perhaps, to the higher population density, and the respondents who do not have access to the housing market being largely accommodated by the Local Authority, the proportion of the residual population who live in rented and tied accommodation is correspondingly lower than in Gairloch, where the public sector housing provision is much less.

In Aberdeen, exactly two thirds of the respondents live in owner occupied accommodation, which is slightly fewer than in most of the other more rural areas. The proportion living in Local Authority housing is 11% of the respondents, which produces a z-score of -0.1 which lies almost on the mean. The proportion of respondents in tied housing - 6.5% producing a z-score of -0.24 - is slightly less than the mean reflecting that the respondent sample contains a high number of people who commute to Aberdeen and therefore correspondingly lower number of respondents who work in agriculture or the estates in comparison to other areas. The figure of 15.5% who live in rented accommodation in the Aberdeen area is second only to the Strathdon area in terms of making up a significant proportion. This is both a result of the slightly younger demographic structure of the area, which is characterised by more young families and single respondents who cannot afford to buy a house just yet, and the existence of housing association accommodation to

rent which is available in the small townships of Culter and Peterculter to the west of Aberdeen, and which is not so readily available in the other sample areas of lower population density and smaller settlement size.

The breakdown of the housing tenure of the agricultural communities to the east of the market town of Turriff shows that, like Aberdeen, about two thirds of the respondents (67.6%) live in owner occupied housing. Also a relatively high proportion of the respondents live in Local Authority accommodation, some 15% - producing a z-score of 0.63 -, mainly in the village of Cuminstown. Being an intensively farmed agricultural area requiring a great deal of agricultural labour, some 10.8% of respondents live in accommodation which is tied to their job. Thus, with Local Authority accommodation available in a significant amount in Cuminstown, housing available with many of the farming jobs, and access to the housing market being easier for first time buyers (due to a relative absence of incomers driving up house prices for the indigenous young), it is not surprising that only 6.8% (one of the lowest proportions for any area) of respondents report to live in rented accommodation, producing a z-score of -0.54.

In the relict agricultural villages to the north and east of Dumfries in south-west Scotland, owner occupation dominates over all the other tenure types. Over three-quarters of the respondent sample live in this form of housing, producing a z-score of 0.72 which is well above the mean. The relative lack of Local Authority housing and therefore respondents from Local Authority accommodation, a surprising lack of tied accommodation (given the agricultural nature of the area), and the lack of younger families, who are more likely to live in rented housing (as was discussed in the previous section), allied to a lack of competition from incomers in the housing market subsequently means that there is less pressure put on the private rented market than other areas such as Aberdeen, Strathdon or Moniaive. Therefore, there is less than the mean proportion of the respondents in Local Authority and tied accommodation, and allowing for the figure in Strathdon, there is an unexceptional proportion of respondents living in private and other rented accommodation. Thus only 8.8% of the respondents live in Local Authority housing producing a z-score of -0.37, 5.3% live in tied housing producing a z-score of -0.54 and 8.8% live in rented accommodation producing a z-score of -0.4.

The most prominent feature about the breakdown of housing tenure for the area around Newton Stewart is the large proportion of respondents who live in Local Authority housing, some 22%, producing a z-score of 1.79, which is

almost two standard deviations above the mean and much larger than any other area. The reason for this is that although the area is reliant as a whole on the agricultural economy, the sample was mainly derived from two villages, Kirkton and Creetown, the latter especially having a large number of council housing. The fact that the majority of the sample respondents live in villages means that there are fewer respondents in tied housing (merely 3.4 % producing a z-score of -1.01), and with a relatively large reservoir of council housing being available for young and less affluent families in the villages and Newton Stewart itself, added to the fact that English incomers seem to prefer either Kirkcowan or Newton Stewart, there is no more than an average proportion of this residual population living in private or other rented accommodation. Again, about two thirds of the sample reside in owner occupied accommodation.

In the villages of the Upper Nithsdale Valley, fewer respondents than in any other area except Strathdon live in owner occupied accommodation. Some 63.8%, still by far the majority, live in this form of housing while only 8.7% (producing a z-score of -3.9) live in Local Authority accommodation reflecting the lack of council housing in the area. Due to the upland agricultural nature of much of the study area a relatively large proportion of the population reside in housing that is tied to employment (13% producing a very positive z-score of 1.38). Also 14.5% of the respondents live in private or other rented housing, which reflects both the tendency for many hill farms to be leased from an estate, and the fact the village of Moniaive is very popular with elderly retirement couples from England and other parts of Scotland which puts up the price of the local housing, and with a relative lack of Local Authority housing, puts a greater emphasis on the private rented sector - many of which are farm cottages which are still rented from the farm or the estate but are no longer tied to agricultural employment.

It is fair to suggest that in these rural areas of Scotland owner occupation dominates over other forms of tenure. Also, the proportions of the other rented tenures in the eight study areas depends upon the amount of Local Authority housing there is in any area, the intensity of agriculture, estate and the tourism industry, and the availability and dependence upon the private rented sector (depending upon the pressure on the housing market caused by incomers driving up prices and the availability of other forms of housing). However the extent to which owner occupation appears to dominate in these study areas may be exaggerated due to the well known social science phenomenon of questionnaire surveys being biased towards middle class

respondents living in owner-occupied accommodation, and away from working class families living in rented or council housing.

5.6.1 The Respondents in Each Area Classified into Socio-occupational Class

Table 5.5 breaks the respondent sample down by socio-occupational class and study area.

From an initial list of 26 general occupational categories, six different social classes were identified for ease of comparison. Again in an ideal world an attempt would have been made to compare all the categories, but constraints of time, space and the lack of members in several categories means that for the purposes of this research, the six general occupational classes were deemed to be satisfactory. These are 'professional, managerial and employers', 'Foremen, supervisors and intermediate skilled non-manual workers', 'junior non-manual workers, ancillary and shop workers, and artists', 'foremen, supervisors and skilled manual workers', 'semi-skilled manual and personal service workers' and 'unskilled manual and agricultural workers.' Additionally, it was thought that it would be interesting to treat 'farmers' as a separate social group as their perceptions as a group may differ significantly from those of the others which make up the 'professional, managerial and employers' group. The last group were made up of other occupations which could not be classified by the above categories.

TABLE 5.5
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY:
SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA

CLASS	Mn	GAR	SPR	ABN	TUR	SDN	DUM	NSI	MO
PROFF MANAG	29.4	36.8	32.8	40	15.1	27	22.4	29.3	22.4
SKILLED N-MAN	29	44	63	39	14	27	0	1.7	1.9
JUNIOR N-MAN	95	5.9	12.5	12.3	4.1	8.1	7.5	10.3	11.2
SKILLED MAN	9.9	7.4	15.6	11	12.3	8.1	1.5	10.3	10.3
SEMI SKILLED	11.9	20.6	7.8	5.8	12.3	8.1	1.5	10.3	10.3
UNSKILLED	6.7	8.8	1.6	6.5	12.3	0	16.4	5.2	1.9
FARMERS	16.4	7.4	7.8	10.3	32.9	29.7	22.4	5.2	22.4
OTHER	13.4	8.8	15.6	10.3	9.6	13.5	23.9	15.5	14.0

The point that was raised in the previous Chapter (4.9.1), and the previous section, about any questionnaire sample being biased towards middle class

owner occupiers is highlighted, with the sample in this case being biased towards those respondents who are professionals, employers and managers. An average of almost 30% of the respondents were classified into this group. It is true that in rural areas this group may be more over-represented than in cities, because more affluent people can afford to move out of urban areas to seek a more attractive living environment, either to retire to, to commute from, or to set up or take over a business in, but it is quite unlikely that the proportion in rural areas will still reach 30%. Skilled manual workers, on the other hand, only account for an average of some 2.9%. Junior non-manual workers and skilled manual workers account for an average of almost 10% each. The least affluent socio-occupational groups, semi-skilled manual and personal service workers and unskilled manual and agricultural workers, account for only 11.9% and 6.7% of the sample on average, respectively, which is surely an under-representation of these two groups.

Respondents whose head of household is a farmer make up, on average, 16.4% of the sample. This could be expected for a sample of rural areas in Scotland while other occupations, including undefined retired respondents and the armed forces, makes up 13.4% on average.

On analysing the table, it is evident that the distribution of the different socio-occupation classes between the eight areas depends mainly on three variables; the physical attractiveness of the area and its attraction as a rural idyll, the importance of the area as a commuter reservoir, and the importance of agriculture in the local economy. If an area is attractive, and is perceived as being many people's idea of a rural idyll, then it is likely that there will be a greater than average proportion of respondents from the professional, managerial and skilled non-manual classes, as these are the wealthiest respondents who have the social and capital mobility (and relatively few constraints) to move to an area (and buy a house in an area) which they perceive offers a high quality of life. Thus, an area which is physically attractive will have a high proportion of wealthy retirees in the top two socio-occupational classes. Also, areas which are close to economic centres will also have a greater than mean proportion of professionals, managers and employers, as they have the capital mobility to move out of the city and commute to work, whereas less affluent people do not.

An agriculturally intensive area, logically, will have a large number of farmers and farm workers, and therefore the proportion of respondents in other socio-occupational classes will be diluted.

The effects of these variables is illustrated for the different areas in Table 5.5. In the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, which is beautiful, mountainous and many peoples' idea of a rural idyll, there is a higher than average proportion of respondents in the most affluent professional, managerial and employers and skilled-non-manual socio-occupational groups. However, there is little commuting from the area, so correspondingly the junior non-manual and the skilled manual groups are under-represented against the mean, as are the farmers (7.4% of respondents in the area are farmers versus the mean of 16.4), which reflects the lack of agricultural activity in the area. The lack of farmers means that the other socio-occupational classes in the area are also over-emphasised. The semi-skilled and unskilled nature of much of the labouring, hotel and tourism, and the driving jobs which are available to the young indigenous population who remain behind, is highlighted with semi-skilled manual and personal service workers accounting for some 20.6% of respondents against a mean of 11.9% while 8.8% of the respondents are unskilled or agricultural workers against a mean of 6.7%.

In Strathpeffer, the dual function of the area as retirement centre and commuter reservoir for Dingwall, Inverness and Easter Ross, and the lack of intensive farming, all contribute to a higher than average proportion of the more affluent skilled and non-manual socio-occupational groups and an under-representation of the semi and unskilled manual workers and farmers. Heads of households who are in the professional-managerial, skilled non-manual, junior non-manual workers and skilled manual socio-occupational groups make up 32.8, 6.3, 12.5 and 15.6% of the sample respectively. Semi-skilled manual and personal service, unskilled manual and agricultural workers and farmers on the other hand have only 7.8%, 1.6% and 7.8% of the sample for Strathpeffer, which are all less than the mean for all eight areas.

A similar pattern is found for the study area to the west of Aberdeen. Although the area is not many peoples idea of a rural idyll, and elderly people are unlikely to migrate there to seek a higher quality of life, the positive image of rural areas and the advantages of living in suburban or rural areas over urban are such that people tend to migrate out from the centres as they get wealthier to buy peace, quiet and seclusion. The area to the west of Aberdeen includes some of the top of the market housing areas for those who have the social mobility and access to capital to afford it. Therefore, it *could* be expected, that in an predominantly exclusive commuter reservoir, for such a large and economically prosperous city as Aberdeen, that 40% of the respondents would be professionals, managers and employers. The

proportion of the sample who are in the other non-manual socio-occupational groups is also greater in Aberdeen than for the eight study areas as a whole, while the other semi-skilled and unskilled manual groups are under-represented in the Aberdeen area. The population density is so great in built up parts of the study area that, even though it includes some intensely farmed agricultural land, the proportion of respondents whose head of household is a farmer is less than half of the mean for the eight study areas as a whole (7.8% in Aberdeen versus the mean value of 16.4%).

Although the area is found in the same region, the area to the east of Turriff presents a pattern which is almost inverse to the one found in Aberdeen, and also to those discussed earlier in Gairloch and Strathpeffer. As has been previously mentioned, the area is not particularly physically attractive, and therefore has not proved popular with incomers seeking a higher quality of life, while it is too far away from Aberdeen to facilitate commuting to the larger city, and Turriff is not enough of an economic centre to demand a large commuter reservoir for itself. Therefore, respondents in the more affluent socio-occupational classes are under-represented. Furthermore, farming is the main economic function of the area and almost 1/3 of the respondents were actually farmers, which serves to dilute the proportion of respondents in the other groupings. Therefore, in the Turriff and Cuminstown area, only 15.1% of the heads of households of the respondents were professionals, managers or employers (against a mean for the eight study areas of 29.4%), only 1.4% were skilled manual workers (in comparison to a mean of 2.9%, for the eight areas as a whole), and merely 4.1% were junior-non manual workers (versus a mean of 9.5%). Skilled manual workers in these agricultural areas (occupations such as mechanics, drivers and builders) were actually over-represented in the Turriff area with a mean of 12.3%, against a mean of 9.9% for the eight areas, the same percentage as those in the semi-skilled and personal service workers, and the unskilled manual and agricultural workers, both of which make up a greater proportion of the sample in comparison to the mean, the latter reflecting the importance of agricultural employment in the area.

Given the disparate results thrown up by the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area when the proportion of the sample that were in each housing tenure was considered it is perhaps surprising to discover that the proportions of the respondents in the area who belong to each socio-occupational group are grouped close around the means for the eight study areas. The figures show that the proportion of professionals, managers and employers is 27%, which is

very close to the mean, as is the proportion of skilled-manual workers. With percentages of 8.1%, both junior non-manual workers and skilled manual workers socio-occupation classes have proportions of the sample which are just below the respective means of 9.5 and 9.9% for the areas as a whole. Semi-skilled manual and personal service workers are also slightly under-represented in the sample, while there are no unskilled manual workers recorded as head of household amongst the 37 respondents in the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area. However, where most of the socio-occupational classes are just on or just below the mean values for the eight areas as a whole, the proportion of farmers, 29.7%, in the sample is almost twice the mean proportion of 16.4%. At almost one third of the respondents the farmers - with the professional, managerial and employers - dominate the respondents of Strathdon. The high proportion of farmers accounts for the dilution of the proportion in other groups to values just below the mean, and may also explain why the area, which is many peoples idea of a secluded rural idyll, has only got an average proportion of the professional classes. This situation, which is exacerbated by the fact that the area is outside realistic commuting distance from Aberdeen (apart from the most hardy traveller), and at a distance where any benefits of living in a rural area are being outweighed by the increasing diseconomies of living so far away from work, explains why there is a smaller proportion of the professional classes than an area such as Strathpeffer. The Easter Ross area, by contrast, contains relatively wealthy incomers who moved in seeking a higher quality of life, and also the economically active commuters to Dingwall and Inverness, while there is a lower proportion of farmers which serves to exaggerate the proportion of respondents in other groups.

The high proportion of farmers in the Strathdon area, which is relatively intensely farmed but where tenant small scale hill and stock farming predominates over intensive large scale cropping, explains why so many of the respondents in the area live in rented accommodation, as most of the hill farms will be tenanted from the estates of large land owners.

The situation around Dumfries, interestingly, rather than mirroring the situation around Aberdeen, more closely approximates the situation around Turriff. Despite being a regional centre as well as a local market like Turriff or Newton Stewart, the breakdown of socio-occupational classes for the villages around Dumfries shows none of the high proportion of professionals gravitating outwards which was found in the settlements to the west of Aberdeen. Indeed, professionals, managers and employers account for only

22.4% of the population which is less than the mean of 29.4% for the eight areas as a whole. This is exactly the same as the proportion for farmers. This pattern cannot be explained by the diluting effect on the proportion of the professional classes in an area of intensive agriculture, as the area to the west of Aberdeen is also intensively farmed. Rather the situation around Dumfries is that the city is a smaller centre, both in terms of its actual size and in terms of its economic gravity. Therefore it has experienced less economic and population growth than Aberdeen, it suffers from fewer of the urban ills, and pollution and congestion that affects parts of Aberdeen and which have combined to make moving out to the suburbs, or the country less of a push factor in Dumfries than in Aberdeen. There is also less of a pull factor from the villages outside Dumfries which are much smaller than the townships outside Aberdeen, and do not contain the exclusive and desirable up-market housing that exists in places such as of Culter, Peterculter and Milltimber. Therefore, the population density is great enough, as was the case in Aberdeen, that it serves to mask the influence of farming in the socio-occupational groups. Correspondingly, as was mentioned above, the circumstances are more like the situation outside a small market town like Turriff. Also, although as there is less pressure on the housing market in the villages outside Dumfries and therefore less of a financial stratification from most affluent to least affluent in the villages, there is a significant amount of commuting from all social groups to Dumfries and not just from the professional classes who can afford to move there. The *relative* absence of the professional classes is further exacerbated by the fact that, unlike other areas of Dumfries and Galloway, the area around Dumfries is not particularly attractive physically and it is perhaps too near an urban centre to be many people's idea of a rural idyll, so that few incomers (elderly or otherwise) have moved into the area in order to seek a better quality of life. Consequently, there are no skilled and intermediate non-manual workers recorded in the area, junior non-manual workers only account for 1.5% of the population which is much less than the 9.9% average and semi-skilled manual and personal service workers account for merely 1.5% against a mean of 11.9%.

The importance of agriculture in an area which is so close to a city is emphasised by the fact that 16.4% of the sample are defined as unskilled manual and agricultural workers against a mean in the eight areas of only 6.7%, while farmers, as has been mentioned, account for 22.4% of the heads of households of the respondents. Whereas the population of the Aberdeen area are young and predominantly professional, the respondents of Dumfries are

older and less urban orientated. Indeed 23.9% of the sample in Dumfries are defined as belonging to other occupations against a mean of 13.4% which include many of the elderly undefined retired population that make up the sample in Dumfries as well as members of the armed forces which also recruit a lot of young people from Dumfries and Galloway.

The sample area around the villages of Kirkcowan and Creetown, which are located to the south-west and east of Newton Stewart respectively, display a breakdown between the socio-occupational classes which conforms almost exactly to the mean. The exception are farmers, which are under-represented, due mainly to the sample being largely derived from two villages (although the surrounding area itself is agriculturally intensive). The most affluent socio-occupational classes, even without the diluting effect of a large number of farmers, are not over-represented in the area. Although the area has proved popular with - particularly English - incomers, which would have tended to increase the proportion of respondents in the most affluent socio-occupational classes, they have only really colonised one of the villages, Kirkcowan, in large numbers. Also, Newton Stewart is not a large not enough economic centre to have urban ills which would push people out of it, or have economically differentiated satellite towns grow up outside it, and therefore have people commuting to it in significant numbers. With little urban influence from Newton Stewart, only a modest amount of incomers from elsewhere seeking a higher quality of life, and less than an average proportion of farmers in this sample, the relative proportions in each socio-occupational class conform more or less to the means for the eight groups.

The socio-occupational make up of the respondents from the eighth study area, Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale, are dominated by two social trends. The area, and Moniaive in particular, has proved very popular with elderly retiring incomers seeking a higher quality of life, whereas the rest of the area is very agricultural, with upland farming predominating. Like Strathdon, this latter trend explains the predominance of rented accommodation (as many of the farms are tenanted), and the high proportion of farmers - 22.4% in comparison to the mean of 16.4% - tends to dilute the proportion of respondents in other socio-occupational groups. Indeed, the proportion of respondents in the professional, managerial and employers group is 22.4%, and although it is still the equal largest group, is a smaller proportion than the mean for all eight areas, suggesting that there is little commuting to Dumfries (apart from a little from Tynron which is close to the main road). Also, because the incomers are mainly concentrated in one settlement, Moniaive,

and that house prices may be lower in Moniaive than in other areas such as Strathpeffer and Gairloch, elderly retiring couples other than professionals may be able to afford to move there. Indeed the high proportion of retirees in Moniaive may be such that the area, although many peoples' ideas of a rural idyll, may not be exclusive enough or even remote enough for many of the wealthier retirees who would prefer to move to an area like Strathpeffer, and the area may be, in many ways, a poor mans Highlands. Indeed, whereas skilled and intermediate non-manual workers are under-represented in the sample, junior non-manual workers have a higher proportion of the population. Of the manual workers, skilled manual workers are in slightly greater concentrations than the mean, while semi-skilled and personal service, and unskilled manual workers are in slightly less concentrations in the sample in comparison to the means for the eight study areas as a whole.

5.7.1 The Housing Tenure of the Respondents Broken Down By Socio-occupational Group

Table 5.6 explores the housing tenure of the respondents and how this varies by the head of household's socio-occupational group.

TABLE 5.6
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY CLASSIFIED BY
SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS AND HOUSING TENURE

HOUSING TENURE	EMPLOYERS PROFESS'LS	SKILLED NON-MAN	JUNIOR NON-MAN	SKILLED MANUAL
OWNER OCCUPIED	86.4%	77.8%	60.0%	62.9%
LOCAL AUTHORITY	3.3%	5.6%	15.0%	19.4%
TIED HOUSING	3.8%	11.1%	10.0%	8.1%
OTHER RENTED	5.5%	5.6%	15.0%	9.7%

TABLE 5.6 (CONTINUED)
SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS BY HOUSING TENURE

HOUSING TENURE	SEMI-SKILL MANUAL	UNSKILLED MANUAL	FARMERS	OTHERS
OWNER OCCUPIED	68.0%	23.8%	63.1%	66.7%
LOCAL AUTHORITY	18.7%	26.2%	1.9%	20.2%
TIED HOUSING	1.3%	38.1%	7.8%	1.2%
OTHER RENTED	12.0%	11.9%	27.2%	11.9%

It would be expected that there would be a one-to-one relationship between socio-occupational status and housing tenure in that the most affluent groups would have the access to capital and the income to afford a mortgage and therefore would be more likely to live in owner occupied accommodation, whereas in contrast, the less affluent manual and unskilled workers would be more likely to live in Local Authority, tied, or other rented housing.

Table 5.6 provides evidence to back up this hypothesis. Whereas 86.4% of the most prestigious socio-occupational group - professionals, managers and employers and live in owner occupied housing, only 77.8% of intermediate and semi-skilled non-manual workers, and only 60% of junior non-manual workers do likewise. Of the manual workers, 62.9% and 68% respectively of foremen and skilled, and semi-skilled manual workers own their own homes, and only 23.8% head's of households of unskilled manual and agricultural workers have bought their own home.

Where it is true that the more affluent are more likely to own their own home, it is also the case that the least affluent socio-occupational groups are more likely to live in rented accommodation, whether it be council housing, tied housing, or privately or other rented dwellings. Whereas only 3.3% of professionals, managers and employers live in Local Authority housing, merely 3.8% dwell in accommodation that is tied to their employment and 5.5% live in other rented accommodation, the respective proportions for the unskilled manual and agricultural workers at the other end of the socio-occupational spectrum are 26.2%, 38.1%, and 11.9%, respectively for the sample as a whole, which suggests that for the least affluent respondents owner occupation is only the third most important form of tenure. For all the other groups, owner occupation is by far the most important tenure, but the importance of the other tenure groups grows throughout the less prestigious or affluent socio-occupational groups. Thus, Local Authority tenures account for only 5.6% of respondents who are semi-skilled and intermediate non-manual workers, compared to 15% of junior non-manual workers, 19.4% of skilled manual workers and 18.7% of semi-killed non-manual and personal service workers. The respective proportions for tied and private and other rented accommodation are 11.1% and 5.6% for intermediate and skilled non-manual workers, 10% and 15% for junior non-manual, 8.1% and 9.7% for skilled manual and 1.3% and 12% of semi-skilled and personal service workers.

5.8.1 The Housing Tenure of the Respondents Broken Down By Age Group

It may also be expected that the housing tenure of respondents would be directly affected by the age of the respondents. It may be expected that a person would be more likely to own their own home the older they got, and that young people, who may be relatively poorly paid and therefore have less access to capital, would be more likely to stay in rented or Local Authority accommodation. Table 5.7 breaks down the sample by age of respondent and housing tenure.

TABLE 5.7
RESPONDENTS OF POSTAL SURVEY CLASSIFIED BY
AGE AND HOUSING TENURE

<u>HOUSING TENURE</u>	<u>UNDER 25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-50</u>
OWNER OCCUPIED	68.0%	59.3%	75.0%
LOCAL AUTHORITY	7.8%	15.7%	6.4%
TIED HOUSING	6.8%	11.1%	7.4%
OTHER RENTED	17.5%	13.9%	11.3%

TABLE 5.7 (CONTINUED)
AGE BY HOUSING TENURE

<u>HOUSING TENURE</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>OVER 60</u>
OWNER OCCUPIED	64.1%	69.9%
LOCAL AUTHORITY	17.9%	13.1%
TIED HOUSING	7.7%	4.6%
OTHER RENTED	10.3%	12.4%

Table 5.7, surprisingly, reveals that it is not the case that the older a person gets the more likely it is that they will own their own home. In fact, it is the respondents in the 35-50 age group who are most likely to live in owner occupied accommodation, as 75% report to doing, in comparison to 68% of those under 25, 59.3% of those aged between 26 and 35, merely 64.1% of those respondents who are in their fifties, and just under 70% of those who are over 60.

These results are very interesting. Of the youngest age groups, a high proportion of the 68.0% who live in owner occupied housing will be living in

their parents' house. Of the remainder, 17.5% live in private rented and other rented accommodation, which is the highest proportion in comparison to the other age groups, and which should reflect that very young people do not have the capital to buy, or enough points to get a Local Authority house, so they have to rely on the private rented sector.

The respondents aged between 26 to 35 correspond to the age group which is dominated by young families. Only 59.3% of the respondents live own their own home, which again reflects the fact that for young, less affluent families, access to capital is difficult, while a high proportion live in rented, tied and Local Authority accommodation reflecting the fact that it is slightly easier for young families to get a council house.

As was mentioned above, the middle aged respondents are dominated by respondents who own their home, reflecting that people aged between 35 and 50 earn enough money, and have the access to capital to buy a house. The fact that this age group have a greater proportion of respondents who own their home in comparison to the two older age groups, whereas more respondents in the older age groups live in Local Authority accommodation live (and the respective proportions for the tied and private rented sector are roughly similar - the figure for tied accommodation for those who are over 60 reflects the fact that people who have retired cannot live in accommodation that is tied to their employment) may have much to do with the right to buy legislation. It may be that people who are middle aged feel that it is worth their while buying their own council house while older respondents feel that it is not worth their while taking on a mortgage at their age.

Therefore the hypothesis that older people would be more likely to live in owner occupied accommodation only partially works. It is distorted by the very young respondents who are still living in their parents' owner occupied housing, it works up to middle age when people have the capital to buy their homes, and then is distorted again by a slight under-representation of owner-occupiers in the oldest age groups, which may be related both to older people not bothering to use the opportunity to buy their council house granted to them by the right to buy legislation of the 1980s, and also the differing perceptions of the older generation. The oldest age groups grew up in an age when they were not expected to own their own home, nor was this made important to them, nor encouraged. There is a time horizon when expectations changed, perhaps in the 1950s, and this is reflected in the perception of the respondents in middle age and the fact that a greater proportion have bought their homes.

5.9.1 The Distance Heads of Households Travel to Work in Each Study Area

The distance that respondents in different rural areas travel to work is examined in table 5.8.

TABLE 5.8
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS : DISTANCE TO WORK BY STUDY STUDY AREA

<u>AREA</u>	<u>LOC</u>	<u>< 4</u>	<u>5-10</u>	<u>11-20</u>	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>>40</u>	<u>NOT</u>
GAIRH	54.9	8.5	8.5	2.8	0	1.4	4.2	19.7
SPEFF	15.9	17.5	9.5	12.7	0	0	7.9	36.5
AB'DN	19.9	7.3	43.7	8.6	0.7	0	1.3	18.5
TURRF	50	12.9	5.7	2.9	4.3	5.7	0	18.6
SDON	50	0	0	2.8	2.8	13.9	13.9	27.8
DUMFS	38.9	22.2	10.2	0.9	0.9	1.9	2.8	22.2
NEWS	41.1	10.7	16.1	3.6	0	0	3.6	25
MONV	39.4	7.6	4.5	12.1	1.5	0	0	34.8

Overall, most of the respondents, as could be expected in rural areas work close to where they live, with a large proportion working within ten miles from their home. Between 1 and 13% travel between 11 and 20 miles to work, depending on the area, while very few respondents travel more than twenty miles to work overall, apart from one area, Strathdon and Glenbuchat, where over 27% of the respondents commute over 30 miles - mainly to Aberdeen.

The table shows that in Gairloch some 54.9% of the respondents work locally, while over 70% work within 10 miles of where they live. The remoteness of Gairloch and Loch Torridon from any significant centres of employment is illustrated in the fact that commuting over distances of more than ten miles is almost negligible, and out of the 30% that do not work within ten miles of their home some, almost 20% are either retired or do not work at all.

A contrast is found when the distance respondents travel to work from the Strathpeffer and Contin study area are examined. Whereas the area around Gairloch is remote and relatively sparsely populated, the sort of area where respondents either gain employment locally or move out, the area around Strathpeffer is close to Dingwall, and accessible to both Inverness and the oil rig fabrication yards of the Moray Firth. Therefore people may actually move in to the area in order to work elsewhere, and this is highlighted in the fact

that only 15.9% of the respondents actually work locally, while the commuter function of the area is emphasised by the fact that 17.5% of the respondents work within four miles of their home, and 9.5% and 12.7% travel between 5 and 10, and 11 and 20 miles to work respectively. While none of the respondents travel between twenty one and forty miles to work, some 7.9% travel more than 40 miles to work, and these were respondents who were either working two weeks on, two weeks off in the North Sea from Aberdeen, or working in Edinburgh during the week and living in Strathpeffer at the weekends. The popularity of Strathpeffer with elderly retiring couples is highlighted by the proportion of the respondents who either are retired or do not work. Some 36.5% ,or over one-third of the respondents fall into this category.

The economic gravity of Aberdeen, and the commuter function of the settlements to the west dominates the distance that respondents in that area travel to work. Whereas twenty percent of the respondents work or farm locally, almost 60% of the respondents travel up to 20 miles to work (43.7% travelling 5-10 miles), most of them commuting to Aberdeen while the young demographic structure of the area, and the lack of unemployment in the region in general is reflected in the fact that merely 18.5% of the respondents either are retired or don't work.

A contrast is found in the next area, Turriff, where the town itself has less of an economic pull and 50% of the respondents work or farm close to where they live. A further 12.9% live within four miles of where they work, while 5.7% of respondents in this area travel between 5 and 10 miles to work, reflecting that some people, as would be expected, work in Turriff. Some 10 % of the respondents actually travel between 20 and 40 miles to work either in the Gas terminal of St Fergus, to Aberdeen daily, or fortnightly to work off shore. Only 18.6% of the respondents do not work reflecting that like Aberdeen, the area has not proved popular with retiring couples seeking a higher quality of life.

The distance that respondents travel to work from the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area are interesting, because people either seem to work locally or they travel great distances to get to work. The 27.8% of the sample who travel more than thirty miles has been previously mentioned, while while a further 5.6% of the respondents travel between 11 to 30 miles mainly to the market towns such as Alford and Huntly. None of the respondents travel up to ten miles to work highlighting the remoteness of the area and the lack of job opportunities available near such a peripheral area. However 50% of those

who responded to the questionnaire, like the Turriff area, either live or work where they live reflecting the fact that agriculture and estate work are important parts of the local economy in this part of Grampian region, while the economic gravity of Aberdeen can stretch up to 50 miles away if the environment is attractive enough. The fact that the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area is a *traditional* peripheral rural area which has an imbalance of elderly people - as the young people migrate out to get jobs or education - is reflected in the fact that 27.8% of the respondents either have retired or do not work.

In the South-West of Scotland, around Dumfries, the influence of the town is such that most of the respondents either work locally or within ten miles of their home, mainly in Dumfries. However, whereas only 20% of the respondents in the Aberdeen satellite area worked locally, exactly double the proportion work close to where they live in the Dumfries area, reflecting both the importance of farming in the area, and the lack of employment available in Dumfries in comparison to Aberdeen. A further 32.4% of the respondents travelled up to ten miles to work while almost all of the balance was made up of the 22.2% of the respondents who were either retired or didn't work emphasising once more the elderly nature of the populations which has more of the social characteristics of *traditional* rural area, and bears only a passing resemblance to the commuting belt outside Aberdeen .

The respondents from the villages outside Newton Stewart in Wigtownshire also seem to work very close to home. Some 41.1% of them work locally, while a further 26.8% of the sample work within 10 miles of where they live. Therefore, a significant amount although still a minority actually commute to Newton Stewart while a few travel the twenty miles to Castle Douglas and 3.6% travel over 40 miles to places like Stranraer. The area is similar to other examples, such as Strathdon, where a lack of local employment opportunities results in high unemployment. As the young leave in search of work, an aging demographic structure has developed, exacerbated by fact that the area has been popular with English retirees. This has resulted in one quarter of the respondents either being retired or not working.

Such trends are even more evident in the even more sequestered study area of Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale, where over one third of the respondents have retired or do not work. Of the remainder, 47% work or farm either locally or within four miles of their home, which again emphasises the importance of the twin functions of upland farming and retirement area. Only 15% of the respondents travel more than 4 miles to work which serves to illustrate the lack of influence economically that Dumfries exerts over the

immediate region in terms of commuting as it is only 14 miles from the study area at the nearest point.

5.10.1 The Place of Work of the Heads of Household in Each Study Area

Table 5.9 follows from the last section, breaking down the size and nature of the place of work by area, including in detail the number who are retired, the number who work locally, who work in a major town or city, who work in a minor town or a market town, industrial sites in rural area, other rural area or whether they don't work.

TABLE 5.9
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS: PLACE OF WORK BY STUDY AREA

<u>AREA</u>	<u>LOCAL</u>	<u>TOWN/ CITY</u>	<u>MINOR TOWN</u>	<u>RURAL INDL</u>	<u>OTHER RURAL</u>	<u>RETRD</u>	<u>DONT WORK</u>
GAIRLH	64.8	2.8	1.4	0	9.9	18.3	2.8
SPEFFR	19	15.9	17.5	3.2	1.6	33.3	6.3
ABDN	20.4	48	3.9	3.3	4.6	15.8	2.6
TURRF	44.4	6.9	19.4	2.8	5.6	12.5	5.6
SDON	50	8.3	5.6	0	5.6	22.2	5.6
DUMFS	37	35.2	1.9	0	0	20.4	0.9
NEW.S.	41.1	5.4	25	0	1.8	14.3	10.7
MONVE	45.5	10.6	0	0	6.1	33.3	3.0

The remote and isolated nature of the Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area is illustrated by the fact that almost two thirds (64.8%) of the head of households of respondents are defined as working locally. Only 2.8% work in a major town or city, in this case the respondents worked in the oil industry based in Aberdeen. Some 1.4% of those who answered worked in a minor town (Dingwall), none of the respondents worked in a rural industrial site, while almost 10% of the heads of households of the respondents worked in other rural areas, chiefly in other villages close by. Over 18% of the respondents in the Gairloch area had retired, which reflects both the fact that the area is peripheral and therefore an aging demographic structure may be expected, and the fact that the area has been colonised by people, including retiring couples, seeking a higher quality of life. Only 2.8% of the respondents did not work suggesting that if people in the area do not have a job they either migrated elsewhere or felt too bitter about life to consider filling in a questionnaire.

The dual function of the second study area, the area around Strathpeffer is crystallized in Table 5.9. The commuting function of the settlements is evident in that 19% of the heads of households of respondents are defined as either working of farming locally, almost 16% of the respondents cite Inverness as where they work while 17.5% of the heads of households work in Dingwall or another small town. The importance of the oil rig bases of the Moray Firth, although diminishing in difficult times, accounts for 3.2% of respondents. The second function of the area; that of a place where elderly people come after they retire is illustrated as exactly one third of the respondents have retired, while 6.3% of head's of household in the Strathpeffer and Contin are do not work.

Almost half (48%) of the head's of household in the sample area to the west of Aberdeen actually work in the city itself. This emphasises the function of the area as a commuting reservoir. Just over 20% of the heads of households work or farm in the communities themselves, while the relatively young population structure and the unattractiveness of the area in terms of the rural idyll coupled with the high house prices for retiring couples are demonstrated with only 15,8% of the respondents being retired. Only 2.6% of the heads of households of the respondents in the Aberdeen area do not work, while 3.9% commute out to other small town, 3.2% work in areas which are described as rural industrial sites, and 4.6% work in other rural areas.

In contrast, in the farming communities in and around Cuminestown to the east of Turriff, 44.4% of the head of households of respondents are defined as working locally, while just under 7% actually commute as far as Aberdeen and the 19.4% commute to Turriff itself. This demonstrates the fact that agriculture dominates the economy of this area, while Aberdeen is too far away to commute to for all but a small minority, and the Turriff itself is only of limited importance as an employment centre, The lack of employment other than in farming is shown in the fact that 5.6% of the heads of households of respondents do not work, while the lack of association of the area as a rural idyll is illustrated in the lowest proportion of retired respondents in any of the eight study areas, some 12.5%. In terms of other centres of employment, 2.8% of the respondents work in rural industrial locations (St Fergus Gas terminal), while 5.6% of heads of households in the Turriff and Cuminestown study area work in other rural areas.

The area around Strathdon and Glenbuchat is also too far away from Aberdeen to enable commuting on a large scale, but over 8% of heads of households in the sample still undertake the journey everyday, while 5.6%

travel to other smaller market towns such as Huntly or Alford, and 5.6% also work in other rural areas. However, as has been mentioned above, 50% of the heads of households of respondents in the area are defined as living and working locally which demonstrates the importance of the estates, the farms and the local services as sources of employment. Like Turriff 5.6% of the sample are described as not working while the relative attractiveness in terms of perceived quality of life and the ageing population structure is reflected in the fact that 22.2% of the respondents are defined as retired.

As has been suggested above, Dumfries seems to be more than just a market town in terms of importance, but does not enjoy the regional economic or employment importance of a city like Aberdeen. This is illustrated in Table 5.9 where it is evident that, in terms of where people work, Dumfries provides a middle ground between Aberdeen and Turriff. For example, in Aberdeen, which has a strong influence on the surrounding area, few people actually worked where they lived and a large proportion of the population work in the city itself, whereas completely the opposite was true in Turriff (where people worked locally and were less inclined to commute into the centre). In Dumfries, 37% of the heads of household of the sample are defined as working locally (which lies between the 21.4% who work locally outside Aberdeen, and 44.4% in Cuminstown) while 35.2% actually commute into Dumfries each day (which again lies between the 48% who commute to Aberdeen and the 26.3% who commute either to Turriff or Aberdeen from the Cuminstown area). These account for almost all the economically active members of the sample while the high proportion of elderly respondents is reflected in the fact that 20.4% of the the head of households of respondents have retired, despite the fact that the area has not proved particularly popular with incomers.

The respondents from the villages around Newton Stewart show a similar pattern to the respondents from Turriff, the other comparable area located outside a small market town, in the fact that over 40% of the respondents work locally (some 41.1%) while a lesser proportion (some 25% in this case) commute to Newton Stewart or Wigtown. Some 5.4% commute from the study areas to larger settlements such as Dumfries, Stranraer or Castle Douglas, while only 1.8% of the respondents commute to other rural areas in order to work. Like Turriff, a low proportion of heads of households in the sample have retired (some 14.4% versus 12.5% in Turriff) with the slightly greater proportion in Newton Stewart being put down to the area being more popular with English incomers. The fact that the Newton Stewart area is an

acknowledged unemployment black spot is reflected in the fact that the area contains the highest proportion of respondents in any area who do not work, some 10.7%.

The dual function of the sample area around Upper Nithsdale around Moniaive is evident in Table 5.9. The predominance of farming is reflected in the proportion of heads of household who work locally, some 45.5%. Also the importance of the area as a place where elderly couples retire to is illustrated by the fact that like Strathpeffer exactly one third of the respondents in the sample have retired. Of the residual, the relative unimportance of Dumfries as an employment centre is emphasised both by the proportion of the respondents who work locally, and by the fact that only 10.6% of the head of household of the respondents work in Dumfries, while 6.1% travel to work in other rural areas, and 3.0% do not work at all.

5.11.1 Summary and Conclusions

This Chapter has outlined the social characteristics of the respondent sample in each of the eight study areas.

The inappropriateness of using Census data to describe the sample areas due to the elderly nature of census data, and the difficulties of using enumeration districts was outlined. The sample in each of the eight study areas were investigated by gender, age group, marital status, socio-occupational class and housing tenure.

The social characteristics of the respondents in each area have been outlined which will help to explain the results relating to perceptions of quality of life in later Chapters. Furthermore, using this analysis of the respondents in each sample area, and then synthesizing these with the migrational processes which are operating in each area - which will be investigated in the next chapter, a thumbnail sketch of each locale, and the social, occupational and migrational process which are operating in each individual one, can be drawn. This has also been done in the next Chapter (section 6.10).

In the sample, as would have been expected, respondents who owned their own homes and were classified as professionals, managers and employers were over-represented, while those in the less affluent socio-occupational groups, and who rented their houses or lived in tied accommodation were under-represented. As expected, the respondents in the more affluent socio-occupational groups did tend to be more likely to own their own homes,

although the likelihood of being an owner occupier was not directly related to the age of the respondent.

CHAPTER 6 : COUNTERURBANISATION & RURAL SCOTLAND

6.1.1 Introduction

Although evidence was presented in the previous chapter regarding the existence and the extent of various counterurbanisation processes in different areas, it did not cover the actual extent of counterurbanisation, the social relationship between incomers and locals, and the actual social processes which exist in each area. This chapter will attempt to investigate the nature and extent of counterurbanisation in each area with the aim of building up a picture of the processes happening in each locale. The overall picture will then be synthesized and compared to an early model regarding the spatial manifestation of various counterurbanisation processes.

6.2.1 Migrational Groups Broken Down by Area

Table 6.1 shows the sample broken down by region and by individual study area to show the proportion of the respondent sample who were born locally, the proportion who have moved in to the area from the nearest major urban centre, the proportion who have moved in from elsewhere in the region, the proportion of the respondents who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and finally the fraction of the sample who have moved into the study area from outside Scotland.

6.2.2 Migrational Background by Area : Highland Region

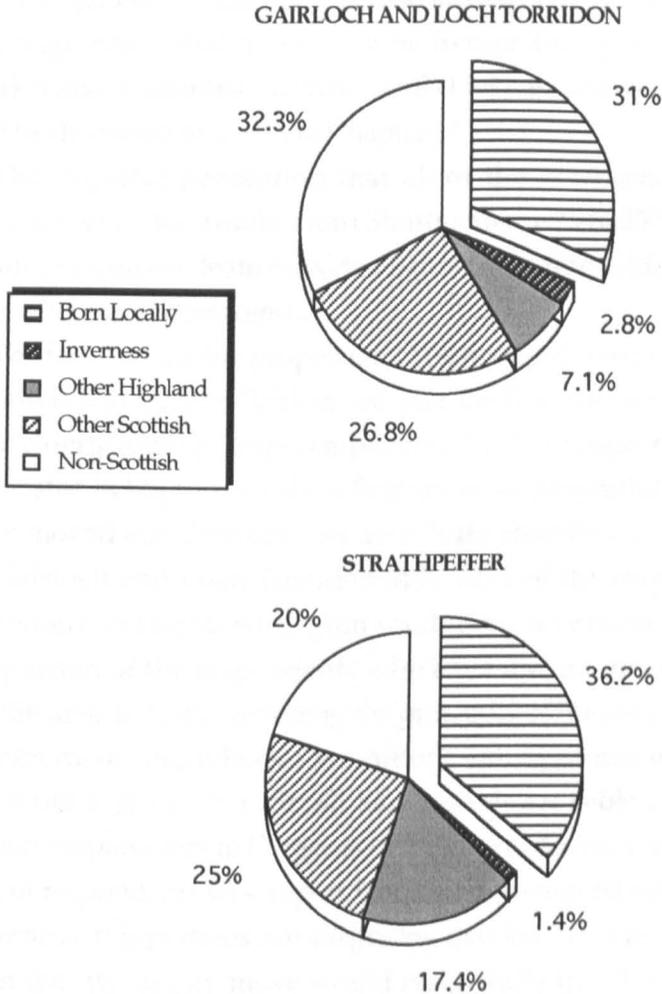
TABLE 6.1.a
HIGHLAND REGION : MIGRATION BACKGROUND OF
RESPONDENTS FROM GAIRLOCH AND STRATHPEFFER

	GAIRLOCH	STRATHPEFFER
BORN LOCALLY	31%	36.2%
INVERNESS	2.8%	1.4%
OTHER HIGHLAND	7.0%	17.4%
OTHER SCOTTISH	26.8	25%
NON-SCOTTISH	32.3	20%

Shown in Table 6.1.a and illustrated in Figure 6.1 is the migrational breakdown of the two samples areas in Highland Region. The notable thing

about the results is that only 36.2% of the respondents in the Strathpeffer and 31% of those in the Gairloch and

FIGURE 6.1
HIGHLAND REGION : MIGRATION BACKGROUND OF
RESPONDENTS FROM GAIRLOCH AND STRATHPEFFER



Loch Torridon area- under one third - of the respondents were actually born in the vicinity of the two study areas and can therefore be classified as indigenous. In Gairloch, as is graphically highlighted in Figure 6.1, it is remarkable that more respondents have moved into the area from outside Scotland than were actually born in it. As well as casting doubt upon the assumption about the existence of close, tight-knit, identifiable indigenous communities, it also serves to emphasises the popularity of the area with incomers seeking a higher quality of life in order to retire to, or to set up or

take over or run a business in. It is a huge bias towards incomers, even allowing for the fact that non-Scottish incomers will tend to be over-represented in the sample as they are more likely to be wealthier, middle class, more informed about what is important in their choice of where to live (having actually made a migrational decision) and therefore proportionally more likely to return the questionnaire. Given that 26.8% of the respondents in the Gairloch area are also Scottish incomers from outside the region, there is a suggestion that there must be tremendous pressure on the housing market and a potential source of conflict with the indigenous population. This will be discussed at length in Chapter 10.

The popular perception that all of the incomers are English is also questioned by the results from Strathpeffer, where 25% of the sample were Scottish incomers from outside Highland Region which is greater than the 20% who were non-Scottish.

The fact that the the proportion of respondents who were born outside the region is less than in Gairloch despite the fact that the area is very popular with elderly retiring people emphasises the dual function that the area enjoys. Illustrated in Figure 6.1 is the difference in the proportion of respondents who have moved into the respective areas from elsewhere in the Region. Whereas in Gairloch and Loch Torridon only 7.0% of the respondents were born elsewhere in Highland Region (excluding Inverness), the corresponding proportion of the respondents who have moved into the Strathpeffer and Contin area is 17.4%, reflecting the proximity of the area to regional centres of employment, and whereas in Gairloch young people might be prepared to move out to get a job, in Strathpeffer people are liable to move in to the area to gain employment in Dingwall or Inverness. Another interesting point is the lack of respondents who report that they have moved into the two areas from Inverness. It is perhaps not surprising that few have moved out to Gairloch from the city, as any move would realistically involve a change of job, and correspondingly only 2.8% of the sample have moved in from Inverness. However it may have been expected that more than 1.4% of the sample in Strathpeffer would have moved out from Inverness, but it may be that the area is just too far from Inverness, and there are other settlements which are more accessible to Inverness where people tend to migrate to, while the urban ills of Inverness are not such, and the city is not big enough, that the social and economic out-migrational differentiation which is apparent in Aberdeen does not occur here.

6.2.3 Migrational Background by Area : Grampian Region

TABLE 6.1.b
GRAMPIAN REGION : MIGRATION BACKGROUND OF
RESPONDENTS FROM ABERDEENSHIRE, CUMINESTOWN/TURRIFF AND
STRATHDON/GLENBUCHAT

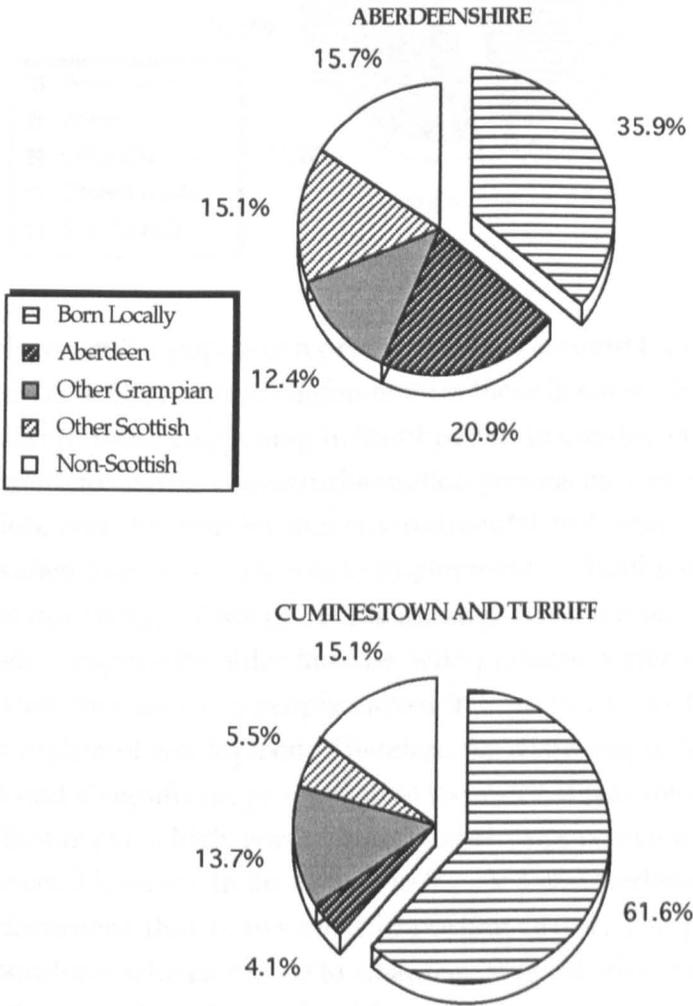
	ABERDEEN	TURRIFF	STRATHDON
BORN LOCALLY	35.9%	61.6%	45.9%
ABERDEEN(CITY)	20.9%	4.1%	10.8%
OTHER GRAMPIAN	12.4%	13.7%	10.8%
OTHER SCOTTISH	15.1%	5.5%	10.9%
NON-SCOTTISH	15.7%	15.1%	21.6%

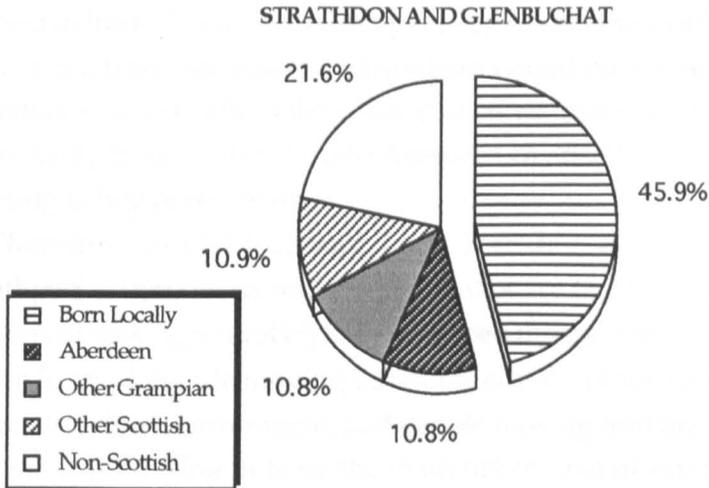
Table 6.1.b and Figure 6.2 illustrate the migrational breakdown in three study areas of Grampian Region. As can be graphically seen in Figure 6.2, in the satellite settlements to the west of Aberdeen, almost 21% of the sample have moved from out from the city itself, while in the Strathdon and Glenbuchat study area 10.8% of the respondents have similarly migrated out from the big city. In the area to the east of Turriff which, unlike Strathdon and Glenbuchat, is not many peoples' idea of a rural idyll, only 4.1% have moved out into the area from Aberdeen.

This exemplifies the proximity of the commuter belts of Aberdeen and the role they play in the housing system of Aberdeen. It also highlights the push effect of urban Aberdeen on the city dwellers and the pull effect of the exclusive semi-rural settlements to the west, and also the pull of the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area, which is outside practical commuting distance to Aberdeen, yet 10.8% of the sample have been drawn there from Aberdeen either to take up positions in the service sector, to seek a better quality, of live in a tranquil rural settlement, or a mixture of both.

Of the three areas in Grampian Region, the study area to the west of Aberdeen contains the lowest proportion of respondents who were born locally suggesting that the equilibrium of the social system is in the greatest state of flux out of the three areas. Only 35.9% of the respondents - just over one third - report to have been born in the area which correspondingly means that 2/3 of the sample were born outside the study area, and this suggests that, as with Gairloch and Strathpeffer, there a lot of people moving in and out of the area.

FIGURE 6.2
 GRAMPIAN REGION : MIGRATION BACKGROUND OF
 RESPONDENTS FROM ABERDEENSHIRE, CUMINESTOWN/TURRIFF AND
 STRATHDON/GLENBUCHAT





However the population processes which account for this, as can be seen from Table 5.9, are much different from those in Gairloch and only vaguely similar to those happening in Strathpeffer. In Gairloch the majority of the respondents in this counterurbanisation process moved in from outside the region, and this implies that environmental and aesthetic considerations prevailed over those of access to employment. In Strathpeffer, two processes were operating. Those of people moving into the area for environmental reasons, especially older families who perhaps preferred to live in a less isolated area; and also people moved in from elsewhere in the region to be near centres of employment. Therefore, for all the respondents in the former area and a significant proportion in the latter, it was the rural lifestyle and environment which was of paramount importance in the migrational decision. However, in the sample to the west of Aberdeen, it is not the rural environment that is the most important factor. The proportion of the respondents who commute to Aberdeen suggests that it is an environment which is free of the ills of urban life in which to live out their urban orientated lifestyle. In this area 20.9% have moved out of Aberdeen in the conventional sense of counterurbanisation, while 12.4% have moved in to the area from elsewhere in the region, 15.1% have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland and 15.7% from outside Scotland. Given the fact that house prices are high in the area, and the more urban parts certainly do not conform to many peoples idea of a rural idyll, it is unlikely that environmental reasons are the *raison d'etre* for many peoples moves. More likely these are people who are moving in to take up employment in Aberdeen itself.

It may have been expected that a higher proportion than 12.4% would have moved in from elsewhere in Grampian Region, but most of the people drawn in to work from elsewhere in Grampian would most likely be young and therefore unable to afford the housing in an exclusive commuter belt and are more likely to move directly into Aberdeen city itself where more affordable housing to buy or rent exists.

Therefore, in Gairloch and Loch Torridon, and to a certain extent Strathpeffer, there exists counterurbanisation for environmental reasons and reasons of seeking a rural idyll. In Aberdeen there exists counterurbanisation in the form of people moving out of the city to commute from a safer and more attractive environment, and people moving into the city to work and purchasing housing outside the main urban area in semi-rural locations, which although not strictly rural in character, are perceived as offering a higher quality of life. In Turriff, however, little counterurbanisation seems to be apparent. In contrast to the other study areas, 61.6% of the respondents were born locally. This implies that the social and demographic equilibrium is not as dynamic in comparison to other areas. Of the minority who have moved in, only 4.1% have moved in from Aberdeen suggesting that the area is too far away from the city to make large scale commuting feasible, and therefore the area is outside the direct counterurbanisation influence of Aberdeen. Unlike Aberdeen where the group made up the smallest migrational proportion, a relatively large amount of incomers come from elsewhere in Grampian Region. These will be made up of people moving in for a job or who have moved in after they have married. As has been mentioned before, Turriff is not a major economic centre and the area is not particularly physically attractive, being predominantly flat farming land, while the region is not associated with 'idealised rural images'. This combined with the fact that the agricultural communities are very close and tight knit, and therefore not particularly welcoming for incomers, means that there has not been the large scale influx of incomers from elsewhere in Scotland seeking a job in a rural area, a rural home from which to commute to a city, or an attractive rural scene to retire to that has been evident in other areas. In fact, only 5.5% of the respondents in the Turriff sample have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland and only 15.1% had moved in from outside Scotland, the lowest proportion for that group in any of the eight study areas.

As was seen in the Gairloch study area, the physical beauty of the area greatly affects the significance of the counterurbanisation process. The Strathdon and Glenbuchat study area is also predominantly an agricultural

area, although less intensive hill and sheep farming predominates. But the fact that the area is remote and isolated, up in the edges of the Grampian Mountains, and more rugged, makes it more appealing to potential migrants. Whereas in Turriff only 15% of the respondents had moved in from outside Scotland, 21.6% of respondents have moved into the Strathdon area from outside the country, mainly from England, and a further 10.9% have moved in from other parts of Scotland outside Grampian Region, double the proportion in Turriff. This is a large proportion for an area where there are few obvious sources of employment. Also 10.8% of the sample have moved in from Aberdeen itself, the same proportion that has moved in from the rest of Grampian. Although, as has been shown, a few of the respondents consider the quality of the living environment to be worth the long drive, the area is too far away to be within the direct commuting sphere of influence of Aberdeen. Allowing for a certain proportion who have moved into the area to marry or have taken up employment in the service industries, a very large proportion of the 54.1% of the respondents who have moved into the area from outside have settled to work in, set up or take over a business or to retire to the area because of its remoteness, its physical beauty, and because it fits their image of an idyllic rural community. Therefore a counterurbanisation process is going on in the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area which is similar to the process happening in Gairloch and Loch Torridon, although it is not on such a large scale .

6.2.4 Migrational Background by Area : Dumfries and Galloway

Table 6.1.c and Figure 6.3 illustrates the proportions in each migration group in the three study areas in Dumfries and Galloway Region.

It is interesting to observe that the same migrational processes which were apparent in the other study areas spread over the rest of Scotland are also evident in the south-west, suggesting that these processes are operating in all parts of rural Scotland. The relict agricultural villages to the north and east of Dumfries display the same processes that were apparent in the satellite settlements to the west of Aberdeen and in most rural environs outside major urban areas; those of the urbanisation of rural villages, but the relative lack of economic importance of Dumfries is reflected in the fact that the process is not so dynamic in Dumfriesshire.

Whereas only 35.9% of the respondents in the Aberdeen sample were born locally, a higher proportion, 44.6%, can be said to be indigenous to the

Dumfries area, suggesting that the population processes are not so dynamic around the fringes of a smaller urban centre.

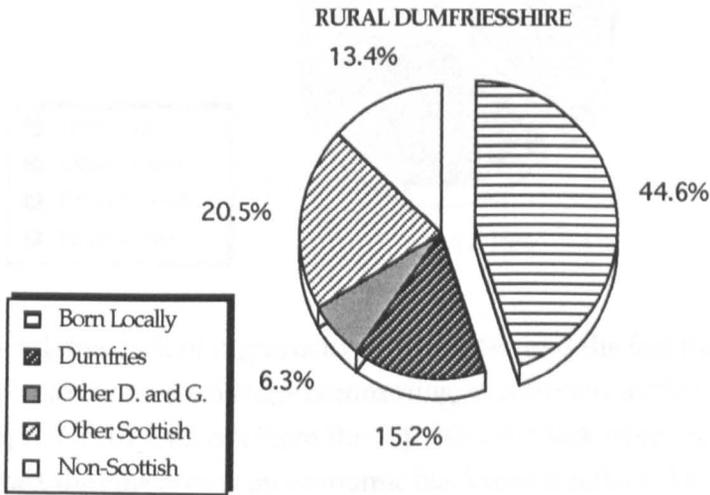
TABLE 6.1.c
DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY REGION: MIGRATION BACKGROUND
OF RESPONDENTS FROM DUMFRIESSHIRE, NEWTON STEWART
AND MONIAIVE

	DUMFRIES	NEW. STEW.	MONIAIVE
BORN LOCALLY	44.6%	58.6%	37.1%
DUMFRIES (TOWN)	15.2%	1.7%	0%
OTHER D.& G'WAY	6.3%	3.4%	17.1%
OTHER SCOTTISH	20.5%	15.6%	17.2%
NON-SCOTTISH	13.4%	20.7%	28.6%

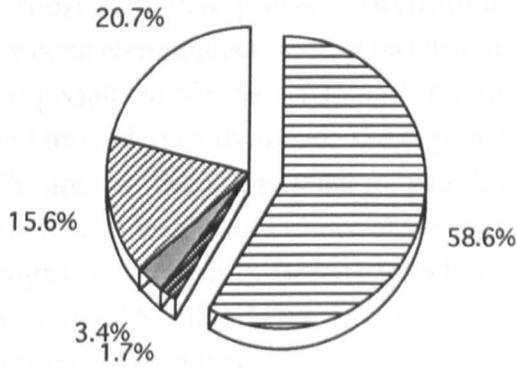
Whereas the diseconomies of living in a big city, and the attractiveness of exclusive, semi-rural housing had persuaded 20% of the sample population to move outwards from Aberdeen, 5% less of the Dumfries sample is composed of respondents who have gravitated out of the city reflecting the fact that Dumfries is smaller with less vivid social ills, while the agricultural villages are less 'up market', and the housing of not such a high quality, in comparison to that found west of Aberdeen. The economic importance of Dumfries relative to that of Aberdeen is such that only half the proportion of the respondents have been attracted in to the area from elsewhere in the region (6.3% in Dumfries versus 12.4% in Aberdeen). Also, while more non-Scottish incomers have been attracted to oil rich Aberdeen (even though Dumfries is closer to England), more of the sample have moved in to Dumfries from elsewhere in Scotland in comparison to Aberdeen - 20.5% in Dumfries versus 15.1%, which may be explained in terms of Dumfries attracting people seeking employment from the problem industrial areas of Ayrshire and Clydesdale. Therefore it would seem that the same counterurbanisation processes are operating in Dumfries as were evident in Aberdeen but that the smaller less prosperous city has produced less dynamic demographic flows.

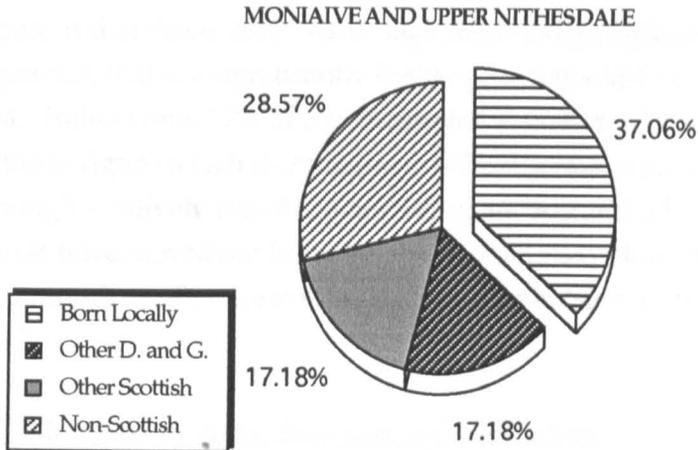
The area around Newton Stewart is similar to that of Turriff in that the areas both lie close to small market towns, and the areas do share similar migrational profiles in many ways. As is graphically illustrated in Figure 6.3 in Newton Stewart, the majority of the respondents in the area can be said to be indigenous, some 58.6%, suggesting that the migrational processes operating within the area are not very dynamic.

FIGURE 6.3
 DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY REGION : MIGRATION BACKGROUND
 OF RESPONDENTS FROM DUMFRIESSHIRE, NEWTON STEWART
 AND MONIAIVE



CREETOWN, KIRKOWAN AND NEWTON STEWART





The relative lack of importance of Dumfries, and the fact that the area is also too far away to encourage commuting, is reflected in that only 1.7% of the sample has moved out from the city. Also the lack of economic activity and the fact that the area is an economic blackspot is reflected in only 3.4% of the respondents having moved in from elsewhere in Dumfries and Galloway. However, whereas Turriff, due to its banal physical landscape and tight knit agricultural communities, had proved unpopular with people moving in from further away, the more attractive physical environment of this part of Wigtownshire, more open communities, and the fact that the area is served by good road access - especially to Northern England-, has meant that 36.3% of the respondents had moved in from outside the region, the majority from outside Scotland. The area has become popular for people in their retirement years seeking a quiet rural locale, and many of the complaints of all the housing being bought by English incomers, which are common in the picturesque areas of rural Scotland, are also to be heard in this area, particularly in the village of Kirkcowan.

Whereas the area around Newton Stewart was like Turriff in some ways, the more isolated area of Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale displays the counterurbanisational migrational pattern that was apparent in the other more sequestered study areas such as Gairloch, and to a lesser extent, Strathdon. Only 37.1% of the respondents in the Moniaive area are indigenous, which compares to the 31% in Gairloch, and the 46% in Strathdon, suggesting that the migrational equilibrium falls between the dynamism of the respective study areas of Wester Ross and Gordon. The popularity of the area with people seeking a certain rural lifestyle, especially with elderly couples, is such that, despite the lack of any economic activity

(apart from hill farming), 45% of the sample have moved in from outside the region, and of those, 28.6% have migrated in from England. As can be seen in Figure 6.3, that is a significantly higher proportionally than in the other two areas. Indeed only 17% of the sample have moved in from elsewhere in the region (a figure which is comparable to Strathpeffer suggesting that the area, although relatively remote, is not as isolated as Gairloch), while none of the sample have moved out from Dumfries which exemplifies the lack of a sphere of commuting influence exerted by Dumfries outside a very short distance of the city.

6.2.5 Migration by Area : Summary and Conclusion

These results confirm that there are different migrational processes happening in different kinds of rural area within Scotland. In isolated and physically beautiful areas, there is a great deal of in-migration of people who have moved over long distances to seek a certain perceived way of life and quality of living environment which corresponds to their media, television and advertising conditioned idylls about the quality of life in rural area. These migrants are moving in to retire or alternatively to work, set up, take over or manage businesses, and they are apparent in these isolated areas in significant numbers. In other less remote areas, this migration for quality of life is also apparent, although perhaps not quite as dynamically, and this depends upon the population density, the beauty of the landscape and the open or closed nature of the communities themselves.

Nearer to the urban settlements, the importance of migration to seek this rural idyll diminishes within the economic sphere of influence of the urban centre, and processes such as decentralisation from the urban centre to commute from an attractive rural environment predominate along with other commuters who move into the area and prefer to live in a rural location straight away (especially if the housing is exclusive), rather than buying within the city .

So it is apparent that these processes are in existence in rural Scotland but certain questions still remain to be answered. Are the incomers moving into an area generally of a more prestigious socio-occupational group (i.e. are they better off) than the indigenous population; which has implications for issues like the source of conflict or the viability of a rural bus? Are the incomers older than the indigenous population? Is it true for example, that incomers are predominantly of retirement age? Are incomers more likely to live in owner occupied accommodation than the indigenous population? Again, this

has implications for such issues as housing access for the local young and is therefore a potential source of conflict. Also, are incomers more likely to commute over longer distances to work than locals, and are they also more likely to work elsewhere? It is suspected that many incomers are using the communities of the indigenous population to carry on living their urban orientated lifestyles from rural locations, and this has indirect implications for the prosperity of indigenous rural services. These questions will be addressed in the following sections of the chapter.

6.3.1 Socio-occupational Class of Respondents Broken Down By Migrational Group

To address the first question raised above; are the incomers into an area generally of a more prestigious socio-occupational group than the indigenous population? It is an assumption in rural areas that people who can afford to move - either to commute or to live out their rural *phantasies* (section 2.10.1) - are wealthier than the members of the indigenous population and are more likely to be in the professional, managerial and employer class. Table 6.2 breaks down the socio-occupational class of the sample (calculated by taking the overall mean of the eight sample areas to rule out the results being biased towards the areas with the largest number of respondents) and breaks it down further into the proportions who were born locally, those incomers who have moved in from within Scotland, and those who have moved in from outside Scotland, mainly England. This has been done for the whole sample. It could not be done for each area individually, as the numbers in a number of the cells would have been negligible.

From Table 6.2 one can suggest that, if the 'Others' category can be taken as quite representative, the indigenous respondents account for just over 40% of the sample, and incomers just under 60%. However in the professional, managerial and employers class only 20.3% of this group is made up of respondents that were born locally. The proportion of locals then increases as one decreases in socio-occupational status.

Some 42.7% of skilled and intermediate non-manual workers, while 46.8% of respondents (a higher than proportional representation) are in the junior non-manual category. Also, indigenous respondents are over-represented in all of the manual occupational classes. 55.8% of foremen and skilled manual workers in the sample were born locally and just under half of the respondents in the semi-skilled manual and personal service, and unskilled manual and agricultural workers socio-occupational classes are indigenous.

TABLE 6.2
SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF RESPONDENTS BY
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND(AREA MEANS)

	EMPLOYERS PROFESSLS	SKILLED NON-MAN	JUNIOR NON-MAN	SKILLED MANUAL
INDIGENOUS	20.3%	42.7%	46.8%	55.8%
SCOTTISH INCOMER	47.4%	21.9%	39.3%	39.3%
NON-SCOTTISH INC.	32.3%	27.9%	7.4%	4.4%

TABLE 6.2 (CONTINUED)
SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF RESPONDENTS BY
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND(AREA MEANS)

	SEMI-SKILL MANUAL	UNSKILLED MANUAL	FARMERS	OTHERS
INDIGENOUS	48.6%	47.3%	63.9%	42.6%
SCOTTISH INCOMER	29.2%	16.6%	25.0%	30.8%
NON-SCOTTISH INC.	22.2%	23.6%	10.9%	26.6%

The respondent groups from the eight study areas are of different sizes. To negate the influence of larger study groups, the figures were calculated by taking the mean of the respective proportions across the eight study areas

Therefore, it can be argued that there is a disproportionate proportion of in-migrants in these sample areas in the most prestigious and affluent socio-occupational classes, while the incomers are under-represented in the lower status manual classes. The non-Scottish incomer group are also indicative of the social make up of this counterurbanisation process. About a third of the respondents in the employers, managers and employment class are incomers from outside Scotland, while they account for over a quarter of those in the skilled and intermediate non-manual workers class. Therefore a high proportion of the most prestigious socio-occupational classes are English incomers.

It would seem that the most affluent respondents are able to migrate over the longest distances, and that rural Scotland holds great appeal to those who live in England. In comparison, only 7.4% of junior non-manual workers and 4.4% of foremen skilled manual workers were incomers from outside Scotland. Paradoxically, however over 20% of those in the least affluent socio-occupational manual classes have migrated in from outside Scotland reflecting the large proportion of unskilled work available in the tourist industry, which often attracts people seeking an alternative way of life.

Logically perhaps, given the fact that many farms are passed down through families and that farming is an activity within which there is little internal migration of people, 63.9% of farmers are part of the indigenous population in rural areas while 25% moved in to farm from elsewhere in Scotland and only 10% from outside Scotland.

Therefore it would seem from the evidence that incomers participating in the survey are generally of a more prestigious socio-occupational group than the indigenous members of the sample, and this raises issues such as the access to housing for less affluent local people and the continuation of the bus service. These will be discussed in chapter 10.

6.4.1 The Migrational Background of Respondents Broken Down by Age Group

Another common perception is that incomers are generally older than the local population. It would be expected that the proportion of respondents who are indigenous to an area would be diluted with increasing age group. People rarely stay in one place for the entire duration of their lives, and people are prone to move about, initially with their parents, and then for higher education, jobs, or housing. Later on people may move after they get married, and then again as their career develops and they move up the housing ladder, and finally as they retire. Therefore, as people move away at different times the proportion of any age group who were not born locally is liable to increase. Indeed, it is commonly held that many of the people who are moving in to seek a higher quality of life are elderly retirees. It would be logical to assume that there would be some effect on the concentration of incomers as the age of the age groups increases. After all, the more years a person lives the increasing chance that they will have the financial resources to move, gain independence from their parents, marry, or be moved because of employment. Therefore, one would expect a higher concentration of incomers in the older age groups. However a heavily imbalanced proportion of incomers, would tend to indicate that an area is particularly popular with elderly couples seeking a quiet, attractive living environment to live out their senior years.

6.4.2 Respondents From Gairloch and Torridon : Migrational Background and Age

Table 6.3.a shows the proportion of indigenous respondents, respondents who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and respondents who have

moved in from outside Scotland (predominantly from England) in each of the age groups for the Gairloch study area.

Due to the lack of respondents who were teenagers in general the youngest two age groups have been abbreviated to those who are under twenty five.

TABLE 6.3.a
RESPONDENTS FROM GAIRLOCH AND TORRIDON:
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIG'S	61.5%	28.6%	21.7%	25.0%	22.2%
SCOTS IN	15.4%	50.0%	39.1%	25.0%	55.6%
NN-SCOT	23.1%	21.4%	39.1%	50%	22.2%

INDIG'S = INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN = SCOTTISH INCOMER
NN-SCOT = NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

As was documented in section 6.4.2 of this chapter, 31% of the respondents from the Gairloch area were classified as indigenous, 37.7% were deemed to be Scottish incomers while 32.3% were non-Scottish incomers. When these migrational groups are broken down by age group an interesting pattern appears. Over 60% of the respondents aged under 25 are indigenous while only 15.4% are Scottish incomers and 23.3% are non-Scottish incomers. As expected the youngest age group is dominated by those who have lived in the area for all of their lives, while few people of that age have the financial independence and mobility to move to a remote rural area, while at such an age people are still being attracted to the excitement and the bright lights of big cities rather than being pushed away from them in search of a tranquil rural home. Also, a large proportion of the incomers in this age groups will have moved in to the area with their parents rather than having chosen to move there themselves and it may be the case - and this is examined in chapter 7 - that their perceptions vary from incomers of other ages in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live.

There is a marked contrast with the next age group - those aged between 26 and 35. This group was chosen because it represents an age groups of young families. Where over 60% of those aged under 25 were classified an indigenous, only 28.6% of those aged between 26 and 35 are thus classified. Correspondingly, 50% of the respondents in this age group have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland while 21.4% are non-Scottish incomers. Part of this decline in the concentration of the indigenous population can be put

down to local people moving out after they marry to be replaced by other people moving in for the same reason. Also, apart from construction, limited fish farming, fishing, forestry and estate work and the seasonal tourist industry, there is little indigenous employment in the area for those with limited qualifications, experience, or access to capital. Thus, part of the reduction in concentration of the indigenous population can be put down to people continuing to move away for education and jobs and in an area where the pressure on the housing market from incomers has forced prices up, and the out migration of young families for housing is a significant factor in the demographic system.

The next age group is composed of those respondents aged between 36 and 50, or those classified to be in middle aged. Due the pressures mentioned above for locals to move out the proportion of indigenous respondents has decreased to only 21.8% of the sample in this age group. Of the remainder, 39.1% have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland while, 39.1% have also moved in from outside Scotland. Therefore, the proportion who have moved in from England has increased with the age of the respondents. But in contrast to the results of Strathpeffer (section 6.4.3), there is a high proportion of incomers and English incomers in particular in a remote isolated area who are still at an economically active age. The proportion of English incomers reaches its highest concentration in the age group of those aged between 51 and 60, those approaching retirement age. A lot of the English respondents had taken early retirement to move out to the area but as has been mentioned elsewhere, the remoteness of the area makes a second move back to a more accessible area as the retirees get too old, essential. Therefore, the proportion of English respondents falls to only 22.2% of those over 60, although the proportion of respondents who are incomers as a whole stays relatively constant, as the proportion of those who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland rises from 25% of those between 51 and 60 to over 50% of those over 60, while the proportion of indigenous respondents stays much the same(25% for those aged between 51 and 60 and 22.2% for those over 60).

6.4.3 Respondents From Strathpeffer : Migrational Background and Age

Table 6.3.b also shows the proportion of migrants in each age group for the Strathpeffer area. The pattern in this study area is much more clear cut than the one in Gairloch and Loch Torridon and conforms to that which may have been expected in an area which has the reputation of being popular with elderly English retirees.

TABLE 6.3b
 RESPONDENTS FROM STRATHPEFFER:
 MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	50.0%	60.0%	38.9%	37.5%	19.2%
SCOTS IN	25.0%	30.0%	50.0%	37.5%	53.8%
N'N-SCOT	25.0%	10.0%	11.1%	25%	26.9%

INDIGS = INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN = SCOTTISH INCOMER
 N'N-SCOT = NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

As has been mentioned before, the overall proportion of respondents who were born locally was 36.2%, while the people who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland accounted for 43.8% of the overall sample, and the proportion of those who are incomers from out with Scotland make up the remaining 20%. Again, like Gairloch, a large proportion of the respondents who are under 25 were born locally. This would be expected, and indigenous respondents account for exactly a half of those in this age group, while the incomers are also equally divided by those who moved in from elsewhere within and outside Scotland. However, unlike Gairloch, 60% of those between 26 and 35 were also born locally. This age group corresponds to young families and suggests that unlike the study area in Wester Ross there are more job opportunities and more housing available further east which encourages young people to stay in the area. Also, only 10% of those aged between 26 and 35 moved in from outside Scotland, and only 11.2% of those aged between 36 and 50 are English compared to 39.1% in the Gairloch and Loch Torridon sample. This means that English respondents with an overall proportion of 20% of the sample are under-represented in the economically active years, while the fact that 25% of those aged between 51 and 60 and 26.9% of those over 60 are non-Scottish incomers suggests that they are over-represented in the most senior age groups. Also the indigenous sample conforms to the mean for the age groups between 36 and 60 and with only a 19.2% share of the sample over 60 means that the indigenous elderly are under-represented. The fact that one third of the sample in Strathpeffer are over 60, of which the incomers are over-represented indicates that the significant numbers of economically active incomers are not as apparent in this sample as they were in Gairloch. Most of the non-Scottish incomers are indeed elderly rather than being economically active, and many of the Scottish incomers will have moved in to take up jobs in the area which is close to Dingwall, Inverness and

the oil yards of the Moray Firth, but not necessarily at the expense of the young indigenous population.

There is thus evidence of migration for reasons of quality of life in both Gairloch and Strathpeffer over long distances, but there is also evidence of difference in the age of the long distance migrants between the two areas with more economically active 'urban disillusioned' moving to the more remote and isolated area, and the historical movement of elderly retirees moving to the Victorian Spa resort.

6.4.4 Respondents From Aberdeenshire : Migrational Background and Age

TABLE 6.3.c
RESPONDENTS FROM ABERDEENSHIRE
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	59.4%	34.6%	35.2%	13.3%	20.0%
SCOTS IN	28.1%	46.2%	50.0%	60.0%	68.0%
NN-SCOT	12.5%	19.2%	14.8%	26.7%	12%

INDIGS= INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN=SCOTTISH INCOMER
NN-SCOT=NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

Of the respondents from the area west of Aberdeen, just over a third were born in or very close to the study area. However, as can be seen in Table 6.3.c 59.4% of those under 25 were born locally and this proportion diminishes as the age groups get older and only 13.3% of those in their 50s and 20% of those over 60 were born in the area. Correspondingly, of those who have moved into the area from elsewhere in Scotland, the migrational group is under-represented in they younger age groups against the sample mean of 48.4%. However, from middle age onwards the Scottish incomers are over-represented in the sample. The non-Scottish incomers with a mean of only 15.7% are in the minority in this area and there is no definite pattern for this group suggesting that there are no defined long distance migrational trends that could be put down to long distance movement of people for environmental quality and way of life although 26.7% of the age group of respondents in their fifties are from outside Scotland, which could correspond to a large influx of professionals who moved into Aberdeen in the seventies and early eighties for positions related to the oil boom and who are now reaching retirement age.

6.4.5 Respondents From Cuminstown and Turriff : Migrational Background and Age

TABLE 6.3.d
RESPONDENTS FROM CUMINESTOWN AND TURRIFF:
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	68.4%	45.5%	31.6%	70%	100%
SCOTS IN	0%	36.4%	57.9%	20.0%	0%
NN-SCOT	31.6%	18.2%	10.5%	10.0%	0%

INDIGS= INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN=SCOTTISH INCOMER
NN-SCOT=NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

The study area near Turriff in Banff and Buchan was notable in having a very high proportion of locally born respondents in the sample, some 61.6% (see Chapter 5.3.1). When the age groups are broken down by migrational group it is interesting to note that despite the overall high concentration of locals, the same dilution occurs with the increasing age of the respondents, at least until the respondents reach 50. Indeed, 68.4% of those aged under 25 were born in the area while all the rest moved in from outside Scotland. This proportion is reduced to 45.5% of those aged between 25 and 35, as people move on to get jobs elsewhere, and people move away outside the immediate area after they get married. Of those in middle age (aged between 36 and 50), under one third of the respondents were born in the study area while 57.8% of the respondents had moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and 10.5% had moved to the area from England. However, of the respondents in the sample who are in their fifties and approaching retirement, 70% were born in the area while everyone who was over 60 in the sample was born in or very near the Cuminstown and Turriff study area. This suggests that the area is not one where people want to come to live when they retire, and it certainly seems to be one where people move to work but where they move out of when they retire. Indeed, the fairly unspectacular physical scenery of the area has been mentioned previously as have the close, tight knit and very proud agricultural communities, areas which would not be the most welcoming to English incomers.

6.4.6 Respondents From Strathdon and Glenbuchat : Migrational Background and Age

TABLE 6.3.e
RESPONDENTS FROM STRATHDON AND GLENBUCHAT:
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	83.3%	16.7%	33.3%	66.7%	50%
SCOTS IN	16.7%	50.0%	33.3%	33.3%	30%
N'N-SCOT	0%	33.3%	33.3%	0%	20%

INDIGS = INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN = SCOTTISH INCOMER
N'N-SCOT = NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

The age pattern for the respective migrational groups for the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area is a difficult one to comment on accurately because there are only 37 respondents in the sample which means that there are roughly two in each cell. However, there is a little evidence in Table 6.3.e. to suggest that the proportion of indigenous respondents falls away as the respondents get older and then rises again for the elderly respondents which suggests that the area is one where there was a population imbalance towards the elderly as young people moved away to get jobs but which has recently been alleviated by a large number of incomers. Also a third of respondents aged between 26 and 50 are English incomers, while only 20% of those over 60 are suggesting that, like Gairloch, the incomers who move over a long distance into a physically attractive and very remote area, where the population density is low are still economically active when trying to seek their rural idyll away from urban centres.

6.4.7 Respondents From Dumfriesshire : Migrational Background and Age

Table 6.3.f highlights the breakdown by age groups of the respondents in each migrational group for the study area to the east of Dumfries.

Overall 44.6% of the respondents were born in or very close to the study area, while 42% of incomers hail from elsewhere in Scotland (outside the Region), and only 13.4% moved in from outside Scotland. The table exhibits a pattern that one would expect to find in any area. Once again, a large proportion - 66.7% - of those under 25 are indigenous, and as with other areas, this diminishes down to just over 38% of the sample for the elements of

the sample who are over 50. Therefore the indigenous respondents are over represented in the young and under-represented in the old.

TABLE 6.3.f
RESPONDENTS FROM DUMFRIESSHIRE:
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	66.7%	47.4%	43.2%	38.5%	38.7%
SCOTS IN	25%	47.4%	43.2%	53.8%	38.8%
NN-SCOT	8.3%	5.3%	13.5%	7.7%	22.6%

INDIGS = INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN = SCOTTISH INCOMER
NN-SCOT = NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

The Scottish incomers are under-represented in those under 25, with only 25% of the sample, and the proportion in this group increases with increasing age as people move into the area from elsewhere in the region because of employment and to get married, and people become wealthy enough to become economically mobile, so that 53.8% of those in their fifties have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland. Only 13.4% of the sample moved in from outside Scotland and, as could be expected for an area which has not proved particularly popular with incomers seeking their idyllic rural locale, this age group is under-represented in the youngest age groups and over-represented in the older age groups.

6.4.8 Respondents From Newton Stewart : Migrational Background and Age

The age and migrational group breakdown for the study area outside Newton Stewart shown in table 6.3.g paints an interesting picture.

TABLE 6.3.g
RESPONDENTS FROM NEWTON STEWART:
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	85.7%	60.0%	42.1%	87.5%	50%
SCOTS IN	14.3%	30.0%	31.6%	0%	16.7%
NN-SCOT	0%	10.0%	26.3%	12.5%	33.3%

INDIGS = INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN = SCOTTISH INCOMER
NN-SCOT = NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

Like Turriff, the area is a predominantly agricultural one with a stagnating economy, but unlike Turriff the area has proved popular with English incomers. Overall 58.6% of the sample were classified as indigenous while the remainder of the sample were split between those who moved in from elsewhere and outside Scotland.

As has been shown to be the pattern in other study areas, those under 25 in the sample are composed of a majority of locally born respondents, 85% in this case, which shows the lack of families who have moved into the area from elsewhere. In fact no-one from outside Scotland was under 25. Again, the proportion of respondents corresponding to members of young families - those between 26 and 35 - who are indigenous is reduced, but it is still 60%, which indicates that although there may be some movement in due to marriage, and some employment, there is no large scale in migration of people moving in for employment, while only 10% of this age group has moved in from outside Scotland. The proportion of the indigenous population who were born locally is also 42.1% for the middle-aged age group, while the proportion of non-Scots had increased to about one quarter of the sample. The proportions of those aged in their fifties are quite high but this may reflect the small group size.

6.4.9 Respondents From Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale : Migrational Background and Age

The Upper Nithsdale study area around Moniaive also displays an almost classic pattern of the proportion of non-migrants decreasing through each age group. Even though the overall mean proportion is some 37.1%, 57.1% of those under 25 can be termed indigenous, as are 54.5% of those aged 26-35. In contrast, of those over 60, the non-migrants as expected are under represented with only 29.2% of the sample belonging to this class.

TABLE 6.3.h

RESPONDENTS FROM MONIAIVE AND UPPER NITHSDALE:
MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND BY AGE GROUP

	UNDER 25	26-35 YRS	36-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	OVER 60
INDIGS	57.1%	54.5%	31.6%	37.5%	29.2%
SCOTS IN	0%	36.4%	36.8%	37.5%	37.5%
NN-SCOT	42.9%	9.1%	31.6%	25.0%	33.3%

INDIGS = INDIGENOUS SCOTS IN = SCOTTISH INCOMER
NN-SCOT = NON-SCOTTISH INCOMERS

Strangely some 42.9% of those under 25 had moved in from England while only 9.1% of those between 26 and 35 are thus classified. Also there are no respondents under twenty five who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, while 36.4% of those in the young families group have. This large variation in the youngest group has a lot to do with the fact that the population around Moniaive is quite an elderly one and therefore with only a few cases in the youngest age group, any differences will be exaggerated. The popularity of the area with retirees is exemplified as Scottish incomers provide 37.5% of a large sample of over 60s while English incomers make up a third of this sample, although the proportion of respondents who have moved in from outside Scotland is significant in the 36-50 age group, which suggests that although the area is very popular with elderly migrants who migrate to seek an area with a high quality of rural life, there is a significant number of people moving for the same reasons who are still economically active.

6.4.10 Migrational Background and Age : Summary

To summarise, the age of respondents in each migration group does seem to be quite significant with the proportion of non-migrants decreasing with the increasing age of the groups. However, there is evidence in the more remote areas of respondents not only moving there over long distances after they have retired, but also doing so in significant or even large numbers while they are still economically active.

6.5.1 The Housing Tenure of the Respondents Broken Down by Migrational Group and Area

The whole housing sector is coloured by supply factors and the availability of different kinds of housing. But some broad patterns are worth examining such as the common perception that the relationship between incomers and the indigenous population of a rural area is one of incomers being proportionally older and more affluent, with greater access to capital, and possessing the ability to snap up all the houses on the market, while the locals are unable to compete. Correspondingly, most of the newcomers to an area are presumed to live in owner occupied accommodation while a higher proportion of non-migrants live in local authority or private rented housing. Table 6.4 breaks down the sample by housing tenure, migrational group and sample area.

TABLE 6.4
HOUSING TENURE OF RESPONDENTS BROKEN DOWN
BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP & AREA

	INDIGENOUS		SCOTS INCOMERS		NON-SCOTTISH	
	GAIR	SPEFF	GAIR	SPEFF	GAIR	SPEFF
OWNER O.	68.2	70.8	73.1	80	82.6	85.7
COUNCIL	13.6	20.8	0	13.3	4.3	7.1
TIED	4.5	0	23.1	3.3	4.3	0
RENTED	13.6	8.3	3.8	3.3	8.7	7.1

GAIR = GAIRLOCH, SPEFF = STRATHPEFFER; OWNER O. = OWNER OCCUPIER
COUNCIL = COUNCIL HOUSING, TIED = TIED HOUSING, RENTED = PRIVATE
AND OTHER RENTED

TABLE 6.4 (CONTINUED)
HOUSING TENURE OF RESPONDENTS BROKEN DOWN
BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP & AREA

	INDIGENOUS			SCOTS INCOMERS			NON-SCOTTISH		
	ABER	TURR	SDON	ABER	TURR	SDON	ABER	TURR	SDON
OWNER O.	70.4	64.4	23.5	58.1	64.7	41.7	87.5	81.8	75
COUNCIL	11.1	15.6	5.9	13.5	17.6	0	0	9.1	0
TIED	1.9	11.1	11.8	9.5	17.6	8.3	8.3	0	0
RENTED	16.7	8.9	58.8	18.9	0	50	4.2	9.1	25

ABER = ABERDEEN, TURR = TURRIFF, SDON = STRATHDON;
OWNER O. = OWNER OCCUPIED, COUNCIL = COUNCIL HOUSING, TIED = TIED HOUSING,
RENTED = PRIVATE AND OTHER RENTED

TABLE 6.4 (CONTINUED)
HOUSING TENURE BROKEN DOWN BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP & AREA

	INDIGENOUS			SCOTS INCOMERS			NON-SCOTTISH		
	DUM	NST	MON	DUM	NST	MON	DUM	NST	MON
OWNER O.	66.0	52.9	52	83	100	62.5	80.0	91.7	80
COUNCIL	10	38.2	8	8.5	0	12.5	6.7	0	5
TIED	10	2.9	12	2.1	0	20.8	0	0	5
RENTED	14	5.9	28	6.4	0	4.2	13.3	8.3	10

DUM = DUMFRIESSHIRE, NST = NEWTON STEWART, MON = MONIAIVE;
OWNER O. = OWNER OCCUPIED, COUNCIL = COUNCIL HOUSING, TIED = TIED HOUSING,
RENTED = PRIVATE AND OTHER RENTED

Table 6.4 does reflect the fact that incomers are more likely to live in owner occupied housing than respondents who have lived in area for all of their lives. In fact six of the eight study areas reflect this pattern while only the study areas to the west of Aberdeen and around Turriff do not conform.

In the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, 68.2% of the indigenous population, just over two thirds, live in housing that is privately owned, while a higher proportion of in-migrants who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, 73.1%, own their own house. The highest proportion, 82.6%, is accounted for by the (mainly English) non-Scottish incomers. For this group in the area, only 4.3% live in both Council and tied accommodation while 8.7% live in other rented accommodation. These proportions for the three rented tenure groups are all less than for the locally born respondents in the Gairloch area. Some 13.6% of the non-migrants live in Council accommodation, 4.55% live in Tied housing while a further 13.6% live in other rented dwellings.

The incomers who have moved in from other parts of Scotland provide a bit of an anomaly. Whereas most of those who have moved in from England have done so because they can afford to live where they perceive an area to have a high quality of life, many of the Scottish incomers cannot afford to buy and have taken up accommodation that is tied to their employment in the tourist industry or in estate work. Many of the Scottish incomers also live in housing which is tied to such institutions as banks, the police and the schools, and this also helps explain why 23.1% stay in tied accommodation, while none of them live in council housing and merely 3.8% live in other rented housing.

In the Strathpeffer and Contin study area, this pattern is even more clear cut than in the Gairloch and Loch Torridon example. A total of 70.8% of indigenous respondents live in housing that a member of their family mortgages while 80% of incomers who have moved in from other parts of Scotland reside under such tenure, and again the highest proportion of owner occupiers are incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland, with 85.7% of such respondents owning their own home. Correspondingly, an inverse relationship is found when local authority accommodation is considered for this area. Some 20.8% of the indigenous population live in Council accommodation, compared to only 13.3% of Scottish incomers, and 7.1% of those who have moved in from outside Scotland. The lack of agriculture, forestry and estate employment is reflected in that only 3.3% of Scottish incomers live in Tied housing, while no respondent in the indigenous or non-

Scottish incomer resided in this form of accommodation. Also 8.3% of the indigenous population live in other forms of rented housing while the respective proportions for incomers are once again less at 3.3 and 7.1% respectively.

The sample respondents in the Strathdon and Glenbuchat study area also exhibit this pattern, even allowing for the lack of respondents in the group and the large proportion who were private rented tenants. Less than a quarter of the non-migrants lived in owner occupied housing (23.5%), while the corresponding proportions for Scottish incomers and predominantly English incomers from outside Scotland was significantly greater at 41.7% and 75% respectively. Correspondingly, an inverse relationship exists when the other tenure groups are considered, with more local respondents dwelling under these tenancies than the incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and much more than those incomers who are classified as moving in from outside Scotland. Some 5.9% of indigenous respondents lived in local authority housing, while none of the incomers did; 11.8% of locals lived in housing that is tied to their employment compared to 8.3% of Scottish incomers and no non-Scottish incomers, while a massive 58.8% of indigenous respondents lived in private rented dwellings against 50% and 25% respectively, in the incomer groups.

This pattern of incomers being more likely to live in owner occupied housing than non-migrants is also repeated for the three sample areas in Dumfries and Galloway. In the Dumfries study area, 66% of locals live in this form of housing, which is much less than the 83% of Scottish incomers and the 80% of the non-Scottish incomers, who live in mortgaged homes.

In Newton Stewart this pattern is again followed with the respective proportions being 52.9%, which is very low for the indigenous population, 100%, which is very high, and 91.7% which is also very high for the Scottish and non-Scottish incomers respectively, and this highlights a real contrast between the indigenous and incoming populations. In the area around Moniaive in Upper Nithsdale, the pattern is followed with the respective proportions being 52%, 62.5% and 80% for owner occupied housing. In these two study areas just over a half of the indigenous respondents live in owner occupied housing, and this compares to a proportion of about 70% amongst the Highland respondents which indicates either that the respondents in the highlands are more affluent, that there is a greater variety of other tenure types in the Dumfries and Galloway areas, or that there is a much more vigorous Council house selling policy operated by Ross and Cromarty District

Council. The difficulty of incomers to get on to very long and competitive council house waiting lists is illustrated in the Newton Stewart study area where 38.2% of the non-migrants live in Local Authority provided accommodation while none of the incomers do. In Moniaive, the respective proportions are 8% of the indigenous population, 12.5% of incomers from elsewhere in Scotland, and 5% of those who have moved in from outside Scotland, while in the relict agricultural villages to the north and east of Dumfries, the proportions are 10% of locals compared to 8.5% of Scottish and 6.7% of non-Scottish incomers.

In Dumfries, more indigenous respondents also live in tied or other rented accommodation than Scottish incomers or non-Scottish incomers. In Newton Stewart, no incomers live in tied accommodation, although more English incomers live in private rented housing than locals (which could be explained by a greater availability of Council housing for locals). In the Moniaive study area over a quarter of local respondents live in private rented accommodation, which is three times more important than council accommodation, although a large proportion of the former will be accounted for by tenanted farms, and this compares against only 4.2% of Scottish incomers and 10% of non-Scottish incomers. In Moniaive also, a significant proportion of incomers live in accommodation which is tied to their employment, reflecting the importance of hill farming and estate work in the area, and indeed 20.8% of Scottish incomers (one in five) live in this form of housing compared to 5% of non-Scottish incomers, and 12% of indigenous respondents.

To every rule there is an exception, and two of the study areas in Grampian Region do not quite fit this model of more incomers living in housing that they own and a greater proportion of locals living in local authority or rented accommodation. In the satellite communities to the west of Aberdeen, 70.4% of non-migrants live in owner occupied accommodation while only 58.1% of incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and 87.5% of those who have moved from further afield. Correspondingly, only 11.1% of locals live in council housing while a higher proportion, 13.5%, of Scottish incomers do, although no respondent who has moved in from outside Scotland has reported to live in a council house. Also, where 16.7% of the indigenous respondents live in other rented housing, a slightly higher proportion of Scottish incomers do (18.9%), although only 4.2% of predominantly English incomers do. There could be three explanations behind this anomalous pattern. Being an exclusive area of high quality housing it is unlikely that, unlike the other rural study areas that have been considered, the local

population will be significantly less affluent than anyone moving in from elsewhere. Secondly, being near a regional centre, a significant proportion of the Scottish incomers could be made up of young families who have moved in from elsewhere in the region in search of a job and have got a council house in one of the estates in Culter and Peterculter. This explanation is made more plausible in that almost all of the non-Scottish incomers who have moved in from further afield to take up more lucrative employment in the oil industry have been accommodated in owner occupied housing. Thirdly, it may be that the indigenous population have lived in their council houses longer than the incomers so that they have been able to buy them more easily.

Also in Aberdeen merely 1.9% of the indigenous population live in Tied accommodation in comparison to 9.5% of Scottish incomers and 8.3% of non-Scottish incomers.

Also in Turriff, the pattern found elsewhere does not fit for the incomers that have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland are more likely to live in owner occupied accommodation. Again this may be because it is not the case that wealthier incomers are moving out from a city, or moving over a long distance to set up home in an area they perceive to be a rural idyll, but because a significant proportion are less affluent and are moving in because of employment reasons, or because they can gain access to a house in this area which they couldn't in other areas, or because the proportion of incomers moving in for other reasons is so low that people coming in to live with a new spouse in council accommodation show up in the statistics. The results from Turriff may have something to do with these reasons as the same proportion of Scottish incomers live in owner occupied as non-migrants (just under two-thirds), and a higher proportion of them live in council housing (17.6% versus 15.6%) and tied accommodation (17.6% versus 11.1%), while more indigenous respondents live in private rented accommodation (8.9% versus 0%), although the highest proportion of respondents living under a private tenure is made up of non-Scottish incomers (9.1%).

6.6.1 Distance to work Heads of Households Broken Down by Migrational Group

Another common perception about the relationship between the indigenous and incoming population in rural areas, is that incomers who are still economically active are more liable to travel for longer distances to work than the indigenous population. This is because they are believed to be more affluent, and have greater personal mobility, so that transport cost is less of a

constraint in the decision of where to live in relation to the employment of the head of household. However, where this may be applicable in the South-East of England, where commuting by train is more prevalent and facilitates commuting over greater distances, and more industry in rurally based anyway, it is debatable to what extent this applies in the Scottish context. It is possible to see some people travelling great distances to work from perhaps Strathdon, and to a certain extent Strathpeffer, but with the exception of Aberdeen which is very near its study area, it is difficult in the other study areas to identify sources of high quality employment where large numbers of economically active incomers are liable to commute to.

This inconclusive picture for Scotland, of incomers travelling greater distances to work than locals, is illustrated in Tables 6.5.a, 6.5.b and 6.5.c.

In the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, the lack of any employment centres to commute to is illustrated by the fact that 54.6% of locals either work locally or do not work, as do 88% of incomers who have moved in from other parts of Scotland, and 77.3% of non-Scottish incomers. Therefore, more locals than incomers actually travel some distance to work. Of the remainder, most work within 10 miles of their home - which is hardly long distance travelling - and only 9% of non-migrants, 8% of Scottish incomers, and 4.5% of non-Scottish incomers travel over 11 miles to work. So in the Gairloch and Loch Torridon example the hypothesis does not stand up to scrutiny.

TABLE 6.5.a
HIGHLAND REGION: DISTANCE TRAVELLED TO WORK BY HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND

WORK PLACE	GAIRLOCH			STRATHPEFFER		
	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT
LOCAL	45.5	72.0	50.0	18.2	20.7	0
UP TO 4 MILES	27.3	0	0	13.6	20.7	16.7
5 - 10 MILES	9.1	4.0	13.6	18.2	3.4	8.3
11 - 20 MILES	4.5	0	4.5	9.1	13.8	16.7
21-30 MILES	0	0	0	0	0	0
31 TO 40 MILES	4.5	0	0	0	0	0
> 40 MILES	0	8.0	4.5	18.2	3.4	0
DONT WORK	9.1	16.0	27.3	22.7	37.9	58.3

RESPONDENTS: IND= INDIGENOUS; SCOT INC= SCOTTISH INCOMERS; NON SCOT= INCOMERS FROM OUTSIDE SCOTLAND

There is no distinct pattern that emerges from the other study area in Highland Region either; the area around Strathpeffer outside Dingwall.

In this area 40.9% of the indigenous population either work locally or do not work in comparison to 58.6% of the incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and although none of the non-Scottish incomers actually work locally, the attractiveness to the area to English retirees is emphasised by the fact that 58.3% of those who have moved in from outside Scotland do not work. Of the rest who do travel some distance to work, the results are again inconclusive as a higher proportion of incomers than non-migrants travel up to four miles and between 11 and 20 miles, while a much higher proportion of the indigenous population travel between 5 and 10 miles and more than 40 miles.

Therefore there is no evidence to support the hypothesis that incomers travel greater distances to work than people who have lived for all of their lives in the Strathpeffer area.

In the Aberdeen area there is a little evidence to support the hypothesis, but the trend is by no means a very significant one. For example, several incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland travel over 20 miles to work. Some 9.6% of Scottish incomers, 8.3% of non-Scottish incomers and slightly fewer non-migrants, 7.7%, travel between 11 and 20 miles to work, while higher proportions of incomers travel up to 10 miles to work, but the study area is so close to Aberdeen, and the the public transport service so good as to make commuting possible for everyone, and the exclusiveness of much of the area is such that it would be unlikely that a large proportion of the indigenous proportion of the non-migrants would be less affluent than the incomers. This weak support for the hypothesis is supported by the fact that 26.9% of the locals, a very low proportion, work locally compared to only 13.7% of the incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and 25% of the incomers from outside.

The evidence from the study area to the east of Turriff again provides, at best, weak support for the hypothesis. Incomers to the area only have a limited proportion of the sample in comparison to the non-migrants, and very few of the respondents travel more than 10 miles to work anyway. Agriculture is the dominant factor in the rural economy of the area and accounts for the fact that 76.7% of the indigenous population live either very near to where they work or don't work. This compares to 50.1% of incomers who have moved in from elsewhere on Scotland, and 60% of the non-Scots. Of the remainder, a further 18.7% of locals, 18.8% of Scottish incomers and 20 %

of non-Scots live within 10 miles of their employment. Some evidence to support the hypothesis is found in that only 4.7% of a large proportion of locals travel more than 11 miles to work compared to 31.3% of a very small number of Scottish incomers, and 20% of the small proportion of the sample who moved in from outside Scotland.

TABLE 6.5b
GRAMPIAN REGION : DISTANCE TRAVELLED TO WORK BY HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND

WORK	ABERDEEN			TURRIFF			STRATHDON		
	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT
LOCAL	26.9	13.7	25.0	48.8	43.8	60	68.8	41.7	25.0
<4M.	5.8	9.6	4.2	14.0	6.3	20	0	0	0
5-10M.	42.3	41.1	54.2	4.7	12.5	0	0	0	0
11-20M.	7.7	9.6	8.3	0	6.3	10	0	8.3	0
21-30M.	0	1.4	0	4.7	0	10	6.3	0	0
31 TO 40M	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	12.5
>40MILES	0	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DONT	17.3	21.9	8.3	27.9	6.3	0	25.0	33.3	25.0

RESPONDENTS : IND= INDIGENOUS; SCOT INC= SCOTTISH INCOMERS; NON SCOT= INCOMERS FROM OUTSIDE SCOTLAND

Again, there is a little evidence to support the hypothesis from the study area around Strathdon and Glenbuchat, although yet again any conclusions from this study area must be treated with a little caution due to the low number of respondents in the sample.

In the case of the villages to the north and east of Dumfries, it seems that the Scottish incomers do seem to travel further to work than the locals, although the fact that the area is so close to the town means that only a small minority actually travel more than ten miles to work. In fact 54.3% of head of households of indigenous respondents work very close to where they live, while only 30.4% of incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland do. In contrast only 19.6% travel up to 4 miles to work, against 23.9% of Scottish incomers; and 8.7% of locals travel between 5 to 10 miles in comparison to 13% of Scots incomers. Only a further 4.4% of indigenous heads of households travel more than ten miles to work in comparison to 7.7% of Scottish locals. However, as was mentioned, there is evidence of incomers travelling further to work, but the dominance of Dumfries means

that no-one travels very far to work, and a significant proportion of the Scottish incomers are people who have moved out to a village from Dumfries while they are still working.

TABLE 6.5 c
DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY REGION : DISTANCE TRAVELLED TO WORK
BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND

WORK PL	DUMFRIES			NEWTON STEWART			MONIAIVE		
	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT SCOT	NON SCOT
LOCAL	54.3	30.4	20.0	51.6	41.7	16.7	45.5	37.5	35.0
<4 M.	19.6	23.9	20.0	0	8.3	41.7	13.6	4.2	5.0
5-10 M.	8.7	13.0	6.7	12.9	33.3	8.3	0	12.5	0
11-20 M.	0	2.2	0	6.5	0	0	9.1	12.5	15.0
21-30 M.	0	0	6.7	0	0	0	0	4.2	0
31 TO 40 M	2.2	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
>40 MILES	2.2	4.3	0	3.2	8.3	0	0	0	0
DONT	13.0	23.9	46.7	25.8	8.3	33.3	31.8	29.2	45.0

RESPONDENTS : IND= INDIGENOUS; SCOT INC= SCOTTISH INCOMERS; NON SCOT= INCOMERS FROM OUTSIDE SCOTLAND

The pattern which was apparent for the Scottish incomers is not at all apparent for the minority of the sample who have moved in to the area from outside Scotland. While only 20% of the head of households of non-Scots actually work close to their home, only a further 20% and 6.7% travel less than four miles, and between 5 and 10 miles respectively, and only a further 6.7% of the remainder commute more than 10 miles. This lack of pattern in the minority of non-Scots in the sample is due to the fact that a large proportion of them, some 46.7% do not work, which compares with 23.9% of incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and only 13.0% of non-migrants. This is some evidence to suggest that there are few non-Scottish incomers moving into work, while those that move in from elsewhere in Scotland are more likely to. The evidence from the field also suggests that in-migration by English incomers for reasons of quality of life is not prevalent throughout the study area and only significant in one or two villages. This is similar to the situation in and around Newton Stewart in Wigtownshire, although in this case, there is negligible in-migration by people from the rest of Scotland.

In building up a picture of the sort of counterurbanisers moving into each area and their comparability with the indigenous population, there is some more evidence to support the hypothesis that incomers are more likely to travel further to work than non-migrants from the Newton Stewart study area, but again the underlying trend is that there is no real clear cut trend as no-one is travelling very far to work in any of the study areas. In the Newton Stewart case, while 51.6% of locals work where they live, only 41.7% of Scottish incomers, and 16.7% of heads of households of those who have moved in from outside Scotland, do. In contrast, no non-migrants travel up to 4 miles to work in comparison to 8.3% of Scottish, and 41.7% of non-Scottish incomers. A third of Scottish incomers travel between 5 and 10 miles to work, which lends weight to the hypothesis, as only 12.9% of non-migrants do, and the popularity of the area with English retirees is evident in that while only 8.3% of this group travel between 5 and 10 miles to work, some 33.3% of them do not work at all. This compares with only 8.3% of a small proportion of Scottish incomers (who evidently move to the area to work in general) and 25.8% of the indigenous respondents, although later evidence will suggest that a large proportion of this quite high segment is composed of the unemployed.

There is a little more evidence to support the hypothesis from the last study area in Upper Nithsdale. Again, a higher proportion of non-migrants are employed within four miles of where they live (59.1% of non-migrants compared to 41.7% of Scottish incomers and 40% of non-Scottish incomers), while only 9.1% of indigenous respondents commute more than 4 miles to work, compared to 29.2% of incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and 15% of non-Scottish incomers. Again it would seem that the head of households of Scottish incomers are more likely to be economically active than those who have moved in from England, as 45% of the latter group do not work in contrast to 29.2% of the former and 31.8% of the non-migrants.

Therefore, there is a little evidence from a few of the study areas to suggest that incomers do travel further distances to work. However the lack of large thriving economic centres to attract large numbers commuters over long distances from rural areas, means that the trend is not a strong one in this case, because no-one travels very far to work. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many of the incomers into these Scottish areas are not economically active, especially those who have moved in from outside

Scotland, while those that are, are likely to be working in the place they are moving in to.

6.7.1 Place of Work of Heads of Households Broken Down by Migrational Background

There is also a commonly held view that incomers to rural areas are merely looking for a rural environment to carry out their urban lifestyle. This manifests itself as the work, shopping and social lives of the incomers come to be or remain orientated around a major nearby settlement, whereas locals are more likely to work, socialise and shop locally. Therefore, it is often assumed that an increase in incomers will have a knock-on effect on the viability of local shops, services and public transport. In this case, the place of work will be examined to see if incomers are more likely than indigenous respondents to work in economic centres other than where they live.

TABLE 6.6a
HIGHLAND REGION : PLACE OF OCCUPATION OF
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND

WORK PLACE	GAIRLOCH			STRATHPEFFER		
	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT
LOCAL	68.2	76.0	54.5	22.7	24.1	0
MAJOR CENTRE	0	8.0	0	18.2	10.3	23.1
MINOR TOWN	4.5	0	0	22.7	17.2	15.4
RURAL INDUST.	0	0	0	4.5	3.4	0
OTHER RURAL	18.2	0	13.6	0	3.4	0
RETIRED	4.5	16	27.3	18.2	37.9	46.2
DONT WORK	4.5	0	4.5	4.5	3.4	15.4
OTHER	0	0	0	9.1	0	0

RESPONDENTS: IND= INDIGENOUS; SCOT INC= SCOTTISH INCOMERS; NON SCOT= INCOMERS FROM OUTSIDE SCOTLAND

Table 6.6.a breaks down the place of work of the heads of households of non-migrants, Scottish incomers and non-Scottish incomers in the eight study areas. The first study area, the Loch Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, is too remote and isolated from Inverness for it to have any significance in terms of employment patterns. As can be seen from the Table, 68.2% of head of households are defined as working locally, as are 76% of Scottish and 54.5%

of non-Scottish incomers. In contrast, none of the non-migrants or non-Scottish incomers, and only 8.0% of Scottish incomers, work in Inverness, while the 4.5% of the head of households of indigenous respondents are the only ones who report travelling to Dingwall, some 50 miles away. Of the other non-migrants, 18.2% work in other nearby rural villages, while another 4.5% are unemployed. All the Scottish incomers who are working are employed locally (as well as those who commute to Inverness), while of the incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland, 13.6% of head of households also worked in other rural villages.

Of those who are retired, the popularity of the area with retirement couples, the reticence of the local population, particularly the local elderly population to return the questionnaire, and the statistical probability of remaining in one place for the whole of a persons life is highlighted by the fact that 27.3% - over a quarter - of the predominantly English non-Scottish incomers have retired, as have 16% of the incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland while only 4.5% of non-migrants report to be retired.

As in Gairloch, where there was little evidence to support the hypothesis that incomers are more likely to work in another, bigger settlement, in the Strathpeffer and Contin study area there is little strong evidence to support this hypothesis. Although none of the head of households of the non-Scottish respondents work locally, and almost a quarter (23.1%) work in Inverness, these figures are not clear cut because, as well as the 22.7% of the indigenous population who work locally, 18.2% also work in Inverness compared to only 10.3% of the incomers who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland (some 24.1% of whom work locally). Indeed a greater proportion (22.7%) of the non-migrants commute the short distance to Dingwall in comparison to the Scottish incomers (17.2%), or the non-Scottish incomers (15.4%). Of the remainder, small proportions travel to work in the oil rig bases of the Moray Firth (the 4.4% of non-migrants and 3.4% of Scottish incomers who compose the rural industrial respondents) and in other rural areas, while 9.1% of local respondents are defined as other.

Of the heads of households who are not economically active, 18.2% of the non-migrants report to have retired, while a further 4.5% are unemployed, and the importance of the area as an elderly retirement resort is exemplified by the proportions of the Scottish and non-Scottish incomers who have retired (some 37.9% of the former and 46.2% of the latter) while a further 3.4% of Scottish incomers, and 15.4% of incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland do not work. Therefore, although a slightly higher proportion of the

English incomers work in comparison compared to the locals, and a higher percentage of indigenous respondents work locally, the evidence to support the hypothesis from this study area is still quite weak to say the least.

Table 6.6. b. shows the respondents in the three Grampian study areas broken down by migrational status and place of work.

TABLE 6.6.b
GRAMPIAN REGION : PLACE OF OCCUPATION OF
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND

WORK PLACE	ABERDEEN			TURRIFF			STRATHDON		
	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT
LOCAL	26.4	15.1	25.0	44.2	41.2	54.5	68.8	41.7	25
MAJOR	49.1	43.8	58.3	4.7	11.8	9.1	0	0	37.5
MINOR	1.9	6.8	0	14.0	23.5	27.3	0	8.3	12.5
RURAL IN.	1.9	4.1	4.2	2.3	0	9.1	0	0	0
OTH RURL	1.9	6.8	4.2	7.0	5.9	0	6.3	8.3	0
RETIRED	13.2	19.2	8.3	20.9	0	0	25	16.7	25.0
DONT	3.8	2.7	0	7.0	5.9	0	0	16.7	0
OTHER	1.9	1.4	0	0	11.8	0	0	8.3	0

RESPONDENTS : IND=INDIGENOUS; SCOT INC=SCOTTISH INCOMERS; NON SCOT=INCOMERS FROM OUTSIDE SCOTLAND

For the study area to the west of Aberdeen, the influence of such a proximate city is so great that that the employment patterns of the area are bound to be dominated by them. Of the economically active heads of households, the vast majority work either in Aberdeen or locally where they stay, and the power of the city is such that the ratio is roughly 2:1 for all three migrational groups. As is shown in the table, 26.4% of indigenous respondents work locally while 49.1% work in Aberdeen while the respective proportions for the incomers who have moved in to the area from elsewhere in Scotland and from outside Scotland are 15.1% and 43.8% for the former and 25.0% and 58.3% for the latter. Therefore, slightly more non-Scottish incomers than locals commute to work in Aberdeen but the relative proportions provides only scant evidence for the hypothesis.

Of the remainder, a few of the non-migrants and the predominantly English incomers work in other rural areas, while of the Scottish incomers, 6.8% travel out to other minor towns, 4.1% travel to what are classified as rural industrial sites, and a further 6.8% travel out to other rural areas, which

lends more weight to the theory that a significant proportion of the Scottish incomers moved in from elsewhere in the region in order to get a house while they continue to work elsewhere.

Retirement rates amongst all three migrational groups are relatively low reflecting that the area is populated mainly by younger middle class families, many of whom have moved out from Aberdeen to live their city orientated life from a rural environment, but the proximity to the city is such that all the communities are dominated by the City, and the influx of a few more oil related incomers doing the same is hardly going to upset the social equilibrium of the communities.

The pattern of the area around Cuminestown and to the east of Turriff does actually lend some support to the hypothesis that incomers are more likely than locals to commute to other centres to work, but in this case the overall proportion of incomers is so small that the results of their actions is unlikely to have any significant impact on the quality of life of the indigenous population. As in Aberdeen the ratio is roughly 2:1 between those who commuted to a centre and those who work locally. However, unlike Aberdeen the ratio is in favour of those who work locally which reflects the strength of the agricultural economy, and the weakness of Turriff as a major economic centre. In numerical terms, 44.2% of indigenous heads of households are defined as working locally while 14.0% commute in to Turriff. This compares with proportions of 41.2% and 23.5% of Scottish incomers respectively and 44.5% and 27.3% of non-Scots. To lend some support to the hypothesis, 4.7% of indigenous respondents commute to Aberdeen compared to 11.8% of Scottish incomers and 9.1% of non-Scottish incomers. However the problems involved with breaking a respondent sample into so many cells is exemplified if the actual numbers involved in such percentages are considered; two, two and one respectively. Of the remainder, two respondents work at St Fergus (one local, one English incomer) while two locals and one Scottish incomer worked in other rural places. Two locals and one Scottish incomer were unemployed while two Scottish incomers worked in the North Sea. All those who were retired were indigenous.

The problems of sample size are again evident when the Strathdon and Glenbuchat study area is considered. On studying the table and given the low number of respondents it would be fair to conclude that, in general, the locals and the Scottish incomers generally work in the area while, of the non-Scottish incomers, 2 work locally, three travel to Aberdeen, 1 travels to Huntly and 2 have retired, suggesting that there is some evidence to support

the hypothesis. This is backed by the fact that, of the locals almost 70% work locally, 25% are retired and the rest work in other rural areas, while of the heads of households Scottish incomers, 5 work locally, 1 works in Aberdeen, another one works in Alford, two have retired, two don't work, and one works off-shore.

TABLE 6.6. c
DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY REGION : PLACE OF OCCUPATION OF
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATIONAL BACKGROUND

WORK	DUMFRIES			NEWTON STEWART			MONIAIVE		
	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT	IND	SCOT INC	NON SCOT
LOCAL	52.2	28.3	20.0	51.6	41.7	16.7	54.5	41.7	40.0
MAJOR	32.6	37.0	33.3	9.7	0	0	4.5	12.5	15.0
MINOR	0	4.3	0	9.7	41.7	50	0	0	0
RURAL IN.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OTH RURL	0	0	6.3	3.2	0	0	4.5	12.5	0
RETIRED	13.0	19.6	46.7	12.9	8.3	16.7	27.3	29.2	45.0
DONT	0	2.2	0	12.9	0	16.7	4.5	4.2	0
OTHER	2.2	8.7	0	0	8.3	0	0	0	0

RESPONDENTS : IND= INDIGENOUS; SCOT INC= SCOTTISH INCOMERS; NON SCOT= INCOMERS FROM OUTSIDE SCOTLAND

In the three study areas in Dumfries and Galloway in South-West Scotland, the place of work of the heads of households of respondents offer little conclusive evidence to support the hypothesis that incomers are more likely to work in major centres other than the rural area where they are living. In the villages to the east and north of Dumfries, the pattern is yet again dominated by the town, although as discussed earlier, the influence of the town lies somewhere between that of the boom city of Aberdeen and the sleepy market town of Turriff. About one third of respondents in all three groups (32.6% of locals, 37% of Scottish incomers and 33.3% of incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland) work in Dumfries suggesting that incomers are no more likely to commute in than non-migrants. However, many more indigenous heads of households are defined as working locally compared to incomers (52.2% versus 28.3% and 20.0%), but the balance of the two incomer samples is not made up of people commuting to other places, rather the probability of people moving as they get older and the attractiveness of one or two of the villages for retiring couples is reflected in the fact that 19.6% of

Scottish incomers, and 46.7% of the predominantly English incomers have retired, either before or after they moved into the area, compared to only 13% of the indigenous heads of households.

In the study areas encompassing the villages of Creetown and Kirkton near Newton Stewart in Wigtownshire, there is a little evidence to support the hypothesis, although while incomers are more likely to commute elsewhere to work, the elsewhere in question is Newton Stewart and the proximity of the market town and its function within in the area is such that the incomers working and shopping there is unlikely to have far reaching consequences on the economic or social equilibrium of the study area. Again, more indigenous heads of households are defined as working locally (51.6% versus 41.7% of Scottish incomers, and only 16.7% of non-Scottish) while only 9.7% of non-migrants travel in to Newton Stewart to work, compared to 41.7% of heads of households who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, and 50% of those who have moved in from outside Scotland. It has to be pointed out that none of the incomers travel much further than Newton Stewart while 9.7% of the indigenous heads of households commute to the major centres of Stranraer and Castle Douglas and 3.2% travelled to other rural areas to work. The high unemployment in the area is reflected in that 12.9% of non-migrants and 16.7% of non-Scottish incomers don't work which is exactly the same proportion of the two samples who report to have retired.

The more isolated Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale locale is the only one of eight study areas where there is any kind of firm evidence to support the hypothesis that incomers are more likely to commute to other major centres. It is perhaps an area where this might have been expected as it is relatively isolated, quiet and environmentally attractive, with a strong agricultural economy, but within reasonable access to an economic centre. But even here, the economic gravity of Dumfries is so comparatively weak, and the proportions commuting so small, that it is unlikely that the commuting would have any significant influence on the economic and social fortunes of the communities. Indeed, it is more likely that the popularity of the area with retirement couples would have more far reaching impact than a few incomers commuting into Dumfries, especially if they consider it economical to do their shopping in Dumfries. In fact, more incomers actually work locally than travel to Dumfries, the positive Effects of which are more likely to outweigh the negative Effects of the commuters. Some 41.7% of Scottish incomers work locally in the Moniaive area compared to the 12.5% of heads of households who commute into Dumfries while the corresponding figures for those who

have moved in from outside Scotland are 40% and 15%, while for the non-migrants the relative proportions are 54.5% and 4.5%. Of the remainder, 4.5% of locals and 12.5% of Scottish incomers travel to other rural areas to work, while 4.5% and 4.2% of locals and Scottish incomers respectively don't work. Of the retired, the popularity of the area with (particularly English) retirees is exemplified in that 27.3% of indigenous heads of household, 29.2% of Scottish incomers and 45% of non-Scottish incomers have retired.

Therefore there is little or no firm evidence to suggest that in the Scottish example there is a large number of incomers who have moved into rural areas but are commuting out to work in major centres elsewhere.

6.8.1 The Length of Residence of Respondents Broken Down By Area

As was discussed in the conceptual framework, the rise of counterurbanisation has paralleled the decentralisation of British industry since the Second World War (Chapter 2.2.1). The process increased dramatically during the 1970s and 1980s following the recession, and the further decline of the inner city manufacturing base. However it can be hypothesized that counterurbanisation for reasons of seeking a higher quality of life, which can be termed postmodern counterurbanisation, will have proceeded later. The influencing factors such as the further social and environmental decline of the inner cities, the increasing crime rates in cities, and its increasing emphasis in newspapers and television, which emphasise the differences of quality of life between urban and rural areas, and the increasing postmodern trend of advertisers associating idealistic visions of rural life with their products, would take time to manifest themselves in demographic migration. Therefore, this kind of migration may only have become more evident in the last ten years. Some evidence of this may be crudely highlighted in table 6.7. The table shows the length of time that people have lived where in their present location.

The proportion of respondents who have lived in an area for all their life does not correspond to the proportion who are classified as indigenous, however, because the indigenous respondents included people who had moved from other local villages perhaps to get a better house or to marry, so that in an area such as Turriff where 60% of the respondents were classified as indigenous, only 31% of the respondents have lived in a place for all of their life. This means that a large number of local moves will be included in the length of time that people have lived in an area, but it may be expected that in areas which have had a higher proportion of people moving in in the last 10

years that a significant proportion of these will have moved in for reasons of quality of life.

TABLE 6.7
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA

AREA	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE							
	>5 YEARS		5-9 YEARS		10-14 YRS		15-24 YRS	
	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z
GAIRL	28.9	1.61	16.9	.64	12.3	.46	15.1	-.09
SPEFF	17.4	-.21	11.6	-.82	15.9	1.6	17.4	.6
ABERN	18.7	0	6.1	.42	12.9	.65	20	1.39
TURRIFF	15.1	-.57	16.4	.5	12.3	.46	11	-1.33
SDON	27	1.31	8.1	-1.78	10.8	-.02	18.9	1.05
D'FIES	10.6	-1.28	14.2	-.1	8.8	-.65	15.9	.15
NEWST	13.4	-.84	13.3	-.35	6.7	-1.32	11.7	-1.11
MONVE	18.5	-.03	20	1.48	7.1	-1.19	12.9	-.75

TABLE 6.7(CONTINUED)
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA

AREA	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE					
	25-39 YEARS		>40 YEARS		ALL LIFE	
	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z
GAIRL	5.5	-1.48	4.1	-.27	17.8	-1.08
SPEFF	13	.71	8.7	1.86	15.9	-1.36
ABERN	7.7	-.83	2.6	-.97	21.9	-.49
TURRIFF	11	.13	2.7	-.92	31.5	.89
SDON	8.1	-.72	5.4	.33	21.6	-.53
D'FIES	15.9	1.56	4.4	-.13	30.1	.69
NEWST	13.3	.8	6.7	.93	35	1.4
MONVE	10	-.16	2.9	-.83	28.6	.48

PLACES: GAIRL = GAIRLOCH; SPEFF = STRATHPEFFER; ABERN = ABERDEENSHIRE
SDON = STRATHDON; D'FRIES = DUMFRIES; NEW. S = NEWTON STEWART;
MONVE = MONIAIVE

The table shows the length of time the respondents of each area have lived at their present location. The time groupings are not equally spaced however, so to aid interpretation of the results the z-scores for each age group and each place have been calculated.

6.8.2 Evidence for *Postmodern* Counterurbanisation

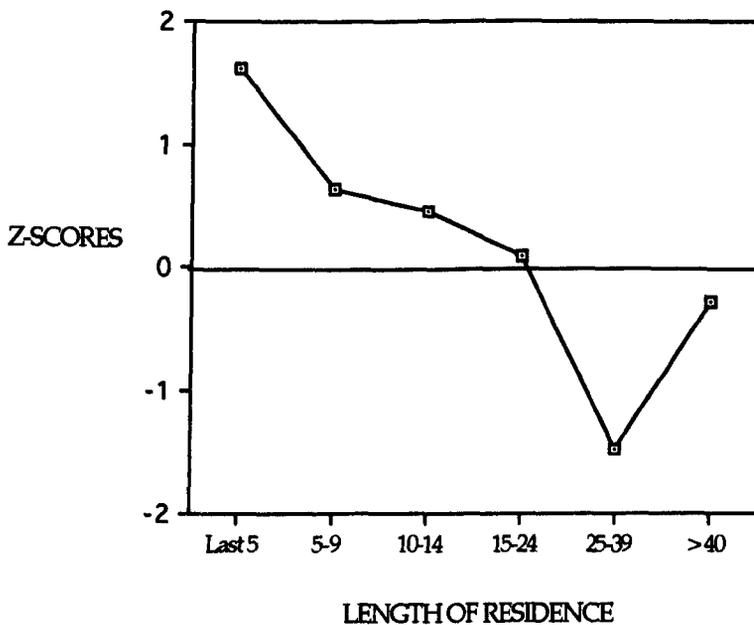
The results are very interesting in that they show the two study areas which have the highest proportion of respondents who have moved in during the last five years are the two most remote and isolated. In the Gairloch and Loch Torridon and the Strathdon and Glenbuchat areas, over a quarter of the respondents in both areas have been living there for less than five years (28.9% of those living in Gairloch producing a z-score of 1.61 and 27% of those in Strathdon producing a z-score of 1.31). Even allowing for 'natural' in-migration caused by people being transferred in to work in the service sector, and people moving in to marry, and not forgetting the potentially erratic results from Strathdon due to the small number of respondents, this still represents a large proportion of the sample who are recent in-migrants. It is also most interesting that the two areas are the most isolated, where people would move to seek their rural idyll in a remote rural community. This is not the sort of influx that could be explained by changing industrial structures.

This could however be an indication that the two remotest areas are the two which are the most unstable in terms of their population. The results could suggest that the reason there is a high proportion of incomers is that local people are leaving in numbers and that the figures are merely indicative of a high population turnover. There may be an element of this in the results, but this would tend to manifest itself in a high proportion of elderly indigenous respondents in the samples, and this is not really the case in comparison to Dumfries for example. It is also interesting to note that the Gairloch and Strathdon sample areas are the ones which were not dominated by predominantly elderly incomers. It can be suggested, although not proved, in these results that the movement to rural areas of elderly people is a more established process, but that the movement in to remoter areas by people who are still economically active to replace more able elements of the indigenous population who have moved out for further education, a better career or training is a more recent and very dynamic process. I will term this process *the substitution of ability* (see section 6.10.2 for a fuller explanation). The results for the Strathdon and Glenbuchat study areas are very prominent for the respondents who have been moved to the areas in the last five years as the proportions in the other six areas range from 10.4% in the villages outside Dumfries to 18.7% in the study area to the West of Aberdeen which emphasises the differences in population dynamics between the two cities.

If the Gairloch study area is considered, a very interesting pattern emerges which backs up the hypothesis that, for a very remote and isolated area, the

population turnover is relatively high and the rate of people moving in for reasons of quality of life is increasing, as perceptions of the differing quality of life available in rural and urban areas translates itself into a population movement. Although it has to be acknowledged that it is difficult to prove anything with these statistics, the proportion of the respondents in the sample for the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area decreases from 28.9% of those who have been staying in the area for less than 5 years, 16.9% who have been staying in the area for

FIGURE 6.4
GAIRLOCH: PROPORTIONS OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (CALIBRATED BY Z-SCORES)



between 5 and 9 years and the 12.3% of the population who have been staying in the area between 10 and 14. This is unexceptional in itself as it would be expected, given the amount of time people stay in a place and the amount of migrating families do, that the proportion who have lived in an area would decrease with increasing length of time.

However, if the z-scores for the respective lengths of residence, which draws a comparison for the proportion of the sample for an area against the mean of all the areas, are studied, a very significant pattern can be elicited for the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area. This pattern is illustrated in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4 illustrates that the z-score for the proportion of the sample who have moved in and lived in an area for between 10 and 15 years is 0.46, a positive result which indicates that this is more than average in comparison with the seven other areas. The proportion of the respondents who have moved in more recently to the area, between 5 and 9 years, produces a z-score of 0.64 which is even greater and which suggests that in comparison to the other study areas the proportion who have lived in this area for this length of time is even greater and increasing while the proportion who have moved in in the last five years is even more extreme producing a huge z-score of 1.61.

This suggests that in the last fifteen years (again noting the fact that the remotest rural areas could well be the least stable and have a correspondingly high population turnover) that the proportion of people who have moved in to a remote, isolated, and sparsely populated area is greater than for much more accessible rural areas and that the proportional rate of in-migration is increasing in relational to the other areas.

Thus, an area which has little industry or services or employment and which is experiencing an increasing rate of in-migration is evidence to support the hypothesis about the heightening perception of the perceived differences in quality of life between urban and rural areas and the perceived existence of a certain idyllic way of life as an increasingly significant factor in counterurbanisation in more remote areas. Furthermore, for Gairloch and Loch Torridon, the proportion of the respondents who have stayed in the area between 15 and 24 years actually draws a negative z-score, suggesting that in comparison to other more accessible rural areas people who have lived in the area for this length of time are under-represented. These z-scores decrease even further to -1.48 for respondents who have lived in the area for between 25 to 39 years, and those who have move in and lived in the area for more than 40 years are also under-represented suggesting that until about 15 years ago, incomers were under-represented in comparison to other rural areas. This is a situation which one would traditionally expect of a remote, isolated and economically peripheral region, but during the last 15 years incomers who have moved to the area to seek their idealised rural locale, and a better quality of life, in the communities of the West coast, have become increasingly over-represented and this rate is increasing.

6.8.3 Length of Residence: The Overall Picture

Whereas the case of Gairloch is a classic one and very clear cut, the situation in other areas is not so straightforward. The respondents who have

moved into the Strathpeffer and Contin area during the last 10 years, despite the area's reputation as a place where respondents migrate to because of the quality of life, are actually under-represented in the sample, which confounds the hypothesis that the counterurbanisation phenomena has been gaining momentum in the last 15 years. However, the z-scores are calculated from the means of the study areas so that the trend may be apparent in the area, but the fact that the rate may not be as significant in comparison to the other study areas would manifest itself in the under-representation of the sample of that particular length of residence in comparison to the other areas. Indeed, in Strathpeffer, 17.4% of the respondents had moved in to the area in the last five years while 11.6% had moved in between 5 and 10 years ago and these figures still account for significant proportions of the population. The fact that the Victorian Spa village of Strathpeffer has a history of having been popular as a resort for elderly retirees is illustrated that the proportion of respondents who have moved in between 10 and more than 40 years are over-represented in the sample in comparison the eight areas as a whole.

The study area, immediately to the west of Aberdeen is interesting in that the proportion of incomers in each length of residence sample is similar to that of Gairloch and Loch Torridon. The respondents who moved in to the area over 25 years ago are under-represented in comparison to the other areas, while those who have moved in more recently display positive z-scores suggesting that they are over-represented in the sample. However, unlike the very rural Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area where the the process seems to be heating up, the process in the Aberdeen area appears to be slowing down. Some 20% of the respondents in the Aberdeen area moved in between 15 and 25 years ago (producing a z-score of 1.39), during the start of the Aberdeen oil boom. Following the height of the oil development this influx of oil workers has slowed down, and as a result, the proportion of the sample who have moved into the area is also reducing, producing z-scores of 0.65 for those respondents who moved in between 10 and 15 years ago, 0.42 for those between 5 and 10 years ago and 0 for the 18.7% of the respondents who have moved into the area within the last five years, which suggests that although a significant proportion of incomers have recently moved into the area, this is no more than an average proportion in comparison to other rural areas, which, incidentally, may be experiencing an increasing in-migration of incomers seeking an idyllic rural environment.

The Turriff and Cuminestown study area provides no real identifiable pattern as incomers into the area, as have been seen, are very much in the

minority, and in-migration is dominated by local moves, although generally speaking, incomers are under-represented across time in comparison to the other study areas.

In the study areas chosen in Dumfries and Galloway the proportion of respondents who have stayed in an the area for all of their lives area are all over-represented in the samples compared to the eight areas as a whole, which perhaps suggests that the population equilibrium in the South-West is perhaps less dynamic than in the study areas further north.

The study area to the immediate north and east of Dumfries reflects the suggestion that the area has not proved to be particularly popular with people moving in to seek a higher quality of life, as only 10.6% of the respondents had migrated into the area in the last five years producing a z-score of -1.28. Indeed, the Dumfries sample is characterised by the low proportion of respondents who have moved in to the area during the last fifteen years which, would support the other side of the hypothesis, that a rural area which lies close to an urban centre and which is not particularly rural in character, and which is not physically attractive, will not experience the influx of people in the last fifteen years, who, disillusioned by urban life, have started leaving the 'rat race' in increasing numbers for the 'good life'. The low proportion of the sample who have moved into the area in the last fifteen years in comparison to other rural areas has resulted in incomers who moved in to the area more than 15 years ago accounting for a greater proportion of the sample in comparison to the eight areas as a whole, and the fact that some 15.9 % moved in between 25 and 39 years ago may reflect a large increase in people who moved out into the area to commute to Dumfries, when car ownership started to become quite common and public transport became more widespread, facilitating the possibility of commuting after the Second World War.

The pattern from the sample taken from the area outside Newton Stewart shows a similar pattern to that of Dumfries, with the respondents who have moved in during the last 15 years being under-represented in comparison to the other study areas. However, as has been seen by the make up of the sample, the economic difficulties which the area has suffered have meant that very few of the incomers have been economically active migrants moving in to take up employment, especially from other parts of Scotland. Therefore, with this 'background' in-migration absent, the in movement of English retirees into Kirkcowan in particular, which has undoubtedly increased in the

last fifteen years according to local people, is liable to be lost in the overall sample.

In the Moniaive study area, some 18.5% of the respondents have moved in to the area in the last 5 years and, although this may be a significant proportion, the huge proportions who have moved into Gairloch and Strathdon overshadow the proportion who have moved in to Upper Nithsdale, resulting in a z-score which is close to the mean for the eight areas as a whole. However, the third more isolated of the eight areas does offer a little more evidence to support the contention that the most remote and more rural areas have undergone this 'postmodern' increase in population during the last 10 to 15 years, with 20% of the sample having migrated into the area between 5 and 10 years ago, mainly from outside Scotland, a figure which produces a 'z-score of 1.48. Beyond 10 years ago, the proportion of people who have moved in to the area are under-represented perhaps influenced by the 28.6% of the respondents who have lived in the area for all of their lives. This lack of respondents who have moved in more than 10 years ago can be explained by the fact that, unlike Gairloch and Strathdon where younger economically active respondents have migrated as well as the elderly in this substitution of ability, the incomers to the Moniaive area are almost all retirees whose life expectancy must drop off sharply after 10 years, as will their ability to manage without difficulty in a rural area which results in a lot of elderly people having moved in over the last ten years and much less of them surviving to fifteen .

6.8.4 Length of Residence : Summary

Therefore the results from the eight areas in terms of how long respondents have lived in the areas, especially from Gairloch, and inversely from Dumfries (where the increases of population in a rural area, unremarkable of scenery, and close to an urban centre), support the hypothesis that remote rural areas have undergone this sharp increase of counterurbanisation. This has been influenced by the increasing perception in the collective consciousness of the positive aspects of rural life and the negative aspects of urban life. These have been conditioned by television images, the mass media and popular literature, and advertising messages. This migration of the eighties, following on from the decentralisation of manufacturing industry and the increase of commuting in the fifties, sixties, and seventies, has been defined as postmodern counterurbanisation.

6.9.1 Resume of Social Processes in the Sample Areas

The results from the eight study areas serve to demonstrate that the situation in rural Scotland is a complex one, and although many of the same social and migratory processes are operating in each of the eight areas, the extent in each area, and the hierarchy of the dominance of the processes in shaping the social character of each area, differ from place to place.

In general, the sample is biased towards middle class incomers who own their own home. Within that group it is likely, given the nature of the questionnaire, that in-migrants to each study area will be slightly over-represented. Correspondingly, the sample is biased against indigenous semi- and unskilled Council house dwelling respondents, even allowing for the fact that Local Authority housing plays a less significant role in rural areas, a role which has been further undermined by the 'right to buy' legislation.

As far as the individual study areas go, the distribution of members of the socio-occupational classes seems to be determined by three factors; the physical attractiveness of the area and the extent to which it has been perceived as a rural idyll, the importance of the area as a commuting reservoir, and the intensity of the agriculture within the area. The former two factors tend to directly affect the concentration of the managers, employers and professionals in relation to other groups, as they have the capital, the mobility, a lack of constraints, and have fewer social ties in comparison to the less affluent classes, and respondents of this class are found in higher proportions in areas of physical beauty, and in commuting satellite settlements. Agriculturally intensive areas contain a large proportion of farmers and farm workers which tends to dilute the proportions of the other classes in the sample.

There also seems to be a positive relationship in the sample between socio-economic group and housing tenure - the more affluent and prestigious the socio-occupational group, the more likely the respondents would own their own home. Conversely, semi and unskilled manual workers who are less affluent and have less access to capital are more likely to live in local authority, tied or private rented accommodation. Also, incomers are more likely than non-migrants to belong to a more prestigious socio-occupational group, which is logical, given that they have the access to capital and the social mobility to migrate. Non-Scottish incomers, who have in general migrated over a greater distance, are more likely than Scottish incomers to belong to a prestigious socio-economic class. Correspondingly, for the same reason, incomers, in general, are more likely than indigenous respondents to

own their own homes, given that many of the indigenous population are constrained by a lack of money about where they can live, and it is difficult for incomers to a rural area to get a council house and, again, non-Scottish incomers are more likely than incomers from elsewhere in Scotland to live in owner occupied accommodation.

In terms of commuting, the lack of a large economic core means that with the exception of a small proportion of respondents commuting to Aberdeen, there is little evidence of respondents living in rural communities and travelling long distances to get to work, a pattern which is much more evident in the South-East of England. The study areas situated next to Aberdeen, Dumfries and Strathpeffer to a certain extent do have a large number of commuters, but this is due to their proximity to the economic centres, and there is little evidence of significant long distance commuting from the more remote rural areas of Scotland.

There is some evidence to suggest that incomers tend to be more elderly than the indigenous population, but this very much varies from place to place and it would be logical to expect that people are more and more likely to move over time, and that there would be a higher and higher proportion of incomers to a rural area in the older age groups.

6.9.2 Further Evidence for Migratory Groups

Perhaps the most important point that comes out of any piece of Social Scientific research is that there are never any simple answers. There are many other factors which affect migration into rural areas than merely counterurbanisation. It is impossible to elicit the existence of a trend or a system without taking account of the other factors which have a bearing on the overall demographic and social system of the area. The process is at times like trying to find the radio channel you are searching for out of a confusing array of background noise. In terms of migration into rural areas, this background noise consists of the opportunities and constraints of the housing market in influencing where people live, and the natural trend of people to move up market as they grow older and more affluent, employees being moved into the area, and people moving in after they have married someone in the area. All these processes are significant in all the study areas and are illustrated in comments which respondents have included on their questionnaires.

6.9.3 The Constraints of the Housing Market and Migration

Of the respondents who returned the questionnaires there were many examples of the slings and arrows of the housing market either affording people opportunities to move into one of the study areas, or financial constraints, or lack of rented or Local Authority housing forcing the respondents to migrate. Examples of respondents who have been afforded opportunities by the housing market include a retired family (questionnaire number M 88) who moved into Moniaive from Edinburgh and who cited financial reasons and a cheaper property for their reasons for moving into the area. Another respondent, a social worker (M 21), who also moved into Moniaive cited the cost of living in London and the ability to buy a house in the area in his family's decision to move. A farmer from Hampshire who had been living in tied accommodation (T 132) added, "The chance to work for ourselves and be more of a family unit in a country area of low prices so as to afford property to earn our own living."

Although the opportunities offered by relatively low house prices in rural areas to urban dwellers who hold a competitive advantage over the indigenous rural dwellers are well documented, the constraints of the housing market are also important in bringing people into particular rural areas. There are many examples of this in the eight study areas used in the sample. One woman who had moved into Moniaive (M 34) from elsewhere in Dumfriesshire exemplified this by stating that she received an "...offer from Local Authority housing department.....no final choice....take it or leave it." Another respondent (D225) had moved into one of the villages outside Dumfries after she recently married, and stated that she had "...recently married and moved from Glencaple to a cottage in another village, as my husband could not afford to buy and did not have the opportunity of a Council house to enable us to stay in the village I grew up in." The problems of finding accommodation in rural areas and the influence this has on families migrating is highlighted by a woman in village of Maryculter (A 252), which is just outside Aberdeen, - who had moved from Kincardineshire in 1987 - who pointed out that "Affordable private rented accommodation is almost impossible to find in this area. For a family like us for whom council housing would be unsuitable, this is a great problem."

The lot of the agricultural workers who are dependant on tied accommodation is summed up by a tractor driver who moved in from elsewhere in Dumfriesshire 22 years ago and states in relation to his decision

to move into the area, "Just another job, with a tied house of suitable size for the family".

It could be said then that the opportunities of the housing market can influence more affluent migrants over long distances, while the local constraints of housing affordability and availability seem to be more influential over the short term movement of less affluent respondents.

6.9.4 Migration Following Marriage

As well as the opportunities and constraints of the housing market, the migration of people to live with their spouses after they get married is also a very important source of migration into the eight study areas, and this backs up work done by Elizabeth Mooney (1990) at the University of Strathclyde who suggests that it is generally the females who move to live in the same settlement as their husbands and very rarely the other way around, especially in farming communities where farms have been held in the same families for many generations. There are numerous examples in all the study areas of wives who have migrated into the study areas after they have married and this kind of migration, usually over relatively short distances, is one of the most significant forms of migration in rural areas. For example, a woman who had moved into Carrutherstown in Dumfries from a village less than seven miles away (questionnaire D90) stated "Got married, and came to live in this area without any consideration of factors such as employment, quality of life, etc. The decision to move was more of the heart than the head." Another woman (M 92) stated that she moved to Penpont (near Moniaive) because "I married a man who lived and worked here." This point is further exemplified by other respondents from Turriff (T 97), Gairloch (G107) and Aberdeen (A 193) who state respectively, "It was not my decision to move to the area because of any of these factors. I just had to go where my husband had work when we married"; "Marriage made me move here - husbands family have always lived here" and "Married to someone from this area." These examples are typical of a larger number of female respondents who moved after they married while one exception to the rule who moved into the Turriff area (T43) states, "My girlfriend (now wife) has always lived in the area, her father is a retired farmer, and they live approximately three miles away."

6.9.5 Employment and Migration

As well as housing factors and migration following marriage being important in influencing migrational patterns in rural areas, employment has

always been very significant in attracting people into rural areas, even before the restructuring of British industry. And there are, once again, numerous examples of this 'job led' migration amongst in all the eight study areas. One respondent who had moved into the Gairloch area from Shetland (G 54), stated in his decision to move to the area, "I had no choice in the matter - the job decided I should go and the other factors did not count - go or pick up the P45 was the option !" These sentiments were echoed by several other respondents in the sample who added comments to their questionnaire, including two respondents from West of Aberdeen (A 304 And A205) who state respectively, "In all moves I had no choice - the Bank said "Go" and we had to "Go", and "Weren't given much choice from company - "suggested" either move or no job." Other examples of respondents who moved predominantly because of employment, and who mentioned the fact on the questionnaires factors include a scaffolder who moved into the Aberdeen (A 30) area in 1978 citing, "the boom in the building trade" as his reason for moving to Scotland; a teenager from Teeside who moved in because of his father's employment in the oil industry in Aberdeen (A 158), and another respondent from Aberdeen (A 202) who was moved in from Ayrshire because of promotion to manager. As can be seen, the importance of Aberdeen as an employment centre accounts for many of the job dominated moves in the sample, while in more rural areas the purchase of farms and crofts is a significant factors for people moving into the area for employment factors. A respondent who moved into the Strathpeffer area cited that the area was the only place to buy land at a price they could afford, while a couple who moved from Dumfriesshire into Wigtownshire cited, " the purchase of a farm" as their reasons for moving into the area.

6.9.6 Evidence For Migration for Reasons of Quality of Life

Therefore, movement for employment is a significant influence in attracting people into rural areas. However, reasons for moving which encompass aspects such as employment change are almost always only part of the total picture. Only in moves to tied accommodation or amongst people of extremely limited financial resources, are such reasons adequate to explain all dimensions of the move. In almost every circumstances, one needs to ask about the attractions of a particular house and area in order to be able to understand the move. Therefore, through this background noise there is evidence that these 'quality of life' migrational factors (which are apparent in the statistics and which are considered in Chapters 7,8, and 9.) in peoples

comments on their questionnaires, and the interviews undertaken with councillors and public officials in the eight study areas, are a very important component of the migrational process.

There is evidence about the existence of commuting, mainly from the respondents who live adjacent to economic centres such as Aberdeen and Dumfries. The interesting thing about the comments on the questionnaires from these areas are the similarity between the comments of the people who have moved in the areas either from the centre or further afield, and the indigenous population. This raises interesting questions about the influence of remoteness in shaping cultural values and determining social patterns and developing differences in perception which will be discussed in greater depth, later on in Chapter 10.5.1. This similarity in the perceptions between incomers and the indigenous population is exemplified by two examples. One respondent who had moved out to Culter from Aberdeen (A220) mentioned "living in country area , yet only 15 minutes to centre of town", while a person who had lived in the area for all of their life (A 156) mentioned the fact that the area was ' only 15 minutes from City centre , yet countryside only minutes away...". Another respondent who had moved out from Aberdeen City to Skene (A 55) states, " The place I live is quite rural but still with an acceptable travelling distances of amenities....." ; while a person who has lived in Echt for all of their life (A288) comments upon the " uncrowded and beautiful countryside very close to a pleasant and useful city with all facilities."

6.9.7 The Rural Idyll and Migration

There is also further evidence to back up the hypothesized process of migrants being attracted to often remote and inaccessible rural areas in an attempt to gain a sense of identity and community, in a perceived semi-mythical rural idyll, the image of which has been conditioned by postmodern images, and stereotypes of urban and rural areas on television and the mass media, and by trends in advertising, which have helped to reinforce the increasing commodification of rural areas (See Chapter 2). To these migrants, the rural character of the areas seem to assume critical importance. The aesthetic quality of the rural environment is particularly stressed, emphasis being given to the physical quality, as well as the perceived peace and quiet and safety and freedom from the ills of city life. As Cloke and Goodwin suggest,

"Underlying most of this shuffling of rural society lies the cultural notion of the rural idyll. The wish for a rural lifestyle suggests some predisposition

about the objects of desire which rural represents. This idea of rural seems very ethnocentric. It may be particular housing, in a particular type of landscape, being part of a specific community, with a lifestyle which offers strong ties with the land and nature. Some rural places seem to represent a particular idyll without modification. Others require commodification in an attempt to develop that sense of idyll, while others again may represent a very negative anti-idyll which repels in-migration rather than attracts it." (1992).

This latter example is surely summed up by the flat agricultural landscape of the Turriff and Cuminestown area, with the closed tight-knit agricultural communities.

With the disproportionate amount of incomers in the sample of the most isolated study area - Gairloch and Loch Torridon, there is evidence, backed up in previous chapters, to support the hypothesis for this postmodern population migration to a rural idyll in search of a particular quality and way of life, and a sense of identity, community and place. Furthermore, a very high proportion of people who added comments on their questionnaires made reference to some utopian or idealistic concepts, or made reference to the quality of life. Indeed, out of comments made about employment housing and marriage and quality and way of life issues, it was the latter which were commented about most frequently and most positively. It has to be borne in mind that this could perhaps have been expected, as it *was* a survey about quality of life, and there were perhaps a few comments that were telling the researcher what he wanted to hear.

A few of the many examples of this type of comment which reflects idealised rural images have been chosen to illustrate this point. These trends were apparent in all locations to some degree, and it must be noted that positive comments about the rural area made to justify moving to it were recorded for all the eight study areas, even in Turriff and Cuminestown. However, the largest number of such positive comments about the rural area came from the study areas of Gairloch and Strathpeffer, the former having been proposed as a classic example of an area which is being dominated by this postmodern population movement, while the latter has a history of being an attractive spa resort where people move to when they retire because of the perceived Quality of Life which is available.

The often long distance nature of this postmodern population migration is illustrated in the three very typical examples chosen from the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area. The economically active nature of many of the

immigrants (which characterises this postmodern population migration) to the Gairloch area is illustrated by a woman, aged between 35 and 50, whose family had moved in from Widnes in Cheshire (G1) who cited "knowledge of local people...and an approval of a way of life in a non-crowded environment." Another respondent, (G15), again of economically active years had moved into the area from Southampton in order to buy a croft, who rated the 'quality of life' as the most important factor in his decision to move and who stated that a "change of lifestyle was sought." A third respondent who had taken early retirement and moved to Baddachro near Gairloch from Newcastle-upon-Tyne (G83) had "chosen (the area) because of the leisure and lifestyle it could offer us." These three examples back up the argument for Gairloch as an area which is dominated by depopulation and postmodern immigration.

The final example from Gairloch also illustrates that it is not always the most affluent who have moved into the area over long distances in search of their rural idyll and suggests that the importance of this perception is shared by people of all classes. One hotel worker in Gairloch (G113) commented that "the area is so beautiful and quiet, like something you see on a picture postcard. I would like to stay here for good if I could get a council house."

The three examples picked from Strathpeffer also illustrate its function as a retirement village, although it would seem on investigating the statistical evidence from the area, and upon reading the comments on the respondents' questionnaires from the area, that it can be hypothesized that there are three migratory processes going on in the area. As was mentioned before, the area is popular with retirement couples, many of whom have visited on holiday, while the proximity to Inverness and Dingwall and the relatively high proportion of respondents who have moved in from elsewhere in the region would suggest that it enjoys a commuting function as well. There is also evidence to suggest, given respondents' comments on their questionnaires, that there is an element of this economically active postmodern influx of people as well, but not to the extent that it dominates the demographic system as in Gairloch.

This latter point is illustrated by a young professional (S 30) who accepted a job in the area because he was "fed up with England", while a young manager (S21) moved up from Manchester because of the "clean air, open spaces and environmental considerations." The traditional function of Strathpeffer as a retirement village is illustrated by two respondents, questionnaire numbers (S130) and (S103), who moved in from Peterborough and Edinburgh after

they retired, the former describing he and his wife's dislike of city life and their love of the area for many years, while the latter rated 'the quality of life' as very important in his decision to move in to the area, and mentioned that he and his wife had visited the area for a considerable number of years before he retired. It is interesting to note that the latter examples, the two retiring couples who had moved into the area had had previous knowledge of the area through previous holidays.

As was mentioned above, these quality of life/ rural idyll comments about why respondents moved into an area were found for all the eight areas. For example a retired architect who had moved into the Moniaive area from Norfolk (M93), picked out the "quality of the physical landscape" and a desire to get "away from South-Eastern consumerism" as important in his decision to move into the area. A middle aged teacher who moved into Kirkcowan from Dundee in 1971, (N103), described her desire to get away from large centres of population, while a respondent who had moved out from Aberdeen to Skene mentioned that he had "moved from a concrete jungle to a quiet rural area. "

6.9.8 Further Evidence for *Postmodern Migration*

As mentioned before, the areas which precipitated the largest number of comments on the questionnaire, of incomers relating to aspects of this rural idyll, were Gairloch and Strathpeffer. However, the areas which yielded the most in relation to the sample size were the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area and the Strathdon and Glenbuchat study areas. As has been mentioned before, the small sample size taken from Strathdon and Glenbuchat made it difficult to define a pattern about the demographic and migrational system operating in the area, or positively say whether postmodern migrational movements were a major influence in the area. However, a proportionally large number of the incomers made references to aspects of the rural idyll on their questionnaires, suggesting that it can be hypothesized with much more certainty that this form of migration is a very significant component of the social system within the area. The respondents of Strathdon and Glenbuchat on the whole were probably the most poetic out of all the respondents in the survey. A respondent who had moved in from the Black Isle via Kent and Aberdeen, (St 36, rated the 'quality of life' very important in her move, and also suggested that she had moved into the area "to remember and to re-discover the simple truth of life and experience quality, peace and humility in a mad World of divisionto give my kids the option and to try and get away from junk mail !"

Another respondent who had moved in from elsewhere in Grampian (St 45), mentioned that the area was 'secluded and solitary, time to stand and stare.' A middle aged manager who had moved in to Corgarff from Glasgow, via Australia (St 38), also rated the quality of life as very important in his decision to move into the area, and mentioned the access to hills and the interesting people who are prepared to converse deeply about their interests which he found quite unusual in this day and age and suggested that Strathdon was a very special place.

Therefore, it would seem to be too much of a coincidence that the two areas which produced the largest proportion of respondents making comments about some aspect of the rural idyll are the two study areas which were remotest and most isolated. This is further evidence to back up the proposition made elsewhere that this postmodern population increase would be of greatest significance in very remote and isolated areas which were too remote to undergo population or repopulation to a large extent, and where the relatively low population density means that the impact of incomers is going to be more noticeable. The impact on remote, isolated and close communities where the population system would not have been particularly dynamic, of a relatively large and recent influx of incomers after years of depopulation, must be significant. This will be discussed in Chapter 10.3.

One of the most significant points of this migration is the fact that a great deal of these incomers are still economically active. This is backed up by councillor Davidson from Alford, the nearest settlement of note from Strathdon and Glenbuchat, who confirmed that all the incomers had jobs and the population was not a significantly elderly one as a result. The reason for this is that the area, unlike Newton Stewart, Moniaive and Strathpeffer, is too remote, the bus service too poor, and it is too cold, and there is far too much snow in the winter time (the area lies next to the infamous Cockbridge to Tomintoul road) to make the area attractive to elderly retirees who are perhaps too weak to put up with the climactic drawbacks. Therefore the area, as councillor Davidson points out is too remote for elderly incomers. This was a point which emerged from the the survey of the Gairloch area. Although there were a large proportion of elderly retirees as well as economically active, there was an absence of very elderly incomers, as the area was too remote for very old people to manage. This was confirmed by one respondent (as has been mentioned before) who suggested in conversation that a second move back to a more accessible place with services would be necessary when he got too old to cope. Therefore, this is one reason why this

influx of incomers in this areas are so recent. As was suggested in the statistics and by a local government officer in Kirkcowan , people have been retiring to areas which are far enough away from urban areas but near enough to travel back for a lot longer, but that areas like Gairloch and Strathdon were too remote. However this more recent postmodern trend of the younger and more economically active moving, is colonising more remote areas simply because the remoteness and isolation from anything that is perceived as urban is their very attraction.

6.10.1 The Synthesis of Processes By Locale : Introduction

As has been discussed both in the conceptual framework and the methodology (chapters 2 and 4 respectively), in response to advances in social science theory which have been termed postmodern, a locality based approach has been adopted. The following section will therefore endeavour to paint a migrational picture of each of the eight study areas based on the statistical evidence presented in the previous chapter and the preceding part of this chapter with the aim of synthesizing an overall counterurbanisation picture for these three Regions of rural Scotland.

6.10.2 Counterurbanisation in Gairloch and Loch Torridon : The *Substitution of Ability*

Given the fact that it is a very remote and peripheral area, which in theory should have a declining and elderly population, the sample from the study area located around Loch Gairloch and Loch Torridon in Wester Ross is relatively young. This suggests that many of the young indigenous population are staying in the area, and that many of the young males have been employed in the building trade which is booming in the area, due to the influx of incomers in the last few years. However, the indigenous respondents in the sample are actually outnumbered by respondents who have moved in from outside Scotland, and the sample is actually made up of one third indigenous respondents and two thirds incomers (with very few moving in from elsewhere in the region), which is a notable statistic - even allowing for the natural reticence of the elderly indigenous population to respond to the questionnaire - given the distance of the area from any major sources of employment (which is reflected in the fact that there is very little in migration from elsewhere in Highland Region).

The fact that the area is physically attractive, and many peoples ideal perception of a rural environment, has attracted incomers to live out their

rural way of life. Many of these newcomers are still economically active and are coming in to take up professional positions, or to take over or set up their own business, aided by the capital advantage they enjoyed during the nineteen eighties by selling a house in an urban area, where house prices were relatively expensive. This process, where incomers take up all the management and entrepreneurial positions, while the gifted young of the area leave to gain further education and careers with prospects I have termed a *substitution of ability*.

As the talented young people in a remote, peripheral, economically disadvantaged area leave for higher education, training or a career, they leave a residue of the less able or less motivated. Thus, when managerial and professional positions arise, they are filled by older incomers who have the necessary qualifications and experience, as there are no indigenous people available who are capable of filling the posts. Also, when local businesses go on the market, they are bought not by local people but by incomers who have the motivation to succeed in their rural idyll, the necessary access to capital, and the business acumen to run a business successfully. These are traits which are not instilled naturally into people in very rural parts of the Scottish Highlands and Islands. Therefore, in an idyllic rural area such as Gairloch, which is perceived as offering a peaceful way of life for those disenchanted by the city, the majority of professional, managerial positions are held by incomers, and almost all the local businesses are run by incomers.

Furthermore these incomers of economic age are bright and enthusiastic about their community and about their new life, and are enthusiastic about filling a questionnaire about why they moved there so they will tend to be over-represented in the sample in comparison with the less affluent, less enthusiastic, and possibly more cynical elements of the indigenous population, who are therefore liable to be under-represented.

This process is a relatively recent one and one which has only become truly significant in the last fifteen years, and the statistics indicate that the process in this area is getting even stronger. The fact that many of these incomers are still economically active, added to the fact the areas is too remote for very old incomers to manage in indefinitely means that the overall age of the sample is kept relatively young. Only 16% of Scottish incomers have retired, as have just over a quarter of the non-Scots incomers who replied to the questionnaire. This seemingly recent influx of newcomers following the recession of the 1970's, and the increasingly common perception of the urban / rural dichotomy, which has resulted in a quarter of the respondents having

lived less than five years in the area (and a high proportion of them mentioning some element of the rural idyll on their questionnaires) could be termed *Postmodern Counterurbanisation*.

The influx of incomers, both retired and economically active, added to the fact that there is little farming in the area, means that there is a high proportion of professionals, managers and employers in the sample as well as slightly higher proportions of the other socio-occupational groups in comparison to other areas. The predominant housing tenure is owner occupation, which has brought the large proportion of incomers in to conflict with the indigenous population - given the low proportion of local authority accommodation - with the balance having to be met by private rented and tied accommodation. The incomers, as mentioned before, tend to be affluent professionals with the capital advantage over the indigenous population, although as also previously mentioned, the large influx of incomers has stimulated the construction economy of the area allowing many young males to stay in the area. The remoteness of the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area means that most of the economically active population work locally.

Therefore the area is one in which the dominant migrational trends are depopulation and postmodern counterurbanisation.

6.10.3 Counterurbanisation and Strathpeffer

The study area around Strathpeffer, although in the same administrative district as the previous one, is different in character than the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area. Again, in this study area there is a high proportion of incomers in the sample. Again, the respective proportions are about one third of the population are indigenous while two thirds are incomers. However, the pattern is different from the area in Wester Ross because this influx of newcomers is nothing new. Strathpeffer was a Victorian Spa village with a reputation of enjoying a high quality of life, and the area has a long history of incomers travelling a long distance to enjoy life in the area. Although there is some evidence of economically active professionals and managers accepting jobs and citing elements of the rural idyll on their questionnaires, the incomers who are non-Scottish, unlike the Gairloch study area, are under-represented in the economically active age groups. In contrast 46.2% of non-Scottish incomers have retired, as have 37.9% of Scottish incomers. In comparison, only 18% of indigenous respondents in the sample report to have retired. Also, where the vast majority of the incomers to the Gairloch area were attracted merely because of the living environment and the

isolation, the proximity of the Strathpeffer and Contin areas to Dingwall, Inverness and the Oil Construction bases of the Moray Firth has resulted in a much higher proportion of the incomers having been attracted to the area due the access to centres of employment. It is significant that a much higher proportion of the respondents in this area have moved in from elsewhere in the Region, and indeed many more of the respondents in the area travel elsewhere to work.

Therefore, there would seem to be three in-migrational processes which are significant in the area (retirees, economically active and job led), as well as those of natural in-migration for reasons of marriage, housing and employment. A high proportion of those under 35 in the sample can be termed indigenous, suggesting that there are more housing and employment opportunities for young families to stay in the area.

The limited agriculture in the area added to a high proportion of incomers (the English retirees, especially, being wealthy enough to afford the highest quality housing in a prestigious resort), and the significant amount of commuting, means that there is a high proportion of managers, employers and professionals in the area and, again, a very high proportion of owner occupation. However, unlike the Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area, there is actually quite a lot of council housing - which is another reason for a significant numbers of respondents who have moved in from elsewhere in the region. This is of varying quality in Strathpeffer and Contin and 15% of the respondents live under this form of tenancy, a figure that would have been higher had it not been virtually impossible to get respondents in the low quality estate in Strathpeffer to take part in the Survey. The large proportion of local authority accommodation, and the lack of agriculture means that relatively low proportions of the respondents in thesis area live in tied or have to live in other rented housing.

6.10.4 Counterurbanisation and Aberdeenshire

The relative proportions of indigenous respondents and incomers in the third study area immediately to the west of Aberdeen, is very similar to that of Strathpeffer, one third of the respondents belong to the former group and two thirds to the latter. However, in this study area, the social and housing systems are dominated by the proximity of Aberdeen, and this area is a commuting reservoir for the city. Indeed one in five of the families contacted in the area had moved out from the city itself. The area is characterised by a relatively young demographic structure which has resulted in a high

proportion of housing which is rented by the respondents, and the highest proportion of single respondents out of any study area. The area itself, being so close to the City, is not many people's vision of a rural idyll, and therefore being so close to the rat race, it has not attracted a significant number of people moving in to escape it. This accounts for the lack of elderly incomers in comparison with Strathpeffer.

However, the fact that so many people have moved in from the city itself, and have chosen to live in the area when they moved in from elsewhere, illustrates another manifestation of counterurbanisation for reasons quality of life, the population of semi-urban commuter zones by people looking for a more rural location, free of many of the ills associated with the city, in which to live out their urban orientated lives. Much of the housing in the area is of very high quality, and the perception of the area is of a desirable one which offers a quieter, safer, more attractive, and more exclusive environment than can be found within Aberdeen itself, and correspondingly, house prices are generally expensive and can only be afforded by financially mobile people on high incomes. This means that younger people moving to the Aberdeen area from elsewhere in the Region are under-represented in the sample. This social stratification of urban areas, manifesting itself in increasing spatial distances, as city life is perceived as ever more violent, unsafe, and undesirable has resulted in over 40% of the respondents in this area belonging to the most affluent and skilled social groups, the professionals, managers or employers, a large percentage of whom work and socialise in Aberdeen. As well as incomers moving in to buy prestigious housing in an attractive area, townships such as Peterculter and Milltimber also have a significant proportion of Local Authority housing, and a significant proportions of the incomers into the area are young families who have moved in to get a council house.

Whereas 13.2% of the indigenous respondents have retired, as have 19.2% of those who have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, only 8.3% of those who have migrated in from elsewhere in Scotland have retired, suggesting that the area is not one people retire to, while the statistics suggest that the area went through a population boom with the coming of oil but that this population dynamism has since been slowing down.

6.10.5 Counterurbanisation and Cuminstown and Turriff

The study area to the east of Turriff again provides a completely different social and migratory picture. In contrast to the other areas so far highlighted,

two thirds of the respondents in the Turriff and Cuminestown area can be said to be indigenous, while only one third are incomers. Of those, only 15% of the respondent sample have moved in from outside Scotland. The population is also relatively young, which can be attributed to the total absence of incomers who are over sixty and which suggests both that this is not a place where outsiders retire to, or a place where incomers stay after they have retired. This added to the low proportion of incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland and from Aberdeen is strong evidence to suggest that the area is one which is not popular with incomers moving in to seek their idyllic rural way of life. This is perhaps because the area is intensely agricultural and the scenery is relatively flat and unspectacular while the villages are functional rather than picturesque. The communities are also very close and proud agricultural communities, who are not inclined to be too friendly to outsiders, especially since the agricultural misfortunes of the area of the 1980s.

Therefore, there is little in the area to attract incomers seeking their rural idyll, while the cool reception from the indigenous communities would discourage incomers further. The area would therefore seem to correspond with Cloke and Goodwin's (1992) criteria for an anti-idyll. The lack of economic importance of Turriff outside its function as a market town (reflected in the paucity of respondents who travel into for work), and the excessive distance from Aberdeen, is another factor in the lack of incomers, and this, added to the predominance of agriculture in the area, has resulted in a very low proportions of employers, managers and professionals in comparison to the other areas compared so far, a high proportion of other less affluent socio-occupational groups, and a high proportion of farmers and agricultural workers. The importance of farming is reflected in the 10% of the families who live in tied housing in the area. The existence of some local authority housing, added to the lack of competition in the housing market caused by incomers, means that very few respondents have been forced into rented accommodation by high house prices.

6.10.6 Counterurbanisation and Strathdon and Glenbuchat

The area around Strathdon and Glenbuchat nestles up at the edge of the Grampian mountains. The area is sparsely populated in a few ribbon like villages while hill farming and estate work dominate the economy. The large private estates are very important in the area, resulting in a large proportion of the sampled respondents living in farms or housing that have been rented

off the land owners . The low population density of the area has resulted in there being a very low number of respondents in the sample, despite the fact that 50% of those contacted returned the questionnaire (in other words 10% of the households in the study area are accounted for in the results). Therefore, the results for this area must be treated with some caution.

As was mentioned before hill farming dominates in the area, and the sample is dominated by farmers, and by professionals, managers and employers, with all other groups are under-represented. The lack of any economic activity in the area out with the farms and the estates, means that respondents either work locally, or travel relatively large distances to work (some covering the 45 or so miles to Aberdeen).

Some 45% of the sample can be said to be indigenous, while of the 55% who are incomers, about half have moved in from outside Scotland. This is a large proportion in an area which has little to offer economically. This, added to the evidence from respondents comments on their questionnaires, many of which reflected idealised rural images, and the comments made by Councillor Davidson, paints the picture of another remote, sequestered and sparsely populated area, which is potentially unstable demographically , which may well have a high population turnover, and which has undergone a large influx of people, many of whom are relatively young and economically active, seeking out their idyllic way of life. This influx, which has been termed postmodern counter-urbanisation (See section 6.10.1), is recent with a quarter of the respondents having arrived in the last five years, and the area, like Gairloch is also too isolated, and the climate too harsh to be attractive to large numbers of retirees. The fact that this migration does not seem to be quite on the scale as Gairloch is because the area is not quite so physically stunning as Wester Ross and perhaps, more importantly, it is not so commonly perceived or renowned for the beauty of the scenery, or so closely identified with a particular way of life, as the communities on the remote West Coast of Scotland are. Also, there is a stronger agricultural economy than in Wester Ross which may also discourage incomers. in such large numbers

6.10.7 Counterurbanisation and Dumfriesshire

A contrast between the social process operating in these remote sparsely populated upland areas is found when the situation in the villages to the north and east of Dumfries is considered. The sample from the population in the area is relatively old - a situation which is exemplified by the high proportion of respondents who are married or widowed - and in comparison

to most of the other areas so far studied, the population equilibrium is not very dynamic. In fact, almost half of those who participated in the survey could be termed indigenous.

The area, despite the fact that it is immediately to the north and east of a major regional centre, does not compare closely to the situation found to the west of Aberdeen. The population density is much lower, agriculture is proportionably more important, and although commuting in to Dumfries is prevalent given the proximity to the town, there is a relatively low proportion of managers, professionals and employers, and the social processes within Dumfries are less dynamic, so that there are fewer perceived 'pushing' social ills to motivate people to move out of the town. Also, the villages outside Dumfries are less exclusive, therefore exerting a less weighty 'pull' factor. Only 15% of the households had moved out from Dumfries in comparison to 20% from Aberdeen, and social differentiation has not affected the villages outside Dumfries to the same extent than it has affected the townships outside Aberdeen. Owner occupation is high in the area, respondents living in local authority and tied housing are less prevalent, while the lack of competition put on the housing market caused by a large proportion of wealthy incomers moving out from Dumfries, means that, once again, a relatively low proportion of respondents have to live in private rented accommodation.

Therefore, it can be postulated that the social and migratory system for Dumfries lies somewhere in between the situation to the west of Aberdeen, which is dynamic, heavily socially stratified, and dominated by wealthy commuters, and the situation found outside Turriff, which is dominated by agriculture, with an absence of counterurbanisation, and a relative absence of commuting. For example only 10.4% of respondents have moved in to the area during the last 5 years compared to 18.7% in the Aberdeen area. Dumfries is a town, the size, degree of urbanisation, population, economic pull and the population dynamics of which, lie between those of the big city of Aberdeen and the small market town of Turriff. Also the area is not particularly popular with people who have travelled a long way to seek out their idyllic rural living space.

6.10.8 Counterurbanisation and Creetown, Kirkcowan & Newton Stewart

The study area around the market town of Newton Stewart shows many of the population features found around the market town of Turriff. Almost 60% of the respondents are indigenous, a situation which is related to the area

being dominated by farming, while the lack of economic pull of Newton Stewart, added to high local unemployment has meant that, like Turriff, very few people have moved into the area for employment. The lack of jobs in the area has meant that a population pattern which is more commonly associated with very remote and isolated areas is apparent in the relatively densely populated villages around Newton Stewart which have experienced the depopulation of the young, who have left in order to get higher education, training, a job or a house in an area of high homelessness, as there is a deficit of those aged between 20 and 25 in comparison to the other seven study areas. Unlike the Gairloch area, the indigenous out migrants do not seem to have been replaced by large numbers of young dynamic entrepreneurial incomers in the villages, although many of the hotels and shops in Newton Stewart themselves, *are* run by incomers. This again may have much to do with the area not having the same popular appeal, or being generally perceived as a rural idyll, by people in the urban areas of the South-East of England, but, unlike Turriff, the area is quite attractive physically, the communities are not quite as insular as those in Buchan, and the area is proving increasingly popular with elderly retirees many from the north of England, especially since the A77 was upgraded. A half of the 40% who have moved into the area have done so from outside Scotland. Indeed, one third of the respondents who were over sixty had moved in from England. This suggests, that if not to the same extent, some of this trend of people moving into an area over long distances - usually from urban areas - to find their utopian rural way of life is apparent in the Newton Stewart area, and the common complaint of the housing market being dominated by elderly incomers is as prevalent in this area as it is in Wester Ross. However, unlike Gairloch and Loch Torridon the absolute numbers of incomers are much less, and there is a much greater provision of Local Authority housing, especially in the village of Creetown with some 22% of the respondents living in Council housing, a figure which also contributes, along with the relative absence of incomers, to the proportion of managers, employers and professionals being no more than average. Like Turriff, the lack of economic gravity of Newton Stewart and the large distance to Dumfries and Stranraer means that most of the respondents work close to home.

Therefore there is little population dynamism due to the lack of economic activity of Newton Stewart, and the lack of economically active incomers which were evident in Gairloch and Strathdon. The area is very much

comparable to that of Turriff, although there is a significant amount of elderly retirees moving in to seek a nice environment to live out their senior years.

6.10.9 Counterurbanisation and Moniaive & Upper Nithsdale

The eighth and final study area is the area of Upper Nithsdale encompassing Moniaive and Tynron. This area, although not as isolated as Gairloch or Strathdon, is relatively peripheral, and some of the valley hill farms are very isolated indeed. Like the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area, hill farming predominates in the rural economy, and like both the other remoter areas the area is perceived as having an attractive physical environment. The area in and around Moniaive seems to enjoy a dual function. Moniaive itself is dominated by elderly couples who have moved to the village after they have retired, while the surrounding countryside and the smaller villages are dominated by the farming economy. Some, 37% of the respondents in the area are indigenous, while 63% are incomers - a statistic which closely corresponds to that of Strathpeffer. Of the incomers, almost half are English and an even greater proportion of those over 60 have moved in from outside Scotland. The elderly nature of Moniaive especially, has resulted in a particularly high number of married couples and widowers which suggests that, unlike Gairloch, when people move to Moniaive they do it for good. The proximity to Dumfries, the access to amenities, shops and services in the village, and the care available for the elderly is obviously such that a second move is not necessary when the in-migrants get too old.

Therefore, this is another example of a relatively dynamic migrational system operating in a rural location. The population dynamics for this area is by far the greatest of the three study areas investigated in Dumfries and Galloway, and it is no coincidence that the area is the remotest and the most physically attractive of the three. Once again, this is postmodern counterurbanisation of people moving over long distances often from cities to remote isolated areas in order to escape the rat race, but unlike Gairloch and Loch Torridon and to a certain extent Strathdon and Glenbuchat, the movement seems to be predominantly the elderly with little evidence of the large scale migration of families who are still economically active.

Each study area, therefore seems to throw up a different pattern. In this area, although the shops and hotels are owned by incomers the substitution of ability does not seem to be such a driving force in the local economy. The importance of farming in the area is such that levels of owner occupation are low for respondents, and the tenant nature of hill farming, and the

competition in the housing market from incomers is such, that there are a relatively high proportion of respondents living in rented dwellings. The remote nature of the area and the lack of economic pull of Dumfries means that most of those who work do so locally.

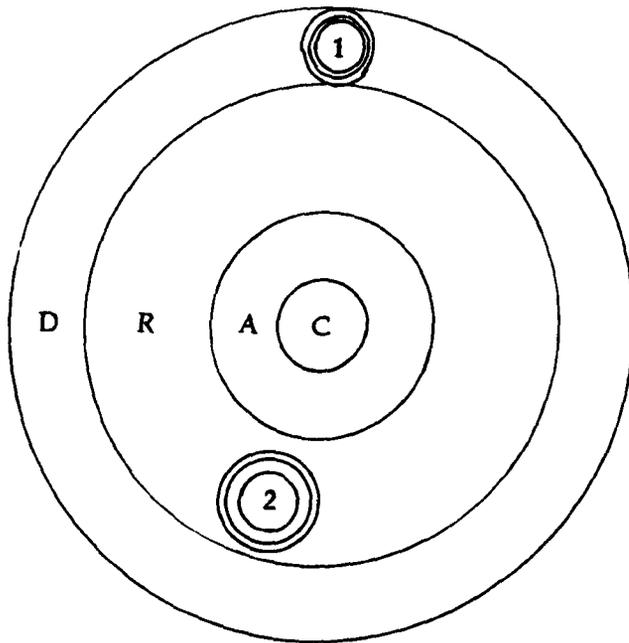
6.11.1 The Lewis and Maund model : Introduction

Having investigated the eight study groups individually, the next task is take the individual study areas and to synthesize them into, and analyse the utility of, a system that that could be used to describe counterurbanisation in the Scottish context. Lewis and Maund (1976) produced an early model to explain what they described as the urbanisation of the countryside.

This has been chosen for further comparison because it was an early model, produced in the 1970's. It is a spatially bound deterministic model which can be termed *modernist*, both in the spatial processes it describes, and in its efforts to produce a general explanatory model which generalises into spatial terms a complicated migratory system, a model which fails to take into account any small scale anomalies between areas.

Lewis and Maund identified three spatial processes affecting rural areas. Depopulation is the traditional population trend of rural areas relating to a decline of population both from net outward migration and a fall in birth rates. A more 'recent' trend, population, involves the growth of population largely as a consequence of net in-migration of people, often in the early stages of a life cycle. Thirdly, repopulation is the colonisation of villages and hamlets by people often retired or in a late stage of the life cycle. These are mainly returned migrants or people who have had second homes in the area. The model illustrated in figure 6.1 describes a concentric spatial pattern composed of urban centres, urbanisation/ commuting zones, repopulation zone and depopulation zone stretching out in a concentric hierarchy from urban centres. The model also draws upon the theory of urban sphere of influence, as the largest urban centres will have a larger urbanising sphere of influence. They suggested that the area closest to a city corresponds to an area of urbanisation which has grown due to the increase in commuting for reasons explained in detail elsewhere in this thesis (Chapter 2.2.3). Outside daily travelling distance, but still within convenient distance, is an area of repopulation, where house prices have not risen so much, and which is affordable by retirement couples, and outside this the peripheral area of depopulation. An important point is that Lewis and Maund contend that the processes operate at one and the same time within each community, and

FIGURE 6.5
LEWIS AND MAUND'S (1976) MODEL OF
URBANISATION/COUNTERURBANISATION



C - URBAN CENTRE

1 & 2 - Minor urban centres

A - URBANISATION ZONE

R - REPOPULATION ZONE

D - DEPOPULATION ZONE

hence the demographic and social character of a community is controlled by the predominant process. They also suggest the perfectly concentric nature of the pattern is affected by relative access, with the commuter and repopulation zones extending further out over greater distances along transport routes.

6.11.2 The Lewis and Maund Model : Applicability and the Scottish Example

So to what extent do the eight Scottish study areas fit the model proposed in the mid seventies by Lewis and Maund? On investigating the pattern produced by the Scottish examples it is fair to say that there are elements of the eight study areas which fit into the model, but also that there is a lot of what has been found in this Scottish study which does not fit the model and which raises some interesting new hypothesis.

There is evidence from respondents' questionnaires to back up the validity of Lewis and Maund's model. Many respondents in the Aberdeen area especially mention the benefits of living in a rural area and this provides strong evidence for this decentralising form of urbanisation mentioned by Lewis and Maund, as people seek a rural location close to where they work, to obtain a rural environment for their urban-orientated way of life, a way of life which seems to be shared by the indigenous respondents. Further examples of the comments made by respondents include a young person who had moved out of Aberdeen (A 178) to buy his country cottage "dream house", a housewife who moved out to Garlogie in Skene (A19) because her husband worked in the country and "we wanted to live in the country" and an unemployed council house dweller who moved out from Aberdeen to Culter in 1978 and claims that, "I do like to live in the country and have a view from my window." This therefore seems to provide evidence to support the urbanisation aspects of the counter-urbanisation model.

There is also evidence to support the hypothesis of the repopulation migrational process where - particularly elderly - people move to a slightly more isolated rural area which conforms to their perception of a rural idyll, especially where house prices are slightly lower than on the edge of cities. There was some statistical evidence to suggest that elderly people were moving into the villages outside Newton Stewart and into the Moniaive area. A local Government officer interviewed in the village of Kirkcowan outside Newton Stewart reported that in the late 60s and early 70s there were a number of country cottages bought by incomers, helped by grants which were available for improving such properties. There was a lull in this migrational process in the late seventies caused by the recession and the

depressed house market in England, while it picked up again with the economic boom of the eighties. Due to emerging differences in the perception of quality of life in rural areas, and the increasing commodification of the country, to quote him again, in the last five years "everything in the area has been bought by the English", mainly retiring couples who can sell their house for £150,000 in London and buy a top house in Wigtownshire for £75,000 and have a £75,000 nest egg for retirement.

Further evidence comes to back up the existence of this repopulation phenomenon comes from the comments respondents have put on their questionnaires. As suggested by a respondent who has moved into the Moniaive area (M45), a renowned retirement village, "We are far enough away from city life to escape the rat race but close enough to visit"; another respondent who has retired to the Moniaive area (M8) mentions previous knowledge of the area gained through visiting and mentions the scenery and tranquillity while a respondent who has moved into Auldgrith near Dumfries (D75) from Brighton suggests that "it is a nice place to retire to."

As well as evidence to support this repopulation of rural areas there is also much evidence to support the traditional rural problem of the depopulation of the young people of the communities. As one councillor from Moniaive said, "It is traditional for young people to get up and get away in an area like this although a lot of them come back eventually." Of course, although there are suggestions in the statistics thrown up by the survey results that the depopulation of younger people in search of further education, training and jobs, it is very difficult to back this up by comments put on questionnaires, as anyone who has left permanently would not have been included in the survey, but there were several respondents who reported that they had left the area to go to University or college, a few doing nursing training and one or two in the forces who were still on the voters roll at their parents house. The local government officer who lived in Kirkcowan near Newton Stewart also mentioned that all the young people of that area move away to get a job as unemployment in the area is running at 17%. He also suggested that the lads that stayed wanted to be heavy goods drivers, one of the few remaining sources of employment in the area, while the other main industry keeping some of the young in the area is construction, ironically enough (like Gairloch), an industry stimulated by the amount of in-migrants moving into the area.

Not only is a lack of employment adding to the natural depopulation forces in rural areas but so are local government policies. Dumfries County

Council actually stopped building local authority accommodation in rural areas and concentrated on one large development at Locharbriggs on the northern outskirts of Dumfries as it was cheaper than to built one or two council houses in each rural community which, in the councillors' opinion, was actually what was needed. They have built small estates in the last 20 years but this action came too late. In the 1960's ,there was a large outflow of young people from the villages of Dumfriesshire who couldn't get housing. Therefore, there is still a lack of council houses which the young, with limited financial resources, often depend on, and the Right to Buy Legislation, and the lack of resources available to build replacements for the housing that has been bought by their tenants has further exacerbated the situation.

Some aspects of Lewis and Maund's model do shed light on the Scottish example. The idea of populating of the countryside outside major cities by younger families who have no previous connections with the area is evident in the study area to the west of Aberdeen, which could be a classical case of this prediction. Also, the urban hierarchy of the effects of this population is also clearly evident in the eight study areas. The importance of settlement size and economic gravity on the dynamism of the demographic system outside urban centres has been clearly illustrated by the urban hierarchy of Aberdeen, Dumfries and Turriff, with areas around the former having been heavily populated and socially stratified by commuters and the latter having little influence on the countryside around it.

The village of Moniaive also seems to be a classic example of repopulation with more than half of the population of the relict agricultural village which is just out with popular commuting distance to Dumfries being composed of elderly retirees.

Also the idea that all the processes were apparent in all areas and that the most dominant one in any area set the character of the area has a lot of credence in the Scottish example. Examples of people who commuted were found in almost all the study areas, even the most remote, examples of the repopulating elderly are ubiquitous in the eight study areas while the loss of the young people of ability and ambition continues to be a problem to some degree in almost all the rural areas.

However, there are certain things about the findings from the eight study areas taken from different parts of rural Scotland in the early 1990s which cannot be explained by the model proposed by Lewis and Maund in the early 1970's. These are mainly the findings that do not fit an economically rational picture of human behaviour. Indeed the main discrepancy between the model

and the findings in rural Scotland is that the model does not explain the situation in the most remote rural areas, which are defined as being areas where depopulation is the most significant social process by Lewis and Maund but which have actually enjoyed the largest population growth rates in recent years. Indeed, in the Scottish example, dominant depopulation is not very widespread and it is certainly not found in the most remote areas, being more confined to environmentally unattractive, and economically stagnant agricultural areas which have not attracted incomers in to substitute the young people who have left.

Indeed, the spatial aspect of Lewis and Maund's model is one of its main weaknesses when it applied to the Scottish example. They assumed that there would be a spatial decay of counterurbanisers from a given urban centre out to remote areas but rather than being a barrier to migration the very isolation and remoteness has proven a magnet to in-migrants, while a relatively accessible area like Turriff does not appear to be attracting incomers even though it would correspond to the model's population and repopulation zones.

6.11.3 Counterurbanisation : The *Postmodern* Model

The effects of people's perception of rural areas has not entered into the model proposed by Lewis and Maund. They assumed that the diseconomies of distance would discourage counterurbanisation into the most remote areas whereas the perception of the quality of life, and the way of life in the remotest communities and how this varies from place to place has been a major factor in people moving out to them. Lewis and Maund, having devised their model in the 1970's also did not take account of the economically active families who have left the rat race in order to take over, manage or set up a business in an environment which which is more utopian and outweighs any economic diseconomies.

In Lewis and Maund's model the migrants were influenced merely by economic and life cycle considerations, and migrants were not influenced by the positive images of certain rural environments which were especially attractive when compared to increasingly depressed, turbulent and violent city life, which were further conditioned into peoples consciousness by television, the mass media and postmodern trends in advertising. Lewis and Maund thus proposed a modernist model of counterurbanisation which is flawed, because it attempts to define a spatially concentric model for processes which are only partially affected by distance and space, it takes no

account of the relative perception of different spaces, and as the model was conceived before Harvey's "sea change of the late seventies and eighties", the model is temporally out-of-date, as it does not take account of the postmodern trends in counterurbanisation spawned by the recession of the 1970s, and consumption and marketing trends, and the urban house price boom of the 1980s.

A postmodern model can be proposed for counterurbanisation which places less emphasis on actual distance across space and more importance on the way that those rural spaces are perceived, especially in terms of the perceived quality and way of life that is available, and the attractiveness of the living environment. The population trends of depopulation, repopulation and population / urbanisation are still apparent in all areas although these can be joined by repopulation for reasons of quality of life, especially by economically active incomers who are new to the area, the region, and perhaps even the country as well, and may have nothing to do with the nearest urban centres. As was previously mentioned, all these processes vary in relation to each other but the most recent process is now so significant in the Gairloch area especially, that it is already the dominant population process.

In terms of the other areas, Strathpeffer corresponds to an area which is experiencing both population, repopulation and a little of this postmodern population, Aberdeen is the classic population zone. Turriff, despite its relative accessibility, shows most signs of being an area suffering depopulation, as does the area outside Newton Stewart, although it exhibits strong evidence of repopulation by elderly retirees as well in certain parts of it. Moniaive, as was mentioned is a classic repopulation village, whilst the area around Dumfries reflects the fact that the Town although a regional market is not a major economic centre and this area exhibits the least dynamic demographic system. The area of Strathdon and Glenbuchat, although the sample size is low, does indicate that the area is at an important time when depopulation is beginning to be overtaken by this mature postmodern population as the dominant population system.

6.11.4 Spatial and Economic Determinants of Migrational Processes

It could be suggested, tentatively, that there is a spatial and distance decay element to these three identified forms of rural population increase. The urbanisation of semi-rural areas for commuting is closest to urban centres, and is mainly concerned with local people making a short move out from the

urban centre to areas which they know well, and which form part of the same economic and social system of the settlement from which they came. The repopulation trend, mainly of retirees, dominates slightly farther out in more rural areas which have access to services, shops and amenities, and which are still accessible to urban centres, and this process is dominated by people who have more knowledge of the area, often from tourism or holiday homes, but who have moved in from another Region. Examples of this would be people moving into Strathpeffer from urban Scotland and into Newton Stewart from the North of England. The more recently significant postmodern migration dominates in the least accessible and most remote locales to which people migrate over great distances, with little actual knowledge of the area other than what has been conditioned by the press, television and popular literature. The culture they move into therefore bears least resemblance to the one they are moving out of, and perhaps little relation also to what they expect. Discrepancies between what is important in incomers' choice of where to live in comparison to the indigenous populations in these areas will be investigated in the following Chapters. However, as has been constantly stressed, all the processes operate in all the areas, and it is only the most significant process which dominates the demographic system of an area, so that any geographical spatial model is one of only perceived tendency, rather than proclaiming any hard and fast rules.

It is interesting to speculate upon the influence of the economy on the significance of this postmodern migration. As has been suggested, the large number of people who colonised rural England, Wales and Scotland from the South-East of England were able to do so because of rip-roaring house price rises in the region during the eighties, and the capital advantage they had over the housing markets of the rural areas. It could be hypothesized that the collapse of house prices which accompanied the recession would result in fewer people wanting to sell up their house for less than they got it for and move away. Also, in the remote areas like Gairloch, many of the incomers set up business in the tourist sector. It may be expected that in the current recession, there would be fewer people both who could get a bank loan, or who would want to set up a business in a sector which is so sensitive to economic fluctuations. Therefore, one would expect the influx of these postmodern migrants to be diminishing markedly during a recession, as was the case with the "lull of great white settlers" to the Newton Stewart area during the late 1970's during the previous recession. If the process is likely to be slowing down as has been hinted at recently by academics such as

Champion (1989), one can only speculate as to what will happen when the economy swings to a boom again, when people's houses start accruing in value, and when the perception of urban areas will be even more blighted by the further collapse of the manufacturing base, the rise and unemployment and the accompanying rise of crime and social problems. One would imagine that after the recession, the counterurbanisation process for reasons of seeking a rural idyll will reach unprecedented levels.

If the postmodern migrational processes diminishes in significance during a recession, it can also be suggested about the impact of the recession will vary in different areas. Cloke (1992) suggested, that prestige environments will be developed faster than others. Therefore it would be logical to assume that they would maintain their popularity with a diminishing number of migrants (if a free market approach is taken), while the drop off in in-migration would be felt first by the less prestigious environments. Certainly, there seems to be little down turn in the process in the Gairloch area, while a councillor from a less prestigious area, Dumfries, where the social turnover is less dynamic, reported that "incomers, although not present in very significant numbers, had tended to buy up country house hotels, public houses, etc but that this has dropped off a bit in the last two years due to the collapse in house prices in the South."

6.12.1 Summary and Conclusions

These results confirm that there are different migrational processes happening in different kinds of rural area within Scotland. In isolated and physically beautiful areas, there is what can be termed postmodern counterurbanisation, or in-migration of people who have moved over long distances to seek a certain perceived way of life and quality of living environment, which corresponds to their media, television and advertising conditioned perceptions about life in rural areas. Although migration of elderly families to picturesque rural spots to retire is still common, and much in evidence in the study, many of the migrants to the most remote areas are characterised by their economic activity, often in managing, running and owning businesses, shops, and services. In other less remote areas, this migration for quality of life also is also apparent, although perhaps not quite as significant, and the extent depends upon the population density, the beauty of the landscape and the attitude of the communities themselves.

Nearer to the urban settlements, the importance of migration to seek this rural idyll diminishes within the economic sphere of influence of the urban

centre, and processes such as decentralisation from the urban centre to commute from an attractive rural environment predominating.

The incomers participating in the survey are generally of a more prestigious socio-occupational status in comparison with the indigenous members of the sample. Also the age of respondents in each migration groups does seem to be quite significant, with the proportion of non-migrants decreasing with the increasing age of the groups. In most of the areas incomers were also more likely to live in housing which they owned, while a greater proportion of locals living in local authority or rented accommodation.

There was a little evidence from a few of the study areas to suggest that incomers do travel further distances to work. However the lack of large thriving economic centres to attract large numbers of commuters over long distances from these eight rural areas, means that the trend was not a strong one, and there was little or no firm evidence to support the hypothesis that in rural Scotland there is a large number of incomers who have moved into rural areas but are commuting out to work in major centres elsewhere.

The results from the eight study areas serve to demonstrate that the migrational situation in rural Scotland is a complex one, with the housing market, employment opportunities, family, marriage and affluence-related movements all being significant in influencing the migrational systems of rural areas. Almost all of the same social and migratory processes were evident in each of the eight areas, to some degree, although the extent in each area, and the dominant processes varied, thus varying the social character of each area.

The Gairloch and Loch Torridon area provided a classic example of a long steady depopulation being dynamically reversed by large numbers of recent incomers who have moved to seek a perceived way and quality of life since the last recession. The continued loss of the talented young to be replaced by economically active incomers has been labelled a substitution of ambition. There is also evidence from Strathdon that also supports the hypothesis that remote rural areas have undergone a sharp increase of (postmodern) counterurbanisation, influenced by the increasing perception in the collective consciousness of the population of the increasing differentiation between positive aspects of rural life and negative elements of urban life.

In Strathpeffer there would seem to be three in-migrational processes which are significant in the area (retirees, economically active 'quality of lifers' and job led), whereas in the satellite settlements to the west of Aberdeen, the

social and housing systems are dominated by the proximity of the city. In the Cuminstown and Turriff area, there is little in the area to attract incomers seeking their rural idyll, while the cool reception from the indigenous communities would discourage incomers further. The area seemed to correspond with Cloke and Goodwin's (1992) criteria for an anti-idyll. The social and migratory system for Dumfries lies somewhere in between the situation to the west of Aberdeen, which is dynamic, heavily socially stratified, and dominated by wealthy commuters, and the situation found outside Turriff, where the population dynamics were much more limited. Due to the lack of economic activity of Newton Stewart, and the lack of economically active incomers which were evident in Gairloch and Strathdon, the dynamics of the migrational processes in the rural area surrounding the Wigtownshire town were also less vigorous than in other rural areas studied, although there is a significant amount of elderly retirees moving in to seek a nice environment to live out their senior years. The eighth area, Moniaive, provided another example of a relatively dynamic migrational system operating in a rural location. The population dynamics for this area is by far the greatest of the three study areas investigated in Dumfries and Galloway, and it is no coincidence that the area is the remotest and the most physically attractive of the three, although unlike Gairloch and Loch Torridon, and to a certain extent Strathdon and Glenbuchat, the movement seems to be predominantly the elderly, with little evidence of the large scale migration to the area of families who are still economically active.

A postmodern model was proposed for counterurbanisation which placed less emphasis on actual distance across space and more importance on the way that those rural spaces are perceived, especially in terms of the perceived quality and way of life that is available, and the attractiveness of the living environment. The population trends of depopulation, repopulation and population / urbanisation are still apparent in all areas, although these can be joined by repopulation for reasons of quality of life, especially by economically active incomers who are new to the area, the region, and perhaps even the country as well.

CHAPTER 7 : THE PERCEPTION OF QUALITY OF LIFE

7.1.1 Introduction

The aim of this Chapter is to develop upon the ideas developed in the conceptual framework and to expand on the findings of the repertory grid analysis using the results from a more comprehensive social questionnaire survey developed from those initial results. This chapter will attempt to ascertain whether the factors respondents consider important in their choice of where to live vary between places, and whether the economic and social characteristics of an area influence these views. The places in this case are the individual study areas outlined in Chapter 3.

The main tool of this chapter is the ranking list of factors derived from completed and returned LIVING PREFERENCES QUESTIONNAIRE (RURAL SCOTLAND). From Part 3 of the questionnaire, a ranking list of factors was produced by calculating the mean for each of the thirty-five factors and ranking them for each of the eight study areas. Being a locality based study, the ranks of individual places will be considered individually. The following Chapter will break down and examine at length the results by migrational sub-group.

In this Chapter the ranking list for each area will be compared, both overall, using the Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient, and by the ranking and rating of individual factors, to draw out the major similarities and differences between the perceptions of the samples of the eight study areas.

Also investigated in this chapter are the data collected in Part 4 (Parts A & B), which asked respondents either how important six factors were in keeping a person in an area for most of their life (Part A) ; or How important six factors were in a respondent decision to move to an area (Part B). Again, these factors will be investigated by mean and investigated by individual variable.

7.2.1 Importance of Factors in The Choice of Where To Live : Gairloch and Loch Torridon

The questionnaire was designed so that each of the factors were rated on a scale of 1 to 5 ; five being "Very important in choice of where to live" and one being "Not at all important in choice of where to live." Correspondingly, 4 was "Quite important" in the respondents choice of where to live, and 3 was "of limited importance". Therefore, above a mean value of 3.5 for a factor can be said to be "important " in a choice of where to live for a respondent group

TABLE 7.1

GAIRLOCH AND LOCH TORRIDON: RANKING LIST OF MEANS
Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Quality of Living Environment	4.71
2. Levels of Pollution	4.70
3. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.49
4. Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.43
5. Safe For Children	4.36
6. Access to Areas of Scenic Beauty	4.35
7. Pace of Life	4.33
8. Friendliness of People	4.31
9. Access to Health Care	4.26
10. Community Spirit	4.15
11. Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.13
12. Quality of Housing in General	4.02
13. Place isn't Impersonal	3.99
14. Level of Services	3.77
15. Convenience of Size	3.76
16. Local Education Provision	3.75
17. The Cost of Living	3.73
18. Racial Harmony	3.71
19. Employment Prospects	3.67
20. Shopping Facilities	3.65
21. Active Local Community	3.55
22. Wage Levels	3.38
23. Amenity Provision	3.35
24. Travel to Work Time	3.33
25. Unemployment Levels	3.24
26. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.18
27. Climate	3.17
28. Access to Sports Facilities	3.16
29. Public Transport service	3.13
30. Access to Other Important Places	3.07
31. Incentives for Economic Development	2.95
32. Leisure Facilities	2.88
33. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.38
34= Quality of Council Housing	2.25
34= Access to Council Housing	2.25

and below this value of 3.5 (the watershed), the factor is presumed to be of no particular importance in a respondent's choice of where to live.

The first impression gained from this table is the predominance of the popular 'postmodern' images of the respective qualities of rural and urban life, which conform to Forsythe's urban/rural dichotomy (Chapter 2.3.4) and

which dominate over the 'traditional' problems which are commonly associated with quality of life in rural area such as transport, service and amenity and housing provision. Indeed, The first eight factors in the ranking list, and ten out of the first thirteen, correspond to the predominating anti-urban, pro-rural imagery.

The most important factor in the respondents' choice of where to live is the 'quality of the living environment' with a mean of 4.71 closely followed by 'pollution levels'. These are two 'green' factors which not only reflect the nation's current preoccupation with green issues, but are also present in a very positive signifieds of rural environments and negative signifieds of urban space. As well as these two, 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked the 6th most important in the choice of where to live. The former two factors are also rated above the 4.5 watershed value, and are therefore rated as 'very important' in the choice of where to live. This is perhaps understandable in the case of the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area. The villages in the study area lie within some of the most spectacular and beautiful mountain scenery to be found anywhere in Scotland and the quality of the living environment is reflected in these two values. This perception of the quality of the rural environment - the "chocolate box idyll" - especially the spectacular, rugged, mountain wilderness, or the tranquil, clean, quiet, rural utopia has been extensively used in advertising - especially adverts for cars, and increasingly by more and more products, as advertisers reinforce this perception of the quality and the cleanliness of the rural environment in the minds of the public. A rural environment is a green one, and by presenting this image in the minds of the population, and then associating their product with it, advertisers are both reinforcing this positive image of rural environments which most of the population originally shared, and creating a positive image of their product through association with this image. A recent example of this would be British Rail's recent newspaper and television campaign about the quality of environment experienced by rail travellers and Dulux Weathershield. Indeed car adverts have actually been shot within the study area and a view across Loch Torridon itself has been used in an advert for British Gas and it may be no coincidence that there is a high proportion of English incomers in the area who have had their perceptions of rural Scotland fashioned by areas such as this.

The next three factors ('violent' and 'non-violent crime' and 'safety for children') with means which fall just below the 4.5 watershed all refer to the perception of crime and safety. The perception of this area as a remote,

tranquil and friendly place, free from crime violence and urban problems in general, is the antithesis of the negative images of urban life that many people hold, and the fact that many incomers have come to settle in the area for reasons of quality of life suggests that the area is many peoples idea of the rural idyll. The 3rd and 4th most important factor in respondents' choice of where to live are 'violent' and 'non violent crime rates', while 'safety for children', with a mean of 4.36 is ranked 5th. A rural area is perceived to be a safer environment than an urban one, especially for bringing up children and these factors may be uppermost in respondents' minds when considering either a move to a rural location or not moving to an urban location from a rural community.

Crime also featured strongly in the choice of where to live in the study conducted by Findlay et al. (1988a) on British Cities, so it would seem to be an omnipresent concern which reflects the increasingly violent nature of British society and the often hysterical treatment of it in the press and on television. This perception would be most likely to be reinforced further in this respondent group, as sample is composed of those who have either made a decision to remain in a rural area all their lives (and not to move to an urban area), or who have made a decision to move into a rural area. Therefore, the respondent sample has been derived from a section of the population whose positive perception of rural life, and more significantly arguably, their negative perception of urban areas are going to be very strongly developed.

These are factors born out of the negative perception of urban life. Many of the ills of urban life which people move out of cities to avoid such as drug abuse, violence, the threat to personal security are crystalised in the perception that big cities are unsafe, full of crime and unfit environments for raising young children. It is true that many more attacks happen to children in big cities than in rural areas but this is probably because two thirds of the population of the country live in urban areas so there is a statistically greater chance of an incident happening in a city. Also, in large cities such as Glasgow, Manchester and London, the social ills of housing squalor, high crime, violence, poverty and drug abuse; of which there is a high public perception, tend to be concentrated in problem public sector housing estates with the middle class, residential, owner occupied areas providing relatively safe environments in which to raise children. It is unlikely that indigenous respondents would have much experience of the ills of urban living, although the perception, which has been constantly reinforced in the mass media, in rural areas remains very strong. Those respondents who have the resources

and the social mobility to move away from urban areas to rural areas are more unlikely to have come from those parts of cities where social problems are rife, so although they may have a little more experience of the perils of life in a big city, it is likely that their negative perceptions of urban areas, their positive perceptions of rural areas, and their desire to distance themselves further from areas of urban blight, have come from the same television and mass media sources that have built the images in their rural counterparts. This seems to back up the theory discussed in the the conceptual Framework (Chapter 2.5.2) about how image predominates over reality in the collective consciousness in postmodern times.

This idea of the factors which reflect the positive signifieds of rural areas featuring strongly in respondents' perceptions of their quality of life, is exemplified in the factors which occupy the 7th and 8th positions in the ranking list, namely the 'pace of life' and the 'friendliness of people'. It is perhaps surprising, at first glance, that these two factors should feature so highly in a list of factors which respondents feel to be important in their choice of where to live. The friendliness of the people and the pace of life are hardly critical to a respondents' basic quality of life. But are they important to an incomer who does not suffer from mobility constraints or any material shortcomings (ie. these would be quite high level psychological needs such as the desire to satisfy a need for identity and community which is not afforded in an urban environment- this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.10.1)? Are they also important considerations for an indigenous respondent who has chosen to live in that area (or perhaps not had the opportunity to move or has married locally) and who values the friendliness of the people locally and the slower pace of life? Or is it possibly a case that these factors are not actually *that* essential in a choice of where to live but they form part of a simulacrum of the rural idyll where a sense of community and identity are established as being fundamental elements, and this contrasts with the simulacrum of the anonymous urban nightmare, outlined above, which is shared both by rural and urban people, and which is constantly reinforced in the mass media and advertising to the extent that it appears to dominate in a survey investigating respondents' perceptions of what is important in a choice of where to live? After all, rural people, especially those in tight knit "closed " communities can be at least as unfriendly as their urban counterparts, especially towards incomers.

This pattern, which is related to a positive image of rural life (whether it be tangible or semi-mythical), continues further on down the list with such

factors as 'strong community spirit', ranked 10th (mean 4.15), 'whether a place is 'impersonal' or not', ranked 13th (3.99) in overall importance in the choice of where to live - both of which are still relatively high up the list, the 'convenience of the size of the settlement' is ranked 15th (3.76), and ranked 21st, 'whether a settlement has an active local community' (28.95) -which are ranked slightly further down. The extent to which the relative 'community spirit' in different areas actually influences the migrational decision is open to debate. Presumably, community spirit is only something a person is able to evaluate once they have spent time living within a community and actually experienced it. Therefore, a possible explanation could be put forward that respondents stay in the community or decide to move into it for reasons of employment (for example), or simply the desire to live in a rural area which may correspond to their perception of their idealised rural image, and that their questionnaire responses are a *rationalised* evaluation of why they moved based on the appropriate simulacrum and signifieds of rural living, or indeed publicly accepted views rather than those of the individual. This would back up the findings of Forsythe in Orkney when she suggested that incomers make up a story based on the pastoralist idyll to justify moving into an area. It was indeed suggested in Chapter 6.9.2 that the Gairloch and Loch Torridon has undergone postmodern counterurbanisation of incomers, many of whom have moved in over a long distance using imperfect knowledge which is based on stereotype and signifieds of the rural idyll. This will be investigated further in the next Chapter.

The factor which is ranked 9th, 'Access to Health Care', mean 4.26, is a factor which also featured highly in Findlay et al.'s (1988a) work on British Cities. This would indicate that there is a general public perception about getting access to good health care. This desire for health has again been reinforced in respondents' minds by the image presented in the mass media of a crumbling health service, low staff morale, closing hospital wards and lengthening waiting lists. The fact that this perception is held apparently by all sections of society in rural, as well as urban, areas illustrates the importance in which health care access is held by society as a whole. This takes on even greater significance in rural areas such as Gairloch and Loch Torridon, because rural communities have to encounter not only the usual resource and waiting list problems, but also the difficulties of actual physical access to health care both for routine care and emergencies. Hospitals, by the nature of the fact that most of the population rarely need to use them, have very large catchment areas. Consequently, the nearest hospital for a remote

rural area such as Gairloch is in Inverness some 70 miles away and an hour and a half by car and over an hour by ambulance. Therefore, there are logistical problems involved for people needing operations or outpatient care, and the additional trauma of being so far away from a hospital in the case of an emergency. Also, dental provision tends to be very limited in rural areas, and this is also a logistical problem for health planners, as is basic health care for the elderly (such as home help care and meals on wheels), especially as the demographics in remote rural areas tend to be biased towards the elderly. These problems of access in rural areas heighten the perception of the importance of health care which the whole public share.

The factors of the 'cost of owner occupied housing' and the 'quality of housing in general' occupy the 11th and 12th positions in the ranking list. It is perhaps surprising that such housing factors are not "further up" the ranking list as housing issues and local housing provision are a hot potato in this area. There is generally regarded to be a shortage of housing in rural Scotland (Shucksmith 1991b, Mooney 1990), especially for young people looking for cheap rented accommodation or access to the housing market for the first time house. Indeed, the lack of housing was a complaint which was frequently encountered upon visiting the area. As will be discussed further in Chapter 10, this is a situation which has been exacerbated by the increase in 'white settlers' in recent years, in which incomers, many from urban areas in the South-East of England have been moving to scenic parts of rural Scotland and for who house prices in rural areas of Scotland are very inexpensive. The differentiation in house prices between London, for example, and the West Highlands of Scotland results in incomers, often in a mature stage of the life cycle and with easier access to capital easily outbidding indigenous house buyers, who are usually first time buyers with relatively poorly paid jobs, younger with less access to capital, and no house price differentiation to use to their advantage. The result is the complaint that all the available housing is being bought by the English. Therefore, the price of housing is an important factor for both incomers and local respondents. There is probably some degree of exaggeration in this but there is more than enough truth in this image for it to be a widely held perception, and therefore it is extremely surprising to discover that the bottom three factors in the ranking list are 33rd, 'the cost of private rented housing' (mean 2.38), and equal 34th the 'quality of council housing' and 'access to council housing' (means 2.25). Some of the explanation, as was suggested in Chapter 5, can be attributed to the fact that survey response was biased against council house dwellers and towards

owner occupied accommodation, and this will be investigated in Chapter 9 when the perceptions of respondents in different housing tenures will be considered individually. Also, as was pointed out in Chapter 4 (The Methodology) some of the explanation for the poor performance of the bottom three factors may have to do with the wording of the questionnaire. Respondents were not asked what would be important for the quality of life for them and their community, but they were asked what would be important in their choice of where to live. In respondents' 'choice of where to live' they would presumably prefer to live in owner occupied accommodation, and this is reflected in the relative performances of 'access to council house' which was bottom of the ranking list accommodation, and the cost of owner occupied housing which was ninth. It could be tentatively speculated that this is something of Mrs Thatcher's government shifting the goal posts of peoples perceptions away from the desirability of living in local authority accommodation against the merits of living in their own house. The changing of these perceptions was one of the Conservative Governments' main flagships between 1979 and 1990. Before that in the days of the halcyon days of large scale modernist planning projects and Fordist patterns of production and consumption, the image of the merits of council tenancy and owner occupation were perhaps not so different, especially amongst working class communities. Also, the poor performance in the list of private rented and Council housing has got to do with the realities of housing in this part of rural Scotland, and the availability of rented accommodation. The lack of council housing in rural areas also means that access to local authority accommodation does not figure in peoples' perceptions. Therefore, young couples entering the housing market have to compete in the housing market whether they would like to or not (see Mooney 1990 on Local Authority waiting lists). Local Authority housing, therefore, does not even enter in to the equation. Also, historically there has always been less Local Authority housing in rural areas in comparison with urban areas, and this situation has been exacerbated during the 1980s and 1990s with the selling off of Councils' housing stock under the Right to Buy legislation.

The 'cost of private rented accommodation', the 'quality of council housing' and 'access to council housing' are not considered important in a respondent's choice of where to live in the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area while the 'cost of owner occupied' and the 'quality of housing in general' are. However even the cost of owner occupied is still - apparently - considered less important than the friendliness of the people. This would tend to provide some evidence

to support the idea hypothesized earlier, that there is a great deal of conditioned, post-decision rationalisation made when the respondent is faced with the questionnaire so that what is being elicited are the factors considered important in the respondent's *ideal* quality of life (whether this is actually the case, in reality, is irrelevant), rather than the factors important in the respondents *choice* of where to live. Thus, what the questionnaire results are presenting are the commonly held 'postmodern' stereotyped images of the relative quality of rural and urban areas, rather than the reality of the importance of the factors in the decision making process, which is much more constraint based.

The factors ranked 14 to 21, with means of 3.65 to 3.77 (suggesting that they are still important in a respondent's choice of where to live) are those factors which are usually associated with the welfare approach to rural "quality of life". These factors are those which are *traditionally* synonymous with the problems of living in remote rural areas, and which are important in the 'Level of Living' approaches to rural geography used by Pacione and Moseley. Communities in rural areas, particularly remote rural areas such as these, have always suffered from a low level of services, a high cost of living, poor - often non-existent and rarely economical - shopping facilities, poor employment prospects, and declining rural education provision. These factors, the *negative* aspects of rural life, although considered important, rank well below factors which reflect the more positive images of rural life. They are the factors which are tangible, identifiable, easily quantified and measurable, but not those which appear to be the *most* important in respondents' choices of where to live. Such factors include the 'level of services' which is ranked 14th with a mean of 3.77, 'local education provision', ranked 16th, 'the cost of living' which is ranked 17th, and 'employment prospects' and 'shopping facilities' which are ranked 19th and 20th respectively.

Most of these factors, or the lack of them tend to significantly affect only certain sectors of the population. The level of services, the cost of living and the lack of shopping facilities are only a concern if one is unable to gain access to or afford them. The majority of rural dwellers run cars, and even in the most remote areas the trend is towards doing all the shopping and using the services of the nearest big city because the prices are cheaper. This trait is particularly true of incomers who have less traditional affinity to the indigenous services. This trend does undermine the viability of the local services, but this is only of critical importance to the sections of the

community who actually use them exclusively. Unfortunately, it is the disadvantaged, the immobile, the young and the elderly (those who are multiply mobility deprived) who are dependent on them and although paramount to their quality of lives (because their basic needs are not being met), they are not critical to the majority of the population. Similarly, unemployment prospects are only critical if to those who have not got a job, particularly the young, and education provision is only critical to those who have a child of school age who have not got easy access to a school. The *majority* of people in rural areas don't have these problems.

Secondly, these factors are those associated with the *negative* aspects of rural areas. Most of the respondents are either locals who have remained in the area and have rationalised their situation accordingly, or people who have actually made a positive decision to move into the area (and who have also justified their move accordingly.) Therefore, as was suggested in the previous Chapter (section 6.9.2), a very significant proportion of these incomers could be regarded as postmodern counterurbanisers who have moved over a long distance to seek out their rural idyll, and these are people who already have a strongly positive perception of the quality of life in rural areas and whose perceptions, values and prejudices are constantly being reinforced by advertising and the mass media. Negative images of rural areas tend to be found within certain sectors of respondents, and although the traditional problems of rural life are occasionally uncovered, they are insignificant against the negative images of urban life as portrayed everyday in the media, and they are not, unlike the positive images of the quality of rural life, used extensively in advertising.

'Wage levels' are ranked 22nd in the ranking list of means for Gairloch and with a mean of 3.38. It therefore falls below the 3.5 "watershed" which means it is considered neither important or unimportant in the average respondents choice of where to live. Low wage levels in this area are a fact of life, with the result that many people, especially crofters, have more than one occupation. Therefore, the fact that many people have lived in the area for all of their life, or have returned after times away, or have moved in often from urban areas, where wage levels are higher, suggests that wage levels are indeed of little concern and again, if wage levels are critical to respondents quality of life, then it is only for a certain sector of the community. Also, for incomers who have retired, or who are moving to a remote community to escape the urban rat race and who have the capital to do, with the average wage level in the Gairloch and loch Torridon area is of little concern.

'Amenity provision' is not considered particularly important in the ranking list (ranked 23rd mean 3.35). Again, this is because there are not very many amenities provided in the area, apart from the all important village halls, so it is unlikely that the lack of amenity is likely to be of that much concern to people who have always lived with it, or who have moved in for other reasons.

'Travel to work time', ranked 24th by the respondents of Gairloch and Loch Torridon, and 'access to other important places', ranked 30th, are not rated as important in respondents' choices of where to live in rural Scotland. This is a reflection on the geography of the area. The study area is a remote, sparsely populated part of Wester Ross, outside commuting distance of a major city, in this case, Inverness. Almost all of the population works locally or in the case of fishermen, builders and lorry drivers are based locally. There are a few respondents who work in the oil industry in the North Sea who travelled a long way every two weeks rather than commute, so travel to work time is irrelevant. One of the respondents lived locally but ran a company by fax and computer which was based in London, and this involved travelling down by air from Inverness once or twice a week. The development of telecommunication and computer technology has facilitated this sort of operation, and the growth of this sort of management system would be a logical prediction once the present recession is over. In that particular case it was the distance from the place of occupation rather than the proximity to the major city which was the attraction, and this is also the case for migrants moving away from urban areas and into remote rural areas with congenial environments, where the inaccessibility is an attraction rather than a detraction. Also, respondents who have grown up and lived in an area all their lives have developed a corresponding lifestyle are unlikely to be concerned that their home is not within easy access of other *important* places. Indeed, just because Inverness is a city, it does not necessarily mean that it is important in the eyes of the respondents. Another important place could be the neighbouring village where friends or relatives stay, or in the case of a village like Diabeg Torridon, where the nearest shop is.

The factor ranked 18th in the list is Racial Harmony (mean 3.71). Again, this may reflect what people really actively consider when looking for a place to live, but racial problems, including rioting, especially concerning ethnic minorities, are negatively associated with inner city areas, and were cited by Harper (1991) with reference to the West Midlands, in influencing peoples decision to move to rural areas (Chapter 2.3.2). However, racial harmony is

rather an ambiguous factor, as it can also refer to animosity between the English and indigenous West highland people. This can develop in rural communities where English incomers buy up the available housing stock, and often attempt to impose their way of life - or an idealised, romanticised vision of how life should be - on the locals. This is especially common in tight knit communities which are defensive both of their sense of community and their traditional ways of doing things (Baudrillard's local interpretation of The Sign in conflict with the ubiquitously propagated interpretation of reality as it is portrayed romantically, in the mass media and in advertising. This is again discussed at length in the Chapters 2.9.5 and 10.4.1).

It is perhaps surprising that 'levels of unemployment' is ranked only 25th in the list for Gairloch, and with a mean of only 3.24, is considered not particularly important in the choice of where to live. After all, it can be argued that unemployment levels tend to go hand in hand with areas of low quality of life, and it is a contributing factor to social decay, poverty, high crime and social unrest. However, respondents, many of whom are still economically active, and who may be looking to take over or set up a new business, would be unlikely to consider unemployment levels per se when considering a move, or even when rationalising their images of rural and urban life. They would be rather more inclined to identify the products of areas of high unemployment such as crime, a poor living environment and low personal security than one of the main underlying causes. Rather like the shift in the public perception away from the desirability of council tenancies in favour of home ownership, the Conservative Government appear to have been successful in divorcing the tangible, unpalatable results from the underlying causes in the public perception, which is convenient really because it was their economic policies and cuts in social security provision and housing policies which underlay many of the social ills in urban areas which are uppermost in peoples' perceptions.

Three factors in the list 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time' (ranked 26th out of 35), 'access to sports facilities' (28th) and 'access to leisure facilities' (32nd), are all of a similar 'leisure and recreation' type group. It is interesting that the respondents do not consider these to be important in their choice of where to live, as one should imagine that a respondent's leisure activities and recreation time are a relatively important part of their quality of life. The explanation for the poor performance of these factors may be because leisure and recreational activities are widely available, even in Gairloch. Or perhaps, more convincingly, it is something that people consider after they

have moved. A person's decision to move in, or even to stay, is far more constraint based than to be able to consider leisure and recreational activities unless the migrant is either particularly wealthy, or is moving purely to make the best use of recreational time. Retirement couples would fit into the latter category. More likely, people will always find something to occupy their recreational time after they move into an area. Respondents will always do without in terms of leisure and recreational activities if there are other compensations in moving to a rural environment. Such activities, if they are not available in the settlement in question, may well be available somewhere within convenient travelling distance. People who have lived in an area such as Gairloch and Loch Torridon all of their lives have had to get on without the wide range of leisure and recreational activities available in cities, and presumably their recreational patterns have evolved within this environment, and adapt to what is available. Also, incomers have made the choice to move to a rural area. As one woman expressed in the employment promotional video for Shetland Islands Council;

"If you are into going to the theatre or a big football match, an art gallery or even a cinema, then you are going to the wrong place. But if you like peace and quiet, and the slow pace of life in a very special community, then this is the place for you."

Again it may be that the lack of leisure and recreational activities would be of more critical importance to specific sections of the population and, perhaps more importantly, to specific age groups. The recreational opportunities of the big city is something out of the counter-pastoralist idyll (Chapter 2.11.4) proposed by Forsythe (1982) and not likely to be of concern to those influenced by the pro-rural pastoral idyll. Indeed, leisure and recreational activities, apart from walking, do not form part of the rural idyll (or indeed the urban nightmare). This will be investigated later on in Chapter 9, especially with regard to young people who are generally more acutely affected when there is nothing to do or nowhere to go.

One of the biggest surprises in the ranking list of the sum of means is the fact that the 'public transport service' is not rated as important in the respondents' perceptions of what is important in their choice of where to live. The factor, ranked 29th, is only considered 'of limited importance' with a mean of 3.13. The decline of the rural public transport service and the ensuing mobility deprivation for the young, the car-less and the elderly has always been one of the great issues amongst rural social scientists in recent years, with much work having been done by the likes of Malcolm Moseley (1979)

and Farrington and Harrison (1985). However, the fact that the public transport service is unimportant in the respondents choice of where to live is perhaps precisely because there is little rural public transport left. The Gairloch and Loch Torridon area is served by a daily bus to Inverness from Gairloch, and a post-bus covering the rest of the area. The public transport service is of critical importance to those people who are dependent on it (and this will be investigated later on in Chapter 9), but these are people in a certain sector of the population which is probably under-represented amongst the respondents of this survey.

The only factor not mentioned so far has been 'incentives for economic development', which performs quite poorly, ranked 31 in the table. This was included especially for managers and employers and will be discussed at length later on in the appropriate part of Chapter 9.

The 'climate' - which is quite harsh in Wester Ross in winter time - and incentives for economic development are not considered particularly important in respondents' choices of where to live.

Therefore those factors associated with the positive simulacrum of rural areas and the negative simulacrum of urban areas predominate in the ranking list over those factors which have been traditionally associated with the difficulties involved in living in rural areas.

7.2.2 Importance of Factors in The Choice of Where To Live : Strathpeffer

This Strathpeffer area provides a contrast from Wester Ross in that it is less remote, it has a much higher population density, enjoys greater access to urban centres and performs a limited commuting function (see Chapter 6.9.3) Also, the village of Strathpeffer is a spa village dating back from Victorian times where people, especially the elderly and particularly the English, have migrated to specifically because it was perceived as offering a high quality of life due, amongst other things to its Highland setting and opulent architecture.

Strathpeffer and Gairloch present some evidence in the differing ranks of some factors to say that there is a slight geographical element in respondents perceptions of their quality of life for two study areas in Ross and Cromarty but the overall strongest conclusion is that the ranking lists of Tables 7.1 and 7.2 are remarkably similar. The pattern, as will be explained further on, is not based on local community, but is due to spatial economic, social, and migrational factors. This is borne out in the Spearman's Rank correlations

TABLE 7.2
 STRATHPEFFER : RANKING LIST OF MEANS
 Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Quality of Living Environment	4.59
2. Levels of Pollution	4.54
3. Access to Health Care	4.49
4. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.48
5. Safe For Children	4.47
6. Friendliness of People	4.46
7. Pace of Life	4.34
8. Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.30
9. Community Spirit	4.25
10. Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.20
11. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	4.17
12. Quality of Housing in General	4.09
13. Level of Services	4.02
13= The Cost of Living	4.02
15. Shopping Facilities	3.98
15= Convenience of Size	3.98
17. Travel to Work Time	3.88
18. Employment Prospects	3.84
19. Local Education Provision	3.76
20. Access to Other Important Places	3.72
21. Access to Sports facilities	3.67
22. Climate	3.64
23. Racial Harmony	3.62
24. Active Local Community	3.60
25. Wage Levels	3.59
26. Amenity Provision	3.55
27. Leisure Facilities	3.52
28. Unemployment Levels	3.48
29. Place isn't Impersonal	3.46
30. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.31
31. Incentives for Economic Development	3.21
32. Public Transport service	3.13
33. Quality of Council Housing	2.80
34. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.72
35. Access to Council Housing	2.47

when the ranking list for Strathpeffer is compared to that of Gairloch and Loch Torridon . The results are a correlation of 0.889. This is significant at the 99% level indicating that there are no significant differences between the ranking list for Strathpeffer and the ranking list for Gairloch. Although there

is no significant statistical differences between the ranking lists for the two areas, as will be shown, there are certainly observable differences between the individual elements of the lists, which, as mentioned above, can be explained geographically.

For the respondents of Strathpeffer and Contin, the top two factors in the ranking list are once again the 'quality of the living environment' with a mean of 4.59 and 'pollution levels' with a mean of 4.54. This matches the results from the ranking list of means for Gairloch (Table 7.1). The similarity of pattern is mirrored in the rest of the ranking list also where the factors relating to the postmodern images and perceptions of the merits of rural life and the dis-economies of living in cities, which most of the population would share (as they share the same influences of mass media and advertising mediums), predominate over the more traditional concerns of rural living (when these are compared to conditions in urban areas - usually by urban based academics), which all of the rural population will be aware of, but which a minority of that population will be significantly or critically affected by.

Thus, factors such as 'local violent crime rates', 'safety for children', the 'pace of life', 'non-violent crime rates', 'community spirit' and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' are ranked 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 11th respectively, with means which are correspondingly high. These results would appear to be in keeping with Strathpeffer's reputation as a place where people migrate to in order to seek a higher quality of life. This study area was actually chosen because it fulfilled several people's idea of a rural idyll in the repertory grid stage; so the fact that these postmodern pro-rural factors such as the friendliness of the people, the pace of life and community spirit feature so strongly in this samples' perception of what is important in a choice of where to live, tends to add weight to the argument about the importance of signifieds which condition peoples perceptions of quality of life, and which have become the image of reality of rural life in the collective consciousness of the population (See Section 2.4.8). Are the friendliness of the people, the community spirit and the pace of life really more important than the cost and quality of housing in people's migration decisions? Perhaps they are when one is relatively wealthy and unconstrained in a choice of where to live, as many of the incomers to Strathpeffer are.

The fact that many of the incomers to Strathpeffer are wealthy and elderly is reflected in the fact that 'access to health care' is ranked third with a mean of 4.49. Access to good quality health and care provision is an increasing pre-

occupation as people get on in years, and the fact that the area is quite near Dingwall and Inverness, and therefore a lot nearer health care than the respondents in Gairloch, who correspondingly rate the factor as less important. Although the respondents in Gairloch have less access to health care, they are less concerned about its importance in their choice of where to live. This may be because more incomers to Gairloch were younger, economically active, and therefore less in need of being near health care.

This also has to do with the wording of the questionnaire. In terms of "choice of where to live" respondents in Gairloch and Loch Torridon who have lived there all their life are used to the fact that they have poor access to health care, and people who have moved into the area have 'voted with their feet' and sacrificed easy access to health care (which is reflected in their perceptions) in favour of other factors which are more important in their decision making process. On the other hand people who have assessed health care as being much higher in their decision making process have moved to other areas which enjoy greater access to health care.

The distribution of the housing factors is also similar for the respondents in Strathpeffer and Contin in comparison with those of the respondents of Gairloch and Loch Torridon (Table 7.1). The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 10th with a mean of 4.20 and the 'quality of housing in general' is ranked 12th with a mean of 4.09. The lowest three places in the ranking list are again occupied by factors representing the rented sector. 'Quality of council housing' is ranked 33rd with a mean of 2.80; the penultimate factor, the 'cost of private rented accommodation', has a mean of 2.72, and the mean for 'access to council housing', ranked 35th, is a very lowly 2.47. The explanation for this distribution of housing factors has been discussed at length for the respondents from Gairloch, but it is worth noting that public sector housing provision does not seem to be that much of a problem in Strathpeffer and Contin. There is an area of good quality public sector housing in Contin, and there is a relatively large (related to the size of the village) council housing estate in Strathpeffer, yet the public sector and private rented housing factors are still considered unimportant in respondents' perceptions. There are probably four reasons for this. Again the perception in peoples minds is of the desirability to own one's own house, and this is the case even in urban areas of high public sector housing provision. Secondly, the council housing provision in Contin is of a very high quality, built in a very good environment. Therefore the desire to buy one's own council house in that area would be very high, and it would be a rare

event that a house became available for rent in that area so housing waiting lists in that estate are unrealistically high. In sharp contrast, the estate in Strathpeffer is of much lower quality offering a much poorer living environment. Also, it was evident from walking about the estate in Strathpeffer that there was a much more depressed atmosphere than in Contin and it was a much less salubrious place. Therefore, even though waiting lists for that estate are much lower, the desirability as a place to live is also, correspondingly, much lower. Furthermore, two thirds of the respondents are incomers who have to compete in the housing market because they automatically go to the bottom of the council housing waiting list, so that Local Authority provision is no concern to them

For the Strathpeffer area, the same pattern which was elicited from the ranking list for Gairloch is apparent. The factors usually associated with negative aspects of rural life, which are experienced by a minority of the respondents, are ranked below those positive images of rural life which have been reinforced in the majority of the population. Such factors - 'the level of services', 'the cost of living', 'shopping facilities', 'employment prospects', 'local education provision', and 'access to other places' - are ranked equal 13th, 15th(equal) 18th, 19th and 20th respectively, with means ranging between 3.72 and 4.02, which do suggest that they are still important in respondents choice of where to live.

There are three factors which have been ranked slightly higher in the perceptions of Strathpeffer than in Gairloch. 'Travel to work time' is ranked 17th in the former ranking list as opposed to 24th in the latter (means : 3.88 vs 3.33) ; 'access to other important places' is ranked 20th in the perceptions of the Easter Ross respondents while it is rated only 30th by those of Wester Ross in their choice of where to live (means : 3.72 vs 3.07), and 'access to sports facilities' (means 3.67 vs 3.16) is ranked 21st by the Strathpeffer respondents and 28th by the corresponding sample taken in Gairloch. These differences in the respective rankings of these factors are a reflection of the geographical locations of the two study areas. Strathpeffer is a reservoir for commuters both, for Dingwall and Inverness, whereas most of the working respondents in the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area are employed or based locally. Logically, travel to work time is considered far more important by the respondents who travel to work from the Easter Ross communities. Similarly, the fact that they are within easy reach of Dingwall and Inverness (if one has access to a car) rather than live in a very remote area, is reflected in the ranking for 'access to other important places'. 'Sports facilities' is ranked

higher as a wider range of sports facilities are within reach in Dingwall and Inverness than in the scattered crofting and fishing settlements of Wester Ross.

Conversely, the one factor which is rated much lower in the ranking list by respondents of Strathpeffer is whether a place is 'impersonal'. This may be because Strathpeffer has proved to be popular with affluent English incomers who are less inclined to mix with the local population, resulting in a less self contained community, and the village does have a rather impersonal and almost snobbish air about it, which may be reflected in the ranking list. Certainly, the study area in Easter Ross did not have the friendly, welcoming and personable atmosphere of the communities on the West Coast.

Towards the lower end of the list, the factors which occupied those positions in the Gairloch and Loch Torridon ranking list are once again evident, although the 'climate' (surprisingly), 'racial harmony', 'active local community', 'wage levels', 'amenity provision' and 'leisure facilities', although ranked from 22nd to 27th, are all found just above the 3.5 watershed mean indicating that they are rated as important in respondents choices of where to live. This could indicate two things. One explanation could be that the respondents in the Strathpeffer area have been responding with higher ratings per factor than their Wester Ross counterparts, indicating that they consider more factors important in their quality of life. There is some evidence for this as the Watershed 3.5 mean is found after the 27th factor for the Strathpeffer respondents and only after the 21st factor in Gairloch. Alternatively, these results could indicate that there is marginally more amenity provision and leisure provision in the Strathpeffer and Contin study area, that there may be wage level differentiation between Easter and Wester Ross with more higher paid white collar jobs available in Dingwall and Inverness, and that there is more oil related work. A greater need for an active local community and racial harmony in Strathpeffer given the "impersonal" atmosphere and large number of English incomers, but this is merely conjecture and speculation.

Again, below the importance 'watershed' are those factors of 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time', 'incentives for economic development', 'the public transport service' and the factors for the rented housing sector. The reasons for the poor performance of these have been discussed, at length, for the Gairloch and Loch Torridon study area.

Therefore, concluding from an examination of the ranking list for Strathpeffer, although there are no really significant geographical differences

between the ranking lists, there are some differences between the rankings of individual factors which are due to the differing economies and geographical locations. It may also be that a regional element may exist, especially when these results are compared to other study areas which are in a completely different region and which have a contrasting set of social relationships and economic functions.

7.2.3 Importance of Factors in The Choice of Where To Live : Aberdeenshire

The third ranking list to be scrutinised was developed from the results of the respondents living to the west of Aberdeen. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, this is an area in sharp contrast to those of Gairloch and Loch Torridon, and even Strathpeffer. The respondent sample is drawn from an area of much greater population density, from an area where most of the people are predisposed to commuting to a major city, and where it would be logical to hypothesize that their perceptions about what is important in their choices of where to live are more urban orientated. It may be expected that the factors which reflect the negative aspects of urban life remain very strong in perceptions of respondents of whom a large number have moved away from the city, but that the factors which reflect the positive aspects of more rural areas may be less well developed.

It may be expected that a sample taken from the fringes of a large city would differ significantly in the perceptions of what is important in the choice of where to live from samples taken in more remote areas but this does not seem to be the case. On inspecting the ranking list for Aberdeen, it is immediately evident that the first three factors, 'quality of living environment', 'levels of pollution' and 'safe for children' (means 4.55, 4.51 and 4.47 out of five) occupy similar positions as they do for the Gairloch and Loch Torridon example, with the former two being rated as very important in the choice of where to live. On reflection, this is perhaps not too surprising. Due to the ubiquitous influence of television, magazines and newspapers, the respondents in urban areas will be exposed to much the same conditioning influences as their more rural counterparts. A closer look at the ranking list reveals that the top positions are again filled mainly by these factors precipitated from postmodern imagery but, as was suggested, the negative images of urban life are much more conspicuous than the factors which correspond to the factors which reflect the idyllic image of rural life.

As well as 'safe for children', 'local violent crime rates' is ranked 4th and 'non-violent crime rates 6th'. In contrast, although still ranking highly, the

TABLE 7.3
 ABERDEENSHIRE : RANKING LIST OF MEANS
 Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Quality of Living Environment	4.55
2. Levels of Pollution	4.51
3. Safe For Children	4.47
4. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.40
5. Access to Health Care	4.35
6. Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.33
7. Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.22
8. Pace of Life	4.18
9. Employment Prospects	4.16
10. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	4.12
11. Quality of Housing in General	4.11
12. Friendliness of People	4.09
13. Travel to Work Time	4.03
14. Local Education Provision	3.95
15. Level of Services	3.94
16= Convenience of Size	3.92
16=. Shopping Facilities	3.92
18. Access to Other Important Places	3.91
19. Community Spirit	3.85
20. Wage Levels	3.76
21. Racial Harmony	3.75
22= Place isn't Impersonal	3.73
22= The Cost of Living	3.73
24. Leisure Facilities	3.60
25. Unemployment Levels	3.57
26. Amenity Provision	3.55
27. Access to Sports facilities	3.54
28. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.43
29. Active Local Community	3.38
30. Public Transport service	3.36
31. Climate	3.31
32. Incentives for Economic Development	3.26
33. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.71
34. Quality of Council Housing	2.62
35. Access to Council Housing	2.32

positive pro-rural image of 'pace of life' is ranked 8th, the 'friendliness of the people' 12th, 'community spirit' 19th, and 'active local community' 29th. These factors are ranked 7th, 8th, 10th and 21st respectively in Gairloch and 7th, 6th,

9th and 24th in Strathpeffer. Therefore, the respondents seemed to be more concerned with negative urban images and have placed less importance on positive rural factors. It is logical to assume that, with the exception of community and cultural influences, the conditioning mediums will be broadly similar to those in Ross-shire. Most of the people are orientated towards and live their lives around Aberdeen, whereas most incomers to Gairloch work near to where they live. Indeed 20% of those contacted have lived in Aberdeen at some stage during their life cycle, and have moved out from the city centre. Therefore, the respondents maintain close contacts with Aberdeen; to work and socialise there is the norm, and the typical respondent is orientated towards Aberdeen and considers themselves Aberdonian. Therefore, the lifestyles of the respondents are less rural than in the previous two study areas. They have perhaps moved to a more rural environment because they perceive it offers a better quality of life but they are at an earlier, economically active stage of their life cycle. Finding a rural *idyll* is not high on their priority list while finding a good environment to live outwith the negative aspects of city life is, and it is still important to be a short journey away from the various opportunities of Aberdeen. Negative images of city life are quite highly developed in their perceptions and therefore in the ranking list of factors, while for these quasi-suburbanites, the positive simulacrum of the rural idyll - the space of representation of Chapter 2.5.2 - is less prominent than in the other more remote areas.

This urban orientation is further demonstrated for the Aberdonian respondents (for whom the proportions of indigenous respondents and incomers are similar) in the ranking of other factors. The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked quite highly at seventh on the list (mean 4.22). 'Employment prospects', with a mean of 4.16, is ranked 9th, and 'travel to work time' 13th (mean 4.03). In Gairloch, by contrast, these factors were ranked 19th and 24th respectively and in Strathpeffer 18th and 17th. The cost of housing and employment prospects are very much concerns of urban dwelling people, especially in Aberdeen which has gone through a boom time since the discovery of oil in the North Sea and, correspondingly, wage levels and house prices are artificially high for a city of Aberdeen's size and location, and job opportunities have been available at a time when the rest of the UK was in recession.

'Travel to work time' is also ranked relatively highly (13th with a mean of 4.03) and this demonstrates the importance of commuting for the respondents

which was not evident in the case of Gairloch or so pronounced in the case of Strathpeffer.

'Access to areas' of scenic beauty is ranked relatively highly for Aberdonian respondents in tenth place with a mean of 4.12. Aberdeen is within easy reach of some beautiful scenery along the Dee and the Don rivers and only an hours drive away from the Grampian Mountains. This ranking compares with the eleventh ranking for this factor for Strathpeffer, which is also within easy access to some spectacular mountain scenery, and sixth place ranking for the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area. This slightly higher ranking exemplifies the Geography of the latter area. The Wester Ross survey area not only lies within easy reach of areas of scenic beauty, it lies amongst some of the most glorious scenery to be found within the British Isles.

The middle to lower end of the ranking list for Aberdeen assumes a similar pattern in comparison to the other two ranks study areas. The 'traditional' concerns of rural life predominate. The 'level of services', the 'convenience of size' to live in, 'shopping facilities' and 'racial harmony' for Aberdonian respondents have all obtained similar rankings to the Gairloch and Strathpeffer. The local 'education provision', the 'access to other important places' and 'wage levels' are all ranked slightly higher than in the other two comparable areas (Local Education provision is ranked 14th in Aberdeen vs 16th in Gairloch & 19th in Strathpeffer; access is ranked 18th vs 20th & 30th and wage levels are ranked 20th in Aberdeen vs 22nd and 25th respectively). This is perhaps explained by the fact that a suburban area having a higher population density is going to have more than one school, so the quality of the school in an area rather than just the existence becomes an issue (especially with migrating professional workers with children) perhaps not in the actual choice of where to live, but certainly in the rationalised perception of what is important in a choice of where to live. The 'access to other important places' is a logical result. The respondents commute to and live their lives around a major city, so the need to have access to it is going to be more important than other respondents who have chosen to live or who have always lived in more remote areas. Aberdeen was famous for its oil boom wage levels so it is perhaps unsurprising that 'wage levels' are going to be slightly more important in the choice of where to live for respondents of this area. The high wage levels found in Aberdeen were offset by a higher than average cost of living for a city of Aberdeen's size. This is reflected in the ranking list where the rank of cost of living is much lower (22nd in Aberdeen vs 17th in Gairloch and 13th in Strathpeffer) in respondents' choice of where

to live in comparison with the other respondent groups. Obviously, the majority of the residents of the area have enjoyed the good times that Oil has brought them and have learned to live with the cost of living (which is offset by high wage levels)- which has not put off immigrants attracted by the highly paid jobs available.

Also, 'leisure facilities' ranks slightly higher than in the other two study areas. This is a reflection on both the wealth of leisure activities that have emerged with the prosperity of the Aberdeen area and the relative paucity of leisure facilities found in Wester and Easter Ross. The fact that there is not a wider differentiation in these perceptions (ranked 24th compared to 32nd in Gairloch - where leisure facilities are negligible - and 27th in Strathpeffer where they are marginally better) adds weight to the argument that people who have access to a wealth of leisure, sporting and recreational activities take them for granted and individually utilise only a fraction of what is available, whereas in remoter areas with little infrastructure, people rarely miss what they have never had; peoples recreational pursuits evolve around what is available, and leisure pursuits are more commonly participated in, leisure, and socialising more informal, more community based and more home orientated. People who are film, theatre, ballet and/or opera buffs are unlikely to move to rural locations. This argument is backed up by the fact that the ranks for 'amenity provision', 'access to sports facilities' and 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time' are considered relatively unimportant with little differentiation in ranking in respondent's perceptions between all three respondent groups. Also, the relative recreational activities in urban and rural areas is not a feature of the mass media signifieds pertaining to life in urban and rural areas and therefore will not be prominent in peoples perceptions.

The 'public transport service' is again considered unimportant in respondents' choice of where to live (ranked 30th out of 35 with a mean of 3.36. With 40% of the respondents being professionals, managers and employers with correspondingly high levels of car ownership, respondents who may be marginalised by not having a car are under-represented. Also, the area actually has a relatively efficient and frequent bus service.

The 'climate' and 'incentives for economic development' again come bottom of the pile for reasons discussed elsewhere as do the three rented housing groups, while the quality of housing in general is in a similar position to the Ross ranks; 11th with a mean of 4.11.

It would seem that the results for the semi-rural study area to the West of Aberdeen suggest that although there are some differences in the perceptions of some individual factors which may be expected in comparison with the other more remote study areas (greater perception of negative urban factors and less importance placed on positive rural images which are consistent with people who are just moving away from the ills of the city while still remaining orientated to the city rather than to the country), and which may be explained in terms of socio-spatial, economic and migrational factors, the overall impression of the results from Aberdeen is that they are still very similar to those in the other two study areas. This is borne out in the Spearman's Rank correlations between the lists for Aberdeen and those of Gairloch and Strathpeffer. The relationship between the ranking list for the respondents of Aberdeen and the other two study areas are both significant to the 99% confidence level suggesting statistically that there are little differences between the ranks.

7.2.4 Importance of Factors in The Choice of Where To Live : Cuminestown and Turriff

The ranking list for the responses provided by the next area provides a contrast to all three areas studied so far, as the perceptions which dominate the ranking list are those of indigenous respondents, as the flat featureless farming landscape and the tight knit farming communities have proved to be something of an anti-idyll and have not proved attractive for incomers. On first glance, the list for the area to the east and of Turriff reveals different factors (from the other three areas and the overall ranking list of summed means considered earlier) occupying the top positions. In all the other cases the top positions were filled by 'the quality of the living environment' and 'pollution Levels'. However, in this case it is 'access to health care' with a mean of 4.48, and 'safe for children' with a mean of 4.44 out of five which are first and second in the ranking list, with the 'living environment' merely third with a mean of 4.40. If the means for these top three factors are compared for the previous three study groups, the value of 4.48 compares to one of 4.26 in Gairloch, 4.35 in Aberdeen, and 4.49 in Strathpeffer. The value, therefore, is comparable to Gairloch and Aberdeen where the factor was ranked 9th and 5th respectively and is actually lower than the value in Strathpeffer where the factor was only ranked third. The mean for 'safe for children' of 4.44 compares closely to the one produced by the respondents of Gairloch (where the factor was ranked fifth) and is less

TABLE 7.4
 CUMINESTOWN AND TURRIFF : RANKING LIST OF MEANS
 Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Access to Health Care	4.48
2. Safe For Children	4.44
3. Quality of Living Environment	4.40
4. Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.37
5. Friendliness of Local People	4.36
6= Pace of Life	4.32
6= Levels of Pollution	4.32
8= Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.30
8= Violent Crime Rates	4.30
10. Employment Prospects	4.19
11. Level of Services	4.18
12. Shopping Facilities	4.12
13. The Cost of Living	4.11
14. Quality of Housing in General	4.08
15. Community Spirit	4.06
16. Wage Levels	3.94
17. Convenience of Size	3.93
18. Place isn't Impersonal	3.90
19. Unemployment Levels	3.85
20. Local Education Provision	3.83
21. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	3.81
22. Travel to Work Time	3.74
23. Access to Other Important Places	3.64
24. Amenity Provision	3.61
25. Active Local Community	3.50
26. Racial Harmony	3.49
27. Climate	3.39
28. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.37
29. Access to Sports facilities	3.25
30. Incentives for Economic Development	3.19
31. Leisure Facilities	3.18
32. Public Transport service	3.13
33. Quality of Council Housing	2.91
34. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.89
35. Access to Council Housing	2.55

than the values in Strathpeffer and Aberdeen of 4.47 and 4.47, where the factor was ranked only fifth and third. Therefore, the factor is *rated* as important in respondents choice of where to live in comparison to other areas but the *rankings* are much higher.

Thus other factors which were ranked and rated as more important in the other study area must be regarded as much less important in the perceptions of respondents of Turriff study area. This is illustrated in the mean of 4.40 for 'quality of the living environment', which compares to one of 4.71 in Gairloch, 4.54 in Strathpeffer and 4.55 in Aberdeen. It would seem, therefore, that the first two factors have been perceived to be the most important factors in respondents from Turriff's choices because the perception of the quality of living environment is not so strong. Other "green" factors such as 'pollution levels' and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' also perform much more poorly when compared to the ranks of other areas. 'Pollution levels' is ranked equal 6th (mean 4.32 vs 4.70, 4.54 and 4.51 in the other areas) and 'access to scenic beauty' is ranked 21st (mean 3.81) where previously it has been ranked 6th, 11th and 10th and rated as much more important with means of 4.35, 4.17 and 4.12 respectively.

There are three reasons for this pattern. The first is that the area is very flat, fertile and intensively farmed agricultural land, and very much like any other agricultural area of no great natural beauty, the landscape is quite uniformly uninteresting, and the attractive scenery of the Grampian Mountains is some distance away. Therefore, local people are not likely to be proud of the "beautiful" landscape, and their perceptions dominate in the sample over a minority of in-migrants who have not been attracted to the area specifically by the quality of the living environment and the ease of access to attractive scenery. In fact most of the newcomers to the area are more likely to have been attracted to the many farms which were put up for sale when the agricultural economy went through a disastrous time in the mid 1980s.

The poor performance of 'pollution levels' is also an indication of the hard facts of life in agricultural areas. There is always a conflict between conservation and agriculture, and the fact that pollution levels is not as an important a factor as it is in other areas may well be due to the attitudes towards Green issues in a strongly agricultural area, particularly one which experienced a severe decline in its fortunes in the mid eighties. Indeed, 80% of the sample were economically active in an area where the employment structure is dominated by farmers and agricultural workers. Many of the farms in the North-East are large arable units, dependant on one or two crops which, due to economies of scale and the high level of mechanisation, led to some prosperity when times were good under the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Community. However, a series of poor summers and a cut in the CAP support price meant that the economy of the area was very

badly hit with a number of farms going to the wall, and constant pleas of help sent to a Government who had actually encouraged farmers to expand, buy and merge small holdings, and modernise to take advantages of economies of scale when times were good. Farmers in the area now had to face the nightmare of trying to service huge a overdraft in a volatile economic climate.

This decline in fortunes amongst the agricultural population is also mirrored in the ranking of the factors of 'employment prospects', 'wage levels' and 'unemployment levels'. These are ranked by Turriff respondents as significantly more important in one's choice of where to live in comparison with other areas (Employment prospects ranked 10th vs 19th and 18th in Gairloch and Strathpeffer and 9th in "Boom town" Aberdeen; Wage levels - 16th vs 22nd, 25th and 20th and Unemployment levels- 19th vs 25th, 28th and 25th). Economic difficulties would thus appear to be critically affecting a greater percentage of the population than in other study areas. This may be because the respondents group is dominated by an indigenous population in an area where the indigenous economy is under pressure. This will be studied in greater depth later on in Chapter 8.5. The third reason is partially related. As was mentioned earlier the area has not proved as popular with 'great white settlers' as other study areas (and even with incoming farmers in this area). Therefore, the perceptions of what is important in respondents' choices of where to live will reflect more on the indigenous population who would be expected to perceive the World in terms of Baudrillard's local narrative, and consequently the results may be less even than in other areas because the homogenizing influence of the newcomers, whose responses mask the potentially differing responses from the indigenous population, has been diluted. This seems to be the case with the perceptions of the more indigenously orientated respondents from culturally rich and agriculturally proud Buchan. Therefore, the idealised "Green" issues, reinforced particularly in incomers, are less dominant, and the more tangible local concerns are more prominent. This could be evidence of Baudrillard's local narratives of the Sign and this will be investigated further in the next chapter, which seeks to differentiate indigenous and local populations.

Correspondingly, traditional rural concerns are slightly more prominent in Turriff than in other areas. The level of services and shopping facilities, and the cost of living are ranked and rated slightly higher than in other areas (the 'level of services' is ranked 11th in Turriff, with a mean of 4.18, while it is ranked 14th in Gairloch with a mean of 3.77, 13th in Strathpeffer with a mean of 4.02 and 15th in Aberdeen with a mean of 3.94; 'shopping facilities is

ranked 12th with a mean of 4.12, vs 20th (3.65) in Gairloch, 15th (3.98) in Strathpeffer & 16th (3.92) in Aberdeen, and the 'cost of living' is ranked 13th (mean 4.11) in Turriff, vs 17th (3.73) Gairloch 13th (4.02) Strathpeffer and 22nd (3.73) in Aberdeen). This is a reflection of a respondent group who are partial towards indigenous values and perceptions (rather than mythical, romanticised images of rural life and who may, due to economic problems, have a greater proportion of the population who are struggling financially and who may be marginalised by a lack of shops, services and the mobility to get to them. This will be discussed in depth later on when the respondents are broken down by socio-occupational class in Chapter 8.5.

However, despite the presumed lack of such a significant incomer influence in the respondent group and therefore the dilution of the idealised simulacrum of rural quality of life in the perceptions of the respondents, the results from Turriff still bear a great similarity to the results from other study groups in many ways. This would indicate that postmodern images which are reinforced in the mass media and advertising dominate, even in samples with a majority of indigenous respondents and are prevalent in all sections of society. Different demographic and social groups may have differing needs and values which are reflected in the ranking and rating of some individual factors, but their perceptions would seem to be distorted and influenced by these common stereotyped images. For example in Turriff the factors of 'access to health care and 'safety for children' maintain their importance, the positive rural perceptions of quality of life such as the 'friendliness of the people' and the 'pace of life' are ranked highly at 5th and 6th with means which are comparable to those in the other study areas, which suggest that they are rated as important as well. Negative urban factors of quality of life such as the crime indicators (ranked 8th and 9th), although not featuring as strongly as they did in Aberdeen, are still ranked within the top ten. Also the bottom ten or eleven factors in the ranking list are those -with the exception of 'unemployment levels' - which have filled the bottom ten or eleven places in the other ranks. The same three housing factors are anchored at the bottom of the list, while the paucity of a bus service in the area is emphasised by the fact that the 'public transport service' is fourth bottom of the ranking list with a mean of only 3.13 out of five. Despite the study area being located just outside Turriff and within ninety minutes drive of Aberdeen, 'access to other important places' is only ranked 23rd and 'community spirit' is ranked quite lowly at 15th (which is as near suburban Aberdeen (19th), as rural Gairloch (10th) or Strathpeffer (9th)). This could well be because the population is

distributed quite evenly in farms and small groups of houses and within relatively easy reach of the market town, Turriff, whereas the settlements of Ross-shire, and Wester Ross in particular, are much more nucleated and therefore more conducive to generating community spirit, while the social activities for the farmers and the farm workers in this area would revolve around Turriff.

However the overall pattern for the ranking list, especially the lower ranked factors, is very similar to the ranks for the other study areas. The same factors tend to dominate at the top, albeit in a different order, the emphasis reflecting the agricultural nature of the area, the mixed economic fortunes economically, and the fact that this study area has not been perceived to offer as high a quality of life as other areas studied. However the universal nature of the influences that condition respondents perceptions regardless, seemingly, of their situation, location or background are such that the Spearman's Rank correlations are still highly significant to the 99% confidence level for the relationships between the ranks for Turriff and the ranks for all the other areas. The figures are as follows ; The correlation between the ranking list for Turriff and Gairloch is 0.873 ; between Turriff and Strathpeffer, the figure is of 0.893, and between the two Grampian region study areas the correlations are both 0.895. There are thus no significant statistical differences between any of the ranking lists studied so far, although the differences in the rankings and ratings of some individual factors in the ranking list for Turriff and the other study areas *may* be put down to geographical factors.

7.2.5 Importance of Factors in The Choice of Where To Live : Strathdon and Glenbuchat

The next area to be studied is the third in Grampian Region, the area around Strathdon, Glenbuchat and Glenkindie. This study area, although still in Grampian Region, is different again. Unlike Aberdeen or Turriff, the area is a very remote upland, sparsely populated, hill farming area. Agriculture within the area is not as intensive, on such a large scale, or as specialised as in Turriff, and the estates, hunting, shooting and fishing are an important part of the economy. The remoteness and low, quite nucleated population density up amongst the Grampian mountains is much more akin to Wester Ross than Buchan, and many more economically active 'postmodern white settlers' appear to have been attracted as a result.

Once again the two factors which top the list for Strathdon and Glenbuchat are the 'Green' issues of 'quality of living environment' and 'pollution levels' with means of 4.82 and 4.73 respectively, the former's 4.82 out of five being the highest mean value for any of the areas studied. This may be a reflection of the geography of the area (or a reflection of the social make up of the respondent group, and this will be discussed later) as the communities are set in the high ground at the edge of the Grampian mountains and have proved quite popular with incomers due to their scenic rural nature. This has resulted in a different pattern in the ranking list than was found in Aberdeen some 45 miles to the East. Whereas in the perceptions of those who dwell nearer the city negative urban images dominated peoples' perceptions about what is important in their choice of where to live, the respondents in the remoter study area rate the factors relating to the positive perceptions of rural areas as more important. This is consistent, like Gairloch and Loch Torridon, with a sample which contains a significant proportion of respondents who have been attracted over long distances to seek out their rural idyll.

Thus 'friendliness of people' is ranked 3rd with a mean of 4.71 which corresponds to lower values of 4.31, 4.46, 4.09 and 4.36 in the other four study areas, 'pace of life' is ranked 4th with a mean of 4.63 (versus 4.15, 4.25, 3.85 and 4.06), the community spirit is ranked 6th (mean of 4.26 versus 3.76, 3.98, 3.92 and 3.93) and the 'convenience of size' is ranked 12th. Correspondingly the factors which were prominent in the ranking list produced by the Aberdeen sample are found much lower down the list in the more rural respondent group. 'Safe for children' was ranked 3rd in Aberdeen where it was only ranked 5th in Strathdon (mean 4.63 versus 4.47 in Aberdeen), the crime factors - violent and non-violent - were ranked fourth and sixth important respectively in respondents choice of where to live west of Aberdeen, but with means of 4.47 and 4.38, they were only ranked 8th and 9th in Strathdon. However, with respective means of 4.40 and 4.33 in Aberdeen, the values or ratings are almost identical suggesting that the images reflecting the positive idyll of rural areas are perceived as more important in this remote rural area while the factors which reflect the negative aspects of urban life are rated consistently throughout all the groups.

'Access to health care', is only ranked 10th in Strathdon compared to 5th in Aberdeen, again reflecting the lack of access to health care for people who have either lived in the area for all of their lives or have moved into it, but the means are comparable. The 'free market' housing factors of 'cost of owner occupied housing' and the 'quality of housing in general', ranked 7th and

TABLE 7.6
 STRATHDON & GLENBUCHAT : RANKING LIST OF MEANS
 Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Quality of Living Environment	4.82
2. Levels of Pollution	4.73
3. Friendliness of People	4.71
4. Pace of Life	4.63
5. Safe For Children	4.64
6. Community Spirit	4.48
7. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	4.47
8. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.47
9. Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.38
10. Access to Health Care	4.31
11. Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.28
12. Convenience of Size	4.26
13. The Cost of Living	4.21
14. Quality of Housing in General	4.13
15. Active Local Community	4.00
15= Local Education Provision	4.00
17. Racial Harmony	3.91
18. Level of Services	3.89
19. Place isn't Impersonal	3.87
20. Shopping Facilities	3.74
21. Employment Prospects	3.70
22. Wage Levels	3.67
23. Climate	3.65
24. Amenity Provision	3.63
25. Travel to Work Time	3.60
26. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	3.34
27. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.28
28. Access to Other Important Places	3.27
29. Public Transport service	3.18
30. Leisure Facilities	2.97
30= Unemployment Levels	2.97
32. Access to Sports facilities	2.94
33. Incentives for Economic Development	2.93
33= Quality of Council Housing	2.93
35. Access to Council Housing	2.36

11th, reflect the more urban concerns of housing in Aberdeen, but these are ranked of less concern in the remote rural environment with rankings of 11th and 14th respectively. However the respective means for the housing factors are almost identical (means of 4.28 versus 4.22 between Aberdeen and Strathdon for the cost of owner occupied housing, and 4.13 and 4.11 for the

quality of housing in general). This suggests some evidence for a *geographical* element in the results. The factors relating to the negative signifieds of urban areas are rated consistently highly by respondents in all the areas suggesting that these are images which are universally perceived, while the factors which are associated with images of the rural idyll feature most strongly in the perceptions of the respondents of the areas which are most remote and idyllic.

Factors to do with housing and crime are rated consistently between the two areas but the factors are ranked higher by those living nearer the city, simply because the rural respondents' rate factors relating to the positive image of the rural idyll as much more important, and this relegates these other consistently rated factors down the list. Significantly, further down the ranking list 'employment prospects' which was very important in peoples choice of where to live in Aberdeen (ranked 9th) is only ranked 21st in Strathdon, with respective means (4.16 versus 3.70) which suggest that it is rated as more important as well, reflecting both a less materialistic 'urban' perspective held by the Strathdon respondents and the lack of job opportunities in the immediate area. This was the case in Gairloch and Loch Torridon also. Once again the discrepancy between the geographies and corresponding economic and social functions of Aberdeen and Strathdon is reflected in the fact that 'travel to work time' is ranked 13th, with a mean of 4.03, in Aberdeen and a mere 25th in Strathdon, with a mean of only 3.60, and 'access to other important places' is ranked 18th in Aberdeen, with a mean of 3.91 which suggests that it is important in the choice of where to live, and only 28th in Strathdon, with a mean of only 3.27.

This relationship is reflected in the Spearman's Rank correlations between the areas where it is significant to note that although again there is a strong positive correlation between the ranks of the two areas (a correlation of 0.818 which is significant at the 99% confidence level), there is a stronger relationship between the ranks for Strathdon and Gairloch (correlation of 0.951) Therefore, the the perceived importance of several factors relating to the stereotypical rural idyll has resulted in the the ranking list for Strathdon and Glenbuchat bearing slightly more statistical similarity to another remote, isolated study area in a different region than it does to a study area outside Aberdeen, which at its nearest point can only be 30 miles away, or even to an agricultural area like the area outside Turriff, which has a correlation with Strathdon of 0.828, which although very significant at the 99% confidence level (suggesting that there are no significant differences between the two ranks and that the result could only have occurred by chance about one time

in a thousand) is a weaker relationship than the correlation with Gairloch. Therefore, the strongest relationship occurs between Strathdon and Gairloch, the two areas which have undergone 'postmodern counterurbanisation' of economically active respondents migrating to seek their rural idyll.

The fact that the respondents in the Strathdon are more pro-rural in their perceptions rather than anti-urban is reflected with 'active local community' ranked 15th in Strathdon, while it is only ranked 29th by the respondents of the arguably more anonymous study area near Aberdeen, and rated as very much more important. Again the 'traditional' rural 'concerns' such as 'education provision', 'services', 'shopping facilities', 'employment prospects', 'wage levels' and 'amenity provision' are situated much lower in the ranking list, in the middle to lower end, being ranked and rated below those which reflect the popular simulacrum of rural life - the friendliness of the people and the pace of life, etc. Is it really the case that the community spirit is more important than the price of houses and the education provision in deciding where to live? Perhaps it is the case that the area either is many peoples rural idyll, or that the rural signifieds are more easily assimilated and applicable in an area like Strathdon when a person is asked what is important in their choice of where to live, especially when the respondent group is made up of a significant proportion of people who have based their decision on seeking elements of their rural idyll.

Towards the bottom of the ranking list it is the same factors which occupy the lower positions which bring up the rear in the other ranks with 'public transport service' again conspicuously ranked 29th, with a mean of 3.18, in an area where the bus service is poor at best in some areas, and non-existent in others, although it is still rated as of limited importance in the choice of where to live. Surprisingly, although the public sector housing factors again occupy the bottom two spots the cost of private rented housing is ranked 26th reflecting the fact that there may be a larger number of rented housing in the area than in others.

7.2.6 Importance of Factors in The Choice of Where To Live : Dumfriesshire

The third region to be studied is that of Dumfries and Galloway in the south-west of Scotland, and like Aberdeenshire in the north-east, there are three individual study areas which have been chosen. The first of these lies east to the east and north of Dumfries itself. It is an area of predominantly flat agricultural land with a relatively high population density which is nucleated into several small villages such as Mouswald, Torthorwald, Collin, Palnure,

Table 7.7
DUMFRIES-SHIRE : RANKING LIST OF MEANS
Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Quality of Living Environment	4.64
2. Levels of Pollution	4.50
3. Access to Health Care	4.46
4. Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.34
5. Friendliness of People	4.31
6. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.29
7. Safe For Children	4.28
8. Pace of Life	4.24
9. Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.22
10. Quality of Housing in General	4.13
11. Shopping Facilities	4.10
12. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	4.08
13. Community Spirit	4.06
14. The Cost of Living	4.04
15. Employment Prospects	3.97
16. Level of Services	3.96
17. Wage Levels	3.94
18. Convenience of Size	3.91
19. Access to Other Important Places	3.90
20. Local Education Provision	3.88
21. Travel to Work Time	3.87
22. Racial Harmony	3.74
23. Place isn't Impersonal	3.62
24. Climate	3.59
25. Active Local Community	3.58
26. Public Transport service	3.47
27. Amenity Provision	3.46
28. Unemployment Levels	3.45
29. Leisure Facilities	3.33
30. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.29
31. Access to Sports facilities	3.21
32. Incentives for Economic Development	3.20
33. Quality of Council Housing	2.91
34. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.53
35. Access to Council Housing	2.39

Kirkton and Lochmaben. These villages were historically agricultural but are now also fulfilling a satellite role around Dumfries as well.

Predictably, the first two ranked factors of the respondent group from the urban rural fringe of Dumfries are the 'quality of the living environment' and 'pollution levels', while 'access to health care' is again ranked highly at 3.

However the subsequent pattern of factors is interesting. It could be hypothesized that the factors which respondents from this area would consider important in their choice of where to stay would be very much like those of the respondents from Aberdeen. After all, both sample groups were derived from a similar sized area at a similar distance just outside a city. However, although the ranks are again very similar there are differences in the position of factors which suggest that the respondents from Dumfries are not so orientated towards the city as their Aberdonian counterparts, which is understandable as Dumfries is not as large as Aberdeen. Indeed, as was indicated in the last Chapter, there is more evidence to suggest that Dumfries fulfils a function which falls between the vibrant Regional economic centre of Aberdeen and the agricultural orientated market town of Turriff. The 'friendliness of people' is ranked 5th in Dumfries, with a mean of 4.31, which suggests that it is ranked and rated as more important than in Aberdeen, where 'friendliness of people' was only ranked 12th with a mean of 4.09. The personal security factors are ranked higher for the Aberdeen than Dumfries. Local 'violent crime rates' is ranked 4th in Aberdeen (mean 4.40) versus 6th in Dumfries (mean 4.29), 'safe for children' is ranked 3rd (mean 4.47) versus 7th (mean 4.28) and with a mean of 4.37, local non-violent crime rates was ranked 6th in Aberdeen compared to 9th in Dumfries where the respondents produced a mean of 4.22. The comparison of means suggests that the factors are rated as well as ranked as more important in the choice of where to live by the Aberdonian respondents.

This pattern, it can be argued, is a reflection of the functional and economic geographies of the two areas. The sample from Aberdeen was drawn from satellite commuter towns which are quite modern, more exclusive and which contain a higher proportion of professionals and managers who can afford the high house prices, and who are seeking quality housing away from the negative drawbacks of the city. The villages around Dumfries are relict agricultural villages and still retain some of the original function. As has been demonstrated, there is less commuting from the villages around Dumfries than from those around Aberdeen. This is due to the fact that Dumfries is less of an economic centre than Aberdeen, and fewer respondents have moved out of Dumfries into the surrounding villages. Dumfries is also smaller and carries less of a 'big city' stigma, so that images which are associated with the down side of life in big cities such as crime and personal security are not so strong in respondents perceptions.

Due to the flat, somewhat featureless agricultural nature of the land, and perhaps the proximity to Dumfries, the area has not proved particularly enticing to incomers seeking a more attractive environment or a better quality of life. Instead they have tended to colonise the more picturesque villages of the upper Nithsdale valley or Wigtownshire. The demographic equilibrium is less dynamic around Dumfries than around Aberdeen, and there is a higher proportion of indigenous respondents and longer term incomers. Thus, like Turriff, the factors which are more prominent - as well as reflecting the signifieds of rural life found in all the areas - reflect local social issues, as the homogenising affect of the immigrants responses on the overall perceptions of the sample has been diluted. This will be investigated in greater detail later in Chapter 8 when the responses from each area are broken down by incomer and local.

Therefore, local issues amongst the less affluent manual/skilled manual /clerical respondents who live in the villages around Dumfries such as the 'cost of housing' (ranked 4th with a mean of 4.34, versus 7th with a mean of 4.22 in Aberdeen), the 'lack of shopping facilities' (ranked 11th with a mean of 4.10 vs 16th (3.92) in Aberdeen), the community spirit (13th & 4.06 vs 19th & 3.85) and the cost of living (14 & 4.04 in Dumfries vs 22nd & 3.73 in Aberdeen) are all ranked and rated as more important in the choice of where to live in comparison to the respondents of Aberdeen. Even though the villages are close to Dumfries, the importance of village life and the traditional concerns of rural living seem to be quite prominent in the perceptions of the respondent group from Dumfries, although once again again, they are dominated by those factors which reflect the conditioning postmodern images and signifieds which illustrate the relative quality of life available in rural and urban areas.

The factors ranked 17th to 25th in the ranking list for Dumfries are those in the bottom half of the ranking list (Table 7.7) which are ranked above the 3.5 watershed and therefore still considered important in a choice of where to live. These include 'wage levels', 'convenience of size', 'access to other important places', 'local education provision', 'travel to work time', 'racial harmony', whether a place is 'impersonal', the 'climate', and 'active local community'. Just below the 3.5 watershed is the 'public transport service' which is again neither important or unimportant in respondents choices of where to live. The factors at the bottom of the ranking list; those relatively unimportant in respondents choice of where to live are those which have been found near the bottom of the ranks for the other areas : 'amenity provision

(ranked 27th), unemployment levels (28th) 'leisure facilities' and the factors relating to leisure and recreational provision, while the three rented housing factors once again bringing up the last three positions. As has been previously mentioned, these are all factors which are either not prominent in the simulacrums about the rural idyll and the urban hell, or factors which are not of critical importance either to a large proportion of the 'indigenous' population, or important in incomers migration decisions to move into an area, and in the case of the housing factors, perceived as being desirable to one's quality of life. The fact that the same factors are found at the top of all the ranks and in the lower reaches of all the ranks results in the ranking list for Dumfries again correlating positively at the 99% confidence level with all the overall ranking list of the sum of the place means and all the individual ranking list of means for all the individual study areas.

Therefore, the ranking list for Dumfries follows the pattern of the other ranks with the factors relating to the simulacrum of urban and rural areas predominating over more traditionally tangible rural concerns (usually negative), which in turn predominate over issues of amenity and recreational provision which are not perceived as important in a choice of where to live, and the public and rented housing factors which are of concern to a decreasing proportion of the population and not presented as being as desirable as owning your own home.

7.2.7 Importance of factors in the choice of where to live : Newton Stewart, Creetown and Kirkcowan

The second study area in Dumfries and Galloway is that around the town of Newton Stewart in Wigtownshire, and corresponds mainly to the two villages of Creetown which is five miles east of Newton Stewart, and Kirkcowan which is a similar distance south.

The fact that the area has been popular with predominantly elderly incomers seeking a high quality of life, added to the homogenising effect on the collective perceptions that television, the mass media and advertising appears to have had, has resulted in the ranking of the list produced by the respondents from the Newton Stewart area correlating most highly with those produced by the respondents of Gairloch and Strathdon. However the correlations although all over 0.9 and significant to the 99% confidence level are not quite as strong as those between the ranking lists Gairloch and Strathdon, which reflects the geographical proximity of Newton Stewart to the study area, and the fact the 57% of the respondents are indigenous, which

Table 7.7
 NEWTON STEWART : RANK OF MEANS
 Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Safe For Children	4.64
2. Quality of Living Environment	4.54
2= Levels of Pollution	4.54
4. Friendliness of People	4.47
5. Pace of Life	4.46
5= Access to Health Care	4.46
7. Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.39
8. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.37
9. Community Spirit	4.25
10. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	4.20
11. Racial Harmony	4.00
12. Level of Services	3.98
12= Shopping Facilities	3.98
14. Local Education Provision	3.97
15. Place isn't Impersonal	3.94
16. Employment Prospects	3.89
17 Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	3.86
18. The Cost of Living	3.83
19. Wage Levels	3.80
20. Active Local Community	3.78
21. Convenience of Size	3.75
22. Quality of Housing in General	3.69
23. Amenity Provision	3.68
24. Travel to Work Time	3.60
25. Access to Other Important Places	3.39
26. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.38
27. Unemployment Levels	3.36
28. Leisure Facilities	3.28
29. Incentives for Economic Development	3.24
29= Access to Sports facilities	3.24
31. Public Transport service	3.07
32. Climate	3.05
33. Quality of Council Housing	2.78
34. Access to Council Housing	2.67
35. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.50

has produced a greater emphasis on local economic and social issues in the perceptions of the respondent group as a whole in comparison to most of the other study areas.

In the ranking list for the Newton Stewart area, the three factors relating to rented and council housing rather predictably occupy the bottom three places, although this is ironic, as Wigtownshire is an area which suffers from a chronic housing shortage for young people. At the top of the ranking list 'safety for children is ranked the most important factor in respondents' choice of where to live in rural Scotland, with 'quality of living environment' only second equal this time with a mean of 4.54 which is the same as that for 'pollution levels'. The factors relating to the popular simulacrum of rural life are again prominent with the 'friendliness of people' ranked as the factor which is fourth important, and the 'pace of life' fifth equal with means of 4.47 and 4.46 respectively, which suggest that they are rated as important. Strong 'community spirit' also ranked quite highly at ninth, while 'access to areas of scenic beauty' was ranked tenth with a mean of 4.20. 'Access to health care' is again perceived as being important in respondents' choice of where to live as is low 'violent' and 'non-violent crime' rates (ranked equal 5th, 7th and 8th respectively). 'Racial harmony' is ranked quite highly at eleventh, and this could either indicate conflict between locals and foreign incomers, or it could back up the findings of Harper (1991) with the result reflecting the perceptions of incomers who have moved from areas of England where there is high racial tensions. Ranked equal twelfth and thirteenth are the traditional rural concerns of the 'level of services', 'the shopping facilities' and the local 'education provision', while 'employment prospects' ranked fifteenth is still considered important in respondents' choice of where to live, which reflects the troubled economy of the Newton Stewart area, the high level of unemployment in the area, the lack of career opportunities for young people, and the high proportion of indigenous respondents in the sample.

The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is only ranked seventeenth in the list of what is important in respondents' perceptions, although a complaint in the area was that house prices had been pushed up in the area by incomers. This may be due to the influence of the respondents from Creetown, which has not been so heavily colonised by incomers, and correspondingly the cost of housing is not so high up in respondent's perceptions either. It could also reflect the relatively high proportion of council house dwellers in the sample. Correspondingly, the quality of housing in general is only ranked 22nd.

Towards the bottom of the ranking list the familiar factors relating to the leisure, recreation and amenity provision predominate as these are factors which people don't consider much if they have lived in an area for all of their lives, or consider after they have moved, and which don't figure in the

signifieds relating to the popular simulacrum of life in rural areas. Also, it is perhaps a reflection on the local bus service and the dependency of the population on cars when 'incentives for economic development' is ranked as a more important factor than the 'public transport provision' in respondents choice of where to live.

Therefore the ranking list for the area to the east and south of the market town of Newton Stewart follows a familiar pattern to those in the other sample areas, with any differences in the ranking of individual factors being due to the specific economic, migrational and social circumstances of the area.

7.2.8 Importance of Factors in the Choice of Where To Live : Moniaive

The final study area is again in Dumfriesshire. However, the area around Moniaive, Tynron and Penpont is more remote, more rural, and as the area is situated in the upper Nithsdale valley, more picturesque than the other two areas in Dumfries and Galloway. The agriculture within the area is a hill and stock farming, and Moniaive, the largest village (some 17 miles from Dumfries) is a relict agricultural village which has proved very popular with elderly couples wishing to retire to a more bucolic location, and a significant amount of gentrification has occurred within the village (See chapter 4.5.12). Penpont lies near the main Dumfries to Kilmarnock road and the small town of Thornhill is more of a conventional commuting and agricultural service village. Tynron is a very small hamlet which lies between the two bigger villages while the hill farms up the valleys of the Shinnel Water and Scar Water burns are very remote indeed.

The pattern of the ranking list of means for Moniaive is interesting in that it correlates very highly with those of Strathdon and Gairloch (correlations of 0.958 and 0.959 respectively). Indeed, all the correlations between study areas are significant to the 99% level, indicating the ranking for the respondents in these three areas in three different regions provide the highest correlations of all. This is perhaps because these are the three study areas which are the *remotest*, and which have been popular with incomers seeking a quality living environment, a higher quality of life, and a setting to play out their romanticised rural idyll. The upshot in respondent's rationalisations and justification when it comes to filling in the questionnaire, of a high number of incomers holding very strong simulacrums of the urban/rural dichotomy, joining remote communities (whose self perception of their difference is exaggerated by the incomers and reinforced by images in the media, and whose perceptions of urban life are also perhaps based on simulacrum rather

Table 7.8
 MONIAIVE: RANK OF MEANS
 Factors Important In Choice of Where to Live In Rural Scotland

FACTOR	MEAN
1. Quality of Living Environment	4.66
2. Levels of Pollution	4.42
3. Access to Health Care	4.41
4. Pace of Life	4.40
5. Safe For Children	4.28
6. Friendliness of People	4.19
7. Access to Area of Scenic Beauty	4.16
8. Local Violent Crime Rates	4.16
9= Cost of Owner Occupied Housing	4.12
9= Local Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.12
11. Community Spirit	4.02
12= Level of Services	4.00
12= Convenience of Size	4.00
14. Place isn't Impersonal	3.84
15. The Cost of Living	3.80
16. Shopping Facilities	3.74
17. Local Education Provision	3.68
18. Quality of Housing in General	3.63
19. Racial Harmony	3.61
20. Active Local Community	3.57
21. Climate	3.48
22. Wage Levels	3.45
23. Employment Prospects	3.40
24. Access to Other Important Places	3.39
25. Amenity Provision	3.38
26. Travel to Work Time	3.27
27. Places to go / Things to do in Spare Time	3.26
28. Public Transport service	3.16
29. Unemployment Levels	3.13
30. Access to Sports facilities	3.05
31. Leisure Facilities	2.92
32. Incentives for Economic Development	2.76
33. Cost of Private Rented Accommodation	2.73
34. Quality of Council Housing	2.34
35. Access to Council Housing	2.13

than reality), is likely to be a ranking list where the positive factors of rural areas and negative of urban predominate over more tangible traditional issues affecting rural areas. Also, with a high proportion of incomers in each of these areas, any *local* narrative is going to be submerged by the macro-interpretation of the sign held by the incomers from outside the *petite locale*

in the aggregate means of the factor for the area. Evidence for the *petite locale* may only come to light later on when the perceptions of those who have moved into an area are divorced from those who have stayed there all their life.

The top three positions in the ranking list are again filled by 'the 'quality of the living environment', the 'levels of pollution' and access to health care.' As was mentioned before, the 'Green' issue was an important concern in the media at the time that the questionnaire was administered, while the health care issue is one which always seems on the political agenda in the media, and this perception is highlighted in remote rural areas where provision is generally poorer, and people have to travel large distances to get treatment.

Therefore, it is of little surprise that these issues, which are topical and portrayed as being important in the hypereality of the media, constantly appear at the top of the respondents' rankings. Just below these the factors which are associated with a positive image of rural communities and a negative image of large cities dominate. The 'pace of life', remarkably enough, is ranked fourth in respondents perceptions of what is important in their choice of where to live, and this is perhaps a reflection of the popularity of the area with retiring people who are generally searching for a slower pace of life in order to live out their 'twilight years'. This is reflected as well in the fact that the 'friendliness of people' and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' are ranked very highly at sixth and seventh respectively.

Once again the personal security factors are considered important. 'Safe for children is ranked 5th, with a mean of 4.28, and 'violent and non-violent crime rates, are ranked 8th and 9th equal respectively in respondents perceptions of what is important in a choice of where to live. Also featuring prominently in the ranking list, and related to an idealised perception of village life, are 'community spirit which is ranked 11th, the 'convenience of size of the place' and whether a place is 'impersonal or not' which are ranked equal 12 and 14th respectively. Another consequence of an area being popular with incomers, particularly elderly incomers, is that some factors are ranked lower. For example, 'wage levels' and 'employment prospects', ranked 22nd and 23rd respectively, both fall below the 3.5 mean indicating that they are of limited importance in respondents' choice of where to live, reflecting that a significant proportion of the sample is not economically active. The influence of age in determining peoples perceptions will be investigated later on in Chapter 9.2.

'Access to other important places' and 'travel to work time' are only ranked 24th and 26th, perhaps unsurprisingly for an area which is quite remote from

major centres of economic production; and the leisure and recreational factors and 'public transport service' are once again not considered important in respondents' choice of where to live, as are 'amenity provision' (ranked 25th), 'unemployment levels' (ranked 29th) and incentives for economic development (ranked 32nd). The rented housing factors once again occupy the bottom three positions with means ranging from 2.73 to only 2.13 for 'access to council housing'. However, the private sector housing factors, although ranked much higher, are ranked lower than in Aberdeen, for example. The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 9th, while the 'quality of housing in general' is ranked 18th, below such 'traditional' rural 'concerns' as the 'level of services' (ranked 12th), 'the cost of living' (15th), 'shopping facilities' (16th), and the 'local education provision' which are all in the top half of the table reflecting the more isolated nature of Moniaive.

Therefore, Moniaive provides a familiar pattern in the ranking of variables considered important in respondents' choice of where to live. However, the pattern is more closely correlated to other remoter and more isolated study areas in different regions, where postmodern counterurbanisation dominates, and the influx of newcomers has exaggerated the performance of the factors relating to the negative simulacrum of urban life and, particularly, the positive simulacrum of the mythical rural idyll. Once again, more idiosyncratic local concerns, and the traditional negatively perceived problems of living in a rural environment are ranked as less important. Although there are slight differences in the rankings of individual factors in the perceptions of different areas, produced by the individual economic, functional, social, migrational circumstances of each area and the respective remoteness of the areas, which lends a little support to the locality theory, the ranks for all the areas are highly correlated suggesting either that Baudrillard's theories are refuted, or that respondents adopt the same images when presented with the questionnaire in order to rationalise what is important in their choice of where to live.

7.3.1 Summary and Conclusions

There was evidence in the different ways that certain individual factors were ranked and rated in different areas to suggest that there is a slight geographical element which conditions how important certain factors are in the quality of life of rural people, and this was a function of the economic, functional, migrational and locational geographies of the areas. However, overall, the ranking lists for all the eight sample areas in the three contrasting

regions are all highly correlated, with the factors which correspond to issues foremost in the media when the questionnaire was administered, such as the 'Green' issues and the 'Health service debate', predominating. Also factors which are rated as very important in respondents choice of where to live reflect the simulacrum of the rural idyll and the violent, anonymous, urban hell, as depicted on television, in the mass media, advertising and popular stereotype. These are ranked higher than factors which reflect the reality of life in rural areas, and the problems that can be associated with it but which may be only of critical importance to a certain - possibly minority section of the population.

Factors which are ranked relatively unimportant in respondents' perceptions are those of the provision of leisure and recreational provision, and amenity, which the indigenous population have grown up with and taken for granted, and whose lifestyles have evolved accordingly, and those which are only considered by most incomers after they have moved to the area. These factors are also not part of the urban/rural dichotomy. Generally ranked unimportant in respondents perceptions in the eight study areas are the public transport service, and the factors relating to private rented and council housing. This reflects both a declining bus service and a declining rural public housing stock in rural areas, and the contemporary focus on the free market ideals of owning one's own car and owning one's own house, and the lack of desirability of the public sector in providing for peoples needs.

However, it must be stressed that although these results appear to back up the postmodern theory about the perception of 'reality', and the conditioning influences which influence that perception, the results reflect merely the aggregate results for the different areas. The samples are made up of both incomers and locals, and therefore any strong evidence for the existence of Baudrillard's petite locales (Chapter 2.9.4) and the fragmentation of the interpretation of the Sign into local narratives may be obscured by the contamination of the responses of the indigenous population (in whom the local narrative is personified) by the hypothetically homogeneous perceptions of incomers, whose views are dominated by the simulacrum of the rural idyll rather than by the reality of country life. Therefore, any strong evidence for the support of Baudrillard's work may only become evident when the responses for each area are broken down into those for indigenously born people and incomers. This will be investigated in the next Chapter. Also, the sample is biased towards certain social groups, and the true extent of the applicability of Baudrillard's thesis in explaining respondents' perceptions of

their quality of life in rural Scotland will only become apparent when these are examined in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 8 : QUALITY OF LIFE ASSESSED BY MIGRATIONAL GROUPS

8.1.1 Introduction

The aims of this Chapter are to further examine the propositions concerning the differences in perceptions about what is important in respondents' choice of where to stay, in relation to the 'postmodern' theories about petites locales, and the influence of indirect or publicly derived images from influences such as television, advertising, literature and conversation, on the perceptions of (in particular, migrating) respondents.

The responses from the eight sample areas were broken down into two groups. Those who had been born locally including local incomers and return migrants. This will be taken as the 'indigenous' population. The second group were those who had moved into the area, the 'incoming' group. Obviously there are problems in taking such simple groupings. For example, some incomers may have moved in with their parents at an early age and spent most of their life in the study area and therefore will have been conditioned by many of the same forces as those respondents who have been born locally. Similarly, return migrants who were born locally may have been influenced much more in their time away than when they lived in the area originally. However, this study is constrained by time, and ultimately by length, and although a more sophisticated classification may have been possible, for the purposes of this research one must assume that the classification is adequate, and that the overall effect of any anomalous respondents will be minimal.

It may be argued that the 'postmodern' images of the quality of rural life in Scotland would be strongest in the respondents who have the least experience of it. Therefore, a second incomer group has been devolved from the responses of the incomers, those of *non-Scottish incomers*. This is also appropriate because much of the perceived conflict between incomers and locals (which could be the result of a differentiation in interpretation of the Sign as Baudrillard suggests) would seem to involve English incomers.

8.2.1 Gairloch and Loch Torridon: Respondent Perceptions Investigated By Migrational Group

The first study area is again the area in Wester Ross around Gairloch and Loch Torridon.

TABLE 8.1.
 GAIRLOCH & LOCH TORRIDON: RANKING LIST OF MEANS
 BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
 Factors important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

GAIRLOCH : BORN LOCALLY		INCOMERS		NON-SCOT		
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	R'k	Mn	R'k	Mn
1	Employment Prospects	4.67	21	3.31	22	3.17
2	Pollution Levels	4.63	2	4.71	2	4.7
3	Quality of Environment	4.53	1	4.78	1	4.74
4	Safe for Children	4.5	7	4.29	11	4.04
5	Access to Health Care	4.47	10	4.16	10	4.09
6	People are Friendly	4.4	8	4.26	8	4.22
6	Violent Crime Rates	4.4	3	4.52	5	4.36
8	Quality of Housing	4.32	13	3.9	13=	3.74
9	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.3	5	4.47	6	4.35
10	Pace of Life	4.25	6	4.35	7	4.30
11	Cost of Living	4.21	16=	3.59	13=	3.74
12	Community Spirit	4.16	11	4.14	9	4.13
12	Education Provision	4.16	18	3.56	20	3.30
12	Unemployment Levels	4.16	29	2.88	30=	2.65
15	Wage Levels	4.11	24	3.08	27	2.81
16	Travel to Work Time	4.05	25	3.04	32	2.5
17	Racial Harmony	4.00	16=	3.59	16	3.61
17	Shopping Facilities	4.00	19=	3.49	18	3.44
17	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	4.00	9	4.18	4	4.43
20	Scenic Beauty Access	3.95	4	4.49	3	4.44
20	Level of Services	3.95	15	3.67	17	3.56
22	Impersonal	3.94	12	4.00	12	3.91
23	Public Transport	3.84	30	2.86	28	2.74
24	Convenience of Size	3.79	14	3.75	15	3.73
25	Places to Go	3.68	26	3.00	25	2.87
26	Active Community	3.63	19=	3.49	19	3.39
26	Amenity Provision	3.63	22	3.25	21	3.26
28	Climate	3.58	25=	2.98	23	3.04
29	Economic Incentives	3.35	32	2.81	29	2.73
30	Access to Council Housing	3.32	35	1.83	34	1.48
31	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	3.22	33	2.06	32	1.82
32	Access to Sports Facil's	3.21	23	3.1	24	2.96
32	Access to other places	3.21	25=	2.98	26	2.86
34	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.16	34	1.90	35	1.35
35	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.05	31	2.84	30=	2.65

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; Mn = The mean rating of the factor
 Incomer= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

The first thing to note about Table 8.1 is the fact that there are far more factors which are valued as being 'important' or 'very important' in local respondents' choice of where to live in comparison to incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers. Twenty eight of the thirty five factors for respondents who were born in the Gairloch area are rated above the 3.5 mean watershed value (Chapter 7.1.1), while only eighteen of the factors are rated as important in the choice of where to live in the ranking list derived from the responses of those born outside the area, and only seventeen from those incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland. Also, in both the incomer respondents groups, three of the factors are actually rated as 'quite unimportant' or 'not at all important' in respondents choice of where to live (the cost of private rented housing, the quality of council housing and access to council housing are rated below the 2.5 watershed for both the ranks and the case of the non-Scottish incomers the 'quality of council housing has a mean of 1.35 which suggests that it is 'not at all important'), whereas in the case of the indigenous group all of the factors were rated 'of limited importance' in the choice of where to live. This *may* be related to a point which was raised in the repertory grid analysis Chapter (3.7.5), when it was suggested that incomers were better able to crystallize what was important in their quality of life because they had made a positive choice based on the information available to them, including their idealised images of rural areas and negative perceptions of urban life, and had made a migrational decision based upon these. Conversely people who had stayed in an area all their life and had little experience of living in other areas (or even wanting to) and found it harder to crystallize their ideas on rural quality of life. However, in that same study there were no differences between the migrational groups in terms of the numbers of factors elicited.

On closer inspection of the respective ranking lists there may be another and more compelling explanation for the Gairloch results. There are several factors which are ranked much higher in the rank for indigenous respondents than the corresponding one for incomers. 'Employment prospects' are rated as the most important factor in local peoples' choice of where to stay, whereas it is only ranked 21st by those respondents who have moved into the area, and 22nd by those incomers born outside Scotland. This can be explained by the fact that, as mentioned before, employment or the lack of it is a major concern to the local population of the West Highlands, as unemployment is traditionally high, job opportunities less prevalent than in more densely populated areas, and wage levels are correspondingly lower

than in urban and more industrialised areas. Incomers, however, would not rate employment prospects so highly because they would tend to be older, relatively affluent, more established in the job market if employed, and either moving in to take up a job, or start or take over the running of a business. As was seen in Chapter 6.4.1, very few of the in-migrants were in the youngest age groups and more likely to be affected by job opportunities or wage levels. Many are also moving into the area to retire, in which case they have no need of job prospects! This trend is reflected in the ranking of the factors for 'unemployment levels' which is rated 14th by locals in Gairloch, and 29th and 30th respectively by the incomer groups, and 'wage levels', which is rated 15th by the locals, 24th by incomers as a whole and 29th by those incomers born outside Scotland. As well as being *ranked* higher, these factors are correspondingly *rated* a lot higher. 'Employment prospects' are rated as very important with a mean of 4.67 out of 5 by indigenous respondents, compared to 3.31 by incomers and 3.17 by the 'non Caledonian' respondents. Similarly, 'unemployment levels' has a mean of 4.16 from the indigenous respondents and 'wage levels' 4.11, out of a possible maximum of 5, compared to the corresponding ratings of 2.88 and 2.65 for unemployment levels, and 3.08 and 2.81 for wage levels respectively.

Not only are what can be called 'local economic concerns' more strongly rated in the ranking list for the indigenous population, but factors which can be considered 'traditional concerns' of living in rural areas are also perceived as being more important in the choice of where to live by local respondents in comparison to incomers. 'Access to health care' is ranked 5th in the table of factors by the indigenous respondents in the Gairloch and Torridon area, while it is ranked 10th by both incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers. 'The cost of living' is ranked 11th by locals while it is ranked equal 16th and equal 13th by incomers. 'Travel to work time' is ranked 16th by the locals in comparison to twenty-fifth by those born outside the area and only thirty-first by those born outside Scotland. Another rural concern is the 'public transport service', ranked twenty third by local respondents, and with a mean of 3.84, it is still ranked as important in the choice of where to live. However, the 'public transport service' is ranked only 30th by the incomer group and 28th by non-Scottish incomers, and with means of merely 2.86 and 2.74 respectively, the factor is considered of limited importance in these respondents' choice of where to live.

As exemplified by the example of the public transport service, it is not only a case of these factors being ranked higher by the indigenous respondents

than the corresponding incomer groups, they are *rated* significantly higher as well. A conflicting story is found if the mean ratings of factors which are ranked higher by incomers than for by locals are examined. If the respective ranks are considered, 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 4th by the incomers, 3rd by the Non-Scottish incomers and only 20th by the local respondents. This is not surprising as the scenery in the study area, and access to it fulfils many incomers environmental criteria of their perceived rural idyll (See Chapter 2), while respondents who have been born and brought up in the area may take it more for granted. Correspondingly, 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is rated at 4.49 out of five by incomers as a whole, 4.44 by non-Scottish incomers, and 3.95 by the local respondents.

The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 9th by incomers and only 19th by local respondents. However, the respective mean ratings are more analogous - 4.18 vs 4.00 respectively - suggesting that although the factor is *ranked* much higher by incomers as a whole, it is *rated* almost as important by both groups of respondents. The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is actually *rated and ranked* much more important by those respondents born outside Scotland, which perhaps reflects the price differentiation that exists between comparable properties in the North West Highlands of Scotland and - particularly the South East of - England, and the capital advantage that English incomers have enabling them to purchase often larger properties in the area. Whether an area is 'impersonal' or not is ranked twelfth in importance in respondents' choice of where to live by both incomers in general and non-Scottish incomers, with means of 4.00 and 3.91 out of 5, respectively. The factor is ranked only 22nd by respondents who were born locally, but the mean rating is 3.94, which is comparable with the figures of 4.00 and 3.91 cited for the much higher ranking of incomers.

This pattern of the higher *ranking* by the incomer groups than in the indigenous group but with mean values which are broadly similar suggesting that they are *rated* as equally important in respondents' choice of where to live, is one which is repeated in the ranking for several other factors in the tables. The 'convenience of the size' of a place is ranked 14th by incomers and 15th by non-Scottish incomers in importance in a choice of where to stay, whereas it is only ranked as being 24th in importance by respondents who were born locally. However the corresponding ratings are much closer at 3.75, 3.73 and 3.79 respectively. The factor, therefore, although *rated* much lower by the indigenous respondents was actually *rated slightly higher*. Similarly 'access to sports facilities' is only ranked 32nd by the indigenous sample, but

the mean of 3.21 is greater than those of 3.1 and 2.96 in the two incomer groups, where the factor was ranked 23rd and 24th. The 'pace of life' is ranked 6th and 7th by incomers in general and non-Scottish incomers respectively, but the corresponding means of 4.35 and 4.3 are only fractionally higher than the mean for the locally born respondents whereas the factor is only ranked 10th in the table by locals.

The pattern where factors are ranked lower in the table for indigenous respondents in comparison to the incomer groups but actually rated higher is also found when 'local service provision', 'active local community', 'amenity provision' and 'access to leisure facilities' are examined ('services' ranked 21 (locals), 15th (incomers) & 17th (non-Scottish); means 3.95 (locals), 3.6 (incomers) & 3.56 (non-Scottish); 'active local community', rankings 26th (L), 19th (I) & 19th (N-S); means 3.63, 3.49 & 3.39 respectively; 'amenity provision', rankings 27th (L), 22nd (I) & 21st (N-S); means 3.63, 3.25 & 3.26 respectively; 'leisure facilities', rankings, 35th (L), 31st (I) & 30th (N-S); means 3.05, 2.84 & 2.65 respectively).

These results relate to the earlier point that local respondents considered more factors as being important in their choice of where to live than incomers.

Is it the case that the local respondents have less crystallised ideas about what is important in their quality of life so they tend to rate everything as being important in their choice of where to live, while in contrast, the responses from the incomer groups are rationalised to a greater extent so that only the factors which are important in respondents' perceptions *are* rated as important? This is a logical theory, but there was little evidence in the repertory grid analysis to suggest that indigenous subjects had any less clear ideas than incomers about what was important in differentiating places in terms of quality of life.

There *may* be something of this in the results, but if the ranking lists are examined closely an alternative explanation does present itself. In the rankings of incomers, the factors rated as very important are those associated with the postmodern *rural idyll* (Chapter 2.4.1). The environmental concerns are perceived as most important with 'quality of living environment', 'pollution levels' and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' dominating, with the negative urban signifieds of crime and children's security also ranking very highly. Also considered important in the ranking list for incomers are the factors related to the idealised view of village life such as the 'pace of life', the 'friendliness of the people', the 'community spirit', whether a place is 'impersonal' or not, and the 'convenience of the size'. General quality of life

concerns such as the 'access to health care', 'the quality of housing' and 'education provision' are also prominent, and these are also factors which are perceived as 'traditional' concerns of living in rural areas. The ranking of 'racial harmony' backs up the work of Sarah Harper (1991) who suggested that a perceived race problem was one reason why (predominantly white middle class) people move out from the city to rural area. As was mentioned before, the cost of housing was ranked highly by the incomers due to the capital advantage they enjoy moving in to rural areas from areas where prices are higher. Other factors such as the 'cost of living' and the 'level of service's are also factors which reflect the negative aspects of living in such a remote rural area which incomers may have discovered after moving in, but by and large the factors which dominate respondents' choice of where to live are those positive aspects of rural life depicted in the rural idyll, and those negative aspects of urban life that are prevalent in the critical simulacrum of city life. These are the factors which Forsythe (1982) exemplified in the urban/rural dichotomy (Section 2.3.4). An almost identical pattern is found in the ranking list for non-Scottish incomers, with the appeal of the Scottish scenery to the English being reflected in the fact that the environmental factors occupy the first three positions.

However, if the ranking list for indigenous respondents is studied it is noticeable that all the factors - those postmodern signifieds of the rural idyll and the urban hell - are all considered important by the local population, and with only one or two exceptions, the means are comparable as well. In the ranking list for respondents who were born within the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, the environmental factors all feature fairly strongly (with the exception of 'access to areas of scenic beauty' which was discussed earlier), as do the factors which reflect the negative simulacra of urban life, and to a lesser extent those which reflect the positive simulacrum of rural life. However, many more factors are also considered important in respondents' choice of where to live and these include the local economic concerns which have been discussed earlier. As well as the employment concerns (discussed earlier at length) other factors such as 'places to go and things to do', 'an active local community', 'amenity provision', and 'the climate' are rated as important by the local respondents, while correspondingly, these factors in the ranking lists for incomers and non-Scottish incomers fall short of the 3.5 'watershed' and are therefore rated only as 'of limited importance'.

The fact that the three rented housing factors are rated as quite unimportant in the choice of where to live by both incomers as a whole and

non-Scottish incomers, while they are rated 'of limited importance by those born locally reflects the fact that most of the incomers are buying houses when they move into the area, and therefore the availability and the quality of the public and private housing sector is of little or no concern to them whereas it may be more of a local concern to the indigenous population.

8.2.2 The Perception of Local Concerns by Indigenous Respondents

It would be fair to propose that the three ranking lists are essentially the same in structure, but in the ranking list for the indigenous respondents, factors which reflect *local concerns* are interspersed with the positive postmodern signifieds of rural life and the negative signifieds of urban life, and these local factors are absent in the ranking lists for the two incomer groups. As mentioned before, the concerns of employment and wage levels are indigenous to the West Highlands, as are the lack of a public transport service, the cost of living and the lack of amenities. These are not problems for the incomer group who - as was illustrated in Chapter 6.3.1 - are wealthier, mobile, generally in more affluent socio-occupational classes, have proportionally fewer young people (Chapter 6.4.1), are more likely to live in owner occupied housing, and who have offset the high cost of living and the the lack of amenities for a better living environment and the opportunity to move to what they perceive as their rural idyll. Also, the travel to work time is of little concern to retirees or the economically active who have moved to the area, perhaps to set up a business, whereas it is important to local people, who may often have to travel if they have a job in the building or construction industry. Furthermore, incomers have *chosen* to live in a remote area, so that the distance to health care, or the lack of things to do has been discounted in terms of importance in their quality of life, although it is more of a concern to locals. An active community is also more of a consideration to those who have lived their lives within a community rather than those who have moved into it and who may or may not have been accepted into it. Therefore, these local concerns are not part of a general simulacrum of rural and urban life which is peddled in advertising, literature and the mass media, which has passed into the collective consciousness, which make up the more important factors in the ranking lists for incomers and non-Scottish incomers, and which seem to form the 'reality' upon which the decision making process is based, thus adding further weight to the postmodern theory of the 'representation' dominating over reality.

There would appear to be an intertwining of two forms of explanation for the pattern which has emerged in the ranking lists for the respective migrational groups. There is the similarity in the rating of many of the factors due to the images held about urban and rural life apparently being shared by all sections of society, while for some of the the factors the objective social, cultural and economic circumstances of the different groups have resulted in significant differences in ranking and rating, especially in those factors which reflect the reality of indigenous life in a remote rural community. Therefore Table 8.1 for Gairloch and Loch Torridon would seem to provide support for both the importance of postmodern media images and signifieds in shaping peoples' perceptions of life, reality and what is important in their quality of life, and Baudrillard's (1988b) theories (See Chapter 2.9.4). In this case the indigenous respondents of the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area have included local concerns in their interpretation of the sign, which are reflected in their perceptions but which are not shared by incomers. These differences in perception, which is based on the local situation, and the fact that incomers' perceptions are free of local perceptions, could, as Baudrillard would suggest, form the basis for conflict.

The difference in perception of what is important in a choice of where to live is reflected in the Spearman's Rank correlation between the ranking list produced by the responses of the indigenous sample and the incomer group, and the indigenous sample and the non-Scottish incomer group. The correlations of 0.74 for the former and 0.672 for the latter, although significant to the 99% level suggesting that there are no significant differences between the ranking lists, are not as strong as the correlations between the ranking lists between places as a whole. This could be interpreted as suggesting that the same general perceptions are shared by all (those of the postmodern media driven signifieds), but that the relationships between incomers and indigenous samples are weaker, which may suggest some evidence about existence of local narratives in the interpretation of the Sign. However, this is merely an interpretation from a questionnaire study which can only investigate these theories tangentially, and the evidence is quite weak at best.

8.2.3 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Gairloch & Loch Torridon

Table 8.2 shows that four of the six factors ('employment', 'quality of life,' 'strong attachment' and 'family ties') are actually rated as important in indigenous respondents' reasons for remaining in the area while 'the quality

of life' and 'strong attachment' with means of 4.61 and 4.68 respectively, are rated as very important in keeping respondents in the area.

TABLE 8.2
GAIRLOCH & LOCH TORRIDON:
IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.39
Quality of Life	4.61
Strong Attachment	4.68
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.39
Family Ties	4.32
Inertia	3.24

This suggests that the indigenous respondents, despite the local economic concerns and the general rural concerns which are evident in their perceptions, *do* perceive that they have a high quality of life, while the fact that a strong attachment is rated as the most important factor in explaining why local people remain in the area illustrates the tremendous sense of community and identity that people who grow up in a remote, sparsely populated area are instilled with, and how in this case, this strong community spirit is a factor in keeping people in the area when economic opportunities are limited. There may also be a political element in these results. As has been illustrated in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2.11.2), when confronted with issues such as quality and way of life, indigenous people tend to draw on romantic and sentimental images of the way of life which are as much based on historical idealism as the images produced by incomers. Also, people who have lived in an area for most of their lives are unlikely to suggest about a place with which they have a strong attachment, that it does not have a high quality of life.

The strength of family ties is also important in keeping locals in the area, as is the fact that many of the respondents or their family have jobs in the area. Despite the fact that these people have lived in the area for most of their lives, inertia or the lack of opportunity to move does not seem to have been a factor in this. Inertia is rated of limited importance in keeping respondents in the area, while the mean for 'lack of opportunity' actually falls below the 2.5 watershed and is consequently rated as 'quite unimportant in keeping the respondents in the area.

8.2.4 Factors Which Have Attracted Respondents to Gairloch and Loch Torridon

The ranking lists also add weight to the argument that the positive simulacrum of rural life and the negative one of urban life actually influence people's decision making, as factors reflecting these simulacra dominate the perceptions of both incomer groups about what is important in a choice of where to live. This is exemplified in table 8.3, where the 'quality of life' is the only factor which is rated as 'very important' in the decision to move into the area for both incomers in general and non-Scottish incomers.

TABLE 8.3
GAIROLOCH AND LOCH TORRIDON:
IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	3.42	3.14
Cost of Living	2.44	2.48
Quality of Life	4.63	4.71
Family Reasons	2.70	2.73
Housing Availability	3.44	3.43
Lived there before	1.74	1.28

'Housing availability' was also rated of limited importance by both incomers and non-Scottish incomers, which reflects the capital advantage that incomers enjoy and the ease they have in purchasing a house, while 'employment' and 'family reasons' were similarly only rated as 'of limited importance'. 'Employment' in an area of relatively few economic opportunities is not an important reason for people moving into the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area, and migration to seek a better quality of life or an idyllic way of life in an attractive living environment, free from the perceived problems of urban life, is. Both incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers rated the 'cost of living' and having 'lived there before' as unimportant in their decision to move to the area while predictably non-Scottish incomers rated previous residence as being not at all important in their decision to migrate.

8.2.5 Gairloch and Loch Torridon : Conclusion

There is evidence to back up the initial theorising of the postmodern relationship between the way rural and urban areas are portrayed and perceived and the resulting influence on counterurbanisation (See chapter 2). However, the pattern for Gairloch and Loch Torridon may merely be an exception. If there was to be any evidence to support these theories it *would* be in Gairloch. The study area is very remote, very isolated, and very nucleated. It is an area experiencing problems of such isolation, and these would be uppermost in the perceptions of its native inhabitants. The area has traditionally been on the geographic periphery, community spirit is strong, the influence of the church is still strong, kin and community links are traditionally strong, the self perception of the community and the way of life is correspondingly strong, as is the sense of community and place felt by the locals. Many families can trace their ancestors back through many generations, so that the phenomenon of counterurbanisation to communities which have experienced centuries of depopulation is a new one to people whose local environment is one which has been portrayed to people elsewhere as representing a rural idyll. Therefore, if ever there was to be a study area where the phenomena of the existence of the petite locales which have evolved in isolation from urban centres, of communities whose perception of life would differ from incomers, and where there might be conflict then it would either be on an island, or in remote nucleated communities like Gairloch.

The question is, will these sorts of findings be replicated in other geographical areas which have different social, economic, demographic, or functional histories, which may be less geographically remote or nucleated, which have people moving into the area for different reasons, and which may not be so many people's idea of a rural idyll ?

8.3.1 Strathpeffer : Respondent Perceptions Investigated by Migrational Group

The next area to be examined is again that of Strathpeffer and Contin.

The ranking lists for the Strathpeffer and Contin area in Table 8.4 are quite similar to those in the sample area further West, but the contrast between the ranking lists for the indigenous respondents and the incomers as a whole is not as pronounced as may have been expected, while there is a greater contrast between the ranking list for all incomers and the ranking list for non-Scottish incomers. This may be due to the economic location of the area and

TABLE 84.
STRATHPEFFER: RANKING LIST OF MEANS BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
What's important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

STRATHPEFFER : BORN LOCALLY			INCOMERS		NON-SCOT	
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn
1	Safe for Children	4.52	7	4.4	10	4.29
2	Quality of Environment	4.48	1	4.64	1	4.71
3	Violent Crime Rates	4.43	5	4.49	8	4.36
4	Pollution Levels	4.40	2	4.61	1	4.71
5=	Access to Health Care	4.32	3	4.57	1	4.71
5=	People are Friendly	4.32	4	4.54	4	4.64
7	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.30	9	4.29	12	4.07
8	Travel to Work Time	4.27	20	3.65	23	3.15
9	Cost of Living	4.25	15	3.86	20	3.43
10	Employment Prospects	4.21	21	3.63	26	3.00
11	Community Spirit	4.20	9	4.29	8	4.36
12	Pace of Life	4.16	6	4.42	6	4.43
13	Wage Levels	4.09	28	3.29	32	2.29
14	Scenic Beauty Access	4.00	10	4.27	5	4.57
15=	Education Provision	3.96	23	3.58	25	3.07
15=	Level of Services	3.96	14	4.05	12	4.07
15=	Cost of (O.O)Housing	3.96	8	4.37	6	4.43
18	Quality of Housing	3.87	12	4.19	12	4.07
19	Unemployment Levels	3.83	30	3.24	29	2.50
20	Convenience of Size	3.77	15	4.05	11	4.21
21	Access to Sports Facil's	3.76	22	3.60	20	3.43
22	Shopping Facilities	3.75	13	4.12	15	3.86
23=	Access to other places	3.72	18	3.73	16	3.79
23=	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.72	27	3.35	28	2.86
23=	Amenity Provision	3.72	26	3.42	24	3.14
26	Active Community	3.61	25	3.55	19	3.57
27	Economic Incentives	3.48	31	3.05	30	2.43
28	Climate	3.46	19	3.72	22	3.29
29	Places to Go	3.40	29	3.27	26	3.00
30	Public Transport	3.39	32	3.00	30	2.43
31	Racial Harmony	3.36	17	3.77	18	3.71
32	Impersonal	3.30	23	3.58	17	3.75
33	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.24	34	2.51	35	1.50
34	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	3.19	33	2.51	32	2.29
35	Access to Council Housing	2.95	35	2.16	34	1.57

Rk = The Ranking of the factor; Mn = The mean rating of the factor
Incomer= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

the fact that incomers may be moving into the area for reasons other than those postulated for Gairloch. Gairloch has undergone postmodern counter-urbanisation of incomers moving over long distances in recent years, while Strathpeffer has been affected by much more regional job led in-migration, as well as a large amount of retirees and some 'postmodern' newcomers.

As was the case with the list for Gairloch and Loch Torridon, in the ranking list for *indigenous* respondents there are several factors which are ranked and rated significantly higher than in the ranking lists produced by incomers. Again, these are factors which can be explained as local concerns. 'Travel to work time' with a mean of 4.27 (out of 5) is ranked 8th by local respondents, while it is only ranked 20th by the incomer group as a whole and 23rd by those incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland (with means of 3.65 and 3.15 respectively). 'Employment prospects', although not ranked as the most important factor as it was in Gairloch, is ranked relatively highly at 10th, with a mean of 4.21 by locals, while with means of 3.63 and 3.00, and ranks of 21 and equal 26, the factor is ranked and rated much lower by all incomers and non-Scottish incomers. 'Wage levels' and 'unemployment levels' are ranked 13th and 19th respectively (with means of 4.09 and 3.83) by those respondents born within the Strathpeffer and Contin area, while in contrast they are only ranked 28th and 30th (with means of 3.29 and 3.24) by incomers in general and 32nd and 29th (with means of 2.29 and 2.5) by non-Scottish incomers. However, unlike the samples from Gairloch and Loch Torridon, the *local concerns* of 'travel to work time' and 'employment prospects' are actually rated as being important in in-migrants' choice of where to live by incomers.

If the 3.5 watershed is studied, it is interesting to note that almost as many factors are rated as being important for incomers as a whole as were for local respondents (26 vs 25), while there are noticeably fewer factors rated as important for in-migrants to Scotland (19). The number of factors rated as important by non-Scottish incomers is comparable with that from the non-Scottish incomers in Gairloch, where the number of factors considered important by non-Scots was closer to the number rated as important by the incomer group as a whole. This is perhaps because there is little job-led migration from elsewhere in Highland Region to Gairloch by respondents who may have a similar perspective on life as the locals, while this process is a lot more significant in Strathpeffer. Interestingly, as mentioned before, 'travel to work time' and 'employment prospects' were rated as important by all incomers but not 'wage levels' or 'unemployment levels'. This is a

reflection of the lack of young people in the incomer group for Strathpeffer. None of these factors were ranked above the 3.5 watershed by non-Scottish incomers, and correspondingly, none of them were rated as important in a choice of where to live. Given that the non-Scots figures make up a significant part of the sample group as a whole, then Scottish incomers must be responding in a considerably different manner to non-Scottish incomers. This may be due, as is indicated by the fact that the 'travel to work time' and 'employment prospects' are rated as important in a choice of where to live by the former, to part of the areas' function as a commuter area for Dingwall and Inverness (See Chapter 6). Inverness is the only settlement of significant size in the North-West and it is a major source of employment, as are the oil fabrication yards on the Moray Firth, while Dingwall itself is the administrative centre for Ross and Cromarty. It is thus likely that the Scottish incomers will include many respondents who have moved in, possibly from elsewhere in Ross and Cromarty or Highland Region, for employment purposes, and who perhaps live in the area because they managed to obtain a house. They would also share many of the local concerns about the cost of living which the local respondents hold. However, as was discussed in Chapter 6 and on the evidence of the ranking lists, it could be postulated that many non-Scottish incomers have moved in from England mainly for the perceived quality of life, although many may have visited the area on holiday before retiring, and the economically active element is not as significant in comparison to Gairloch and Loch Torridon. Many of the Scottish incomers on the other hand have moved in to work, to marry, or to get a house, and have a more realistic perception about life in the area.

There are other local concerns which are ranked and rated higher for the indigenous group than for all incomers and non-Scottish incomers. 'Safety for children' is actually ranked first by the indigenous group, and with a mean of 4.52 it is the only factor which is rated as being very important in local respondents' choice of where to stay. 'Safety for children' is also rated as 'important' by both incomer groups, ranked 7th and 10th with means of 4.4 and 4.21. 'However the higher ranking from the indigenous group is a reflection of the fact that young families, as was seen in Chapter 6.4, are under-represented amongst the incomer groups in the area. The cost of living', another rural concern (or even a regional concern), is ranked 9th by indigenous respondents, 15th by the incomers as a whole (with a mean of 3.86 making it important in respondents choice of where to live and), and 20th in the ranking list by those incomers born out with Scotland (with a mean of 3.43

which is under the 3.5 watershed and therefore not considered important in respondents choice of where to live). Similarly, 'Local Educational provision' is ranked 15th with a mean of 3.96, and similarly, although it is only ranked 23rd, it is still important in respondents choice of where to live (indicating a number of younger families who have moved into the area for work or moved out of Dingwall or Inverness). While it is comparably ranked 25th by those incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland, the mean of only 3.07 is indicative of a lack of young families with children of school age in the respondent group, consistent with the idea of an elderly retiring population who are moving in from outside Scotland for reasons of quality of life, and who have little interest in schooling, employment and wage concerns.

There are some factors which are ranked higher by the incomers in general than by the indigenous sample. Indeed four of the factors, although not ranked much higher, are actually rated as being 'very important' in respondents' choice of where to live 'The Quality of the living environment' is ranked 1st by the incomers, with a mean of 4.64, another environmental concern, 'pollution levels', has a mean of 4.61, 'access to health care' has a mean of 4.57, while the mean of 'people are friendly' is 4.54. Five factors are actually rated as very important in the respondents' choice of where to live by those who moved in from outside Scotland. The four mentioned above and 'access to areas of scenic beauty', the mean of which was 4.57.

The 'pace of life' is ranked sixth by both incomers and non-Scottish incomers, while it was only ranked as the 12th most important by indigenous respondents. The 'cost of owner occupied housing', as has been previously highlighted, is ranked only 16th by those respondents who were born locally. 'The quality of housing in general' is ranked 12th by the incomer group as a whole, equal 12th by non-Scottish incomers and 18th by the indigenous sample. While 'shopping facilities' is ranked 13th by the sample of incomers, and 15th by those who have moved in from outside Scotland, the factor is only ranked 22nd by those respondents who were born locally, and similarly the 'convenience of size is ranked 15th by incomers as a whole, 15th by non-Scots, and 22nd by local respondents. Perhaps the largest difference in ranking between the groups occurs for 'harmony between races', which is ranked 17th by the incomers group in general, 18th by the non-Scottish incomers and only 31st by the indigenous groups.

Whether a place is 'impersonal or not' is also only ranked 32nd by the local respondents and therefore with a mean of 3.3 considered not important in a person's choice of where to live. However with respective means of 3.58 and

3.75, and ranking lists of 23 and 17, the factor is considered important by the two incomer groups. However, unlike the corresponding pattern in Gairloch where there was little significant difference in the *ratings* of these factors, this is *not* the case for the respondent groups from Strathpeffer and Contin where the factors which are *ranked* higher by the incomer groups are *rated* higher as well. The reason for this may be that the area is significantly different in its nature than the study area in Wester Ross, and it serves a wider range of functions than the Gairloch area. For example, the Gairloch area would be unlikely to get people moving in from other parts of the Region for employment. Indeed, the area probably suffers from a net deficit of labour power, and there is little likelihood of people moving out from Dingwall or Inverness to commute either because the housing is cheaper or the environment is better. It would seem that for a majority of the incomers to the Gairloch area 'quality of life' considerations are uppermost. But these sort of reasons are found in Strathpeffer and Contin also.

A glance at the ranking list for non-Scottish incomers reveals that the ranking list is very polarised in its ratings. At the top is 'access to health care' which reflects both Findlay et al.'s (1988a) findings about British cities, and the number of English retirees who have moved to the area and their need to be near to health care as they get older. Although only nineteen of the factors are considered important in respondents choice of where to live, five of them are are considered very important. At the other end of the ranking list, sixteen of the factors fall below the 3.5 watershed, so they are considered of limited importance in respondents' perceptions, while six of them actually fall below the 2.5 watershed suggesting that they are quite unimportant. These factors, which are considered to be relatively unimportant in the choice of where to live in the perceptions' of respondents who have moved in from outside Scotland, include the local concerns of the 'cost of living', 'access to sports facilities', and those other employment and wage concerns described above. Also, being located near to two urban centres means that 'amenity provision' is not a concern, nor is access to recreational facilities, and the 'public transport service' is not a concern for any of the samples, suggesting that a better one exists than that further west. Rated as the least important in respondents perceptions with means of 2.29, 2.29, 1.57 and 1.5 respectively are the public and private rented housing factors, and 'wage levels', reflecting that the non-Scottish incomers are relatively wealthy owner -occupiers.

At the top of this ranking list, those factors which are considered important in respondents' choice of where to live are those, almost without exception,

which correspond to the postmodern images of the urban / rural dichotomy. The topical concern with the environment is reflected near the top of the ranking list, as are personal security factors, factors representing the positive aspects of rural life ('strong community spirit', 'convenience of size', whether 'people are friendly', whether a place is 'Impersonal' or not, and the need for an 'active community'), and 'harmony between the races' (which again reflects Sarah Harper's findings about the motivation behind some peoples desire to move out of the city). The 'cost of owner occupied housing', and the 'quality of housing in general' feature highly reflecting both the capital advantage of those choosing to move in from the South-East of England, and the opulent Victorian splendour of much of the housing in Strathpeffer. Therefore, it would be logical to suggest that the ranking list for the non-Scots respondents reflects the postmodern perception of rural life, and a desire to move over long distances to achieve that. This process has an element of postmodern counterurbanisation, as was illustrated in Chapter 6.10.3, but the evidence from the survey, especially on length of residence, suggests that this process, as a result of retirees being attracted to the Spa, has been operating for a number of years, unlike Gairloch where the process is a much more recent one. This is in tune with the incomer respondents from Gairloch.

The pattern for all incomers, the majority of which have moved in from elsewhere in Scotland, is more complex. The ranking list for incomers in general, as mentioned before, reflects both the postmodern positive images of rural areas and the negative aspects of urban areas, and to a lesser extent the local and rural concerns of employment, cost of living and education. The ranking list for the indigenous population is similar in many ways to the one for Gairloch in that it features both the popular simulacrum of rural living, while factors reflecting rural issues and regional problems are also strongly featured. This is reflected when the ranking lists are compared statistically. The correlation between the ranking list of indigenous respondents and all incomers for Strathpeffer is slightly stronger than the corresponding one for Gairloch and Loch Torridon (correlation of 0.793 versus 0.74), which reflects the fact that incomers to Strathpeffer on the whole have much more knowledge of the area than those postmodern counterurbanisers of Gairloch and Loch Torridon, so that their perceptions are closer to those of the locals, while the respective correlations between the ranking list for indigenous respondents and the ranking list of non-Scottish incomers are much weaker and almost identical for the two study areas (0.671 vs 0.672). The correlations

for the two incomer ranking lists correlate very highly but this is unsurprising as one ranking list is a part of the other one !

When the correlations for the respective ranking lists in the two different study areas are compared, it is found that the correlations are much stronger than those between the different groups in the same area. The correlation value between indigenous groups in the two different study areas, the two incomer groups in general, and the two non-Scottish incomer groups are 0.84 , 0.91 and 0.92 respectively, which are all significant at the 99% confidence level suggesting that there are no differences between the ranking lists which could not have occurred by chance. This may well be because the two study areas are found within the same administrative district, so that the regional problems are shared by and felt by both the indigenous populations, while incomers in both areas have been conditioned by the same mass media images and popular images of rural life. Certainly, the fact that the correlation between the two indigenous groups is the weakest of the three, while the one between the two non-Scottish incomer groups is the strongest, is significant. This adds further weight to the argument that in these postmodern times, reality as perceived by indigenous people is a mixture of local reality and popular postmodern images, while for incomers as a whole (many of whom have moved in for a house, to marry or for employment) perceptions of a place are based on a little shared knowledge of a place intermixed with postmodern imagery. For long distance non-Scottish incomers, reality is mainly formed from postmodern images and signifieds with little actual local knowledge. This is a little evidence to support Baudrillard's (1988b) theories on the conditioning influence of the mass media in shaping peoples perceptions and the emergence of local narratives in the interpretation of the Sign.

8.2.3 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Strathpeffer

The statistical correlations in the perceptions of what is important in a choice of where to live between the indigenous populations of Gairloch and Strathpeffer is shared in the perception of what has kept the local people in the area.

Table 8.5 compares very strongly with table 8.2 for Gairloch. A 'strong attachment' to the area and 'the quality of life' are once again perceived as being very important in keeping local people in the area, and in fact the ratings are even higher than the study areas in Wester Ross. This may reflect, especially in the rating of quality of life, that life in an area which is closer to

economic centres is slightly easier. Employment is rated as important, as are family ties, although the mean of 4.06 is less than the value of 4.32 in Gairloch which reflects the close kin ties in the remoter area. Inertia is even less important in keeping respondents in the area as it was in Gairloch, while the lack of opportunity to move is similarly rated as quite unimportant.

TABLE 8.5.
STRATHPEFFER : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN KEEPING
INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.47
Quality of Life	4.78
Strong Attachment	4.84
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.33
Family Ties	4.06
Inertia	2.94

3.3 Strathpeffer : Factors Which Attract People to the Area

The dual processes of in-migration for employment and quality of life are highlighted in table 8.6, where it can be seen that the 'quality of life' and 'housing availability' are rated as important in the decision to move into the area by both incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers.

TABLE 8.6
STRATHPEFFER : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN INCOMERS'
DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	3.67	2.60
Cost of Living	3.17	3.10
Quality of Life	4.44	4.90
Family Reasons	3.13	3.70
Housing Availability	3.88	3.80
Lived there before	1.92	2.00

However, the 'quality of life' is rated above the 4.5 watershed and therefore rated as 'very important' by non-Scottish incomers, whereas it is only rated as

'important' by all incomers, while 'employment' is rated as important by incomers in general but is only rated, with a mean of 2.6, 'of limited importance' by non-Scottish incomers (and which is only just above the 2.5 watershed which would rate it as quite unimportant). As the non-Scots make up almost half of the incomer respondent group, it is fair to assume that 'quality of life' factors are of paramount importance to the non-Scottish incomers and not so important to the incomers who were born in Scotland. Conversely, employment is much more important to the latter group and much less important to the elderly English incomers, which is again consistent with the picture of an area which serves the dual function of being attractive to elderly English people seeking to retire to their rural idyll and a commuter reservoir for people moving into the area from elsewhere in the region.

The fact that housing availability is rated as important' in the decision to move into the the Strathpeffer area while it is not in Gairloch reflects that house prices are higher in Easter Ross than they are in Wester Ross, there are more employment opportunities, and there is more competition for housing, due to the in-migration of people into the area for more than one reason. This is reflected in the rating of 'the cost of owner occupied housing' which is ranked 8th in importance by incomers as a whole and 8th by non-Scottish incomers.

Like Gairloch and Loch Torridon, the 'cost of living', 'family reasons' and whether the respondents have 'lived in the area before' are not considered important in incomers decision to move into the area.

8.3.4 Strathpeffer : Conclusion

In Gairloch ,where there was a clearly defined indigenous population and a defined group of postmodern newcomers, the results were relatively easy to interpret. The situation in Strathpeffer is complicated by the fact the the area is less remote, less nucleated, is within easy access of two urban settlements, and does not suffer the problems of isolation to the same degree as the sample group from Wester Ross. Indeed, the area undergoes a dual process of receiving many incomers from elsewhere in the Region, while many of the retirees who have travelled over long distances may have more knowledge of the area.

8.4.1 Aberdeenshire : Respondent Perceptions Investigated by Migrational Group

One would expect that the results from the third study area, the ribbon development and the relict agricultural villages to the west of Aberdeen, would provide different results from the first two study areas. The area is even more of a commuter reservoir than Strathpeffer, the population density is very high, the area has thrived economically through oil, and one would expect that the regional concerns that were apparent in Ross and Cromarty would be less evident in the perceptions of indigenous respondents. Although an 'out of town' location is a quality of life consideration, one would expect that images which reflect an idealised or mythical way of rural life would be less developed in the perceptions of incomers, who have either moved out from Aberdeen, or moved in to work in oil related industries and who are highly paid and searching for exclusive housing in this area. Fewer of the incomers, therefore, have moved to the area for purely quality of life reasons. Correspondingly, being closer to a major city, these factors would also be less developed in the responses of the indigenous group.

As many of the incomers have either moved out from Aberdeen or have chosen to live outside the city when moving into the area, it may be expected that those negative images which reflect the problems of urban life will be more strongly represented in all of the groups. Finally, as the study area is not at all remote, has developed almost as a part of suburban Aberdeen, and the lives of the respondents are orientated around and towards the city, it may be expected that kinship and community ties would be weaker, and most social ties would be made within the city so that even the indigenous population would be orientated towards Aberdeen. In contrast to Gairloch in particular the differences between the ranking and rating of individual factors should be much less pronounced with any evidence for Baudrillard's (1988b) theories of local narratives (Section 2.9.4 and *petite locales* being much less obvious).

If the Spearman's Rank correlations are examined then it can be observed that the correlation between the list for respondents who were born locally and the ranking list for the incomer group in general are very strong, (Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.90 which is significant at the 99% confidence levels) suggesting that the lists are practically identical. The correlation between the ranking list for the indigenous respondents and the respondents who moved in from outside Scotland, although not so strong, is

TABLE 8.7.

ABERDEENSHIRE : RANKING LIST OF MEANS BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
 What's important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

<u>ABERDEEN : BORN LOCALLY</u>		<u>INCOMERS</u>		<u>NON-SCOT</u>		
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn
1	Safe for Children	4.61	3	4.39	9	4.12
2	Pollution Levels	4.54	2	4.48	3=	4.29
3	Employment Prospects	4.52	12	3.96	14	3.88
4	Access to Health Care	4.47	6	4.28	6=	4.17
5	Violent Crime Rates	4.46	4	4.35	5	4.21
5	Quality of Environment	4.46	1	4.59	1	4.79
7	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	4.38	9	4.13	2	4.35
8	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.35	5	4.33	6=	4.17
9	Quality of Housing	4.3	11	3.99	13	3.96
10	Education Provision	4.23	19	3.78	24=	3.38
11	Travel to Work Time	4.13	13	3.95	10	4.08
12=	Pace of Life	4.09	8	4.21	6=	4.17
12=	People are Friendly	4.09	10	4.08	12	4.00
14	Wage Levels	4.00	22=	3.6	26=	3.33
15	Scenic Beauty Access	3.96	7	4.22	3	4.29
16=	Cost of Living	3.94	22=	3.60	22=	3.46
16=	Unemployment Levels	3.94	28=	3.34	29=	3.04
16=	Convenience of Size	3.94	17	3.90	18	3.67
19	Level of Services	3.93	14	3.94	15	3.79
20	Community Spirit	3.91	18	3.80	20	3.62
20	Shopping Facilities	3.91	15=	3.91	16	3.75
22	Access to other places	3.89	15=	3.91	17	3.71
23	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.83	25=	3.47	21	3.58
24	Racial Harmony	3.78	21	3.71	19	3.65
25	Impersonal	3.71	20	3.72	11	4.04
26	Access to Sports Facil's	3.67	25=	3.47	22=	3.46
27	Public Transport	3.64	31	3.20	32	2.79
28	Amenity Provision	3.56	24	3.53	28	3.21
29	Places to Go	3.54	27	3.37	26=	3.33
30	Economic Incentives	3.46	32	3.16	31	2.96
31	Active Community	3.42	28=	3.34	30	3.00
32	Climate	3.26	28=	3.34	24=	3.38
33	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	3.02	34	2.51	33	2.42
34	Qual'y of Council Housing	2.71	33	2.54	34	1.79
35	Access to Council Housing	2.53	35	2.18	35	1.46

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; Mn = The mean rating of the factor
 Incomer= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

still far more significant than the corresponding correlations for the two sample areas in Ross (correlation of 0.811). This supports the argument made above that there are fewer differences between the indigenous population and those of the incomers who have moved in to the area.

However, although the correlations between the indigenous groups and the respondents who have migrated in are, as expected, stronger than those for Gairloch and Strathpeffer, quite surprisingly if the ranks for the three respective migrational groups are compared between the three study areas, it is observed that the correlation *between* the three areas is very strong. This would tend to refute Baudrillard's hypothesis of local narratives materialising in respondents' perceptions. It has been shown that there is a strong relationship between the respective indigenous, incomer, and non-Scottish incomer groups but it was expected that Aberdeen would not demonstrate such a strong correlation with Ross and Cromarty. For the ranks of indigenous respondents, incomers in general and non-Scottish incomers, the Spearman's Rank correlations between Aberdeen and Gairloch are 0.88, 0.89 and 0.83 respectively, while between Aberdeen and Strathpeffer they are even stronger at 0.90, 0.92 and 0.87 respectively (the slightly stronger correlations perhaps reflect the commuter function of the two areas).

It seems, therefore, that for these three very contrasting study areas, there are more similarities between members of the same migratory groups in different areas than there are between different groups in the same area. This may be due, as was suggested earlier, to the fact that people who have lived in an area all their lives, regardless of where they live, share less crystallized ideas about what is important in their choice of where to live, and therefore not knowing what exactly is important in their choice of where to live they, tend to rank most things as important in the questionnaire. Correspondingly, those who have actually made a conscious decision to move have a better idea of why they moved and what was important and, more significantly, what is *not* important in their choice of where to live. This is especially true if they have been heavily influenced by the conditioning postmodern images of the urban/rural dichotomy (Section 2.3.4), and these images have been strong influences in their reason to move. This would explain the trend in the ranks whereby the local respondent groups in the three areas rate almost all of the factors as being important in their choice of where to live, while those with arguably the least experience of rural Scotland - the non-Scottish incomers - rate comparatively few as important.

Alternatively, it could well be the case that the migratory samples in the three different areas are made up of people in similar social circumstances. Indigenous groups may well be proportionally over represented by younger, less affluent, and less mobile council house dwellers, so that the responses will be dominated by employment and remuneration concerns, and to a lesser extent housing factors, as well as the stereotyped rural and urban images. The incomer, and especially the non-Scottish incomers, tend to be wealthier, more mobile and older, and therefore they have less material preoccupations to concern them. As Maslow (1954) has suggested, once their primary needs in life (including food, money and shelter) have been met their perceptions will be dominated by more aesthetic factors, and therefore the factors which describe popular simulacrum of the rural idyll will feature in their perceptions while the local economic and personal concerns will not. This will be examined at greater length later on in the next Chapter (9), when the respondents are broken down by demographic, occupational, and housing group to examine the influence that membership of these groups have on responses.

The upshot of this is that the rank for indigenous respondents to the west of Aberdeen is quite similar to those of Gairloch and Strathpeffer. The rank again has a large number of factors which are rated as important or very important in respondents choice of where to stay (29 vs 24 for all incomers and 21 for none-Scottish incomers). As was hypothesized earlier, the factors reflecting the negative aspects of city life *do* tend to predominate over those which reflect the positive images of rural life, but this predominance - as suggested by the strong correlation with the corresponding sample groups from other areas - are not as strong as may have been expected. 'Children's safety' (a preoccupation associated with life in the city) is rated 1st, and with a mean of 4.61 it is regarded as being very important in respondents' choices of where to live. The two crime factors are also ranked highly in equal 5th and 8th. The environmental concerns are again ranked highly. 'Pollution Levels' ranks 2nd, with a mean of 4.54, and the 'quality of the living environment' is ranked equal 5th. Other general quality of life concerns which are associated with urban living also feature highly in the indigenous ranks. The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 7th (with a mean of 4.38), the 'quality of housing in general' is ranked 9th, 'education provision' 10th, and 'travel to work time' 11th, the latter reflecting the areas importance as a commuter reservoir.

These urban factors are all ranked above those factors which describe the positive aspects of rural life. The 'friendliness of people' is ranked equal 12th, while the 'pace of life' is only ranked 13th. 'Access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 15th, the 'convenience of size' equal 16th, a 'strong community spirit' equal 20th and 'the place isn't impersonal' 25th.

Despite the strong correlation between the ranking list for the locally born respondents and the ranking lists of the responses of incomers and non-Scottish incomers, in the same vein as the respective ranking lists for Gairloch and Strathpeffer, there are individual factors which are ranked as more important in the indigenous respondent group than the two incomer groups. Once more, employment prospects, wage levels and unemployment levels, surprisingly, are ranked much higher by locals than by those migrating in to the area. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 9.2.1, this is because there is a lack of younger respondents in the incomer group, and younger respondents are more concerned about matters of employment and wages. 'Employment prospects' are ranked 3rd by locals, but only 12th by all incomers, and 14th by non-Scottish incomers. 'Wage levels' are ranked 14th, equal 22nd and equal 26th respectively, and 'Levels of Unemployment' is ranked equal 16th by locals and equal 28th and 29th by the two incomer groups. These, as was described earlier, are local economic concerns and the other 'traditional' rural concerns, 'education provision' and the 'cost of living' are also ranked higher by locals than by incomers (with ranking of 10 versus 19 & =24, and =16 vs =22nd and =22nd respectively for the three migratory groups.), although the cost of living reflects less of a traditional rural concern and more of the very high cost of living that residents of 'Boom Town' Aberdeen has had to endure.

Not only are these factors *ranked* higher but concurrent with the ranking list from Gairloch and Loch Torridon, the factors are also *rated* much higher as well. Similarly, the factors which are ranked higher by incomers than by the local population are not necessarily *rated* higher by the incoming respondents. For example, 'service provision', which is ranked 14th by incomers as a whole and 15th by non-Scottish incomers, is ranked only 19th by the indigenous respondents, while the three means are almost identical (3.93 versus 3.94 & 3.79 - the mean for non-Scottish incomers is actually lower than that for indigenous respondents). The same is true for the ranking lists for 'shopping facilities', 'access to other important places', whether a place is 'impersonal' or not and 'amenity provision'. However, there are exceptions to this trend. 'Access to areas of Scenic Beauty' is ranked 7th by incomers, 3rd by non-

Scottish incomers and only 15th by the indigenous respondents. The means in this example actually reflect this ranking (4.22 & 4.29 vs 3.96). The same is true of another environmental concern, the 'quality of living environment', and to a lesser extent the 'pace of Life' ('Environment' ranked equal 5th with a mean of (4.46) versus 1st, (4.59) & 1st, (4.79) ; 'Pace of Life' is ranked 12th with A mean of (4.09) versus 8th (4.21) & =6th (4.17)).

Both the ranking lists for all incomers and non-Scottish incomers for the Aberdeenshire area again have produced results which are dominated, as was expected, by factors which reflect quality of life concerns associated with the darker side of city life. Crime, personal security and environmental factors dominate the ranking list for incomers as a whole, while the the factors associated with the positive aspects of rural life, such as whether people are friendly and the existence of a strong community spirit, are not as prominent as they were in the ranking lists for the other two areas. General quality of life concerns are also rated as important by the all incomers and non-Scottish incomers. 'Access to health care' features strongly in the two ranking lists, and backing up the work of Findlay et al. in British cities, and reflecting the expensive house prices in cities in general and Aberdeen in particular, 'the cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked the second most important factor in the choice of where to live by those incomers who moved in from outside Scotland, while it was rated 9th important by incomers as a whole.

8.4.2 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Aberdeenshire

The similarity in the ranking lists formulated by the indigenous respondents from Aberdeen, Gairloch and Strathpeffer is reflected in the rating of factors about why they have stayed in the area.

TABLE 8.8
ABERDEENSHIRE : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN
KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS, IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.39
Quality of life	4.61
Strong Attachment	4.68
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.39
Family Ties	4.32
Inertia	3.24

Once again, 'employment', 'the quality of life', 'attachment to the area' and 'family ties' are rated as important in keeping respondents in an area, while 'inertia' is rated of limited importance, and the 'lack of opportunity to move' is rated as quite unimportant. However, unlike Gairloch and Strathpeffer, 'quality of life and 'attachment' are not rated as very important, while 'employment' and family ties are not rated as important in keeping respondents in an area as they were in Gairloch and Strathpeffer. This suggests an area where there is a less well developed sense of community and identity, where family and kin ties and attachment to the community have less of a hold on people, where jobs are more prevalent, and where the sense of a high 'quality of life' -perhaps due to the proximity of the city - is not so strong.

8.4.3 Factors Which Attracted Respondents to Aberdeenshire

The commuting function of the Aberdeen area is reflected in the fact that 'employment prospects' are rated as important by both incomers in general and non-Scottish incomers. However, although unemployment levels are not rated as important by either of the two incomer groups while it was by the local respondents, wage levels is rated as important in a choice of where to live by all incomers, while they are not by the non-Scottish incomers. This reflects the fact that Aberdeen is both a regional employment centre, in that it is drawing people in from all over the immediate region attracted by better paid jobs, and a national employment centre, as professionals from further afield move into the area who are either attracted by the job prospects or moved in through internal employment channels, the actual wage levels being of little concern.

This is reflected in Table 8.9. where it can be seen that the only two factors which were 'important' in peoples decision to move to the area were reasons of 'quality of life' and 'reasons of employment'. As may be expected the 'quality of life' is not rated as very important by incomers and non-Scottish incomers to Aberdeen, as it was in Gairloch and Strathpeffer, and the quality of life is even rated as less important by non-Scottish incomers in comparison to incomers as a whole. In contrast, employment factors are rated as more important by non-Scottish incomers than incomers in general, and employment is also rated as more important by the Aberdeen incomers than those in Ross. These results paint a picture of non-Scottish incomers who are moving into the area for employment rather than purely to seek a certain

idyllic way of life, although the rural setting for their urban orientated way of life is important.

TABLE 8.9
ABERDEENSHIRE : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN
INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	3.95	4.23
Cost of Living	2.87	2.28
Quality of Life	4.26	3.91
Family Reasons	3.20	2.73
Housing Availability	3.10	2.18
Lived there before	1.62	1.74

The capital advantage that English incomers enjoy, and the differentiation in house prices that exist between London and the South-East of England and even Aberdeen, which has an inflated housing market, and the decision of people to move for economic reasons rather than being able to buy a good house in an idyllic rural location, is reflected in that housing availability was of limited importance for incomers in the decision to move to the area, while it was 'quite unimportant' in the perceptions of non-Scottish incomers, as was the 'cost of living'. The 'cost of living' was rated as 'of limited importance' in the decision of all incomers to move to the area, as was 'family reasons' in the ratings of both the incomer groups. Whether or not respondents had 'lived in the area before' was again rated 'quite unimportant' by both incomer groups.

8.4.4 Aberdeenshire : Conclusion

The ranking lists produced by the migrational groups from the study area to the West of Aberdeen are more closely grouped than those from the two previous study areas. This is unsurprising as the perceptions of the respondents of all three groups are dominated by the proximity of Aberdeen, and there are few incomers moving in who have travelled over long distances and who picture the area as their rural idyll.

8.5.1 Cuminstown and Turriff : Respondent Perceptions Investigated by Migrational Group

TABLE 8.10.

CUMINESTOWN & TURRIFF : RANKING LIST OF MEANS BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
What is important in the choice of where to live in rural Scotland

<u>TURRIFF : BORN LOCALLY</u>			<u>INCOMERS</u>		<u>NON-SCOT</u>	
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn
1	Access to Health Care	4.59	3	4.36	10=	4.00
2	Safe for Children	4.50	2	4.41	19=	3.73
3	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	4.44	8	4.28	2	4.44
4=	Violent Crime Rates	4.42	9	4.18	10=	4.00
4=	Cost of Living	4.42	21	3.67	15=	3.90
6	People are Friendly	4.39	7	4.29	6	4.18
7	Employment Prospects	4.34	15	3.92	8=	4.09
8=	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.33	4=	4.35	7	4.10
8=	Level of Services	4.33	11=	4.00	8=	4.09
10=	Pace of Life	4.29	6	4.33	1	4.50
10=	Shopping Facilities	4.29	16	3.86	14	3.91
10=	Pollution Levels	4.29	4=	4.35	5	4.20
13	Quality of Environment	4.27	1	4.57	3	4.36
14	Unemployment Levels	4.19	25=	3.33	24=	3.20
15	Quality of Housing	4.17	13	3.96	18	3.80
16	Wage Levels	4.05	17	3.81	15=	3.90
17	Community Spirit	4.04	10	4.04	15=	3.90
18	Convenience of Size	3.96	14	3.93	19=	3.73
19	Impersonal	3.95	19	3.78	10=	4.00
20	Travel to Work Time	3.93	22	3.41	22	3.60
21	Education Provision	3.88	18	3.79	23	3.27
22	Amenity Provision	3.77	23	3.38	28	3.10
23	Scenic Beauty Access	3.67	11=	4.00	4	4.33
24	Active Community	3.59	25=	3.33	24=	3.20
25	Access to other places	3.57	20	3.77	10=	4.00
26=	Racial Harmony	3.56	27	3.28	24=	3.20
26=	Climate	3.56	29	3.12	31	2.78
28	Public Transport	3.50	32	2.63	33	2.70
29	Places to Go	3.40	24	3.37	20	3.70
30	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.38	35	2.20	35	1.91
31	Access to Sports Facil's	3.37	30	3.11	30	2.90
32	Economic Incentives	3.34	31	3.00	32	2.75
32	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	3.34	34	2.28	24=	3.20
34	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.21	28	3.19	29	3.00
35	Access to Council Housing	2.68	33	2.42	34	2.44

Rk = The Ranking of the factor; Mn = The mean rating of the factor
Incomer = all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

The fourth study area is dissimilar to the three studied so far. The area to the east of Turriff around the village of Cuminestown is dominated by agriculture and has not attracted incomers for the beauty of the living environment. The communities are close knit and very proud of what they perceive as a unique and distinctive Buchan culture. Although the respondent sample is again broken into two groups with a population ratio of 2 to 1, the respondents who can be termed indigenous in this case hold the majority. Additionally, this also has the lowest proportion of non-Scottish incomers, some 15%, or 39% of all incomers. The low proportion of incomers reflects the fact that unlike Aberdeen and to a lesser extent Strathpeffer, the area is not a commuting reservoir for a major regional employment centre, and unlike Gairloch, the area has not proven to be attractive for migrants seeking a higher quality of life in the form of a perceived rural idyll.

The ranking lists for the study area to the East of Turriff once again demonstrates a pattern which has become familiar throughout the study areas examined so far. Again the indigenous respondents have ranked more factors above the 3.5 watershed than incomers or non-Scottish incomers, suggesting that the factors are important in respondents' choices of where to live (28 vs 21 & 22). Once again the extra factors which are ranked as important are those which can be defined as local concerns. Comparing strongly with the ranking lists for Gairloch and Aberdeen, the factors which are ranked higher by the indigenous respondents, in comparison to the incomer groups, also possess higher means suggesting that they are considered more important in the choice of where to live. The similarity to the ranking lists for Gairloch and Aberdeen extends to the fact that the factors which are ranked higher by the incomer groups are not in general rated any higher in importance in comparison to the perceptions of the indigenous respondents. It is merely the case that the indigenous group has ranked more factors as important and generally rated most factors more important than the incomer groups.

Although analogous with other study areas in that local concerns are rated as important alongside factors which manifest the post modern signifieds of the rural idyll and the urban hell, and general quality of life concerns such as health and housing, the interesting point about the ranking list for respondents who were born locally in the Turriff area is the way that the local concerns dominate in that they are rated amongst the *most important* in respondents' choice of where to live. The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 3rd by the indigenous respondents, while the 'cost of living' is ranked 4th. These factors have means of 4.44 and 4.42 respectively. The fact that

'people are friendly', ranked 6th, is considered important in local respondents choice of where to live perhaps reflects the tight knit social fabric of the area, and even the lack of incomers. Concerns traditionally associated with rural areas are reflected in the ranking of 'service provision' ranked equal 8th in importance in a choice of where to live, 'shopping facilities' ranked 10th, and 'unemployment levels' which is ranked 14th. These factors are all ranked and rated higher by the indigenous respondents than all incomers and by incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland. The exception is 'employment prospects' which was ranked equal 8th by the latter respondent group.

Even towards the lower part of the ranking listing list, the 'quality of council housing and the cost of private rented housing are ranked 30th and equal 31st which is higher than they they have been in other study areas. This fact, along with the lack of incomers in the area, suggests that there are reasons other than the search for a rural idyll and a better quality of life which is attracting incomers into this study area.

An interesting point about the ranking list for the respondents who were born locally is the comparatively low ranking of the factors which can be associated with the idealised image of life in rural areas (with the exception of 'the friendliness of people'), and in particular the low ranking of the environmental factors. 'Pollution levels' is ranked equal 10th, 'quality of living environment' 13th, and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 23rd (with means of 4.29, 4.27 and 3.67 respectively). Also the 'pace of life' is ranked equal 10th, 'strong community spirit' is ranked 17th, 'convenience of size, 18th, and whether a place is 'impersonal' 19th. Some of the explanation for this pattern can be accounted for by the fact that in times of economic problems, local concerns are going to be foremost in the perceptions of the indigenous respondents rather than idealised images of rural life or trendy "Green" images, and a significant proportion of the respondents are directly employed in the troubled agricultural sector.

The factors which reflect the negative images of urban areas continue to be ranked highly by the sample of indigenous respondents. These seem to be rated as important by all the respondent groups. The 'safety of children' is ranked 2nd, 'violent crime rates is ranked 5th important in respondents choice of where to stay, and non-violent crime ranks equal 8th. While these rankings, which reflect the negative signifieds or urban life, generally compare with those of the incomer groups (Safe for children is ranked 2nd by locals (mean 4.5) versus 2nd equal and 19th respectively by all incomers (mean 4.41) and

non-Scottish incomers (mean 3.73); 'violent crime', 5th (mean 4.42) vs 9th (4.18) & equal 10th (4.00), non-violent crime equal 8th (mean 4.33) vs equal 4th (4.35) & 7th (4.1) and 'friendliness of people', ranked 6th (mean 4.39) vs 7th (4.29) & 6th (4.18), the environmental factors in particular are considered much less important in indigenous respondents' choice of where to live than in the perceptions of all incomers and non-Scottish incomers. As was mentioned before 'pollution levels' is ranked equal 11th by locals, while it is ranked equal 4th by incomers, and 5th important by non-Scottish incomers in their choice of where to live. The 'quality of the living environment' is ranked 13th by local respondents, while it is ranked 1st and 3rd respectively by the two incomer groups. Thirdly, 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 23rd important by the locals, while it is ranked as more significant in the choice of where to live by incomers (equal 11th) and non-Scottish incomers (4th). These environmental factors as well as being ranked as more important in the choice of where to live by the incomers in comparison to the indigenous respondents are also *rated* as more important by the in-migrants as well. However, when considering the other factors which reflect the positive simulacrum of rural life, and which are were ranked as relatively unimportant by the indigenous respondents, it is noticeable that although some of factors are *ranked* as less significant in comparison to the incomer groups, the factors are generally *rated* almost as important in the respondents' perceptions.

The reasons for this pattern may well reflect the recent economic fortunes of the area. Agriculture in the North-East of Scotland went through a bad spell in the mid to late 1980s (this has been outlined in section 7.2.4). Therefore, although the local people and the incomers alike watch the same television, read the same papers, and are under broadly similar external conditioning influences, and both groups share the same negative perceptions about life in urban areas (these are reflected at the top of the ranking list), and although the positive aspects of living in rural areas are rated as equally significant in the perceptions in all the group, the realities of living in an economically depressed area is reflected in the ranking list for the local population, where the local concerns of services, shops, house prices and, most importantly, employment are ranked and rated as much more important in one's choice of where to live than utopian images of what life is supposed to be like in the country. Correspondingly, whereas as the topical environmental concerns feature strongly in the incomers' perceptions about what is important in their choice of where to live, the area is not particularly attractive in comparison to other parts of Scotland, the scenery is

unexceptional and this is reflected both by the lack of incomers in comparison to the other study areas, and by the perceptions of the local people. While low 'pollution levels' may be ideal in a perfect world, in the perception of farmers and farming communities, who have been often attacked for their environmental record, low pollution levels and an attractive environment are less of a concern than economic well being. This reflects the work of Maslow(1954), the lowest end being dominated by the needs for survival and economic well being and once these are satisfied then more *utopian* wants become more important in one's perceptions the higher one's socio-economic group.

Despite the differences between the perceptions of the local population and those of the incomers, the correlation between the ranking lists for the indigenous respondents and the ranking lists for incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers, although not as strong as those found in Aberdeen, are stronger than the corresponding ones for Gairloch and Strathpeffer. This suggests that like Aberdeen the incomers are moving in for employment or reasons other than to seek a better living environment and a higher quality of life. This is reflected in the fact that the correlation between the incomers of Aberdeen and the incomers of Turriff with a Spearman's Rank value of 0.94 (significant at the 99% confidence level) is the strongest correlation so far, and although the correlations between the study areas of Turriff and Aberdeen for incomers and non-Scottish incomers are again the strongest, the correlations are only marginally stronger than the those involving the respective ranking lists for Gairloch and Strathpeffer, and all the correlations are significant.

The incomer ranking list for Cuminstown and Turriff again bears a similarity to those discussed earlier. Fewer factors are found above the 3.5 watershed than in the ranking list for local respondents, and the three public and rented housing factors are even rated below the 2.5 watershed which suggests that they are of little importance. Once again in the ranking list for incomers as a whole, factors are not rated any higher than the corresponding factors in the indigenous ranking list (apart from those environmental ones discussed earlier), and due to the fact that more factors were rated as important by the local respondents, some factors are actually have lower values, although the ranking of the factors is similar between the two ranking lists. At the top of the ranking list, it is again the factors reflecting the positive and negative significeds of rural and urban life, as well as the general quality of life concerns, such as 'access to health care' (which is ranked 3rd), and the 'cost' and 'quality of housing' which are ranked 8th and 13th respectively,

which dominate, while the local rural economic concerns which are upmost in the perceptions of the indigenous respondents are neither ranked nor rated as highly by the incomer group as a whole. It is the same in the perceptions of non-Scottish incomers where the popular, media conditioned images of urban and rural life are even more concentrated at the top of the ranking list, suggesting that they are important in respondents choice of where to live as is suggested by the rating of 'quality of life' in table 8.11, although anomalously 'employment prospects' (8th) is ranked at the top of the list.

8.5.2 Factors Which Keep Indigenous Respondents in Cuminstown & Turriff

TABLE 8.11
CUMINESTOWN & TURRIFF : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN
KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS, IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.31
Quality of life	4.57
Strong Attachment	4.37
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.41
Family Ties	4.15
Inertia	3.88

Despite the economic problems of the area, the 'quality of life' is still considered 'very important' in keeping the respondents in the area. This is in line with the ratings from Gairloch and Strathpeffer, which is not surprising because the local people are very proud of what they consider to be a unique culture and way of life. Surprisingly, however, although 'attachment to the area' is considered important in keeping respondents in the area, it is not, as was the case in the two response groups in Ross and Cromarty, considered very important. This is perhaps a reflection on the fact that although the people are very proud of their culture, to actually define "the area" is a harder task in the large expanse of agricultural land that makes up Banff and Buchan than in the isolated, small nucleated communities that are found in the Highlands. In the Turriff area, employment, family ties and inertia are also important in keeping people in the area and once again the lack of opportunity to move is rated as quite unimportant.

8.5.3 Factors Which Have Attracted Incomers to Cuminestown & Turriff

Table 8.12 shows the importance of factors in the decision to move into the area. Like the Aberdeen responses, 'employment' and 'quality of life' concerns are rated as important by incomers as a whole, whereas 'housing availability' is only rated as 'of limited importance'. As was mentioned above, this suggests that a number of people have moved in to the area in search of employment, but that this number is not so large as in Aberdeen due to the fact that Turriff is a market town and not a major employment centre. It can be seen in the ratings of the non-Scottish incomers that there are some incomers who have moved in to seek a better quality of life, as this is rated as very important. This is backed up by the fact that 'employment' is only rated as 'of limited importance' by the non-Scottish respondents, while 'housing availability' is rated as important as are 'family reasons'. It would seem then that there are some of the same processes happening around Turriff as were present in the Strathpeffer, but after considering the population breakdown of the respondent groups with incomers constituting 64.1% of the sample and non-Scottish 20% in Strathpeffer, as against 38.4% and 15.1% respectively in Turriff and Contin, the degree to which the processes are operating in an area which is not near centres of economic activity or which is attractive physically is not nearly as great.

TABLE 8.12
CUMINESTOWN & TURRIFF : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN
INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	3.95	4.23
Cost of Living	2.87	2.28
Quality of Life	4.26	3.91
Family Reasons	3.20	2.73
Housing Availability	3.10	2.18
Lived there before	1.62	1.74

8.5.4 Cuminestown and Turriff : Conclusion

Although in other study areas local concerns are rated as important alongside factors which reflect the urban/rural dichotomy, and general quality of life concerns such as health and housing, in the perceptions of respondents who were born locally in the Turriff area local concerns dominate in that they are rated amongst the *most important* in respondents

choice of where to live. The perceptions of the incomers again reflect the pattern in other areas where these factors of the rural idyll and urban hell are ranked and rated as the most important.

8.6.1 Strathdon and Glenbuchat: Respondent Perceptions Investigated by Migrational Group

Although the first two study areas within Grampian Region have enjoyed fewer incomers who have moved into the area in order to seek a higher quality of life or to live out a rural idyll, it would be expected that the third area, Strathdon and Glenbuchat, would provide a contrast between the first two. As was seen in Chapter 6, the dual processes of depopulation and counterurbanisation for reasons of quality of life are strong demographic influences in the area. However, the results from the Strathdon/ Glenbuchat area must be treated with some caution, because although a 50% response rate was obtained from the sample it must be borne in mind that due to the low population of the study area this only amounts to 37 respondents.

The ranking list for the indigenous respondent group again presents perceptions which are not dissimilar to those found amongst the local respondents in the other study groups thus commented on. Again, factors which may be interpreted as local concerns are ranked as significant in the choice of where to live. 'The cost of housing' is a concern to local people who have to compete in the same housing market as often wealthier incomers who are older, better paid, and have greater access to capital. This is reflected in the rankings where it is ranked 4th with a mean of 4.64, while the factor is only ranked 15th in importance by incomers in general, although it is ranked 8th important by non-Scottish incomers, suggesting that the capital advantage non-Scottish incomers enjoy, and the high cost of housing in England means that the cost of buying a house in this area is rather less of a concern and more of an incentive for moving to the area. 'Employment prospects' is ranked 11th, while 'travel to work time' is ranked 12th, reflecting the remoteness of the area and the absence of employment for those not employed in agriculture. The 'cost of private rented accommodation' is ranked 13th by local respondents, which exemplifies the importance of rented accommodation in the area noted in both Chapter 5 and 6, while it is only ranked 32nd by incomers, and equal 33rd in a ranking list of 35 factors by those respondents who were born outside the area, and those who moved in from outside Scotland, respectively. 'Wage levels' is also ranked relatively highly by the local respondents in comparison to the incomers (18th versus 24th &

TABLE 8.13.
 STRATHDON & GLENBUCHAT : RANKING LIST OF MEANS BY
 MIGRATIONAL GROUP
 What's important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

<u>STRATHDON: BORN LOCALLY</u>			<u>INCOMERS</u>		<u>NON-SCOT</u>	
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn
1	Safe for Children	4.81	5	4.32	18	3.88
2	People are Friendly	4.75	3=	4.68	6	4.62
3	Quality of Environment	4.73	1	4.89	1=	4.88
4	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	4.64	15	4.06	8	4.29
5=	Pollution Levels	4.57	2	4.84	3=	4.75
5=	Violent Crime Rates	4.57	7	4.39	9=	4.25
7	Pace of Life	4.56	3=	4.68	1=	4.88
8=	Community Spirit	4.50	6	4.47	9=	4.25
8=	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.50	9	4.28	9=	4.25
10	Access to Health Care	4.44	12	4.21	12=	4.12
11	Employment Prospects	4.43	26	3.16	28=	3.12
12	Travel to Work Time	4.33	27	3.11	19	3.86
13	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	4.31	32	2.68	33=	2.25
14	Quality of Housing	4.29	16	4.00	12=	4.14
15=	Cost of Living	4.27	13	4.16	12=	4.12
15=	Scenic Beauty Access	4.27	5	4.63	3=	4.75
17	Convenience of Size	4.25	10	4.26	3=	4.75
18	Wage Levels	4.14	24	3.32	24=	3.38
19	Active Community	4.12	17=	3.90	12=	4.12
20	Education Provision	4.12	17=	3.90	23	3.50
21	Unemployment Levels	4.08	35	2.12	33=	2.25
22	Level of Services	4.00	19=	3.79	20=	3.75
23	Shopping Facilities	3.94	21	3.58	20=	3.75
24	Amenity Provision	3.75	22=	3.53	24=	3.38
25	Racial Harmony	3.69	14	4.12	12=	4.14
26	Access to other places	3.67	28	2.95	30	2.88
27	Climate	3.47	19=	3.79	19	4.00
28	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.42	33	2.53	32	2.60
29	Impersonal	3.38	11	4.22	7	4.38
30	Economic Incentives	3.15	31	2.78	24=	3.38
31	Public Transport	3.14	25	3.21	24=	3.38
32	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.06	29	2.90	31	2.75
32	Access to Sports Facil's	3.06	30	2.84	28=	3.12
34	Places to Go	3.00	22=	3.53	22	3.62
35	Access to Council Housing	2.64	34	2.18	35	2.00

Rk = The Ranking of the factor; Mn = The mean rating of the factor
 Incomers= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

equal 24th) in an area where agricultural remuneration is traditionally low, and correspondingly 'unemployment levels' is ranked 21st by those born within within or close to the study area, while the factor is ranked last and equal second last in importance in a choice of where to live by the two incomer groups. 'Unemployment levels' are therefore of no concern to economically active incomers, who have moved in either to take up employment or to set up their own business.

Unlike Turriff where the local concerns predominated over other 'utopian' signifieds of rural quality of life in the perceptions' of the local respondents, the opposite is true of the perceptions' of the respondents from Strathdon and Glenbuchat. Indeed, eight of the nine factors which are considered very important by the local respondents of the area can be considered factors which reflect positive images of rural areas, and negative images of urban areas. The 'friendliness of people', the 'pace of life' and a 'strong community spirit' (equal 8th) are factors which indicate positive aspects of rural life, while 'children's safety', 'violent crime rates' and 'non-violent crime rates' are factors which are commonly associated with the negative side of living in a city. It must be noted, however, that as well as being positive signifieds of rural life, factors such as a strong community spirit, the pace of life and the friendliness of the people are also *local concerns* amongst tight knit rural communities. Also, like Gairloch, in a remote rural area such as this, the strength of community spirit and the importance of the sense of place and identity is such that the self perception of one's own quality of life is reinforced.

The fact that these factors are ranked above economic concerns in contrast to the corresponding ranking list in Turriff perhaps reflects both the fact that the indigenous population have had to undergo less extreme agricultural economic fluctuations, so that factors which reflect local community well-being such as the 'level of services' and 'shopping facilities' are perceived as being less important in Strathdon than in Turriff, and also the ranking list reflects the upland mountainous, remote, nucleated and often beautiful geography of the area (as against the flat monotonous agricultural densely populated farming land near Turriff), which is many peoples' perception of a rural idyll. This is reflected in the ranking of the environmental factors which are ranked and rated as relatively unimportant in a choice of where to live by local respondents in Turriff, but in Strathdon 'the quality of the living environment is ranked 3rd, and 'pollution levels' which is again a negative facet of urban area as well as a topical green factor, is ranked equal 5th in

respondents' choice of where to live. 'Access to areas of scenic beauty' may only be ranked 15th by local respondents, while it is ranked 5th and equal 3rd in importance in a choice of where to live by all incomers and non-Scottish incomers respectively, but this, as was suggested earlier about local respondents from Gairloch, may be because that as the respondents actually live in an area of scenic beauty which they may take it for granted, and therefore it is not uppermost in their perceptions, while for incomers moving in to the area from a city, it may have been one of the primary motives for migrating.

This difference in geography and economic fortunes, which seems to have differentiated the indigenous perceptions of the local respondent of Turriff and Strathdon, has resulted in the correlation between them being lower (Spearman's ranking list correlation of 0.63) than those between the ranking lists for Strathdon and Gairloch, Strathpeffer and Aberdeen respectively (Spearman's ranking lists of 0.83, 0.8 & 0.83 respectively).

There are 26 factors which are ranked above the 3.5 mean watershed and are therefore considered important by the indigenous respondents of Strathdon and Glenbuchat. General quality of life concerns, such as 'access to health care', 'the quality of housing', 'education provision' and 'racial harmony', are ranked as important with rankings of 10th, 14th, 20th and 25th respectively. 'Traditional' rural concerns, in an area which is on the periphery both economically and geographically, are also perceived as important in local respondents choice of where to stay. These include 'the cost of living' (ranked equal 15th), 'the convenience of size' (17th), 'service provision' (22nd), 'shopping facilities' (23rd), 'amenity provision' (24th) and 'access to other important places' (26th).

Those factors which are only considered of limited importance by the indigenous respondents are those which have been considered in a similar light in many of the other ranking lists. These include 'the climate', 'incentives for economic development', access to sports, leisure facilities and places to go (of which there are few so the local people who have always lived there are unconcerned about it), and the 'access to' and 'quality of' council housing. Surprisingly, whether a place is 'impersonal' or not is not considered important in choice of where to live of respondents' from this tight knit community, as is the 'public transport service', although in the case of the latter this probably reflects the paucity of the bus service in such a remote area where the population density is low.

The ranking list of factors which are important in respondents' choice of where to live for incomers is interesting in that certain groups of factors are well stratified. The eleven most important factors suggested by the ranking list, without exception remarkably, are those which are associated with the stereotypes of the rural idyll and the urban nightmare. Again the 'green' factors which are thrust into peoples' awareness by the media are well to the fore. The quality of living environment is ranked 1st, 'pollution levels' 2nd and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' 4th. All these factors have means above 4.5 suggesting that they are very important in respondents' choice of where to live. The factors reflecting positively on life in the country are ranked highly also. 'The friendliness of the people' is the 3rd most important factor in perceptions while a 'strong community spirit', the 'convenience of the size of the settlement, and whether a place is 'impersonal' or not are also ranked highly. The factors highlighting concerns with urban life which the incomers may have moved into area to avoid are similarly ranked highly. 'Violent crime rates' is ranked 7th important in the ranking list, 'children's safety' 8th, and 'non-violent crime rates' 9th.

Towards the bottom end of the ranking list are those factors which are either featured in the perceptions of the indigenous respondents and which can be interpreted as local concerns, or other factors which respondents who are basing their decisions purely on the rural idyll have little knowledge of. 'Wage levels' is only ranked 24th, and with a mean of 3.32 is only rated 'of limited importance' in respondents choice of where to live. As expected, the 'public transport service' and the 'travel to work' time are only ranked 26th and 27th respectively, and the fact that respondents have chosen to move into a remote rural area means that 'access to other important places', and access to 'leisure' and 'sports facilities' are only ranked 28th, 29th and 30th respectively in respondents perceptions. 'Unemployment levels' is ranked the least important factor in influencing incomers choice of where to live (with a mean of 2.12 and therefore rated of limited importance), just below the three rented housing factors and 'economic development'.

Sandwiched in the middle of these two extremes are those factors which are the traditional quality of life concerns such as health, education and the quality of housing, or those factors which reflect the typical concerns of living in rural areas such as the cost of living, the level of services and amenities, shopping, and places to go in one's spare time. However, unlike some of the other areas, all these factors are rated as important in respondents choice of

where to live as twenty-three of the factors are rated above the 3.5 watershed for the ranking list for incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers.

This strongly stratified ranking list with the factors which are perceived as most important reflecting the perception of the simulacra of the rural idyll and the urban hell, and the fact that the area is a remote, sparsely populated, scenic and attractive for migrants seeking a high rural quality of life, is reflected in the fact that the ranking list for incomers in Strathdon and Glenbuchat is, noticeably, most highly correlated with the ranking list of incomers for Gairloch, the most comparable area geographically and socially. This is perhaps logical as there is evidence that both communities have undergone significant postmodern counterurbanisation (see Chapter 6). The lists are much less highly correlated with those incomers who have moved into the fringes of Aberdeen, the least like area (Spearman's Rank correlations of 0.94 for Gairloch vs 0.77 for Aberdeen, both correlations are significant at the 99% confidence level).

The ranking list for those incomers born outside Scotland, although containing a large number of tied factors, shows a similar stratification to the the ranking list for all incomers (unsurprising really as this ranking list is a subset of the ranking list of incomers as a whole). However the factors which manifest the positive signifieds of living in a rural idyll are rated as being even more important in the choice of where to live in the perceptions of respondents who were born outside Scotland, ie. those very postmodern counterurbanisers who have tended to base their decision on a model of reality which is fundamentally based on such imagery. The 'pace of life' is ranked first equal in the ranking list, the 'convenience of the size of settlement' is ranked 3rd equal, the 'friendliness of people' 6th, whether a place is 'impersonal' or not is ranked 7th, and 'strong community spirit' is rated as the equal ninth most important factor (the latter two are ranked just below the 4.5 watershed which denotes where the factors are rated as very important in respondents choice of where to live).

Unlike the ranking lists for the other study areas, a comparable number of factors have been rated as important by all three respondent groups. In the lists for other areas, the factors which were ranked higher by the indigenous population were also rated higher, while for the ranking lists for incomers it is actually the case that the factors which are ranked higher by incomers than indigenous respondents are also rated with higher means as well.

This idiosyncrasy may be a little more evidence to support Baudrillard's hypotheses of the existence of local narratives (see Section 2.9.4), although

there are still greater similarities and higher correlations between comparable groups in different areas that there are between incomers and indigenous respondents in the same area, which seems to provide stronger evidence to refute it. However, the difference in the ranking and rating of some of the individual factors between the lists is again evidence that there are differing interpretations over the way these local spaces are perceived between those people who are born in it and those who move in from outside. This evidence suggests that the local narratives and local perceptions are developed from experience of growing up in the communities and the difficulties as well as the advantages that this offers, while the perceptions of the incomers are formulated from the popular images of rural and urban areas which are drawn from hypereality (see Chapter 2.9.3) rather than experience. The fact that the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area is many peoples area of a rural idyll, where people move in seeking a higher quality of life, and where the indigenous population have to put up with all the problems of isolation and economic peripherality means that, like Gairloch, there is a *relatively* low correlation (it is still significant at the 99% confidence level due to the similarity in the rankings of many of the factors) between the ranking list for indigenous respondents and those who have moved in to the area (a Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.697), as the indigenous respondents' perceptions are based on a distinct and strongly reinforced local reality while the incomers, especially, the counterurbanisers, draw on popular stereotype and imagery to formulate their models of reality.

8.6.3 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Strathdon and Glenbuchat

TABLE 8.14

STRATHDON & GLENBUCHAT : INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS,
IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN KEEPING RESPONDENTS IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.71
Quality of life	4.60
Strong Attachment	4.63
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.56
Family Ties	4.56
Inertia	3.92

This perception of the quality of life of the area by the indigenous respondents and the close, tight knit and small nature of the communities is reflected in table 8.14 where it can be seen that 'quality of life', a 'strong attachment to the area', and 'family ties' are all very important in keeping local people in the area. The fact that 'employment' is rated the most important factor in keeping local people in the area, and that 'inertia' also rated as important is a reflection of the peripheral nature of the area and the fact that it is prone to depopulation due to lack of employment opportunities, as well as counterurbanisation Those who cannot get a job in the area and who want to get a job, leave.

8.6.4 Factors Which Have Attracted Incomers to Strathdon & Glenbuchat

TABLE 8.15

STRATHDON & GLENBUCHAT : INCOMER RESPONDENTS,
IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN ATTRACTING RESPONDENTS TO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	3.27	4.00
Cost of Living	3.13	4.14
Quality of Life	4.6	5.00
Family Reasons	3.73	3.29
Housing Availability	4.47	3.14
Lived there before	2.08	2.67

The rating of factors in the decision to move into Strathdon for incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers is interesting. Like the other areas studied so far, the 'quality of life' is of paramount importance for both groups. Indeed 'the quality of life is rated as very important by all non-Scottish incomers, confirming that this is indeed an area where people come to seek an idyllic quality of rural life. However, employment is rated as important by non-Scottish incomers, while it is not rated as important by incomers in general, as is the cost of living. Conversely, family reasons are rated above the 3.5 watershed, and therefore rated as important by all incomers, as is housing availability, while neither of these is rated as important by non-Scottish incomers. This indicates the presence of a number of English incomers who are still economically active, and who are moving into the area because the quality of life is high, and housing and life is inexpensive in comparison to where they have come from. Also present in the area are other incomers who

have moved into the area from elsewhere in the region with their families due to the availability of housing, or who have moved in to get married.

8.6.1 Strathdon and Glenbuchat: Conclusion

Whereas in Turriff the local concerns predominated over other 'utopian' significeds of rural quality of life in the perceptions of the local respondents, the opposite is true of the perceptions of the respondents from Strathdon and Glenbuchat. Indeed, many of the factors considered very important by the local respondents of the area can be considered factors which reflect positive images of rural areas, and negative images of urban areas. A similar number of factors were also rated as important by the incomer groups, and many of these similarly, were factors which reflected elements of the urban/ rural dichotomy.

8.7.1 Dumfriesshire: Respondent Perceptions Investigated by Migrational Group

Table 8.16 illustrates the ranking lists of the perceptions of the respondents from Dumfriesshire broken down by migrational groups. The most interesting point about the ranking lists for indigenous respondents and those who have moved into the area is their similarity. In fact only the two respondent groups from Aberdeen have a correlation which is stronger than these (Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.894 compared to one of 0.9, respectively, both of which are significant at the 99% confidence level). This could be expected as the two respondent areas lie within the immediate sphere of influence of a major regional settlement, and the social and economic behaviour of the local people is going to be dominated by the urban centre, while many of the incomers into the area have moved out into the study areas from Dumfries and Aberdeen respectively. As with Aberdeen, it is the case that many of the other incomers have moved into the area from elsewhere in the immediate rural region, so that many of the regional concerns will be reflected in the perceptions' of both the indigenous population and the incoming one. Incomers make up just over half of the sample, and out of that only 24% of the incomers (13.4% of the total sample) are non-Scottish incomers. This reflects that the area appears to be of insufficient natural beauty, and insufficiently remote or isolated to be perceived as idyllically rural, and therefore fewer incomers have been attracted who want to move in for that reason.

TABLE 8.16.
DUMFRIESSHIRE : RANKING LIST OF MEANS BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
What's important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

<u>DUMFRIES : BORN LOCALLY</u>		<u>INCOMERS</u>		<u>NON-SCOT</u>		
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn
1	Quality of Environment	4.49	1	4.75	6	4.64
2	Safe for Children	4.42	11	4.15	8=	4.5
3	Access to Health Care	4.38	3	4.53	1=	4.79
4	People are Friendly	4.37	8	4.27	15	4.21
5	Pollution Levels	4.35	2	4.62	1=	4.79
6	Pace of Life	4.19	7	4.28	12=	4.29
7	Violent Crime Rates	4.17	5	4.4	4	4.71
8	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	4.13	4	4.49	5	4.69
9	Quality of Housing	4.09	12	4.14	7	4.54
10=	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.08	6	4.33	1=	4.79
10=	Cost of Living	4.08	16=	4	20=	4
12=	Community Spirit	4.06	14	4.05	22=	3.86
12=	Convenience of Size	4.06	23	3.78	29	3.62
14	Shopping Facilities	4	10	4.18	8=	4.5
15=	Wage Levels	3.98	19=	3.91	14	4.23
15=	Employment Prospects	3.98	16=	4	10=	4.43
17	Education Provision	3.96	22	3.8	19	4.07
18	Scenic Beauty Access	3.85	9	4.25	17=	4.15
19	Travel to Work Time	3.81	19=	3.91	16	4.18
20	Level of Services	3.78	13	4.1	12=	4.29
21	Access to other places	3.76	15	4.02	10=	4.43
22	Racial Harmony	3.64	21	3.84	17=	4.15
23	Climate	3.62	25	3.58	26=	3.64
24	Amenity Provision	3.54	30	3.38	26=	3.64
25	Active Community	3.53	24	3.63	26=	3.64
26	Unemployment Levels	3.51	28	3.44	24=	3.79
27	Public Transport	3.43	26	3.48	32	3.08
28	Economic Incentives	3.29	32	3.13	31	3.15
29	Impersonal	3.23	18	3.94	20=	4
30	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.2	33	2.7	34	2.73
31	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.17	27	3.45	22=	3.86
32	Places to Go	3.15	29	3.39	24=	3.79
33	Access to Sports Fac'il's	3.08	31	3.31	30	3.57
34	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	2.86	34	2.27	33	3
35	Access to Council Housing	2.7	35	2.16	35	2.09

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; M'n = The mean rating of the factor
Incomer= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

Once again the ranking list produced from the responses of the local sample around Dumfries correlates quite highly with the indigenous respondent groups from the other sample areas. All the ranking lists produce Spearman's Rank correlations between 0.85 and 0.87, which means that all the correlations are significant at the 99% confidence level. Interestingly, and perhaps logically, the responses between the incomer samples of Dumfries and those from Aberdeen, Strathpeffer and Turriff are very strong. They are 0.94, 0.93 and 0.93 respectively. The strength of these correlations reflects the fact that most of the respondents are rating the same factors as being important. This is because these areas are all near urban centres of employment, service and amenity, and thus the incomer respondents are as concerned with employment, economic and general quality of life factors as they are about factors which reflect the utopian nature of rural life, and the nightmarish aspects of urban life.

In contrast, the ranking list for incomers who have moved into the fringe of Dumfries show the weakest correlations (relatively - as the correlations are still 0.89 and 0.81 respectively and these still correlate very positively and very strongly !) with the the ranking lists in the more remote areas of Gairloch and Strathdon, which are both isolated from urban settlements, and where incomers have actually moved to in order to seek an idyllic way of living at the expense of the economic and amenity benefits of living in or near a town or a city. This is also because many of the respondents have moved in from Dumfries or elsewhere in the area, and their perceptions of the area are based rather more firmly on knowledge and rather less flimsily on romantic image. The fact that this area is perhaps fewer peoples idea of a rural idyll and more of a commuter reservoir, where they are enjoying an urban way of life from a rural location, is reflected in the correlations between the ranking lists for the various samples of non-Scottish incomers. Dumfries has the strongest statistical relationship with Aberdeen and Turriff which have the lowest proportion of non-Scottish incomers (Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.86 and 0.81 respectively and 15.7% and 15.1% of respondents respectively having moved in from out with Scotland), and neither of which would be many peoples' image of an utopian rural setting. As was suggested earlier (see Section 6.10.5), the character and function of Dumfries falls in between the major regional capital of Aberdeen and the rural market town of Turriff. In contrast the lowest correlations between Dumfries non-Scots and other areas are the three other areas where there is a higher proportion of the samples who were born outside Scotland (Gairloch : Spearman's Rank

correlation of 0.7 and 32.3 % of sample non-Scottish incomers. Strathpeffer : 0.71 & 20% and Strathdon 0.53 and 21.6% respectively). These are three areas where, particularly English migrants have moved in.

As was mentioned above, the main feature of the ranking lists for Dumfries is the similarity of the ranking lists for the indigenous population and the ranking list for incomers (which is dominated by Scottish incomers, and particularly those from Dumfries itself and the immediate region) who have based their perceptions on knowledge rather than idyll. Once again, twenty-six factors are rated as important by the indigenous respondents compared to twenty five by those who have moved into the area, although three factors are rated above the 4.5 watershed and are consequently rated as very important in a choice of where to live by the incomer group, while none of the factors are rated as highly by the indigenous population. Unusually, non-Scottish incomers actually rate more factors as being important in their choice of where to live than incomers as a whole, or even the indigenous respondents, although there is little evidence of much postmodern counterurbanisation which characterised Gairloch and Strathdon, where respondents based their perceptions predominantly on factors which reflect the rural idyll.

Eight factors are actually rated as very important in these respondents' perceptions, while only five factors were not rated as at least important and only one was rated as quite unimportant. Two factors, access to council housing and the cost of private rented accommodation are rated as quite unimportant in respondents' choice of where to live by incomers as a whole, while all the factors are rated as 'of limited importance' by the indigenous respondents.

The factors which are ranked highest by the indigenous respondent group are a mixture of the topical "green" factors, the common quality of life concerns and those elements which reflect the favourable image of rural life and the pessimistic view of urban living. The interesting thing about the ranking list for the indigenous population of Dumfries is that the 'local economic concerns', which were apparent in the perceptions of the native respondents' perceptions from other areas, are not so dominant amongst this group. Indeed 'wage levels and 'employment prospects' are only ranked equal fifteenth amongst the 'traditional' burdens of rural life. This is perhaps because the indigenous population is old and undynamic in comparison to other areas, and the perceptions of members of young families are not as conspicuous as in other study areas. 'Shopping facilities' is actually ranked 14th and therefore above these, which perhaps reflects the paucity of the

shops in some of the villages around Dumfries as many of the mobile residents do their shopping in the town. 'Wage levels' and 'employment prospects' are ranked in importance just above 'local education provision' (ranked 17th), 'access to areas of scenic beauty'(18th), 'travel to work time' (19th), 'service provision' (20th) and 'access to other important places' (21st). Ranked below the 3.5 watershed, which suggests that they are of limited importance in respondents choice of where to live, are the 'public transport service', which again reflects both the fact that this factor is only of critical importance for the immobile and the poor public transport provision in rural areas, and the rented housing and leisure and recreational facilities which have not been important in choice of where to live in respondents perceptions in other areas. Also, whether a place is 'impersonal' or not is ranked 29th important out of 35.

At the top of the ranking list for the local respondents, 'the quality of the living environment' is ranked 1st while 'pollution levels' is ranked 5th. These two factors are ranked 1st and 2nd respectively by incomers in general, and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 9th by incomers where it is only ranked 18th by indigenous respondents. This is probably due to the influence of non-Scottish incomers, whose perceptions reflect more of the importance of the rural idyll, and who have ranked scenic beauty access as the 4th in importance in their choice of where to live even though the area is not the most physically attractive part of rural Scotland (although it is near more attractive upland areas such as the Nith Valley and the Southern Uplands to the east). The other factors which reflect the idyllic side of rural life again feature highly in the three ranking lists. the 'friendliness of the people' is ranked 4th in importance by the indigenous group, the 'pace of life' 6th, while the 'convenience of the size' of a place and a 'strong community spirit' are ranked equal 12th. These factors are ranked 8th, 7th, 23rd and 14th respectively by incomers as a whole, reflecting the lack of incomers moving into the area to seek their rural idyll and a particular way of life.

The factors which reflect a negative perspective on city life are ranked highly by all the respondent groups. Indeed they have been ranked consistently highly by all the groups in all the study areas. 'Safety for children' is ranked 2nd in importance in the choice of where to live by the local respondents of Dumfries, while it is ranked 11th by incomers as a whole and equal 8th by non-Scottish incomers. 'Violent crime' is ranked 7th, 5th and equal 4th respectively by the three groups, while non-violent crime rates are ranked equal 10th, 6th and equal 1st respectively. This suggests that the

factors which reflect the negative aspects of urban areas are ranked highly by everyone, while those which reflect the positive aspects of the rural idyll vary between members of different groups, and between respondents in different kinds of rural areas, being most prominent amongst non-Scottish incomers and in the most rural areas. The perceptions of respondents participating in postmodern counterurbanisation combine these two elements *in extremis*, and base a migration decision upon their perceptions.

'Access to health care', a general quality of life concern, is ranked 3rd by both the indigenous sample and by incomers as a whole, while it is ranked 3rd by the non-Scottish incomers. Similarly, the 'cost of owner occupied housing' and the 'quality of housing' in general are ranked 8th and 9th respectively by the local respondents, and 4th and 12th by all incomers suggesting that they are quite important, while for the non-Scottish incomers, these are only ranked 5th and 7th with means of 4.5, which suggests that much more importance is placed on these general quality of life considerations in comparison with the incomer group as a whole and the indigenous groups, where the means for the two factors were just over 4.00 for both groups. Indeed, the ranking list for non-Scottish incomers shows less similarity to the other non-Scottish incomer groups in other areas because of the nature and dynamism of the migrational process which have been outlined above.

As was mentioned before, in the case of the non-Scottish incomers to Dumfries, the general quality of life factors and the factors which reflect the negative simulacrum of urban life dominate at the expense of the environmental factors and the factors which reflect the positive simulacrum of rural areas. 'Pollution level's is ranked equal 1st by the group, but high pollution is a factor which is associated with the negative side of urban life while the 'quality of the living environment' is ranked only 6th (while it is ranked 1st in the ranking lists for other comparable groups), and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is only ranked equal 17th, reflecting the lack of attractiveness of the scenery in the immediate area.

The ranking list for non-Scottish incomers paints a picture of a group of younger people who are moving in to seek jobs, and unlike respondents from other areas, have not had all their needs satisfied. Therefore, their rural idyllic wants are not so prominent in the ranking list because the factors which reflect them are obscured by the economic and general quality of life concerns. Thus, 'shopping facilities' are rated as very important in respondents' choice of where to live and 'access to other important places' and

'employment prospects' are rated higher than the 'pace of life'. The 'level of services' and 'wage levels' are ranked equal 12th and 14th respectively, and these are ranked above 'people are friendly'. Also, whether the place is 'impersonal' or not is only ranked equal 20th, 'strong community spirit' equal 22nd, 'active local community', equal 26th and 'convenience of size' 29th, while the general quality of life concerns such as 'travel to work time' is ranked 16th, 'education provision', 19th and 'the cost of living' equal 20th.

8.7.2 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Dumfriesshire

TABLE 8.17
DUMFRIESSHIRE : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN
KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.18
Quality of life	4.47
Strong Attachment	4.53
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.44
Family Ties	4.33
Inertia	3.46

It is interesting to note from Table 8.17 that while 'employment', 'the quality of life' and 'family reasons' are rated as important in keeping respondents in the area, which is in line with other areas, the only factor which is rated as very important is the 'attachment' to the area, which has a mean of 4.53. However, like the ratings of the Aberdeen area these rural factors are not rated as important in keeping local people in the areas in comparison to the ratings for the other more isolated rural communities, where the quality of life is rated as very important in keeping the respondents in the ar, and where life does not revolve around the major settlement.

8.7.3 Factors Which Have Attracted Respondents to Dumfriesshire

This picture of a group of younger people who are moving in to seek jobs rather than an idyllic way of life. is exemplified in Table 8.18, where for non-Scottish incomers 'employment' is the only factor rated as very important in the decision to move into the area, while 'quality of life and the 'cost of living' are again rated as important (although the mean of 4.17 for quality of life is the lowest rating by non-Scottish incomers for any of the study areas).

Housing availability is not rated as of particular importance by the minority of the incomers who moved in from outside Scotland, while 'family reasons' and 'whether the respondents had lived in the area before' are rated as quite unimportant.

TABLE 7.18
DUMFRIESSHIRE : FACTORS IMPORTANT
IN INCOMERS DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	4.27	4.83
Cost of Living	3.14	4.08
Quality of Life	4.54	4.17
Family Reasons	2.91	2.25
Housing Availability	3.47	3.27
Lived there before	1.68	1.75

For the incomers as a whole, the same three factors are rated as important in the decision to move to the area, although 'employment' factors are not rated as very important while 'quality of life' factors are. This could be explained in terms of the responses from incomers as a whole being dominated not only by those who have moved in from elsewhere in the region to get a job, but by people who have a job and who have moved out from Dumfries to enjoy the quality of life away from the town which the more rural location is perceived as offering them.

8.7.4 Dumfriesshire Conclusion

Therefore, the responses from Dumfries again contrasts with some of the other rural areas studied as the respondents are less concerned with postmodern images of the rural idyll and more concerned with local issues such as employment. This reflects the fact the area is dominated by an urban centre, and consequently the area has not attracted many incomers seeking a particular quality of rural life. The other side of the rural/ urban dichotomy, which reflects the negative aspects of urban life, is strongly perceived by all groups, by contrast. The avoidance of these urban ills seem to be universally important.

8.8.1 Creetown, Kirkcowan and Newton Stewart: Respondent Perceptions Investigated By Migrational Group

It may be expected that the results from the villages of Creetown and Kirkcowan would bear a strong resemblance to those of Cuminstown and rural Turriff. Both areas have a comparable ratio between locals and incomers. The samples of both areas contain a majority of respondents who were born in the area, reflecting that neither area is within the sphere of influence of a *major* economic centre where people will move into in large numbers to get jobs, or move out from to enjoy a rural locale in which to carry on with an urban orientated way of life.

The results do throw up an interesting contrast between the ratings and rankings of the indigenous respondents, those of incomers as a whole, and especially those of incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland.

The indigenous segment of the sample from around Newton Stewart have once again rated a similar number of factors as important in their choice of where to live. The twenty five rated as such seem to be those which indigenous respondents in the other study areas have rated as being important in influencing their choice. This perhaps explains why all the correlations between the ranking list for the local respondents from Newton Stewart and the corresponding lists from other study areas are all similar and very strong. They range from a Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.77 with the indigenous sample from Strathdon to one of 0.85 with the local respondents of Gairloch.

As is the pattern in most of the other ranking lists for incomers so far, fewer factors are rated as important by incomers to the area. In this case the number rated as important is 22, and once again the correlation is even stronger between the perceptions of the incomers from Newton Stewart and those from the other study areas, although there is a greater range in the correlations between the areas which could be explained by the different functions which the various areas perform for distinct kinds of incomers, and the different needs and wants which they possess. These correlations range between the weakest relationship of 0.86 for the incomer samples of both Aberdeen and Dumfries, to the very strong and significant Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.96 between the incomers of Newton Stewart and Gairloch. This perhaps reflects the fact that Newton Stewart is an unemployment blackspot and therefore very few on the incomers are job led.

TABLE 8.19.

CREETOWN, KIRKOWAN & NEWTON STEWART:
RANKING LIST OF MEANS BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
What's important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

<u>NEWTON STEWART: BORN LOCALLY</u>			<u>INCOMERS</u>		<u>NON-SCOT</u>	
R'k	FACTOR	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k	M'n
1	Safe for Children	4.75	4	4.5	7	4.1
2	Access to Health Care	4.64	10	4.21	11	3.83
3	People are Friendly	4.56	8	4.35	6	4.18
4	Pollution Levels	4.48	2	4.61	2	4.82
5	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.40	6=	4.41	8=	3.9
6	Quality of Environment	4.39	1	4.79	1	5
7	Violent Crime Rates	4.37	6=	4.41	8=	3.9
8	Pace of Life	4.36	3	4.58	3	4.5
9	Employment Prospects	4.29	25	3.3	29	2.89
10	Community Spirit	4.21	9	4.33	5	4.25
11	Shopping Facilities	4.15	19	3.7	17	3.54
11	Scenic Beauty Access	4.15	5	4.42	4	4.42
13	Wage Levels	4.12	26	3.27	21=	3.18
14	Education Provision	4.09	14=	3.83	21=	3.18
14	Level of Services	4.09	14=	3.83	16	3.58
16	Racial Harmony	3.97	11	4.00	8=	3.90
17	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	3.93	13	3.90	15	3.60
18	Impersonal	3.92	12	3.96	14	3.64
19	Cost of Living	3.91	17=	3.74	13	3.73
20	Active Community	3.82	17=	3.74	26	3.00
21	Quality of Housing	3.78	20=	3.62	23	3.10
22	Amenity Provision	3.72	22	3.61	27	2.91
23	Convenience of Size	3.7	16	3.79	12	3.75
24	Travel to Work Time	3.64	20=	3.62	20	3.20
25	Unemployment Levels	3.61	31	2.95	31	2.40
26	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.48	30	3	28	2.90
27	Access to Council Housing	3.43	35	1.6	35	1.00
28	Public Transport	3.42	32	2.7	32	2.00
29	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.41	33	1.95	34	1.20
29	Access to other places	3.41	23	3.41	18	3.36
31	Access to Sports Fac's	3.39	29	3.04	19	3.27
31	Places to Go	3.39	24	3.39	24	3.09
33	Economic Incentives	3.27	28	3.24	30	2.80
34	Climate	2.94	27	3.25	25	3.08
35	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc.	2.93	34	1.95	33	1.80

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; M'n = The mean rating of the factor
Incomers= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

The correlations between the ranking lists of Newton Stewart and the other study areas for those incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland are even more disparate. The correlations for the perceptions of non-Scottish incomers in Newton Stewart and the other study areas range between the weakest correlation of 0.66 with the respondents from Dumfries, and range up to 0.90 with non-Scottish incomers of Strathpeffer. A definite pattern in the correlations for the non-Scottish incomers is evident. The highest correlations exist between non-Scottish incomers to the Newton Stewart area, who have moved in from England, mostly to retire and to seek a home in a pleasant rural environment to live in, and those of Strathpeffer which is set in amongst some beautiful scenery, and as a Victorian Spa village has enjoyed a history of elderly English migrants seeking a nice environment to live out their latter years, and those of Strathdon and Gairloch. The latter two are the most remote and isolated study areas which have been colonised by incomers seeking to live out their rural idyll. Lower correlations exist between non-Scottish incomers of Newton Stewart and those of Aberdeen, Turriff, and Dumfries, which are not remote, which have higher population densities, and which are not many peoples ideas of a rural utopia. The ranking lists from these areas reflect the perceptions of incomers who are moving in to area to seek work, or to marry, etc, and are not those of respondents specifically seeking certain facets of a way of life. Therefore the perceptions of the *non-Scottish* incomers, although in fewer numbers, are more closely related to those of other study areas where postmodern counterurbanisation has been prevalent, and not so closely linked to other less physically attractive, and less rural areas.

For the respondents of Newton Stewart there is quite a high correlation between the ranking lists produced by local and incoming, and non-Scottish incoming respondents respectively. The correlations of 0.837 and 0.757 respectively compare very strongly with those of Turriff (0.838 and 0.741), and highlights the functional similarities between the two study areas, although as was pointed out earlier, Newton Stewart has attracted proportionally more non-Scottish incomers than Turriff.

The ranking lists produced by the indigenous respondents and those who have moved into the area are, as was suggested above, quite similar, and the differences which do exist between them are those which have existed between the respective ranking lists in other study areas. In the indigenous ranking list, local economic concerns and general quality of life concerns are ranked and rated as more important by local respondents' in their choice of

where to live than by those who have moved into the area. 'Employment prospects' are ranked 9th in importance, while 'wage levels' are ranked 13th. This compares to 25th and 26th respectively for incomers as a whole. Unemployment levels, quite surprisingly in an area of high unemployment, is only ranked 26th (unlike other study area where it was ranked quite highly), although it is still rated as important in respondents choice of where to live. In contrast, it is only ranked 31st in importance out of 35 factors by incomers, and with a mean 2.95, which falls well below the 3.5 watershed, it is only considered 'of limited importance' in respondents perceptions.

Other general rural quality of life concerns are ranked and rated higher by the indigenous population. 'Access to health care' is ranked 2nd while it is only ranked 10th by the incomers as a whole, and 'shopping facilities' is ranked 11th by the locals while it is only ranked 19th by those who have moved into the area. Towards the less important end of the list, 'access to leisure facilities' is ranked 26th with a mean of 3.48 by the indigenous respondents while it is only ranked 30th with a mean of 3.00 by the incomers; 'access to council housing is ranked 27th, and with a mean of 3.43 is almost considered important by the local population, a significant proportion of whom stay in local authority accommodation, while in contrast the factor is ranked and rated as the least important by the non-locals with a mean of merely 1.6.

The 'public transport service' and the 'quality of council housing' are also ranked slightly higher with correspondingly high means which suggests that they are considered as more important by locals in comparison to incomers, and this suggests an indigenous population who are struggling economically, and for whom mobility, access, and council housing are much more important to them than to those moving into the area. This is illustrated elsewhere in the ranking lists where factors which are ranked as being equally important by the two sample groups are actually rated as being slightly more important by the indigenous population. Traditional rural concerns such as 'the level of local services', 'local education provision' and the 'cost of living' fall into this category, while factors such as 'harmony between different races', 'whether a place is impersonal or not' and the 'cost of owner occupied housing', which are actually ranked higher by incomers, are not rated as being more important in a choice of where to live.

The only factors which are ranked and rated as more important by incomers are environmental concerns. The quality of the living environment' is ranked 1st with a mean of 4.79 (versus 6th & 4.39 for local respondent),

'pollution levels' is ranked 2nd with a mean of 4.61 (vs 4th & 4.48), and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' 5th with a mean of 4.42 (vs 12th with a mean of 4.15). This is hardly surprising as the quality of the living environment is one of the great attractions of the area for incomers, while those who have been born and brought up in the area can often tend to take the quality of their environment for granted. Also, the case of Turriff suggested that indigenous communities in agricultural areas harbour few sentiments about environmental issues, especially if times are bad. The rest of the top places in the two ranking lists are filled with the customary factors which reflect either the positive side of rural life, the negative side of urban life or both.

As was mentioned earlier only seventeen factors were rated as important in a choice of where to live by non-Scottish incomers, and three factors were also rated as very important (in comparison to three by the indigenous population and four by the incomers as a whole). 'The quality of the living environment' is actually rated as very important by *all* the non-Scottish respondents. Three factors, 'unemployment levels', the 'public transport service' and the 'cost of private rented housing' are actually rated as being of limited importance, the two factors related to council housing were actually rated as not at all important, and the mean for access to council housing was 1.00 which means that *all* the respondents rated it as not at all important. Three factors, access to council houses, the cost of private rented housing and the quality of council housing are rated as quite unimportant in respondents' choice of where to live by all incomers, while by contrast all the factors are rated as 'of limited importance' by the indigenous respondents.

Indeed, as has been common in other areas the ranking list for non-Scottish incomers shows more similarity to the other non-Scottish incomer groups in other areas than it does to either of the other two ranking lists for the area. The ranking list is dominated at the top by the factors which reflect environmental concerns and the factors which reflect the positive rural significands of the rural idyll. 'Quality of living environment' is ranked 1st, 'pollution levels' are ranked 2nd while 'scenic beauty access' is ranked 4th. The 'pace of life' is ranked 3rd, 'strong community spirit' is ranked 4th, 'people are friendly' is ranked 5th, 'convenience of size' is ranked 12th, and whether a place is 'impersonal' or not is ranked 14th by non-Scottish incomers. These environmental and idyllic rural factors are then followed by those factors which reflect the negative significands of urban life which are very closely grouped and include 'harmony between different races', which is ranked equal 8th by the non-Scots and only 16th and 11th by the local

respondents and incomers as a whole, which is more evidence to back up Sarah Harper's findings which suggested that the perceived racial problems were one of the main reasons why many middle class white families move out to the country from cities in many parts of England. The north and Midlands of England are certainly a significant source of newcomers to the Newton Stewart area. Also 'safe for children', 'non-violent crime rates' and 'violent crime rates' are ranked 7th, equal 8th and equal 8th respectively by non-Scottish incomers. The general concerns about life in rural areas is reflected in the factors ranked between 13 and 17 by the non-Scottish. These include the 'cost of living' which is ranked 13th, while it is ranked 19th and equal 17th by the indigenous respondents and all incomers, suggesting that it is perceived as being an issue by all respondents in the area. Comparable with ranking lists for non-Scottish respondents in other study areas, factors which were not perceived as being of significant importance by respondents who have moved in from outside Scotland include many other traditional rural concerns, and those factors which have been interpreted as local economic concerns including 'wage levels' (ranked equal 21st), 'employment prospects' (29th), and 'unemployment levels' (31st), the latter was rated with a mean value of 2.4 by the respondents which means that it is ranked as quite unimportant. Also ranked towards the bottom of the list are the leisure and recreational factors which none of the respondent groups seem to consider important in their choice of where to live.

The rating of the local economic concerns and the general quality of life concerns, such as education provision, travel to work time, amenity provision, access to other places, and the public transport service, contrasts strongly with the perceptions of the indigenous group. Where the perceptions of local people reflected a relatively young, council house dwelling, relatively immobile population, who are in a community which is struggling economically, the perceptions of non-Scottish incomers paints a picture of a more elderly, wealthy, mobile group of people whose needs are satisfied, and who are satisfying their wants in terms of seeking a certain idyllic way of life in an attractive living environment.

8.8.2 Factors Which Have Attracted Respondents to Creetown, Kirkcowan and Newton Stewart

Table 8.20 illustrates that the 'quality of life' in the area is the only factor which was important in the decision to move into the Wigtownshire area in the perceptions of incomers as a whole and non-Scottish incomers.

TABLE 8.20
 CREETOWN, KIRKOWAN & NEWTON STEWART : FACTORS IMPORTANT
 IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE TO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	3.38	2.56
Cost of Living	2.77	2.00
Quality of Life	4.53	4.36
Family Reasons	3.00	4.36
Housing Availability	2.83	3.00
Lived there before	1.72	1.88

This is consistent with the settlement of the area by retirees. In fact, the rating for 'employment' for non-Scots is only 2.5, which is considerably lower than the value of 3.38 for all incomers. This means that non-Scottish incomers, who constitute a significant proportion of the total incomer sample, are dragging down the perceptions of some of the Scottish incomers to whom employment in the area is of greater importance.

8.8.3 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Creetown, Kirkcowan and Newton Stewart

TABLE 8.21
 CREETOWN, KIRKOWAN & NEWTON STEWART : FACTORS IMPORTANT
 IN KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.52
Quality of life	4.64
Strong Attachment	4.64
Lack of Opportunity to move	2.70
Family Ties	3.84
Inertia	3.69

The rural nature of the area around Newton Stewart contrasts with the area around Dumfries, and this is highlighted in Table 7.28 which shows that 'employment', the 'quality of life', and the 'attachment to the area' are all rated as very important in keeping respondents in the area, while family reasons

and inertia are also rated as important. This is line with other 'rural' areas such as Strathdon, Strathpeffer and Gairloch, while all these 'rural' factors which are keeping people in the area are rated higher than the corresponding factors in table 8.16 for Dumfries, apart from family ties, which suggests that where there was a weakly developed sense of community and rural identity within the sphere of influence of Dumfries, this is not the case around Newton Stewart which is much less of a dominant centre and where the sense of community and attachment and appreciation of the quality of life is much more developed. Once again in an area which does not have too many employment opportunities, and actually having a job is a major reason for staying in the area.

8.8.5 Creetown, Kirkcowan and Newton Stewart : Conclusion

Once again the ranking lists produce by the respondents in Newton Stewart are very highly correlated with those from elsewhere, with the ranking lists from the respective migrational being significantly correlated also. Amongst the factors which reflect the elements of the urban/rural dichotomy and the topical quality of life concerns dichotomy which are prevalent in all the lists, the indigenous respondents rate local employment and economic factors as relatively important (reflecting the economic and employment problems of the area), while the perceptions of incomers in general and non-scots incomers in particular do not. Once again these are highly correlated with non-Scots incomers in other areas with factors reflecting the stereotypes of urban and rural areas dominating over the traditional concerns of rural areas.

8.9.1 Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale: Respondent Perceptions Investigated by Migrational Group

The ranking lists established from the responses of the inhabitants from the Moniaive and Tynron area illustrated in Table 8.22 are quite similar to those from the previous study area around Newton Stewart. This is perhaps unsurprising. The two areas are similar in that the sample areas are dominated by two villages, one of which has been extensively settled by elderly incomers, particularly from England, whereas the other is more indigenous in its population make up, and the people who were born locally contrast with the incomers in that they are younger, less affluent, and have to live within a rural economy which offers few economic opportunities.

TABLE 8.22
 MONIAIVE AND UPPER NITHSDALE: RANKING LIST OF MEANS
 BY MIGRATIONAL GROUP
 What's important in a choice of where to live in rural Scotland

<u>MONIAIVE: BORN LOCALLY</u>			<u>INCOMERS</u>		<u>NON-SCOT</u>	
Rk	FACTOR	Mn	R'k	Mn	R'k	Mn
1	Safety for Children	4.7	9	4.05	9	4.05
2=	Access to Health Care	4.54	5	4.34	3	4.4
3=	Pollution Levels	4.46	3	4.39	4=	4.37
3=	Non-Violent Crime Rates	4.46	12	3.95	14	3.79
3=	Violent Crime Rates	4.46	10=	4	10=	3.9
6	Quality of Environment	4.42	1	4.79	1	4.84
7	Pace of Life	4.22	2	4.5	2	4.7
8=	People are Friendly	4.17	7	4.21	7	4.15
8=	Level of Services	4.17	13	3.91	10=	3.9
10	Racial Harmony	4.13	22	3.32	17	3.47
11=	Employment Prospects	4.08	26	2.97	28	2.61
11=	Community Spirit	4.04	10=	4	10=	3.9
13	Wage Levels	4	24	3.08	26	2.84
14	Cost of Living	3.96	15	3.71	19	3.39
15	Impersonal	3.91	14	3.8	15=	3.68
16	Shopping Facilities	3.87	16	3.67	13	3.83
17	Cost of (O.O.) Housing	3.86	6	4.28	8	4.06
18=	Scenic Beauty Access	3.83	4	4.35	4=	4.37
18=	Amenity Provision	3.83	23	3.12	25	2.94
18=	Travel to Work Time	3.83	27	2.95	29	2.47
18=	Education Provision	3.83	18=	3.6	22	3.26
22	Places to Go	3.78	25	2.98	24	3
23	Unemployment Levels	3.74	30	2.77	30	2.44
24	Convenience of Size	3.73	8	4.14	6	4.25
25	Quality of Housing	3.67	18=	3.6	18	3.44
26=	Active Community	3.65	20	3.52	21	3.32
26=	Cost of Priv. Rented Acc	3.65	33	2.13	33	1.81
28	Public Transport	3.64	28	2.9	31	2.26
29=	Access to Leisure Fac's	3.35	31	2.67	27	2.79
29=	Access to Sports Fac's	3.35	29	2.88	23	3.16
31	Economic Incentives	3.27	32	2.44	32	2.23
32=	Climate	3.25	17	3.61	15=	3.68
32=	Access to other places	3.25	21	3.46	20	3.37
34	Qual'y of Council Housing	3.14	34	1.86	34	1.44
35	Access to Council Housing	2.62	35	1.82	35	1.39

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; Mn = The mean rating of the factor
 Incomer= all Incomers; NON-SCOT = Incomers who have moved in from outside Scotland

However, the difference between the two study areas is that whereas there were actually more indigenous respondents in the area around Newton Stewart, the ratio of locals to incomers for the Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale area, with only 37% of the respondents being born in the area while 63% of respondents have moved in, bears more comparison to that of Strathpeffer or Aberdeen. However, where Strathpeffer and the settlements to the west of Aberdeen served as commuter reservoirs for economic centres, Dumfries is less of an economic pull for the population of the area around Moniaive, and while a number of people commute to Dumfries from Tynron, due to its proximity to the main Dumfries-Kilmarnock road, only a very few commute from Moniaive. Indeed, the proportion of non-Scottish incomers, 28.9%, is much greater than that of Strathpeffer and Aberdeen, and second only to Gairloch of all the study areas. This paints a picture of an area which has been heavily populated with people either retiring to or seeking to live out their *phantasies* in an attractive rural location.

This situation has produced the weakest correlation out of all the study areas between the ranking lists formed by the perceptions of the indigenous and the incomer groups. (A Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.732 which weaker than the value of 0.740 for Gairloch and Loch Torridon. Both correlations, however are significant at the 99% confidence level which means that there are no differences between the ranking in the lists which could not have occurred by chance).

As might be expected, the ranking list for all incomers in the picturesque and quite sequestered Moniaive area correlate most highly with those more isolated or attractive areas which are perceived as being idyllically rural, while the weakest correlations are produced when the ranking list is compared to the more densely populated areas, which are nearer major settlements or are unattractive and intensely farmed. The ranking list for incomers into the Moniaive area, using Spearman's Rank, correlate very strongly with Strathdon 0.94, Gairloch 0.93, Newton Stewart, 0.92, and Strathpeffer 0.92, and less strongly with with Turriff 0.89, Dumfries 0.88 and Aberdeen 0.83. Indeed from the highest correlation to the lowest correlation is a straight line negative correlation with increasing remoteness from urban centres and decreasing population density. The strongest correlations are found with the incomers of the remotest, lowest populated, and most isolated survey areas, which have been popular with incomers seeking a certain utopian way of life in an attractive living environment.

The correlation between the non-Scottish ranking list for Moniaive and the non-Scottish ranking list for the other survey area serves to emphasise this point. The strongest correlation for this group of respondents is with those non-Scots who have moved into Strathpeffer (0.96). This is not surprising as both the areas have a high number of elderly English people who have moved up to seek an attractive Scottish utopia after they have retired. The next highest are those of Gairloch and Newton Stewart (0.91). Both areas again have been popular with elderly retiring couples who have moved up from England. The perceptions of the Scottish incomers from Strathdon also correlate quite strongly, while in contrast the ranking lists for the non-Scottish incomers of Aberdeen (0.87), Turriff (0.87) and Dumfries (0.66), which have not been popular with elderly 'Great white settlers' seeking an idyllic quality of life in their rustic Eden, exhibit much weaker correlations. Once again the correlation between the ranking list of the indigenous respondents in the Moniaive area and the ranking lists of the corresponding groups in the other study areas correlate quite strongly, although as mentioned before, the similarities between the perceptions of the indigenous respondents in Moniaive and Newton Stewart are so close that the two ranking lists yield a correlation of 0.92 where as the other areas yield correlations of between 0.75 and 0.85.

As was the case for the ranking lists for Newton Stewart, the ranking lists for the indigenous population of Moniaive are dominated by those factors which reflect the negative aspects of urban living, general 'traditional' rural concerns, and the local economic concerns which have been apparent in the perceptions of the local populations in almost all of the other local groups.

The ranking list for all incomers are dominated by the topical environmental factors, the factors which reflect the idyllic aspects of rural life and the negative aspects of urban life, and then the general quality of life concerns, and the concerns with living in rural areas.

As with the ranking lists from the areas around Newton Stewart, the groups of factors are even more stratified in the perceptions of non-Scottish incomers. As with the Newton Stewart ranking list there are more factors which are rated as important in respondents' choices of where of where to live in the perceptions of local respondents than in those who have moved into the area. Remarkably, as with other areas, 27 of the now familiar factors are rated above the 3.5 watershed by the native respondents, which compares with 20 in the perceptions of those who were born outside the area. Only 15

factors are rated as important in the choice of where to live by the incomers who were born outside Scotland.

As is mentioned in section 8.9.2, 'quality of life' was the only factor which was rated as important in attracting incomers into the area, and this has resulted in less than half of the factors being rated as important in that move. The fifteen are the 'Green' environmental factors, which occupy three of the first five positions in the ranking list, and as with the results from the other remoter study areas, the factors which reflect the positive aspects of rural life which are ranked as more important than the negative aspects of urban life. It could be said that the pull factors in such an area are stronger than the push factors of the city. 'Pace of life' is ranked 2nd with a mean of 4.7 (which suggests that along with the 'quality of the living environment' that these factors are rated as very important in the choice of where to live), 'convenience of size is ranked 6th, 'the friendliness of the people' is ranked 7th, a 'strong community spirit is ranked equal 10th by non-Scots, and whether a place is impersonal is ranked equal 15th. However, apart from the 'pace of life', none of these factors once again are rated as more important in the choice of where to live in comparison with the indigenous population.

However, it is the case that there are several factors which are ranked and rated as being more important in the choice of where to live by locals in comparison to incomers and non-Scottish incomers. Also factors which are ranked in a similar position by two respondent groups tend to be rated as being slightly more important by the indigenous group.

Whereas all the factors are rated as at least being of limited importance by the indigenous respondents, 4 of the factors are rated as quite unimportant in a choice of where to live by the incomers. These are once again the three rented housing factors and 'incentives for economic development', and these are joined by 'travel to work time, unemployment levels, the public transport service in the perceptions of the respondents who were born outside Scotland. Although the two council housing factors occupy the bottom two positions in the ranking list for the local respondents, 'the cost of private rented housing' is actually ranked 26th equal, and with a mean of 3.65 is actually rated as important. This perhaps reflects both the problems that young people face in getting housing in an area which is popular with English incomers, and also the main way of getting a house (i.e. private renting) for this group in this area.'

Access to other important places', access to sports facilities and 'leisure facilities' are not considered important by either locals or incomers, which

could be expected in a relatively remote area where the locals have grown up without access to sports and leisure facilities, and where the incomers have considered this unimportant when deciding where to move. The other factors which are considered unimportant by the elderly incomers are those local economic concerns, such as the amenity provision, wage levels, employment prospects, travel to work time, the public transport service and unemployment levels. By contrast, these are all considered important by the younger, economically active and less affluent indigenous population, and as with other study areas, 'employment prospects' and 'wage levels' are actually rated quite highly with ranking lists of equal 11th and 13th respectively.

As was highlighted before, the environmental factors and those factors which reflect the idealised simulacrum of rural life dominate at the top of the ranking list of the perceptions of incomers. The 'quality of living environment' is rated as the most important factor in their choice of where to live, while 'pollution levels' is ranked 3rd, and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 4th. In the ranking list for local respondents, although pollution levels are also ranked equal 3rd, the 'quality of the environment' is only ranked 6th while scenic beauty access is only ranked 17th in importance. The two latter factors are also rated as more important by the incomers. Similarly, the 'pace of life' is ranked 2nd by incomers, while it is ranked only 7th by the local respondents with a correspondingly lower mean. Two general quality of life concerns also feature near the top of the incomer ranking lists. 'Access to health care' is ranked 5th by the incomers and 3rd by non-Scottish incomers, while the 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 6th and 8th respectively. 'Health' is actually ranked 2nd by the indigenous respondents, and with a mean of 4.54 it is actually considered very important in respondents choice of where to live, while the 'cost of owner occupied housing' is only ranked 16th with a much lower mean. This arguably reflects how important the relatively reasonable cost of housing in the area is for those with the capital advantage of moving in from the South-East of England.

The 'friendliness of the people' is ranked quite highly by both indigenous and incomer groups, as is the strength of the 'community spirit'. Reflecting both the elderly nature of the population and the preoccupation of the indigenous population with the negative aspects of urban life, 'safe for children' is only ranked 9th by all incomers and 9th by non-Scottish incomers, while it is rated the most important factor by the indigenous population. This could reflect that this population has a higher proportion of younger families,

and the affects of age in determining perceptions will be discussed in the next Chapter (see Section 9.2.1).

'Violent crime rates' and 'non-violent crime rates' are ranked equal 3rd in importance by local respondents, while they are only ranked equal 10th and 12th by incomers in general and equal 10th and 14th by non-Scottish incomers. These are also rated as much more important by the indigenous sample, as is the 'level of services' which is ranked equal 8th with a mean of 4.17 (vs 13th with a mean of 3.91 and 10th with a mean of 3.90). Also, as previously stated, other quality of life concerns which are similarly ranked by the two sample groups are actually rated as slightly more important by the indigenous respondents. These include whether a place is 'impersonal', the 'cost of living', 'access to shopping facilities' and 'education provision', while the 'quality of housing in general' and 'active local community,' which are ranked higher by the incomers in general, are actually considered just as important by the indigenous respondents (means of =18th and 20th & 25th and =26th respectively vs means of 3.6 and 3.53 & 3.67 and 3.65 respectively).

An interesting fact is that the 'climate' is actually ranked 17th and is considered important in a choice of where to live by incomers, while it is considered the third least important factor by the local respondents. This perhaps highlights the differences in the weather between the south east of England and the upper Nithsdale valley in Scotland.

8.9.2 Factors Which Attracted Incomers to Moniaive

TABLE 8.23
MONIAIVE AND UPPER NITHSDALE: FACTORS IMPORTANT
IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE TO AREA

FACTOR	INCOMERS	NON-SCOTTISH
Employment	2.78	2.54
Cost of Living	2.69	2.61
Quality of Life	4.19	4.44
Family Reasons	3.09	4.05
Housing Availability	3.22	3.00
Lived there before	1.69	1.59

Table 8.23 illustrates that incomers and non-Scottish incomers who have moved into Upper Nithsdale, like those from Newton Stewart only rate 'quality of life' as important in their decision to move into the area. This again

reflects both a lack of economic opportunities, the relative remoteness of the area, and the fact that the area has been popular with elderly retirees from all over the UK.

8.9.3 Factors Which Keep Respondents in Moniaive

TABLE 8.24
MONIAIVE AND UPPER NITHSDALE : FACTORS IMPORTANT IN KEEPING
INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS IN AREA

FACTOR	MEAN
Employment	4.50
Quality of life	4.65
Strong Attachment	4.36
Lack of Opportunity to move	3.16
Family Ties	4.75
Inertia	3.73

The similarity with the Newton Stewart study area also extends to the factors which are rated as important in keeping the respondents in the area. Table 8.24 shows that like the Wigtownshire respondents, all the rural factors are rated as far more important in keeping respondents in the area in comparison to the perceptions of the more urban orientated respondents around Dumfries. Again 'employment factors' was rated as very important in keeping local people in the area. The 'quality of life' is again rated as very important, and although 'attachment to the area' is only rated as important 'family reasons' are rated as the most important in keeping locals in the area, which suggests like Strathdon a close, tight knit indigenous communities where kinship links are strong

8.9.5 Moniaive and Upper Nithsdale : Conclusion

The perceptions of respondents from Upper Nithsdale are highly correlated with those from the respondents of the Newton Stewart area. Also there is a relatively weak correlation between the perceptions of the predominantly elderly incomers, whose ranking list is dominated by topical quality of life and factors which reflect the rural idyll, and those of the locals, who rate local economic concerns and the more traditional concerns of rural living as more important.

8.10.1 Summary and Conclusions

The aims of this Chapter were to investigate the perceptions' of locals, incomers and non-Scottish in different areas in terms of what was important in their choice of where to live, to further examine the propositions concerning 'postmodern' theory regarding the existence of *local narratives*, and to further examine the influence of indirect or publicly derived images from influences such as television, advertising, literature and conversation, on the perceptions of (in particular, migrating) respondents.

There is evidence to back up the initial theorising of the postmodern relationship between the way rural and urban areas are portrayed and its resulting influence on counterurbanisation in the perceptions of respondents of Gairloch and Loch Torridon. Problems of isolation, tend to be prominent in the perceptions' of its native inhabitants and these perceptions differ from incomers, whose values are dominated almost exclusively by elements of the rural/urban dichotomy and the topical concerns of quality of life. This provides a little evidence to support the theories of Baudrillard

In Gairloch, where there was a clearly defined indigenous population and a defined group of postmodern newcomers, the results were relatively easy to interpret. The situation in Strathpeffer is complicated by the fact the area is less remote, less nucleated, is within easy access of two urban settlements, and does not suffer the problems of isolation to the same degree as the sample group from Wester Ross. Indeed, the area undergoes a dual process of receiving many incomers from elsewhere in the Region, while many of the retirees who have travelled over long distances may have more knowledge of the area. The ranking lists reflect these issues, with the ranks being more closely correlated for locals and all incomers, with the perceptions of non-Scottish incomers being closely related to the comparable group in Gairloch.

The ranking lists produced by the migrational groups from the study area to the West of Aberdeen were more closely correlated again, reflecting the dominance of the city in people's lives and the absence of incomers who have travelled over long distances and who picture the area as their rural idyll.

The perceptions of the locals in the Cuminestown area were similar in that local concerns are rated as important alongside factors which manifest the postmodern signifieds of the rural idyll and the urban hell, and general quality of life concerns such as health and housing. However in this case these local concerns dominate in that they are rated amongst the *most important* in respondents' choice of where to live. The perceptions of the minority of incomers reflected that the in-migration is predominantly job or marriage led,

with only the perceptions of a few non-Scottish incomers being strongly related to incomers in other areas.

The opposite is true of the perceptions' of the respondents from Strathdon and Glenbuchat where factors which reflect positive images of rural areas, and negative images of urban areas were rated as important by all the respondents

The responses from Dumfries again contrasts with some of the other rural areas studied as the respondents are less concerned with postmodern images of the rural idyll and more concerned with local issues such as employment, reflecting the fact the area is dominated by an urban centre, and consequently the area has not attracted many incomers seeking a particular quality of rural life suggestive of a group of incomers who are moving in to seek work, or to marry, etc,

The ranking lists produced by the respondents in Newton Stewart and Moniaive were very similar. Elements of the rural idyll were important in the perceptions of the elderly retirees which made up the bulk of the incoming population in both areas, while the indigenous population perceived local economic concerns and the concerns or rural life in general to be more important.

Perhaps the most important conclusion, however, was the similarity between the perceptions. There were differences in the rankings and ratings of several individual factors which suggested that the perception of reality by locals was based more firmly on local knowledge and the problems of life in that area, while incomers perceptions were dominated by the stereotypes of rural and urban life contained in the urban/rural dichotomy. But overall, the ranking lists were all highly and significantly correlated. For example, negative aspects of urban life are strongly perceived by all groups, and the avoidance of these urban ills seem to be universally important in peoples choice of where to live. The factors reflecting the rural idyll exhibited more variation in importance in respondents' perceptions, and in general it was the incomers, with little actual knowledge of rural life, who perceived these to be very important.

Therefore, although there was some evidence to support the theory of local narratives, the overall picture was one of a significant homogeneity between the perceptions' of locals and incomers and between the perceptions of these groups in different areas. This would suggest that indirect or publicly derived images and stereotypes from influences such as television, advertising, literature and conversation are more important in influencing

peoples representations of reality (in terms of what is perceived to be important in the choice of where to live) than peoples' actual experiences of life, living, and growing up in a place.

CHAPTER 9 : SURVEY RESPONSES ASSESSED BY SOCIAL GROUP

9.1.1 Introduction

This chapter will attempt to analyse the results of the survey by social group. As has been mentioned before, the breakdown of the responses of the survey by migrational group and place took no account of other factors which may significantly influence or even determine what respondents' perceive to be important in their choice of where to live. This chapter will break down the respondents' perceptions by age group, socio-occupational class, gender and housing tenure group to determine the influence of each of these on the perception of what is important in the choice of where to live.

This breakdown of respondents will be carried out by one set of factors at a time. This means that the effect of other sets may explain some of the results for the one under investigation. For example, what may look like a significant trend in respondents perceptions with housing tenure may actually be only a function of a more meaningful one with socio-occupational group. Therefore, the results from this Chapter will be treated carefully and with caution, and the potential influence of other factors in producing any significant findings will be acknowledged at the appropriate place.

It would, of course, have been appropriate to use multiple correlation, regression, and multivariate analysis to ascribe the degree of influence that each factor has in predicting the perceptions of a respondent. However, given the limitations of time and space under which this study operates, it would prove too time consuming and difficult to reduce the data into the necessary quantitative interval form for most methods, and although log linear analysis would have been appropriate given the nature of the skewed distribution of the perception data, the sample set was of insufficient size to allow analysis of all the variables

9.2.1 Perceptions of Respondents Classified by Age Group

It would be expected that there would be differences in the perceptions' of different age groups. People of different ages have different needs and wants, and often disparate perspectives about what is important in their quality of life. Families go through different stages of affluence and maturity with young families generally being less affluent and having less access to the housing market, and this may lead to different factors being critical in the perceptions of different age groups.

TABLE 9.1
RANKING LISTS OF MEANS OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUP
What's important in the choice of where to live

FACTOR	<u>TEENAGER</u>		<u>20 - 25 YRS</u>		<u>26-35 YRS</u>	
	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk
Qual Coun	2.85	34	2.89	34	2.89	33
QHous Genl	4.13	17	4	10	4	10
Cost O.Ccc.	4.29	8	4.05	8=	4.05	7
Access Cou.	2.61	35	2.77	35	2.77	35
Cost P. Rent	3.91	24	3.62	25	3.62	34
Pub. Trans't	3.86	25	3.46	29	3.46	32
Travel Work	4.22	10=	3.77	20	3.77	18
Access	3.83	27	3.45	30	3.45	25
Environm't	4.19	13	4.37	2	4.37	2
Pollution	4.47	2	4.28	3	4.28	3
Scenic B'ty	3.74	28	3.84	15=	3.84	16=
Climate	3.11	33	3.08	33	3.08	31
Cost Living	4.19	12	3.84	15=	3.84	15
Wage Lev's	4.28	9	3.86	13	3.86	14
Eco. Dev't	3.27	32	3.19	32	3.19	30
Unemploy't	3.94	23	3.82	18	3.82	27
Emp't Pros.	4.64	1	4.48	1	4.48	12
Viol't Crime	4.39	5	4.21	4	4.21	4
Non-Vio C'm	4.22	10=	4.04	8=	4.04	8
Safe Kids	4.46	3	4.16	5	4.16	1
Size	3.81	28	3.48	27	3.48	19=
Pace of L'fe	4.38	6	3.84	15=	3.84	11
Comm. Spir.	4	20	3.73	21	3.73	13
Friendliness	4.32	7	4.1	7	4.1	9
Active Corn.	3.46	31	3.27	31	3.27	28
Racial Harm	4.11	18	3.79	19	3.79	24
Impersonal	3.86	26	3.63	24	3.63	21
Place. to Go	4.19	14=	3.85	14	3.85	23
Leisure	4.19	14=	3.64	23	3.64	29
Sports	3.95	22	3.58	26	3.58	26
Services	4.16	16	3.97	11	3.97	22
Amenity	3.68	30	3.48	28	3.48	19=
Shopping	4.08	19	3.88	12	3.88	16=
Education	3.97	21	3.65	22	3.65	6
Health	4.41	4	4.13	6	4.13	5

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; M'n = The Meanrating of the factor; YRS = Age in Years

TABLE 9.1
RANKING LISTS OF MEANS OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUP
What's important in the choice of where to live

FACTOR	<u>36 - 50 YRS</u>		<u>51 - 60 YRS</u>		<u>OVER 60</u>	
	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k
Qual Coun	2.34	35	2.68	33	2.92	30
Q Hous Gen'l	3.92	16	4.12	14	3.98	16=
Cost O.Cc.	4.24	10	4.46	7	4.04	15
Access Cou.	2.14	35	2.24	35	2.36	35
Cost P. Rent	2.29	34	2.63	33	2.52	34
Pub. Trans't	3.05	32	3.25	31	3.51	22
Travel Work	4	14	3.78	20	3	28
Access	3.55	23	3.68	24	3.8	18
Environm't	4.7	1	4.7	1	4.66	1
Pollution	4.57	2	4.64	2	4.53	4
Scenic B'ty	4.3	8	4.32	10=	4.27	9
Climate	3.38	27	3.67	25	3.79	19
Cost Living	3.77	20	4	16	3.98	16=
Wage Lev's	3.79	19	3.83	19	3.07	25
Eco. Dev't	3.13	31	3.29	30	2.82	32
Unemploy't	3.4	26	3.55	27	3.02	27
Emp't Pros.	4.09	11	3.68	22=	3.06	26
Viol't Crime	4.42	4	4.45	8	4.35	8
Non-Vio C'm	4.37	6	4.41	9	4.38	7
Safe Kids	4.54	3	4.46	6	4.2	12
Size	3.97	15	4.18	13	4.1	14
Pace of L'fe	4.37	5	4.51	4	4.49	5
Comm. Spir.	4.06	12	4.32	10=	4.24	10
Friendliness	4.27	9	4.47	5	4.46	6
Active Com.	3.54	24	3.93	17	4.65	2
Racial Harm	3.68	22	3.77	21	3.71	21
Impersonal	3.83	17	3.9	18	3.72	20
Place. to Go	3.17	30	3.18	32	2.93	29
Leisure	3.23	29	3.35	29	2.76	33
Sports	3.26	28	3.38	28	2.85	31
Services	3.81	18	4.21	12	4.21	11
Amenity	3.45	25	3.61	26	3.38	24
Shopping	3.75	21	4.09	15	4.16	13
Education	4.04	13	3.7	22=	3.4	23
Health	4.34	7	4.63	3	4.57	3

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; M'n = The Meanrating of the factor; YRS = Age in Years

The ranks in table 9.1 are exciting because there is clear evidence that to some extent anyway, the age group one is part of determines how one will rate several of the factors which would be critical to people of that age in terms of importance in the choice of where to live. The previous two Chapters

have shown that there are some differences in the rankings of individual factors between respondents in different areas and between locals, incomers and non-Scottish incomers (and to a lesser extent between the individual subgroups in different areas), due to factors such as the individual economic, social and functional differences between different areas and the way that the reality of living in these areas is perceived by people who have lived there all their lives, and by those who are moving in from more urban areas in search of an idyllic way of life. In later sections of this chapter, it will also be shown that for factors such as socio-occupational class and housing tenure, the ranking and rating of several factors will also be directly affected by membership of a social group. However in all these cases the differences in the perceptions of the groups have manifested themselves in up to a dozen or so factors, while the uniformity in perceived importance of the remainder of has been such that overall, the ranks have been similar, and strongly enough correlated for any differences not to have occurred by chance. Therefore, although there was significant evidence of difference between different groups, it was only evident in a minority of the factors, and there was no evidence of significant patterns in peoples perceptions about what is important in their quality of life over the whole of the list. However, Table 9.1 exhibits strong evidence strong evidence of a significant relationship between age and the differing prioritisation of quality of life factors over the majority of factors in the list to the extent that the Spearman's Rank correlation between between the oldest and youngest age group is not significant, suggesting that the differences between the ranking lists *did not* occur by chance.

A clear case of the importance of a respondents' age in determining what they will perceive to be important in their choice of where to live is the example of 'employment prospects'. For the youngest two age groups, 'teenagers' and those aged 'between 20 and 25', 'employment prospects' is ranked as the most important factor. Indeed, with a mean of 4.64 (which lies above the 4.5 watershed) 'employment prospects' are rated as very important by teenagers. This is perhaps logical as many of these respondents will be looking for or have just started their firsts jobs, and their career prospects will tend to be uppermost in their perceptions. As they get on and get established in a job that gives them an increasingly comfortable existence their priorities will change. This is reflected in the fact that 'employment prospects' decreases in importance as the respondent groups increase in age. It is only ranked as the 12th most important factor in the choice of where to live by those aged

between 26 and 35, with a mean of 4.08, it is ranked 11th by those aged between 36 and 50 with a mean of 4.06, and unsurprisingly for those who are nearing retirement or retiring, only 23rd by those in their fifties with a mean of 3.68. 'Employment prospects' is ranked only 26th by those who are over 60, with a mean of 3.06, which suggests that it is of limited importance in the choice of where to live for the eldest respondent group.

A similar pattern occurs for 'wage levels', which are important to those younger respondents who are at a relatively immature stage of their working life and for whom remuneration is relatively low. This will be of critical concern to them, especially if they have a young family, a mortgage to pay off and an essential car to run. Therefore, where 'wage levels' are ranked 9th, 13th and 14th respectively by the three youngest age groups for, those who are older, probably earning higher wages, and correspondingly more comfortably off, the less critical importance placed on the amount of money they are earning is reflected in the ranking of this factor. 'Wage levels' are only ranked 19th by those aged between 36 and 50, 19th by those aged between 51 and 60 and merely 25th with a mean of 3.07 by those who are over 60, and who have stopped earning, which again rates the factor as of limited importance in the choice of where to stay.

Other concerns which are critical to younger families are also manifest in the rank. The age group 26-35 was chosen because it was reckoned that this age group would have the highest proportion of young families. Correspondingly, 'safety for children' is ranked as the most important factor in influencing where to live for this group, with a mean which is over the 4.5 'very important' watershed. Also, 'local education provision' is ranked as the 6th most important factor by the group most likely to be composed of young families. 'Safe for children' is still ranked 3rd and 5th by teenagers and those aged between 20 and 25 respectively with means of 4.46 and 4.16, while by the 36-50 age group - many of whom will also have young families - the factor is ranked 3rd, with a mean of 4.54. 'Safety for children' is ranked as slightly less important by the two eldest age groups who are less likely to have young families, but the fact that the factor is still ranked 6th and 12th by these two age groups, and rated as important in the choice of where to live, suggests that children's safety (or more accurately their lack of it) is an emotive issue which constantly being debated and depicted to respondents on television and in newspapers, and it is an issue which is uppermost in everyone's perceptions. By contrast 'local education provision', while it is ranked 6th by those aged between 26 and 35 who are composed of a high

percentage of young families, is ranked only 21st and 22nd by teenagers and those aged between 20 and 25 respectively. It is ranked higher at 13th by those aged between 36 and 50, who contain families who have children of school age, but only 22nd by those in their fifties, and 23rd by those over 60, the latter group once again rating the factor as of limited importance. This perhaps exemplifies the obvious point that the local education provision is only of critical importance to those respondents who have children at school.

Another major difference between the younger and older respondents is the importance placed on the availability on leisure and recreation facilities. Younger people are more inclined to enjoy going out and socialising. They are, on the whole, more likely to utilise their recreational time by going to the cinema and the pub and playing sport, while the old generations socialising tends to be confined to their own home, or other peoples homes. Therefore, it may be expected that the lack of places to go and things to do in a rural area would be of greater significance to the younger respondents who are generally more likely to utilise it. This hypothesis is clearly reflected in the importance placed on the relevant factors in the ranks produced by the respondents of different ages. 'Places to go and things to do in one's spare time', 'access to leisure facilities' and 'access to sports facilities' are ranked equal 14th, equal 14th and 22nd respectively in importance in teenagers' choice of where to live, with means of 4.19 and 3.95 which reflect the importance of these factors in their perceptions. The same factors are also ranked and rated as important by those aged between 21 and 25, but the factors are not rated as quite so important to members of this group as they were to the younger age group (ranks of 14 for 'places to go and things to do', 23 for access to leisure and 26 for access to sports with means of 3.85, 3.65 and 3.58 respectively). For the next oldest age group - those aged between 21 and 25 - which contains a large number of young families, only 'places to go and things to do' and 'sports facilities' were rated as being important in the choice of where to live with relatively low ranks of 23 and 26, while 'access to leisure facilities', with a ranking of 29, is only rated as 'of limited importance'.

This strong and clear trend of the decreasing importance of leisure and recreation provision with increasing age is further exemplified in the perceptions of the middle aged respondents aged between 36 and 50, who rate all three factors as of limited importance in their perceptions with very low rankings of 28, 29 and 30. Furthermore, none of the leisure and recreational factors are ranked and rated as important in the choice of where

to live by respondents who are either in the fifties or over sixty, with very insignificant rankings being ascribed to these factors.

Therefore, with the evidence in the factors relating to employment, wages and recreation, and to a certain extent education and children's safety, there is clear evidence which suggests that several factors diminish in their importance to respondents the older they get. However, there is evidence in the ranking lists that the converse is also true. Two factors, 'an active local community' and a 'strong community spirit' exemplify this point, the former most spectacularly. An 'active local community' is ranked as the second most important factor in the choice of where to live by those who are over sixty, with a mean of 4.65 which suggests that it is very important in the perceptions of the elderly. In contrast, it is ranked 17th by those in their 50s, with a mean which still suggests that an active local community is important in their quality of life. The middle aged respondents between 35 and 50 rank the factor only 24th, with a mean which rates it as only just important in the choice of where to live, while the age group dominated by young families rate 'an active local community' as only of limited importance, with a mean of 3.45 and a ranking of 29. The youngest two age groups also only rate the 'active local community' as being of limited importance in the choice of where to live with rankings of only 31 out of 35 for both groups.

There is a well reasoned argument to back up this pattern. Whereas younger people look for recreational activities and things to do, the older one gets the more interest one tends to take part in community based activities such as Young Farmers and W.R.I. This is especially true for those enjoying retirement, who tend to be members of community based old folks groups which are strong in rural areas, and which help elderly people to pass their days in the company of their peer groups. Also, community based recreation is a perception which many people in older generations hold, especially those who grew up in the days before television was so commonplace. The idealised memories of this, however accurate and glorified they may actually be in reality, are prominent in the perceptions of the more venerable members of society and are often cited by older indigenous people especially, to contrast the lack of imagination and involvement in the community of the younger generations, and the increasing domination of television over contemporary lifestyle patterns.

This increasing involvement in the community with age, and the increasing perception of the importance of the local community with age is also reflected in the rankings and ratings of the importance of 'a strong community spirit'

in the perceptions' of the respondent groups, but not so spectacularly as it was for 'an active local community'. In fact 'a strong community spirit' is rated as important by all the respondent groups but is ranked only 20th and 21st in importance by the two youngest respondent groups, with means of 4.00 for teenagers, and 3.73 for those aged between 20 and 25 respectively. For respondents aged between 36 and 50, 'a strong community spirit' is ranked as the 13th most important factor in the choice of where to live, for those aged between 36 and 50 the factor is ranked 12th, and for those in their 50s, a 'strong community spirit' is ranked 11th. This pattern continues for those over sixty for whom a 'strong community spirit' is ranked as the 10th most important factor in the respondents' perceptions with a relatively high rating of 4.24.

'Access to health care' is a factor which has been consistently been to the fore in the perceptions of all the combinations of respondent groups which have been examined in previous chapters, and the reasons for this such as media and political exposure of health issues, and the lack of access of health care for people living in rural areas has been explained at length. The 'pace of life' also is a factor which has been prominent in the collective consciousness of all the respondents, because it is the pace and tranquillity of life, the friendliness of the people, and the absence of stress, which most closely defines the signified of the idyllic rural way of life, which contrasts sharply with the busy, stressful, impersonal and dangerous existence which life in the city is commonly portrayed as offering. However there is some evidence from the ranking list that the importance of these two factors in respondents perceptions varies slightly between subjects of different ages, and it is the more *elderly* respondents who define these factors as being more important. The 'pace of life' is ranked 5th, 4th and 5th in importance in influencing the choice of where to live by those respondents aged between 36 and 50, aged in their 50s, and those over sixty respectively, with means of 4.37, 4.51 and 4.49 which suggest that the factors are regarded as very important. By the three younger age groups, the 'pace of life' is ranked 6th, 16th and 11th, with corresponding means of 4.32, 3.84 and 4.10, which suggests that the factor is not rated as important. Similarly, although 'access to health care' is ranked highly by all the age groups, it is ranked as the third most important by the two most senior age groups and rated as very important in influencing the choice of where to live, while it is ranked between 4th and 7th by the other four younger respondent groups with means that fall below the 4.5 watershed.

This is perhaps not that surprising. People as they get older tend to need more and more access to health care, and many elderly people need a lot of looking after, so it is perhaps logical that they should place slightly more importance on access to health care in the choice of where to live. Indeed many retiring couples who had move into the West Highlands reported that the move their would not be their last, as they would have to move back in to a city when they got older and could not get about so well. Access to a hospital, for them, was said to be of particular importance. Also, an aspect of the postmodern counterurbanisation phenomenon outlined in Chapter 6.8.2 was that younger settlers were moving into rural areas which were previously not settled by retirees in great numbers because they were too remote. Also, many old people retire either to the seaside or to the country because the pace of life is perceived to be slower than the city. Again people who have moved into the more isolated study areas to retire repeatedly cited the slow pace of life and the peace and quiet, as well as the quality of the living environment environment as the main attractions of the area for them. This is exemplified in the fact that for the three most senior age groups 'the quality of the living environment' is regarded as the single most important factor in the choice of where to live, with means which are all over the 4.5 watershed, the factor being regarded, on average, as very important in influencing their decision. For teenagers the 'quality of the living environment' is ranked only 13th with a mean of merely 4.19, while it is ranked 2nd by both those aged between 20 and 25 and those aged 26 to 35 although the means in both cases are *below* the 4.5 watershed.

The 'pace of life', an 'active local community' and a 'strong community spirit' have been discussed before, and it is interesting that 'people are friendly' is ranked and rated consistently highly - between 5th and 9th - by all the respondent groups. However it is the fact that all these factors which reflect the positive aspects of rural life are concentrated near the top of the ranking lists for the more senior respondents, along with the 'convenience of size' of a place, which is ranked more highly in the three more mature respondent groups than the three young ones (ranking lists of 15th, 13th and 14th versus those of 28th, 27th and 20th), which raise the real questions about the differences in perceptions between the generations. The conclusion could be drawn that the more elderly the respondent, the more strongly the signifieds of the utopian rural idyll were in influencing what is important in the choice of where to live, whereas the younger respondents have a proportionally greater interest in leisure and recreational and sporting factors

which are not to be found in rural areas, and which are more prevalent in urban centres. It may be a generalisation to suggest but a valid point to make that cities are young peoples' places, while older people gravitate towards the countryside. There are more job and educational opportunities for young people in urban areas, and more new exciting things to do, which offset the noise, the pollution, the congestion, and the perceived danger which people of later years gravitate away from the cities to avoid.

There are other factors which explain this pattern. In indigenous communities the myth that *their* old ways were a hard life but a good life which revolved around a happy and united community are used to illustrate an alienation from the young everywhere, where the ubiquitous television, computer and 'gameboy' lifestyle in these fast changing times is at odds with the fixed, understandable and dependable way of life that *they* would like to remember. The role of television is indeed paramount. Advertising aimed at the young for clothes, games and signified lifestyle products tend to be based around a young, exciting, dynamic urban *hyperreality*, whereas advertising which appeals to the sort of age groups buying motor cars, bread, long distance rail travel, and Dulux Weathershield often features images of the rural idyll (see Chapter 2.4.7). With this sort of age selective and geographically selective conditioning apparent in advertising, even without taking into account other factors which may influence the perceptions of different age groups such as magazines, popular literature, and stereotype conveyed by word of mouth, it is hardly surprising that these perceptions come through in what is perceived to be important in the choice of where to live. The only real debate exists over whether it is because young people find cities generally more exciting and older people rural areas more appealing that causes advertisers to pitch their campaigns as they do, or is it a certain amount of the tail wagging the dog, with the hyperreality that is created and aimed at a certain age group of respondents influencing their perceptions about what is important in their choice of where to live?

The final factor which could explain the pattern in the ranking lists is once again the point about one's personal social and economic circumstances influencing what is important in one's quality of life. The older the respondent, the more affluent and the fewer material concerns that one has such as wage levels, the well being of young families, and the lack of things to do (as one can afford to travel ones leisure and recreational needs). The fewer one's material and social concerns, the more one is able able to indulge one's rural utopian idylls, both in one's perceptions about what is important

in one's quality of life and, in many cases, in where one actually chooses to live so that one can act out one's *phantasies*.

It has been shown that there are factors, the perceived importance of which are directly affected by increasing or decreasing age group, it is interesting to note that the 'public transport service' is only ranked as important in the choice of where to live by the youngest respondents, teenagers (mean 3.86), many of whom cannot drive or do not have access to a car, and the oldest, those over 60 (mean 3.51), many of whom are too old to drive.

As in the examples of the other respondent samples that have been studied so far, the factors which reflect the negative aspects of living in rural areas are all perceived as being important for, regardless of the respondent age group. 'Pollution levels', as has been mentioned earlier, is really a factor which reflects the negative side of urban life as well as one which is topically environmental. It is ranked between 2nd and 4th for all the respondent groups in influencing the choice of where to live, and typically is rated as very important in the choice of where to live by the three most senior age groups. Whether 'children are safe' has already been touched upon, while the factors which refer to crime levels are ranked highly by all the respondent groups. 'Violent' and 'non-violent crime levels' are ranked as 8th and 7th in importance for those over 60, 8th and 9th for those in their fifties, 4th and 6th by those who are aged between 36 and 50, 4th and 8th those who are aged between 26 and 35, and 4th and 9th and 5th and 11th by the two youngest age groups. The means for these factors range between 4.04 and 4.41. Harmony between the races is also ranked and rated consistently between the different age groups.

The general 'traditional' quality of life concerns are also ranked and rated quite consistently between the different age groups, although 'travel to work time' is ranked as the 10th most important factor by teenagers in influencing the choice of where to live by the less mobile teenagers, which is much higher than any of the other ranking lists. Potential personal mobility does seem to influence any small difference that does exist between the ratings of these factors when comparing the perceptions of the respective age groups. For example, the highest mean scores for, and therefore the greatest importance placed on, the 'cost of living', the 'level of services' and 'shopping provision' is given by those with potentially the least personal mobility, namely the very young and the most elderly. Thus the 'cost of living' is rated with a mean value of 4.19 by teenagers, 4.00 by those in their fifties and 3.98 by those who are over sixty, while the mean values for the other three groups are 3.84 for

those aged between 20 and 25, 3.88 by those who are aged between 26 and 35, and 3.77 by the middle aged respondents. Similarly, for service provision and shopping facilities the teenagers give these factors mean ratings of 4.16 and 4.08 respectively, those who are aged between 51 and 60 produce respective means of 4.21 and 4.09, while those over sixty give ratings of 4.21 and 4.16. The means for the three potentially more mobile respondent groups are lower. For the 'level of services' they are 3.88, 3.70 and 3.81, and for 'shopping facilities' the mean ratings are 3.88, 3.84 and 3.75. This reflects the greater importance of factors such as of shops and services in one's perception for those who do not have a car. Indeed, for those who have limited personal mobility in rural areas, access to shops and services is of critical importance, as is the higher cost of living for those who are dependant on higher costing local shops and services (as they do not have the mobility to shop in a cheaper urban centre), or for those people who have to use public transport to gain access to them.

The ranking lists for the different age groups exhibit a definite pattern. It seems, as has been suggested elsewhere, that there are certain factors which seem to be regarded as important or unimportant in everyone's perceptions, but that one's age can determine the degree of importance of certain relevant factors which are of critical importance to people of different ages. It also seems that there is a direct relationship between increasing difference in age and increasing difference in how important different factors are in one's choice of where to live. In other words, there is a big difference in what is considered important in an ideal quality of life between young and old people. This is exemplified remarkably well by the Spearman's Rank correlations produced when the ranking lists for different age groups are compared. Table 9.1 shows that for the two age groups that lie on the extremes of the range - teenagers and those over 60 - there is a straight line relationship between increasing age difference and a weakening of the correlation between the ranking lists. In other words, the greater the difference in age, the more the ranking lists produced by the age groups differ. Thus for the ranking list produced by the responses of teenagers, there is a very strong Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.89 with the next oldest group of respondents, those aged between 21 and 25. The correlation between teenagers and the next oldest age group - those aged between 21 and 25 - is slightly weaker (0.77), and the correlation produced with the next older age bracket, those aged between 36 and 50, with a value of only 0.71, is weaker still. This trend continues with the Spearman's Rank correlation produced

with those in their fifties being 0.63, while the correlation produced by the ranking lists of respondents exhibiting the greatest difference in age produces a value of r of only 0.41 which is not significant at the 99% confidence level. As was suggested at the start of this section, this means that even though there are many factors which are ranked either strongly or weakly by both age groups, the differences in the ranking of other factors between the two ranking lists is such that there are statistically significant differences between the ranking lists, which suggests that the ranking lists cannot be accepted as being the same. This is a very important result, and one which suggests that, although there are many factors, such as whether a person is an incomer or a local, or whether a person is affluent or not, which strongly influence how important certain factors are perceived as being by respondents, it would seem that a respondent's age is the most important factor in determining how important a *significant proportion* of the factors are perceived as being.

The same pattern which was highlighted above is seen in reverse for the correlations produced by the ranking list of the oldest group - those over 60 - and the other ranking lists for other ages. A very strong correlation of 0.91 is produced, unsurprisingly, between those who are aged between 51 and 60 and those who are over 60. This value is so strong that it suggests that the ranking lists are so similar as to be almost the same. The ranking list between those who are over 60 and the next youngest age group - those aged between 36 and 50 - is slightly weaker with a value of r of 0.78, and the next age group produces a weaker correlation again and so on until, as was mentioned above, the greatest age difference produces the weakest correlation between the ranking lists.

This pattern is true for all the correlations for all the age groups. The correlations produced between the ranking lists of all age groups produce correlations which, without exception, are strongest with the neighbouring age groups and which weaken in a straight line relationship with increasing distance of age group.

This is certainly the most clear cut pattern produced by any of the respondent groupings. It would seem that although geographical location, whether one is in an incomer or a local (Chapters 7 and 8), and as will be discussed later in this chapter (section 9.3.1 and section 9.4.1), one's socio-occupational class and one's housing tenure have some influence on how important respondents are liable to rate certain factors in their choice of where to live, none seem to have the significant influence of the age of a respondent in determining the importance that are placed on factors in one's

quality of life. Not only do different age groups produce clear cut patterns which are logical and consistent, both in the ranking and rating of individual factors, and the correlations between the ranking lists, but no other classification of respondents produced a correlation which was not significant to the 99% confidence level. Furthermore, the correlation which did produce such a figure was between the two most disparate age groups, the relationship which could have been predicted to produce such a result.

9.2.2 Important Factors in Keeping Respondents Classified by Age Group in an Area

TABLE 92
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS
CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUP IN AREA

FACTOR	TEENAGER	20-25YRS	26-35YRS
Employment	3.86	4.02	4.39
Quality of Life	4.28	4.15	4.39
Attachment	3.77	4.15	4.24
Lack Opportunity	2.62	2.49	2.56
Family Ties	3.76	4.02	4.13
Inertia	3.04	3	3.11

TABLE 92 (CONTINUED)

FACTOR	36-50YRS	51 - 60YRS	OVER 60
Employment	4.54	4.53	4.22
Quality of Life	4.68	4.64	4.61
Attachment	4.52	4.74	4.56
Lack Opportunity	2.52	2.74	2.72
Family Ties	4.00	3.93	4.26
Inertia	3.42	3.63	3.87

The ranking lists produced by respondents of different ages certainly proved to be quite exciting. But what of the importance of the factors which make respondents of different ages either stay in a rural area or want to move in to a rural community. Do these vary in the way the ranking lists did

between different age groups. Table 9.2 breaks down the mean importance of the six factors in section 4A of the questionnaire in keeping indigenous respondents in an area for all their lives by the six age groups.

As there were significant trends in the perceptions of what was important in their choice of where to live, there is evidence that there are also significant trends in the importance of factors of keeping people in an area. 'Employment' is rated as important by all the respondent groups in keeping the indigenous population in the area. This is understandable because it is the lack of employment that often forces particularly young people out of rural areas. Therefore the longer a respondent has stayed in an area the longer they or their partner have had employment. Consequently, employment over the years, has been very important in keeping the more senior respondents in the area, and this is reflected in the ranking lists where the two oldest age groups containing respondents of working age - those aged between 36 and fifty and those in their fifties - rate 'employment' as very important with means over 4.5. The importance of employment is diminished in the perceptions of the younger age groups and those that are over 60, which is made up of a large proportion of retired respondents for whom the importance of employment has diminished. Those aged between 26 and 35 produce a mean of 4.39, those in their early twenties, 4.02, and teenagers, 3.86, while the senior citizens produce a mean of 4.22.

Logically, it would be expected that increasingly stronger ratings for the factors would be found in older age groups. It would be expected that the younger age groups contain a number of respondents who do not have a job, or who do not feel strongly attached to the area, or who may go away and marry and eventually leave the community. As these people leave the community over time, the older age groups will be left with the residual who are strongly committed to the community, and the perceptions of those who may leave will diminish in the overall ratings for increasing age groups. Correspondingly, With increasing age bracket, the proportion of respondents who will stay in the area for all of their life increases. Also, it is probable that the older one gets and the longer one stays in the community, the stronger one's feelings become towards one's home, and this is liable to be reflected in the perceptions of the more senior age groups especially. Furthermore, as was mentioned before, people become more community orientated as they get older, and their idealised images of how the community used to be reinforces their perceived attachment to it, and the perceived stark contrast to the lifestyles of the younger generation. Therefore, it is logical that older people

will rate these factors as more important in keeping them in an area than the younger respondents.

This hypothesis seems to bear some fruit in the ratings for the importance of a 'strong attachment to the area' in keeping respondents in the area. Although once again all the respondent groups rate the factor as important, there is a strong straight line relationship between age group and the importance of attachment, ranging from a mean of 3.77 for teenagers, up to a mean which rates the factor as very important for those aged between 36 and 50, a mean of 4.74, which is the highest rating given by those in their fifties, and 4.56 for those over sixty. A similar pattern occurs for the importance of 'quality of life' in keeping the respondents in the rural area. Once more the three most senior respondent groups rate quality of life as very important. This is again related both to a greater proportion of respondents who have increasingly strong positive feelings towards their community being present in the senior respondent groups, and also the general trend for many of the younger people everywhere to find the bright lights, excitement and opportunities of the city as more attractive than the dull, boring, and often isolated life of the country. Therefore - although the pattern is not so clear cut in this case - those aged between 36 and 50 rate the 'quality of life' as being very important in keeping them in an area with a mean of 4.68, as do the respondents aged between 51 and 60 with a mean of 4.64, and those over sixty with a mean of 4.61. Those aged between 26 and 35 rate the 'quality of life' as less important with a mean of 4.39, as do the two younger age groups with means of 4.15, for those in their early 20s and 4.28 for the teenage respondent group.

There is also very nearly a straight line relationship between the age groups in describing the importance of 'inertia' in keeping respondents in the area. This hardly surprising as inertia is a factor which increases over time, so it would be expected that the eldest respondent group would rate inertia as more important than the other age groups in keeping them in the area. The three oldest age groups rated 'inertia' as important with increasing means of 3.42, 3.63 and 3.87 which parallel the increasing seniority. The three less venerable age groups, who have a higher proportion of respondents who may have the get up and go to eventually leave, rate 'inertia' as of limited importance in keeping them in their indigenous area with means below the 3.5 watershed. The 'lack of opportunity' to move is rated as of limited importance by all the age groups in keeping them in the area with means that range between 2.52 to 2.72 with very little age related difference. Clearly

respondents of all ages believe that they have or have had opportunities to leave, while family ties are rated as important by all the age groups, although the mean for teenagers is slightly lower reflecting that proportionally fewer of them will be married, while the mean for those over 60 is slightly higher suggesting that many of them may have family who are married with children who they are very attached to !

9.1.3 Factors Important in Attracting Respondents Classified by Age Group to Study Areas

TABLE 93
IMPORTANT FACTORS IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA :
INCOMERS CLASSIFIED BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>TEENAGER</u>	<u>20-25YRS</u>	<u>26-35YRS</u>
Employment	3.67	3.5	4.04
Cost of Living	3.00	2.65	2.94
Quality Life	4.00	4.20	4.20
Family Reasons	3.43	3.86	3.35
Housing Avail.	3.14	3.00	3.17
Lived Before	2.00	1.50	1.94

TABLE 93(CONTINUED)

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>36-50YRS</u>	<u>51 - 60YRS</u>	<u>OVER 60</u>
Employment	3.8	3.69	2.89
Cost of Living	2.90	3.24	3.07
Quality of Life	4.42	4.76	4.35
Family Reasons	3.01	3.31	3.15
Housing Avail.	3.26	3.91	3.72
Lived Before	1.68	1.92	2.07

Table 9.3 describes the importance of factors influencing the decision to move into an area broken down by age group. The 'quality of life' is by far the most important factor in influencing the decision to move in to a rural area for all the respondents, reflecting the deep seated belief that there is a better

quality of life available in rural areas than in urban areas in particular. There is also a trend that the importance of the quality of life increases through the age groups. As has been mentioned before, rural areas become increasingly more attractive to people as they get older and there has been a long history of elderly people retiring to the country in order to seek a higher quality of life, even before the more recent rise of commuting, the decentralisation of industry, and families moving away from cities to escape the rat race. Therefore it is logical that the highest rating is given by those around the retiring age - those in their fifties. The more ambivalent attitude towards life in rural communities has been mentioned before, and teenagers give the lowest rating to 'quality of life' in attracting them to the area, although with a mean that is still high at 4.00. Both those in their early twenties and those aged between 26 and 35 give means of 4.2, while the middle aged respondents, and those over the age of 60 give means of 4.4 and 4.35 respectively.

'Employment' is also rated as an important factor in attracting respondents in to rural areas by almost all the age groups. Although none of the groups actually rate employment as very important, those younger families aged between 26 and 35 produced the highest mean of 4.04, while those aged between 36 and 50 produce a rating of 3.80. The importance of employment in attracting respondents to an area tends to diminish towards the groups who are approaching or past retiring age (with means of 3.69 for those respondents who are in their 50s and only 2.89 for those over 60 which suggests that the factor was only of limited importance in their decision) and those incomers who probably moved in with their parents (means of 3.67 for teenagers and 3.5 for those aged between 20 and 25). This latter point is illustrated by fact that family matters is rated as important, with a mean of 3.86, in influencing the decision of those those respondents who are aged between 20 and 25, although for teenagers the mean of 3.43, surprisingly, falls just short of the 3.5 watershed. All of the other age groups rate family ties as of limited importance in attracting them into their respective area.

The 'cost of living' is rated by all the ages as of limited importance in attracting them to the area, with no pattern of variation with age, and return migration is also quite unimportant for all respondent groups.

The availability of 'housing' seems to increase in importance as the respondents get older, although it is only for the two most senior respondent groups that the factor is rated as important in attracting them to an area (means of 3.91 and 3.72 for those aged between 51 and 60 and those over 60

respectively). For the younger groups with families a job would probably be the main consideration in attracting people into the area, but for older people the availability of affordable housing in a situation which corresponds to their idea of a rural idyll seems to more important.

9.2.4 Age Groups : Conclusion

The age of respondents seems to be very significant in affecting what is important in their choice of where to stay. However it is difficult to say whether it is the key independent variable in influencing how people perceive their way of life, although it seems to be one of the most important ones. The degree of importance alongside factors such as geographical location, whether a respondent is an incomer or a local, and the socio-occupational class is difficult to estimate. However, the age groups of respondents has been the only classification which has produced statistically significant results, suggesting that the perceptions of the oldest and the youngest respondents are different. Also, the difference in the importance which several factors were held in varied logically and consistently between age groups suggesting that the way urban and rural life is perceived by young and old people may be significantly different (perhaps influenced by marketing and advertising strategies which target different age groups with different styles of adverts), and that people of different ages have differing needs and wants which are reflected in the factors perceived to be important.

9.3.1 Perceptions of Respondents Classified by Socio-occupational Class

Although, as was illustrated in section 9.2 of this chapter, there was a very significant relationship between the age of respondents and their perceptions, it may also be expected that a significant contrast would be found between the ranking lists formed by the responses of members in different occupational class groups, especially those that are socially disparate such as professional and managerial respondents and unskilled manual and agricultural workers, for example. Social separation often implies an analogous difference in well being, and it would therefore be logical to assume that this could result in members of different social groups having, as Maslow(1954) would suggest, different concerns and preoccupations about their quality of life which would manifest itself in differences in emphasis about what is important in a choice of where to live. Table 9.4 shows the mean rating and the ranking for all the factors by social group.

TABLE 9.4
 RANKING LISTS OF MEANS OF RESPONDENTS BROKEN DOWN
 BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
 What's important in the choice of where to live.

FACTOR	<u>PROFESSL / MANAGL</u>		<u>INTERMED' NON-MANL</u>		<u>JUNIOR NON-MANL</u>		<u>SKILLED MANUAL</u>	
	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k
Qual Council	1.85	34	2.22	33	2.88	34	3.2	32
QHous Gen'l	3.93	12	4.50	3=	4.10	10	4.08	14
Cost O.Ccc.	4.33	7=	4.00	14=	4.06	11	4.29	8
Access Cou.	1.63	35	1.72	35	2.65	35	2.93	34
Cost P. Rent	2.15	33	2.17	34	2.94	33	2.71	35
Pub. Trans't	2.98	31	3.39	22=	3.39	30	3.3	30=
Travel Work	3.82	17	4.22	8	3.81	21	3.9	16=
Access	3.7	20	3.78	18	3.59	26	3.73	25
Environm't	4.78	1	4.56	2	4.58	1	4.29	8=
Pollution	4.54	2	4.72	1	4.47	2=	4.32	6=
Scenic B'ty	4.5	3	4.11	10	3.91	18	3.79	22
Climate	3.35	28	2.94	31	3.1	32	3.4	29
Cost Living	3.58	23	3.61	20	4.02	13=	3.9	16=
Wage Lev's	3.43	27	3.83	16=	3.96	15=	4.21	13
Eco. Dev't	2.96	32	2.89	32	3.4	29	3.56	26
Unemploy't	3.09	30	3.00	30	3.76	22	3.85	21
Emp't Pros.	3.75	19	3.72	19	4.05	12	4.37	4
Viol't Crime	4.34	5	4.39	6=	4.2	7	4.29	7=
Non-Vio Cm	4.30	9	4.39	6=	4.17	8=	4.26	10
Safe Kids	4.32	7=	4.11	10=	4.47	2	4.62	1
Size	3.86	16	4.06	13	3.93	17	3.87	19
Pace of L'fe	4.38	4	4.33	7	4.28	5	4.25	11=
Comm. Spir.	4.02	11	4.11	10=	4.17	8=	4.02	15
Friendliness	4.22	10	4.17	9	4.4	4	4.25	11=
Active Com.	3.64	21	3.06	29	3.55	27	3.44	28
Racial Harm	3.61	22	3.22	26	3.83	20	3.74	23=
Impersonal	3.89	14	3.39	22=	3.65	24	3.74	23=
Place. to Go	3.35	28=	3.39	22=	3.64	25	3.33	30=
Leisure	3.46	24	3.33	25	3.34	31	3.25	31=
Sports	3.45	25	3.22	26=	3.41	28	3.54	27
Services	3.92	13	3.83	16=	3.97	15	3.89	18
Amenity	3.43	26	3.11	28	3.69	23	3.86	20
Shopping	3.89	15	4.00	14=	4.02	13=	4.32	6
Education	3.81	18	3.50	21	3.88	19	4.4	3
Health	4.33	6	4.50	3=	4.28	6	4.54	2

R'k = The Ranking of the Factor; M'n = The Mean of the factor

TABLE 92 (Continued)
 RANKING LISTS OF MEANS OF RESPONDENTS BROKEN DOWN
 BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
 What's important in the choice of where to live.

FACTOR	<u>SEMI SKILL'D MANUAL</u>		<u>UNSKILLED MANUAL</u>		<u>FARMERS</u>	
	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k	M'n	R'k
Qual Coun	3.52	27	3.19	27	2.81	34
Q Hous Gen'l	4.21	13	3.94	13	4.01	14
Cost O.Cc.	4.12	15	4.04	8	4.32	8
Access Cou.	3.34	32	3.14	29	2.41	35
Cost P. Rent	3.16	34	3.04	32	3.05	33
Pub. Trans't	3.39	28=	3.56	22	3.17	29
Travel Work	4.24	12	3.84	15	3.62	23
Access	3.38	30	3.24	26	3.77	20
Environm't	4.44	7=	4.47	2	4.45	5
Pollution	4.67	2	4.5	1	4.36	7
Scenic B'ty	3.71	24	3.97	11=	3.79	19
Climate	3.12	35	3.12	31	3.66	22
Cost Living	4.35	9	4.09	6	4.02	12
Wage Lev's	4.44	7=	3.9	14	3.86	18
Eco. Dev't	3.39	28=	3.13	30	3.14	30
Unemploy't	4.09	16	3.73	18=	3.6	24
Emp't Pros.	4.66	3	4.00	10	3.95	16
Viol't Crime	4.53	5	4.19	5	4.48	3
Non-Vio C'm	4.56	4	3.97	11=	4.47	4
Safe Kids	4.46	6	4.39	3	4.63	1
Size	4.06	18	3.75	17	4.02	12=
Pace of L'fe	4.26	11	4.06	7	4.19	10
Comm. Spir.	4.03	19	3.7	20	4.2	9
Friendliness	4.33	10	4.03	9	4.38	6
Active Com.	3.68	25	3.16	28	3.57	26
Racial Harm	3.82	21=	3.55	23	3.59	25
Impersonal	3.82	21=	3.45	24	3.75	21
Place. to Go	3.53	26	3.03	33	3.13	31
Leisure	3.35	31	2.87	35	3.21	28
Sports	3.23	33	2.94	34	3.12	32
Services	4.21	14	3.73	18=	3.97	15
Amenity	3.76	23	3.44	25	3.39	27
Shopping	4.09	17	3.76	16	3.87	17
Education	3.85	20	3.69	21	4.03	11
Health	4.68	1	4.24	4	4.49	2

R'k = The Ranking of the Factor; M'n = The Mean of the factor

Perhaps the most obvious thing to note on investigating the lists is the similarities between many of the ranks. The differences between the ranking and rating of *several* factors between different occupational classes may reflect Maslow's theory of a hierarchy of needs which need to be satisfied, but as with other factors, such as location and migrational group, the overall pattern

for the ranking of *all* the factors is one of affinity between the socio-occupational groups.

The correlations between the ranking lists produced by the respective socio-occupational groups show that all the Spearman's Rank correlations are positive and very strong to the 99% confidence level. This indicates that none of the ranking lists are significantly different from one another. However, if the correlations amongst different ranking lists are compared (as those between different areas and ages were), then a pattern of sorts does emerge, although it is not as strong or clear cut as the corresponding pattern for different age groups were.

If the ranking list for the professionals, managers and employers are compared to the other five, it is evident that the strongest correlations are found with the other two non-manual occupational classes, suggesting that the perceptions of the top occupational class are most closely related to those of other relatively affluent socio-occupational classes, and the strongest relationship is found with the 'next class down' - the intermediate and skilled non-manual workers. The strongest correlations (0.90 & 0.89 between the professional managerial and the skilled non-manual and the junior non-manual workers respectively) compare with those of 0.75, 0.69 and 0.79 produced between the ranking list produced by the professional managerial respondents, and those of the skilled manual workers, the semi-skilled manual workers and the unskilled manual workers respectively. The almost perfect correlation between the decreasing strength of the Spearman's Rank correlation and the increasing social distance between the classes is upset only by the perceptions of the unskilled manual workers, perceptions, as will be shown throughout this section, which are idiosyncratic in comparison to those of the other groups.

A similar pattern is found between the correlations produced by the ranking lists of the intermediate/skilled non-manual workers and those of the other socio-occupational groups, in that the correlations between the other non-manual respondent groups are stronger than those for the manual occupational classes. The Spearman's Rank correlations between the intermediate and skilled non-manual workers and the professions, managers and employers is the strongest at 0.9, while with the junior non-manual workers it is also very strong at 0.89. However the correlations with the non-manual respondents do not correspond to what may be expected. It may be expected that the perceptions of the skilled non-manual workers would be most similar to those of the skilled non-manual workers, but in fact the

strongest correlation are with the unskilled manual workers, and the *weakest* exists with the skilled manual workers out of the three non-manual occupational classes.

The junior non-manual workers actually provide another interesting pattern. Rather than the ranking lists provided by the responses of the junior non-manual workers being more alike those of the other non-manual classes, the ranking list actually exhibits stronger correlations with the three manual occupational classes. (Spearman's Rank correlations of 0.75 & 0.76 with professional and intermediate non-manual vs 0.89, 0.89 & 0.91 with the three manual classes). This suggests that members of the junior non-manual occupational class *may* be closer in their socio-economic background, their educational achievement, their financial and housing situation, and their demographic breakdown to the manual classes than to the more senior non-manual groups. This is not an unreasonable suggestion to make as junior non-manual workers, such as bank clerks or secretaries, would tend to be younger, relatively poorly paid, without the benefit of tertiary education, and more likely to be born and recruited from the surrounding area. So it is likely that they share many of the social characteristics of the members of the manual workers, rather than the upper two non-manual workers who are more likely to be older, wealthier, varsity educated, and incomers.

This is backed up by the fact that the ranking list produced by those respondents who were classified as skilled manual workers is most closely correlated with the ranking list produced by the junior non-manual workers, then the other two manual occupational classes, and most weakly correlated with the ranking lists produced by the senior non-manual classes. (0.89 for the junior non-manual, 0.87 and 0.85 for the semi-skilled & the unskilled manual workers respectively and 0.75 and 0.76 for the professionals, managers and employers and intermediate/skilled non-manual respectively)

The point about the socio-economic status of the junior non-manual workers is further emphasised by the ranking list produced by the semi-skilled manual workers. The ranking list correlates - with a Spearman's ranking list value of 0.91 - most strongly with that of the unskilled manual workers, which is not so surprising however, but the ranking list is more similar to the one for junior non-manual workers than it is for the skilled manual workers. Again, the correlations with the two senior non-manual occupational classes are noticeably weaker.

Therefore, although the overall picture between the ranking lists is one of similarity between the ranks, as with other factors such as location and

migration (which were discussed in previous chapters), and housing tenure, (which will be discussed in section 9.4 of this chapter), the differences in the ranking and rating of several of the *individual factors* between the ranks is such that it can be stated that the socio-occupational class of a respondent has some influence in predicting how important a number of factors will be in a respondent's perception, even if this is only predictive for a minority of the factors.

For example, the 'professional, managerial and employers' can probably be assumed to be the most affluent, the most comfortably off, and the group for whom most of their needs are satisfied. It can be assumed that professional qualifications bring a healthy remuneration and therefore these people live in good housing, in a good area, and have little mobility, accessibility, or material worries. Therefore, as their *needs* are by and large taken care of, the ranking list which rates how important factors are in their perceptions most probably reflects their *wants*. Thus, the three topical 'environmental' factors are ranked 1st, 2nd and 3rd with means over the 4.5 watershed which suggests that they are very important in the choice of where to stay. Correspondingly, the factors which are regarded as local economic concerns - 'employment prospects', 'wage levels' and 'unemployment levels' - are only ranked 19th, 27th and 30th respectively, with the former being the only factor to be rated as important in the choice of where to live.

Contrast this then with the ranking list formed by the perceptions of semi-skilled manual workers for whom life is a whole lot tougher. This class of respondents will have a different perspective on life than those at the affluent end of the occupational class division of labour. The fact that 'employment prospects' are considered the third most important factor in a choice of where to live and wage levels equal 7th, illustrate that for this occupational class, jobs are generally less secure, remuneration less substantial, and the opportunities to get into the the housing market less numerous. Also, having a lower wage makes running a car more marginal, and general economic survival more of a concern, especially if there is a mortgage to pay off, and this is reflected in the higher ranking of the local economic concerns, while the luxury of being able to be concerned with 'green' issues in one's choice of where to live is less stated. Correspondingly, 'quality of the living environment' is merely ranked equal 7th, by semi-skilled manual workers, and 'access to areas of scenic beauty' 24th.

'Pollution levels' on the other hand is again ranked second by semi-skilled manual workers, and again rated as very important in the choice of where to

live along with employment prospects. This factor has been consistently ranked highly by all the respondents, as are all the factors which reflect the negative side of urban life. This would indicate that 'pollution levels' are not merely a topical green issue but a factor which is strongly associated with the negative images which formulate signifieds of the larger urban areas. As was hinted at in the last chapter, the negative images of urban life are held and perceived by all respondents, whereas the factors which reflect the rural idyll are held as important by those groups who can afford it, especially affluent incomers.

As is suggested by the two examples above, with the exception of unskilled-manual workers, which doesn't seem to follow the pattern, the environmental factors are rated as less important as one goes down the hierarchy of occupational classes, while local economic and employment concerns are correspondingly ranked and rated as of increasing importance. The 'quality of the living environment' is ranked 2nd, and rated very important by 'intermediate/skilled non-manual workers, while it is similarly ranked 1st and rated as very important by junior non-manual workers, and it is ranked only 9th in importance by skilled manual workers, with a mean of 4.29. As was mentioned before, the 'quality of the living environment' was only ranked as equal 7th in importance by semi-skilled manual workers, but quite surprisingly the factor is ranked 2nd with a mean of 4.47 by unskilled manual workers and agricultural workers, the least affluent of the occupational groups.

The pattern of the decreasing importance of environmental concerns in the choice of where to live, the less affluent and skilled the occupational group, is even stronger between the groups for 'access to areas of scenic beauty' Where it was ranked 3rd by those with the highest status, it is ranked as equal 10th in importance by intermediate/skilled non-manual, 18th by junior non-manual, 22nd by skilled manual workers, and 24th in importance by semi-skilled manual workers, with means which vary from 4.5 down to 3.71 which parallel the rankings. Once again unskilled manual workers, the occupational class with the least status, are the exception to this pattern. By this group 'access to areas of scenic beauty is ranked 11th in importance with a mean of 3.97.

The ranking and rating of 'wage levels' has an inverse relationship to the pattern for 'scenic beauty'. That is to say that the lower the occupational status, the higher wage levels are ranked and rated in respondents' choice of where to live. As was pointed out above, it is ranked only 27th by the 'professional, managerial and employers' occupational class. It is ranked equal

15th by the intermediate/ skilled non-manual workers, 16th by the junior non-manual workers, 13th by skilled manual workers, and equal 7th by semi-skilled manual workers. Once again, however, unskilled manual workers provide the exception as it is ranked lower at 14th than other higher status respondent occupational groups.

Similarly, the rankings and ratings for 'employment prospects' and 'unemployment levels' follow a similar pattern. Ranked only 19th and 30th respectively by the 'professionals, managers and employers' occupational class, 'employment prospects' and 'unemployment levels' are also ranked 19th and 30th by the 'intermediate/ skilled non-manual workers, 12th and 22nd respectively by the junior non-manual workers, 4th and 21st by skilled manual workers, and 3rd and 16th by semi-skilled manual workers. Unskilled manual workers again provide the exception ranking 'employment prospects' and 'unemployment levels' 10th and equal 18th respectively in importance, which is lower than by semi-skilled manual workers.

While the perceived importance of the above factors vary according to the affluence of the members of the occupational groups, the factors which reflect the negative signifieds of urban life are ranked and rated relatively consistently across the ranking lists. 'Pollution levels' have already been mentioned while 'violent' and 'non-violent crime' levels are ranked and rated quite highly by all the occupational classes. 'Violent' and 'non-violent' crime levels are ranked as the 5th and 9th most important factors respectively by the professionals/ managers and employers, while they are ranked equal 5th by intermediate/ skilled non-manual workers. Junior non-manual workers rank 'violent crime' levels 7th in importance in the choice of where to live, while non-violent crime levels are ranked equal 8th. Skilled manual workers rank these factors 7th and 10th respectively, while semi-skilled manual workers, with rankings of 4th and 5th and ratings which are above the 4.5 watershed, consider the two crime factors, on average, to be very important in the choice of where to live. Unskilled manual workers rank 'violent crime levels' as 5th important, while 'non-violent crime levels' are ranked equal 11th.

The fact that these factors are rated consistently highly by all the respondent groups show the strength of the images of crime and violence which are constantly being presented to people in the media, especially on television, which most families, regardless of social class or migrational history, have in their homes. The fact that these images of crime and violence are generally associated with urban areas is undoubtedly important in pushing people out in to the country, and the *perceived* absence of crime is

important in respondents' perceptions when they rationalise what was important when they moved into an area, or rationalise what is important in an ideal choice of where to live. Similarly, the perceived security for children is also very important in the quality of life of young families, and it is also an important aspect of the contrasting simulacra of urban and rural life illustrated in Forsythe's urban/rural dichotomy (see Chapter 2.3.4). Urban areas are perceived as providing a threatening, impersonal and dangerous environment for children, while rural areas have an image of uncorrupted purity, innocence, and safety, which is ideal for raising a family. Thus 'safety for children' is ranked the second most important factor in the choice of where to live by junior non-manual workers, and the most important factor in the choice of where to live by those who are classified as skilled manual workers, with a mean of 4.62. The factor is correspondingly ranked 6th in importance by semi-skilled manual workers, and 3rd by unskilled manual workers. Interestingly, the two lowest rankings for 'safety for children' are found in the two most prestigious social groupings. The factor is ranked 8th by 'professionals, managers and employers', while by intermediate and skilled non-manual workers, 'safety for children' is ranked equal 10th.

There may be two reasons why this factor is ranked slightly less important by the two most important occupational classes. Firstly, it may be that socio-occupational class is an element of age. As was seen in section 9.2 of this chapter, the age of respondents indicates the maturity of their families, and subsequently, the importance placed on factors such as education and to a lesser extent children's safety. The fact that the respondents have been assigned to the the most senior occupational class means that if they are employers or managers, they may have worked up to their position over a number of years, and therefore may of a mature age, and therefore with potentially grown up children. The safety of children is therefore of less importance to members of this group than to other occupational groups which are dominated by younger families whose head of household is not so advance up the managerial hierarchy. Secondly, as the more affluent occupational classes can afford more expensive housing, they probably move to or from areas which are safer, more exclusive, and therefore more expensive, where visible dangers to children are less apparent and the perceived threat to children is less developed.

'Harmony between the races' is also ranked quite consistently between the different occupational groups. The factor is ranked between 20th and 26th

between the six groups, while only the intermediate/skilled non-manual workers do not rate it as important in the choice of where to live.

Whereas the factors which reflect the negative perceptions of urban life are ranked consistently highly at the top of the table, at the foot of the ranking list, the factors which reflect the rented housing sector are once again ranked consistently as being unimportant in the choice of where to live. This is unsurprising really given the current climate towards housing both in terms of the perception of housing by the public and government policy. This is logical for the more affluent socio-economic groups as the preoccupation with most people is to buy a house as soon as they can afford it.

However, these factors *are* rated as more important by semi-skilled manual workers and unskilled manual workers which constitute the least affluent respondents, many of whom cannot afford to buy a house or who cannot gain access to the housing market in their area, and are subsequently dependant on the provision of council or private rented accommodation. Therefore, whereas 'the cost of private rented accommodation', 'the quality of council housing', and 'access to council housing' occupy the bottom three positions in the ranking lists for professionals, managers and employers, intermediate/skilled non-manual, junior non-manual and skilled manual classes (and in the case of the first two classes all three factors are actually rated as quite unimportant in the choice of where to live), this is not the case for semi-skilled manual workers for whom the 'quality of council housing', with a mean of 3.52 and a rank of 2,7 is actually rated as important in the choice of where to live, and 'access to council housing' is ranked 32nd. For 'unskilled manual workers' the 'quality of council housing' is ranked 27th, 'access to council housing' 27th and the 'cost of private rented' 32nd in importance.

As could perhaps be expected, the 'quality of housing in general' and the 'cost of owner occupied housing' are ranked and rated as much more important in the choice of where to live by all the more affluent occupational groups. The 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 7th by the managers, professionals and employers, 14th by 'intermediate/skilled non-manual workers, and 11th by junior non-manual workers. For manual workers the 'cost of owner occupied' housing is ranked 14th by those respondents who are skilled, 15th by those who are semi-skilled, and 8th by those who are unskilled, unemployed or are agricultural workers. The 'quality of housing in general' is similarly as important in the choice of where to live by all these occupational groups. The factor is rated 14th, 13th and 13th respectively the three manual occupational groups (with means which range from 4.21 to

3.94), while for the most prestigious non-manual class, the 'quality of housing' is ranked 12th, while the junior non-manual workers rate this factor as 10th in importance in their perceptions. The means for these two groups are also comparable to those for the non-manual groups. Anomalously, the 'quality of housing' is ranked equal 3rd by intermediate/skilled manual workers and with a mean of 4.5 is rated as very important in the choice of where to live.

Whereas the factors which manifest the negative images of the "popular" perception of urban areas are all rated and ranked quite consistently between occupational classes, those which reflect the idyllic and often mythical picture which is painted of rural life displays more variation in importance between the ranking lists. For example, The 'pace of life' is ranked 4th, 7th and 5th by professionals, managers and employers, intermediate/skilled non-manual workers, and junior non-manual workers respectively, while it is ranked 11th, by skilled manual workers and semi-skilled manual workers, and 7th by unskilled manual workers. It may be expected that the more affluent and prestigious socio-economic groups would rate the pace of life as being more important in the choice of where to live. If one has few financial, employment or housing worries, less tangible concerns such as environmental concerns and the pace of life become preoccupations in life. Similarly, as there is little significant differences between the *respective* mean values of the factors between the ranking lists, it is evident that this image of the slow pace of life in the rural ideal is so strong that it permeates into the collective conscience, and is perceived as important by all the occupational groups, even though the pace of life is very difficult to quantify. The fact that it is ranked slightly lower by the less affluent socio-economic groups is a reflection on the fact that the members of those groups have other tangible concerns which they perceive as being equally important as the stereotyped and conditioned images of rural and urban life. Similarly, 'community spirit' is rated with means between 4.02 and 4.17 by all the occupational groups bar the unskilled manual workers. However, it is ranked 11th by the professionals and only 19th by the semi-skilled manual workers, even though the latter has a slightly higher mean than the former. 'Community spirit' is also ranked equal 10th by intermediate/skilled non-manual, and equal 8th by junior non-manual workers while, with a comparable mean, the factor is only ranked 15th by skilled manual workers. 'Community spirit' is only ranked 20th in importance in the choice of where to stay by unskilled manual workers with a mean of 3.70.

This trend where a factor is relating to an idealised image of rural areas is ranked as more important by more affluent respondents but where the actual mean values are more comparable is found also for the 'friendliness of people', which is ranked very highly by junior non-manual workers in the choice of where to live. It is ranked 4th by this occupational group, whereas it is ranked consistently between 8th and 11th by the other five occupational groups, with means which range between 4.03 for unskilled manual workers and 4.33 for semi-skilled manual workers. However, the mean value for the unskilled manual worker is only 4.4 which is more comparable than the ranking of 11th would suggest. Similarly, the convenience of the 'size' of a settlement has been rated with a similar value by all the respondent groups. The factor is ranked between 13th and 17th by the three non-manual occupational classes with means of 3.86, 4.06 and 3.93, while for the three manual classes the 'convenience of size' is ranked slightly lower, between 17th and 19th, but the means of 3.87, 4.06 and 3.75 are almost identical to the non-manual, with the lowest rating overall being given by the 17th ranked value for unskilled manual workers. The point is illustrated by the two top ratings of 4.06 were given by 'intermediate/skilled non-manual workers, who ranked the value as the 13th most important factor in influencing their choice of where to live, and by semi-skilled manual workers for whom the factor was merely 18th important.

There is more variation in the mean values of two other factors which reflect the idealised image of rural life. Whether a place was 'impersonal' or not was ranked 14th by the professionals, managers and employers, with a mean of 3.89 which suggests that the factor is important in the choice of where to live. However, by the intermediate/non-manual workers, who have ranked the other idyllic rural factors as being relatively important, 'impersonal' was ranked only 22nd with a mean of merely 3.39 which rates it as only 'of limited importance' in influencing the choice of where to live. It is similarly rated by unskilled manual workers with a mean of 3.45 and a ranking of 24, while the other three occupational classes ranking list whether a place is 'impersonal' or not between equal 21st and 24th with means which range from 3.82 to 3.65. Also whether there was an 'active community' is regarded as a factor which is important in the migrational choice by the professional/managerial respondents, the junior non-manual workers and the semi-skilled manual workers, with rankings and ratings of 21st & 3.64, 27th & 3.55, and 25th & 3.68 respectively, while it is only regarded as of limited importance by the intermediate/skilled non-manual workers with a rank of

merely 29 and a mean of 3.06, the skilled manual workers (ranking list 28, mean 3.44) and the unskilled manual workers (ranking list 28, mean 3.16).

Therefore, it can be shown that overall there is little significant variation in the importance in which the factors which relate the positive aspects of the rural idyll are *rated* in influencing or rationalising the migrational decision, but that for the less affluent occupational classes, more factors are perceived to be at least of equal if not of more importance in the choice of where to live. These factors can be identified as those local economic concerns suggested earlier, and those which are associated with the traditional, tangible and well documented problems of living in often isolated rural communities, where the level of amenity, service and transport provision is generally poor.

Therefore, the factors relating to the rural idyll are perceived as equally important by all the socio-occupational groups. However, or the less affluent groups, other factors, which can be termed *needs*, are perceived as equally or more important in their quality of life. For the more affluent respondents, who have fewer economic, material or accessibility worries, these needs are not uppermost in their perceptions, so that the factors which are ranked as the most important in their perceptions are these utopian *wants* which reflect an ideal quality of life.

It may be hypothesized, therefore, that it would be the case that the less affluent socio-economic classes would perceive the more 'traditional' drawbacks of rural living as being more significant in their perceptions of what is important in their quality of life. A group of respondents who are less affluent as well as being materially poorer are likely to exhibit a lower than average rate of car ownership, so that the group as a whole is less mobile. Therefore, travelling to school becomes a concern, as does travelling to gain access to health care, as most hospital and dental care is rationalised into bigger units with larger catchment areas which are accessed by people travelling greater distances by car. For respondents who are marginalised by a lack of a mobility, one would expect the decline of the village shop and the rise of the urban hypermarket to be reflected in the ranking of shopping facilities and the cost of living, while the lack of services and amenities available for those who are circumscribed within their immediate community will be evident in the ranking lists for for the less affluent occupational classes. Also, the importance of access to other important areas for those who have a car will be reflected in the perceptions of the more affluent respondent groups, especially as it is widely regarded that the more professional classes have a less spatially constrained pattern of social and economic linkages,

while the 'commoners' in rural areas have a pattern of living, shopping and social links which is more orientated around their immediate community.

The dependence on the car in rural areas is such that many poorer families have been shown to run a car even when doing so marginalises their economic existence. The sacrifice is often necessary given the demise of the rural public transport network since the Beecham Report recommended the closure of uneconomic rural railway lines in 1963, and the deregulation of bus services in 1987 which meant that bus operators were no longer obliged to run uneconomic rural bus services which had hitherto been subsidised by more lucrative urban services. Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that the only socio-economic group which actually rated the 'public transport service' as important in the choice of where to live is the group which would be expected to consist of the largest proportion of poor respondents; the unskilled manual workers. The mean of 3.56 and the ranking of 22nd compares with an average mean of 3.29 and an average ranking of about 28 in the other five socio-occupational groupings, who regard public transport as 'of limited importance'. Conversely, as was postulated above, 'access to other important places' is not regarded as important by the two least affluent respondent groups - semi-skilled manual workers and unskilled manual workers - with means of 3.38 and 3.24 respectively, and this backs the assertion that these two groups contain a large proportion of respondents who would live, shop, and have all their friends and recreational activities either in or near their immediate community. Being of such low social status, it is also unlikely that they have been able to afford to move in from elsewhere or move out from a neighbouring urban settlement, so it is less likely that their way of life would incorporate old linkages from where they originally moved from, and their way of life would be more likely to have developed and revolve around their indigenous community. For the other four more affluent, and therefore more mobile occupational groups, who would contain a larger number of respondents who perhaps initially moved out from a nearby urban centre, and continue to commute to, shop in and maintain social and recreational links with the place, it is unsurprising that 'access to other important places' is regarded as important in the choice of where to live.

It is interesting, however, that 'travel to work time' is rated quite consistently as important in the choice of where to live by all the respondent groups. As was suggested in Chapter 5, travelling long distances to work was very rare amongst the sample respondent group, and is not such a common phenomenon in Scotland as it is in the South-East of England. Also, the

journey to work time is equally important to all respondent groups, but that more affluent respondents are, the greater financial and geographical mobility they have, they can afford to compete effectively in rural housing markets, and can afford to travel further to work. These groups, therefore, dictate the socio-spatial structure of a rural region. Less affluent respondents, restricted by journey to work time, are also constrained in where they can live by the expense of travelling to work and the capital disadvantage they have while competing for quality housing. Therefore, local people tend to live and work locally and struggle for housing, while within the same space, more affluent people are living but travelling longer distances to work, while, as was mentioned above, shopping and socialising elsewhere.

As was suggested above, it *does* seem to be the trend that these 'traditional' quality of life concerns associated with rural areas assume more critical importance to the less affluent socio-occupational respondent groups. However, it must be stressed that this merely an impression and that the pattern is by no means clear cut. The pattern is very evident for 'the cost of living', and to a lesser extent 'access to health care' and amenity provision', but for 'local educational provision', 'service provision', and 'shopping facilities' the pattern is much less defined than may have been expected. It is no surprise that the 'cost of living' exhibits the clearest trend through the socio-occupational groups. The occupational differentiations are as financially as they are socially stratified, and a high cost of living would be more of a critical concern to those who are on low wages.

'Access to health care' is a factor that has been shown to be critical in people's quality of life in other studies. This is understandable as respondents are both concerned about their health, and also receive a lot of bombardment about the importance of health care in the newspapers and on television, as the health care issue is always a political hot potato and one which is constantly being reinforced in people minds. In rural areas there is also the added dimension of the difficulty in accessing health care for people in more remote areas, especially for those without the use of a car. Therefore, all the respondent groups rationalise 'access to health care' as one of the most important factors in influencing their choice of where to live. The factor is ranked equal 6th, equal 3rd and 6th by the three non-manual socio-occupational groups, and 2nd, 1st and 4th by the three non-manual groups, confirming that in terms of ranking at least, that access to health care is only *marginally* more of a concern to the groups who have a greater proportion of the respondents who do not have access to a car.

'Amenity provision' is another example. Those whose life patterns are less constrained geographically are less dependant on the amenities that are available locally and therefore the amenity provision is less of a concern to them. Conversely, those who live and work closer to home and who enjoy less mobility are compelled to use the local amenity provision and limited in what is available in a rural area. Therefore the amenity provision is more of a concern, and this is reflected in the fact that the two most affluent socio-occupational classes rate 'amenity provision' as being of limited importance in the choice of where to live, while junior non-manual workers, skilled manual workers and semi-skilled manual workers rank and rate the factor as being of importance. Once more the unskilled manual workers provide the exception to the rule as they the rank and the rating is almost exactly the same as that for the professional/ managerial respondents.

'Local education provision' provides an interesting case. Although it would be expected that the factor would be an increasing preoccupation amongst less affluent and less mobile respondents, this does not seem to be the case. The factor is ranked and rated quite consistently between five of the six socio-occupational classes, with the factor ranking between 18th and 21st, and the means falling between 3.88 and 3.5 for these five. The exceptions are the skilled manual workers who incredibly rate the factor as the 3rd most important with a mean of 4.40, which means it is rated just below very important in respondents choice of where to live. The explanation for this blip may again have more to do with demographics than socio-economic or class factors. As was suggested both earlier in this section and in section 9.2, more affluent socio-occupational groups may be characterised by a greater proportion of mature families so that the education of their children is less of a concern, whereas the unskilled respondent group may contain have a larger proportion of very young families, and therefore the children may not be of school age. Those families who are at the optimum age to have children at school age would be found in the greatest proportion in the middle socio-economic groups; the junior non-manual worker, the skilled manual workers and the semi-skilled manual workers and this is reflected in the respective ranking lists. In the case of the unskilled manual workers, and to a lesser extent the semi-skilled manual workers, there may be a certain amount of cynicism, with the attitude of "Well education didn't do be any good" being prevalent in dragging down the perception of the importance of education provision in the choice of where to live.

The pattern for 'local education provision is mirrored almost exactly by the one for 'shopping facilities'. Where it might have been thought that access to shopping facilities would be of increasing concern to those who have less access to them (and have to pay more money for less variety if they cannot get to a supermarket), the ranking lists reveal this not to be the case. 'Shopping facilities' are ranked between equal 13th and 17th and rated between 4.09 and 3.76 for the same five respondent groups, with the lowest ranking and rating actually being given by the unskilled manual workers, while once again the skilled manual workers ranking list shopping facilities as the 6th most important in the choice of where to live with a mean of 4.32. This may reflect a number of things. It could reflect the importance of car ownership for all the respondent groups. It suggests that being able to shop in a town by car is as much of a concern for people as the lack of shops locally is to others, and it also suggests that the high ranking and rating of these general quality of life concerns by the skilled manual workers is indicative of the comfortable remuneration which is afforded to people with skills, but that they are still probably committed to their indigenous communities and see the problems in them.

It is these realistic issues which dominate the perceptions of this skilled manual group and not the mythical images of a rural idyll which dominate the perceptions of those who may have fewer ties with the area nor the preoccupations of employment, wages and mobility, which dominate the perceptions of the less affluent.

'Local service provision' is another factor which is rated very consistently between the six groups. The rankings range between 13th by the mobile professional/ managerial classes, who can travel for their services, to equal 18th by the unskilled manual workers, who by-and-large cannot. The means range from 4.21 down to 3.76 suggesting that the level of service provision is considered an important factor in choosing where to live or in justifying the migrational decision.

There are several other factors which are not perceived to be of significant importance for any of the socio-occupational groups. The 'climate' is rated of limited importance in the choice of where to live by all the six respondent groups. The rankings range from 28th in importance by the professional/ managerial class to 35th out of 35 factors by the semi-skilled manual workers. The means range between 3.40 and 3.12. A similar picture is painted by the rankings and ratings for 'incentives for economic development'. However one socio-occupational group did rate the factor as important, although this was

not the professionals, managers and employers, a significant number of whom would be *expected* to cite economic incentives in their decision to *locate* in the area. However this is not the case as the factor is rated 32nd out of 35 with a mean of merely 2.97, while again it is the skilled manual workers who rate a factor which may be of concern to their community as important (just) in their perceptions with a ranking of 26th and a mean of 3.56.

As has been mentioned above, the leisure and recreational factors do not tend to be rated as important in influencing respondents' choice of where to live. This is not surprising on reflection. Wealthier respondents who have moved in to commute or to seek a higher quality of life have decided that the benefits of living in a rural environment outweighs the lack of recreational amenity, and those people would tend to be mobile and therefore happy to travel to play sport, or see a film, or go to the theatre if they so wished. Amongst indigenous populations who tend to be less affluent and therefore less mobile, recreational activities tend to evolve which are available within the immediate community. Therefore, amongst remoter rural communities leisure pursuits revolve around village activities such as the football team or a badminton club, and other indigenous activities such as driving around in cars at high speed or the consumption of vast amounts of alcohol, while more artistic pursuits which are more commonly available in larger urban centres are not so popular. Recreational activities are subsequently quite basic and therefore un-influential in choosing a place to live. Thus, when the rankings and ratings of 'access to leisure facilities', 'access to sports facilities' and 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time' are examined for five socio-occupational classes are examined, only one factor out of fifteen is rated as important in influencing respondents' choice of where to live, and the latter factor is ranked 25th with a mean of 3.64 by junior non-manual workers.

The overall impression of the lists is therefore one of some differences occurring between the ranking lists which to some extent (but not fully) be put down to the level of economic affluence experienced by the members of the different groups. Different groups are able to afford a certain and varying standard of living which can satisfy parts of a hierarchy of certain needs, initially, and then wants, and this has altered the perceived importance of certain concerns their choice of where to live. However, the similarity between the perceptions of the different socio-occupational groups must be stressed, which implies that although the socio-economic situation of a respondent has some bearing in predicting what a respondent will perceive to be important in choosing where to live, or justifying why they have moved in

from somewhere else, it is by no means the dependant variable, and relationships are neither as clear cut, or as significant as they were for the perceptions of different age groups outlined in the previous section of this chapter.

There are also other processes which homogenise the perceptions of responses to a certain extent, and it is perhaps logical to assume that this has much to do with respondents, regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds, reading the same papers and watching the same television as each other, and being influenced by the same images of the quality of life in different areas. This would back up the postmodern theories on the way 'reality' is perceived. This conclusion is backed up by the correlations between the different ranking lists.

The ranking list produced by farmers is interesting in that it correlated quite consistently with all the ranking lists. The Spearman's Rank correlations range from a value of 0.83 for semi-skilled manual workers up to a correlation of 0.93 produced with the ranking list for the junior non-manual workers. Interesting, although farmers are both skilled and employers and the trend in agriculture is dominated more and more by economies of scale, treating the farm as a large business and desk and managerial farming on larger units rather than doing it yourself, the ranking list for the farmers is more closely correlated to junior non-manual, skilled manual and even unskilled manual workers than it is to the professionals, managers and employers, and the intermediate and skilled non-manual workers. This probably has less to do with the nature of farming as a business and more to do with the fact that farming tends to be a family business and farms tend to be passed down through families, so that farming socio-occupational group has proportionally fewer incomers than the more eminent socio-economic groups. Therefore one may expect that farmers - many of whom do not manage large units and a great many of whom are not enjoying financial security - would share many of the the same local concerns as those in the indigenous dominated lower socio-occupational groups, rather than the factors which reflect the utopian image of the rural idyll, especially the environmental factors which, as was illustrated in the perceptions of respondents from Turriff and Newton Stewart (Chapter 8.5.1 and 8.8.1), do not sit easily within the harder image of agricultural practice in reality which is prevalent in the incomer dominated, financially secure and mobile upper non-manual groups. Also farming communities tend to be close and tight knit, and the concerns of the community would tend to be reflected in the perceptions of its farmers. There

is also a great variety of different farming types included in this one category. Rich and poor, large units and small units, family farms and agri-businesses, and arable, stock, dairy, mixed, sheep and upland hill farmers are all under one heading, and there are bound to a lot of differences between their respective perceptions.

This is demonstrated in the ranking list produced by the perceptions of farmers. The negative signifieds dominate the ranking list, with 'safety for kids' being ranked 1st with a mean of 4.63 which rates it as being very important in farmers choice of where to live. Correspondingly, 'violent crime' and 'non-violent crime rates' are ranked 3rd and 4th respectively. 'Access to health care' is ranked 2nd, with a mean of 4.49, which suggest that many of the images being picked up by other groups through television, advertising, the mass media, and other conditioning influences, are being reflected in the ranking list produced by farmers as well. However, the environmental concerns, which are strongly present in many of the other groups, are not at the top of the ranking list. The 'quality of the living environment' is ranked 5th, while 'pollution levels' are ranked 7th and 'access to areas of scenic beauty', 19th. As has been mentioned before for Turriff and Newton Stewart, farmers have been under pressure to use more fertilisers and more pesticides to get a greater yield out of their land, as they have to maintain or increase profits in order to service large overdrafts under market conditions of increasing marginality. While they are under financial pressure to use more chemicals they are also under pressure from environmentalists to reduce the amount of fertilisers and pesticides they pollute the watercourses with. In this no win situation, it is of little surprise that farmers hold slightly ambivalent views to the important of environmental factors in the choice of where to stay. The other positive factors of life in rural areas are ranked and rated quite highly by farmers, also lending more evidence to the view that everyone who watched television, reads a paper or a magazine is open to the same influences. 'People are friendly' is ranked 6th in importance while a 'strong community spirit' is ranked 9th, the 'pace of life' 10th and 'convenience of size' equal 12th, emphasising the value of a strong and close community to the farming population. Again, the general concerns of living in rural areas are ranked quite strongly as well. 'Access to health care', as was mentioned above, is ranked 2nd, while the 'cost of owner occupied housing' is ranked 8th, 'local education provision' 11th, the 'cost of living' 12th, the 'quality of housing in general' 14th, and the level of 'service provision' 15th. Also rated as important in the choice of where to live are 'shopping provision', 'access to

other important places' and travel to work time with rankings of 17, 20 and 27 respectively. Interestingly, the local economic concerns are not that prominent in farmers' perceptions. 'Employment prospects' are ranked 16th in importance, while 'wage levels' are ranked 18th, and 'unemployment levels', 24th. This is a reflection on the fact the farmers are employers rather than employees, and therefore financial concerns have less to do with whether there are any jobs or the wage levels, and more to do with yields, market prices and profit margins.

Yet again, the factors which are rated as being 'of limited importance' in the choice of where to live concur with those which have been thus rated by the other socio-occupational groups; the leisure and recreational factors, incentives for economic development, amenity and public transport provision, and the public and private rented housing factors. 'Access to council housing', with a mean of 2.41 which falls below the 2.5 watershed, is actually rated on average by farmers as being quite unimportant in the choice of where to live.

9.3.2 Factors Important in Keeping Indigenous Respondents Classified by Socio-occupational Groups in Area

When table 9.5 is examined, it is evident that there is a strong similarity between the indigenous members of the socio-occupational groups in rating reasons why they have chosen to stay in the area. For all the response groups 'employment', the quality of life', a 'strong attachment' to the area, and family ties are important in keeping respondents in the area, while 'the lack of opportunity' to move is either 'of limited importance' or 'quite unimportant' for all the respondent groups.

For the professionals, managers and employers - the most eminent socio-occupational group - the 'quality of life' is considered very important in keeping the respondents in the area, which is unsurprising because this is a group which has the financial resources both to make the most of the positive aspects of living in a rural area, and to negate the economic and accessibility concerns of living in the country. 'Inertia' is not thought important in keeping these respondents in the area, which reflects that the respondents may well have been away to obtain a tertiary education, while they have the economic and occupational mobility to be able to move away without a critical upheaval in their lives. For similar reasons 'inertia' is not considered important in keeping either the intermediate and skilled non-manual respondents or those who have been classified as junior non-manual workers

in the area. Also, the 'quality of life' is only rated as important, rather than very important, in their decision to stay in the area, which could reflect the difference in material affluence which may be perceived as adding to the quality of life between the top non-manual socio-occupational group and the other two. 'A strong attachment' to the area is rated on the 4.5 watershed by the intermediate/ skilled non-manual workers suggesting that it is very important in their decision to stay in the area.

TABLE 95
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS
CLASSIFIED BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL GROUP IN AREA

FACTOR	PROF/ MANAGE	INTERMED NON-MAN	JUNIOR NON-MAN	SKILLED MANUAL
Employment	4.39	4.00	4.41	4.55
Quality of Life	4.67	4.29	4.41	4.58
Attachment	4.35	4.50	4.13	4.53
Lack of Oppor'ty	2.51	2.25	2.14	2.38
Family	3.61	3.5	3.57	3.82
Inertia	2.69	4.14	3.14	3.26

TABLE 9.5 (CONTINUED)

FACTOR	SEMI-SKIL' MANUAL	UNSKILLED MANUAL	FARMERS
Employment	4.46	4.44	4.38
Quality of Life	4.48	4.57	4.48
Attachment	4.5	4.22	4.35
Lack of Oppor'ty	3.05	2.85	2.71
Family	4.29	4.35	4.28
Inertia	4.18	3.64	3.66

The respondents whose head of household are described as manual workers provide an interesting comparison to those of the non-manual workers. With only one or two exceptions, the factors for the non-manual workers are all rated as more important in keeping the respondents in the area. The importance of 'employment' in keeping respondents in the area is most important for manual workers. The skilled manual workers rate the factor as very important with a mean of 4.55, while the respondents whose head of household are regarded as semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers produce a mean of 4.46 and 4.44 which are also above all of the non-

manual responses. The 'quality of life' does provide one exception as the value for the professional / managerial is the highest out of all the response groups, but the skilled manual workers and the unskilled manual workers rate the factor as very important in the choice of where to live on average, while the value of 4.48 for the semi-skilled manual workers is higher than the corresponding one for the other two non-manual respondent groups.

The skilled manual workers and the semi-skilled manual workers both consider a 'strong attachment to the area' as being very important in keeping them in the area, although the unskilled manual workers provide a relatively low mean on this occasion. Although none of the socio-occupational respondent groups rate the lack of opportunity to move as important in keeping them in the area, the three values for the manual workers are all higher than those for the non-manual workers. Similarly, although 'family ties', with means which are above the 3.5 watershed, are regarded by all the groups as an important factor in keeping the indigenous respondents close to home, the values for the three non-manual groups are all below 4.00, while the corresponding values for the three manual socio-occupational classes are all above this value. This pattern continues for 'inertia' also. The factor is rated on average as 'of limited importance' by the three non-manual classes while the mean values for the three manual classes are all higher. Indeed 'inertia' is rated as an 'important' factor in keeping the semi-skilled and the unskilled manual workers in the area.

Why does this pattern occur? Is it because those respondents who are in socio-occupational groups are less discerning and are prone to giving a high rating for each factor, or are there more logical reasons for this pattern emerging. The fact that 'inertia' and the lack of opportunity to move' are rated as more important by the less affluent is certainly logical. It is more likely that manual workers will not have been away to get a higher education, and increase the inertia which contributes to stopping them moving away permanently. Correspondingly, the lack of a degree or a skill makes manual workers less prone to migrate long distances as part of their career and they are less likely to be recruited over long distances by companies, so the opportunities to move are less common than those who possess qualifications, or who are professionals. Correspondingly, for those lower socio-occupational classes who have less career mobility, actually having a job in a recession in an area which may be quite isolated (and therefore where job opportunities are limited) is a big incentive to stay. Also many indigenous people want to stay in an area and it is only the lack of employment that

encourages them to move, so employment and employment opportunities is a very important factor in allowing many people to remain in an area.

It was mentioned above that the more affluent and mobile socio-economic classes would tend to be less likely to work and socialise within the immediate community than those who are manual workers. Given also that members of the same socio-economic groups are more likely to socialise with each other, and that manual workers, who contain a larger proportion of respondents who work and social lives are orientated towards their immediate community, and whose lives are focused very much around one place and one community, it is not surprising that they consider (generally) that a 'strong attachment to the area' and 'family ties', and even 'the quality of life' are very important in keeping them in the area. The latter is important because even though their material well being may not be all that healthy compared to the other non-manual socio-occupational groups, if one's life is centred around one place, and one's experience of other areas is quite limited, then the information which one compares one's area to others is liable to be based on stereotypes and prejudices picked up from the mass media and television. Given that much of this is going to be negative images of the crime, violence, pollution and deprivation of urban areas which does not compare well with life in one's own area, it is not surprising that the life one knows is deemed to have a higher quality than the one portrayed in the *hyper-reality* of the news (see Chapter 2.9.3).

For farmers who had stayed in an area for all of their lives the quality of life was the most important factor in keeping them where they are while employment, a 'strong attachment to the area', 'family ties' and 'inertia' were also perceived as important factors reaffirming the picture of a social group whose lives are orientated around the local community and whose outlook on life shares less with the non-manual prestigious social groups and more with the community orientated manual classes.

9.3.3 Factors important in attracting respondents of socio-occupational groups to study areas

Table 9.6 shows the importance of factors in attracting respondents whose head of household has been classified by socio-occupational classes. 'Employment' and the 'quality of life' are important for all the occupational classes in deciding to move in to the area.

TABLE 9.6
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA :
INCOMERS CLASSIFIED BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

FACTOR	PROF/ MANAGE	INTERMED NON-MAN	JUNIOR NON-MAN	SKILLED MANUAL
Employment	3.80	4.50	3.87	4.26
Cost of Living	2.84	3.40	3.24	2.96
Quality of Life	4.45	4.40	4.35	4.27
Family Reasons	2.87	2.90	3.30	3.41
Housing Avail.	2.95	3.70	3.43	3.44
Lived Before	1.66	1.56	2.24	1.50

TABLE 9.6(CONTINUED)

FACTOR	SEMI-SKIL' MANUAL	UNSKILLED MANUAL	FARMERS
Employment	4.10	4.18	2.85
Cost of Living	2.90	3.08	2.65
Quality of Life	4.10	3.67	4.10
Family Reasons	3.60	3.70	3.65
Housing Avail.	4.30	4.15	2.95
Lived Before	2.25	2.30	1.79

There is no definite pattern for 'employment', with only the intermediate / skilled non-manual workers regarding the factor as very important in their decision to move into the area.

For 'quality of life', on the other hand, there is a clear and positive relationship between the increasing eminence of the socio-occupational class and the importance of the 'quality of life' in attracting the respondents to the area. This, perhaps, could have been expected. The top socio-occupational classes are the most affluent, the most materially comfortable, the most mobile economically (ie. they are more likely to move for a better job or be recruited over a longer distance), and the least egocentric geographically (ie they are less likely that their lives revolve around one community which they feel a strong attraction to.). Therefore, the more prestigious the class the more likely they are to be able to afford to move to an attractive rural environment to live out their rural idyll. Furthermore, the ties with the communities they are moving away from are likely to be weaker, and if they are commuting they can generally afford to do so. Also, the more affluent, experienced and professional the respondents are, the less likely that employment or

remuneration concerns will need to be satisfied in their lives, and the more likely that concerns such as their environment, their perceived security, and their perceived ideal way of life and ideal house would take precedence. Therefore it is of no surprise that the 'quality of life' is much more important than 'employment' for the professionals, managers and employers, while the reverse is true for the unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers.

The less affluent and less mobile respondents have probably moved into the area because they have got a job in the area, or they got a house that they can afford, rather than because the area fulfils their idea of a rural idyll. It is merely that economic and housing concerns are uppermost in their needs, and this is reflected in the ranking list for not only 'employment' but and also for 'housing availability', where the values of 4.30 and 4.13 are much larger than any of the other respondent groups, with only the intermediate and skilled non-manual workers rating the factor as important in attracting the respondents to the area. The importance of the availability of housing for the less affluent and the young has been stressed before, especially when they are competing in the same housing market as more affluent incomers, and it is common for young, unskilled people to move away from a community to another part of the region to seek either a house, a job or both. Evidence for this was found in the results for Strathpeffer and Aberdeen (see Chapter 6.10.3 and 6.10.4).

The influence of the age of respondents has been discussed in section 9.2 but it is perhaps an example of the bias of younger families in the unskilled and the semi-skilled manual workers, as for these two groups, family reasons were considered as important in attracting respondents into the areas. Mooney (1990) has shown in a study of rural housing amongst the young, that a significant migrational move is that of young girls moving from home to live with their new husbands. It is seldom the other way about. This home building would explain why 'family reasons' are rated as important by these two groups in attracting people into an area.

Unsurprisingly, none of the respondent groups cite the 'cost of living' as important in attracting respondents into the area. The cost of living tends to be high in rural areas anyway so it would be of little concern to those moving in from another rural area, and the increase in the cost of living would be an insignificant negative factor when weighed against the positive environmental and aesthetic factors for those respondents who have moved out from the cities in order to commute, or who have moved into the area in order to satisfy their perception of idyllic way of life.

Whether or not the respondents had lived in the area before was deemed as quite unimportant in attracting them to the area.

Farmers who have moved into an area cite only the 'quality of life and 'family ties' as important in their decision to move into the area, and even those have relatively low means suggesting that it is perhaps business opportunity rather than anything else that encourages farmers to migrate.

9.3.4 Conclusion

The findings for the different occupational classes reveal that for several of the factors there are some relationships between the perceptions of the different classes which which could be explained by differences in material wealth and differing lifestyle patterns. This is especially true of the justification of whether respondents stay in an area or move into it. However, these are not as clear cut and as convincing as the results produced by respondents of different age in explaining what people perceive to be important in their choice of where to live. Also, as with the results for indigenous respondents and incomers in the different study areas, the most striking factor is the similarity between the ranking lists produced by the different head of household respondent groups in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live.

This may suggest two things. Either domination of television and mass media images over everyone's daily lives homogenises perceptions and values, regardless of social class and geographical origin, or that socio-occupational class while, providing some differences in perception, is not the key independent factor. It may have more to do with how old the respondents are, and to a lesser extent, the kind of housing they live in, or even what sex they are that determines any difference in how people perceive what is important in their choice of where to live. The influence of the latter two factors will be investigated in greater depth at a later point in this chapter.

Or simply it may be that occupational class, perhaps, is significant. But that due to a lack of a very large sample, the necessity to collapse over 20 occupational headings into six workable occupational classes, that some important, detailed differences between classes have been lost.

9.4.1 Perceptions of Respondents Classified By Housing Tenure

The next classification of the respondents is by housing tenure. It would be expected that this may provide some interesting results. It may be assumed, for example, that those respondents who own their own home may differ in their perception of what is important in their choice of where to live from those who live in council, tied, private rented, or other accommodation. This may be tied in to some of the findings from the ranking lists produced by the different occupational classes. More affluent respondents, after all, are more likely to be owner occupiers. However, the dominance of owner occupiers in the sample of respondents is great. This is due to the prevalence of owned homes in rural areas, the comparative lack of public sector provision, and also the well known sociological fact that the well off owner occupiers are more likely to fill in and return a questionnaire than a less affluent council dweller. The cumulative effect of these three factors creates an immediate bias. However where this may serve to blur any differences amongst the more affluent of the socio-economic groups who are represented in the home owning majority, the fact that some council dwellers have taken the time to take part in the survey may serve to throw up a contrast, where the perceptions of those elements of society who are at the margins are thrown into a relief which was not apparent in the socio-occupational classifications.

The results do indeed throw up a contrast between the perceptions of those living in owner occupied accommodation and those respondents who are council dwellers. Differences in the rankings for several of the factors, which will be outlined below, are reflected in the Spearman's Rank correlation coefficient between the two ranking lists. The correlation of 0.62 is strong reflecting the similarity in rating of many of the factors which are prominent in the perceptions of all the respondents, but the Spearman's ranking list value is still weaker than any of the correlations for the socio-occupational classes of head of households, which indeed suggests that there are more differences in perception at the socio-economic margins, ie. between the majority who can afford to stay in their own home, and the minority who cannot afford even to buy their council house and are dependent on local authority accommodation.

As far as the respondents who are owner occupiers are concerned, as they are in the majority in the sample it is of no surprise that the perceptions in Table 9.7 for this group follow a pattern which has become familiar now. The environmental concerns dominate at the top of the ranking list along with the

TABLE 9.7

RANKING LIST OF MEANS OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY HOUSING TENURE
What's important in the choice of where to live

FACTOR	OWNER OCCUPIED		LOCAL AUTHORITY		TIED HOUSING		OTHER RENTED	
	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk	Mn	Rk
Qual Council	2.21	34	4.48	3	3.22	27	3.18	34
Q Hous Gen'l	3.99	12	4.15	11	3.87	14	4.08	13
Cost O.Cc.	4.37	5	3.55	28	3.63	20	4.11	11=
Access Cou.	1.93	35	3.97	17=	3.17	28	2.95	35
Cost P. Rent	2.29	33	3.34	31	3.12	29	4.06	14
Pub. Trans't	3.17	31	3.68	24	2.96	33	3.46	29
Travel Work	3.71	21	3.66	25	3.89	13	3.77	21
Access	3.69	22	3.41	30	3.49	23=	3.64	25
Environ'm't	4.65	1	4.37	6	4.47	2	4.63	1
Pollution	4.56	2	4.43	5	4.28	5	4.5	3
Scenic B'ty	4.27	10	3.74	23	3.85	15	3.99	19
Climate	3.42	26	3.29	32	3.23	26	3.49	27
Cost Living	3.84	17	4.09	13	3.75	16	4.13	10
Wage Lev's	3.6	23=	3.97	17=	4.04	9=	3.93	20
Eco. Dev't	3.16	32	3.05	35	2.98	32	3.2	33
Unemploy't	3.33	29=	3.89	19	3.69	17	3.46	28
Empt' Pros.	3.81	18	4.07	14	4.29	4	4.11	11=
Viol't Crime	4.39	3	4.29	8	4.16	7	4.37	6=
Non-Vio C'm	4.34	8	4.32	7	4.04	9=	4.26	8
Safe Kids	4.37	6	4.5	2	4.51	1	4.56	2
Size	3.95	14	3.81	20=	3.65	19	4.03	16=
Pace of L'fe	4.36	7	4.2	10	4.02	11	4.37	5
Comm. Spir.	4.06	11	4.21	9	3.96	12	4.14	9
Friendliness	4.28	9	4.46	4	4.24	6	4.42	4
Active Com.	3.6	23	3.76	22	2.98	31=	3.52	26
Racial Harm	3.75	20	3.6	26	3.56	22	3.69	23
Impersonal	3.85	16	3.59	27	3.49	23=	3.7	22
Place. to Go	3.33	30=	3.54	29	2.94	34	3.34	30
Leisure	3.33	28=	3.16	34	2.89	35	3.3	31
Sports	3.36	27	3.21	33	3	30	3.29	32
Services	3.97	13	4.11	12	3.62	21	4.01	18
Amenity	3.46	25	3.81	20=	3.41	25	3.65	24
Shopping	3.93	15	3.99	16	3.66	18	4.03	16=
Education	3.76	19	4.03	15	4.13	8	4.04	15
Health	4.38	4	4.58	1	4.45	3	4.35	6=

R'k = The Ranking of the factor; M'n = The Mean rating of the factor

the factors which are generally prominent in the mass media and on television and which tend to reflect the problems of urban life.

The factors which reflect a diametrically opposed view of a more desirable life in rural communities are also very prominent above the more traditional concerns associated with living in rural areas. Twenty four factors are thus rated to be of importance in the choice of where to live by those who own their own homes, while those factors which are rated to be of limited

importance are those factors relating to amenity and leisure and recreational provision, which the more affluent respondents can travel to obtain or else do without, and the factors which relate to the public sector or private rented housing markets, which are of little interest to the owner occupiers, and with means of less than 2.5, these are rated as 'quite unimportant in the choice of where to live.

The ranking list produced by the respondents who live in council houses provides more of a contrast, however. The two major environmental concerns - the 'quality of the living environment' and 'pollution levels' - are only rated 5th and 6th respectively by the council house dwellers, while they were ranked 1st and 2nd respectively by the owner occupiers with means over 4.5 which suggested that they were rated as very important in the choice of where to live. Correspondingly, 'access to areas of scenic beauty', which was ranked the 16th most important factor by those living in their own home, was only ranked 23rd by those who rent their home from their local authority.

Instead, it is the more tangible concerns of 'access to health care' and the 'safety of children' which occupy the first two positions, with rankings which suggest that they are very important in the respondents' choice of where to live. This suggests a differentiation between those who can afford to treat environmental issues as a concern and others for whom more tangible day-to-day problems are uppermost in their perceptions. The high ranking of 'safe for children' also suggests that the council house respondent group contains a high proportion of young families. The other crime factors are once again near the top of the ranking lists for both these housing groups, reflecting that everyone does get the same images of life in the cities thrust at them, and this heightened perception has passed into the collective consciousness. 'Violent crime' and 'non-violent' crime rates are ranked 3rd and 8th respectively by the owner occupiers, while they are ranked 7th and 8th respectively by the council house dwellers. 'Safety for children' is ranked 6th by those who own their own homes.

The factors which reflect the rural idyll again feature strongly in both ranking lists. The 'pace of life' is ranked as the 7th most important factor in influencing the choice of where to live by owner occupiers, while it is the tenth most important to those who are local authority dwellers. 'People are friendly' is ranked 9th by house owners, against 4th by those in council housing, while a strong community spirit' enjoys a ranking of 11 from the respondents living in owner occupied housing, while it ranked 9th by those who rent in the public sector. The 'convenience of the size' of a place, whether

a place is 'impersonal' or not, and an 'active local community' are also ranked and rated as having an important bearing in the choice of where to live by both respondent groups.

The factors which are similarly ranked by the two groups extend to the traditional concerns of living in rural communities. 'Access to health care' has already been mentioned, as it is ranked as the most important factor in the quality of life by the council house dwellers, and the fourth most important by those who own their own housing. The 'level of local services', 'local shopping provision', the 'cost of living' and 'local education provision' are all ranked and rated as being important by both respondent groups, but the latter two factors are ranked and rated slightly higher by those living in council housing (the cost of living is ranked 13th with a mean of 4.07 by council house respondents versus 17th and 3.84 by those who own their own home while the figures for local education provision are 15th and 3.99 for council vs 19th and 3.75 for owner occupiers), suggesting that these respondents are less affluent and therefore less mobile than those in the other respondent group.

However, by far the biggest contrast occurs, unsurprisingly, when housing factors are considered. Whereas the 'quality of council housing' was ranked as the second least important of the 35 factors in the choice of where to live by those who live in owner occupied accommodation, for those respondents who actually live in council housing the condition and quality is obviously of paramount importance, and this is reflected in the fact that the 'quality of council housing' is ranked as the 3rd most important factor in the choice of where to live by council dwellers. Correspondingly, where 'access to council housing' was ranked and rated as the least important factor influencing the choice of where to live by house owners, the factor is ranked equal 17th by the council house dwellers with a mean of almost 4.00 which suggests that it is important in the choice of where to live. By contrast, the 'cost of owner occupied housing' was understandably important in the perceptions of those who own their own homes with a ranking of 5th, but the factor is only ranked 28th out of 35 by those who either are not affluent enough, or have no desire to purchase even their own council house, and with a mean of 3.55 it is only just rated as important in the choice of where to live.

The 'quality of housing' in general is more of a general quality of life concern, and the factor is ranked quite consistently between the two groups (ranked 12th by owner occupiers and 11th by council house dwellers), as is the cost of private rented accommodation, which is rated as only marginally

more important by council house dwellers and only 'of limited importance in their perceptions.

Also, the fact that the council house dwellers group are on the whole less affluent and contains a fewer number of professionals and highly skilled workers, and a greater proportion of unskilled and unemployed workers, is reflected in the rankings of 'employment prospects', 'wage levels' and 'unemployment levels'. The former is ranked 14th with a mean of 4.03 by council house dwellers, while it is ranked 18th with a rank of 3.81 by those who own their own accommodation. Those respondents who live in local authority housing also rank 'wage and unemployment levels' as the equal 18th and 19th most important factors respectively, with means of 3.97 and 3.89, while the corresponding figures for owner occupiers is only equal 23th and equal 28th, with means of only 3.6 and 3.32, which suggests that the factors are also rated as considerably less important.

Indeed, 29 factors are actually rated as being important in the choice of where to live by council house dwellers compared to 24 by the owner occupiers, and as well as the local economic and employment concerns which are felt by those of lower social and material status, other factors which relate to the corresponding lack of geographical mobility of the council house dwellers are considered important in influencing their choice of where to live. The 'local education provision' has already been cited as a concern for those who may be without a car and who also live some distance away from a primary school. This again suggests that families who live in council houses are younger and contain children of school age. The 'amenity provision' is also rated as important by respondents who may be unable to travel to make use of amenities in other cities, towns and villages, while it is not rated as so important by the more affluent and therefore more mobile owner occupiers. This is also the case in the rating of 'the public transport service', which the less affluent have to rely on, and the existence of 'places to go and things to do in one's spare time', which they may not have the ability to travel to find if it does not exist locally.

This difference in mobility for those who live in houses that they own and those who rely on accommodation which is provided by the local authority is reflected in the ranking and the rating for 'access to other important places'. For the owner occupiers who are more affluent, more mobile, more likely to be of a higher socio-economic status, and therefore more likely to live, shop and socialise elsewhere, access to other places is rated as important in the choice of where to live with a mean of 3.69 and a ranking of 22, while for less

affluent and mobile geographically bounded council house dwellers, 'access to other important places' is of limited importance, with a mean of 3.41 and a ranking of only 30th.

The 'climate' is neither ranked or rated as important in the perceptions of either council dwellers or owner occupiers, as are 'incentives for economic development', or the other leisure and recreational factors which fill the bottom positions in the ranking list for the council house dwellers.

The third housing category in Table 9.7 is that of respondents who live in housing which is tied to the employment of a member of the household . Although this group of respondents can include people who work for the police, in banks, or in tourism, in rural areas the job in question is more often than not that of an agricultural labourer. Therefore, it is not really that surprising that 'employment prospects' are rated as the third most important factor in the choice of where to live, because for this housing group one's job prospects are very much synonymous with one's prospects of having a house. Similarly, for a group dominated by low paid agricultural workers, 'wage levels' are ranked equal 9th in importance, while 'unemployment levels' are ranked 17th and the 'travel to work time', for low paid workers who may not be very mobile, 13th.

The other factors which are rated as the most important at the top of the ranking list are the ones which were the most important in the other two housing ranking lists. 'Children are safe', which was the second most important factor for council house dwellers, is the most important factor for those who reside in tied housing, with a mean of 4.5 which means that it is rated as very important in the choice of where to live. This again suggests a group of younger, less affluent, less mobile families who cannot afford to purchase their own house or even a car, and this is reflected in the ranking for 'local education provision' which is ranked as the 8th most important factor, and 'access to health care' which is ranked 3rd. The topical environmental factors which seem to be important in everyone's perceptions are again found to be important, reflecting the strength of the 'green' images which have become increasingly important in society today, and this once more backs up the validity of postmodern theory and the influence of television, the mass media and advertising in shaping societies wants.

The 'quality of the living environment' is regarded as the second most important factor in influencing the choice of where to live for respondents who live in tied housing, while 'pollution levels' are ranked 5th, and 'access to areas of scenic beauty', 15th. The factors which reflect the negative signifieds

of urban life and the positive aspects of rural living are again rated as those which are amongst the most important for respondents who live in tied accommodation. 'People are friendly' is ranked 6th, and the the two crime factors are ranked 7th and equal 9th respectively, while the 'pace of life' and a 'strong community spirit' are ranked just below at 11th and 12th respectively. The 'convenience of size' is also rated as important in the choice of where to live, as is 'harmony between the races', although whether a place is 'impersonal' or not and whether there is an 'active community' are not considered by respondents who live in tied accommodation to be important.

In fact, merely twenty two factors are rated to be important in the quality of life for the tied housing group, which is two fewer than those respondents who live in owner occupied accommodation, and seven fewer than those who live in council accommodation. This can be explained by the fact that where several of the factors which can be classified as traditional rural quality of life concerns such as the 'cost of living', 'shopping facilities', 'health', 'education and service provision' are rated as important in the choice of where to live, those factors which require mobility away from the immediate work and living area such as 'access to other important places', 'amenity provision' 'public transport provision' and all the leisure and recreational factors are not. Also, although the 'quality of housing in general' and the 'cost of owner occupied housing' are rated as important (although not as strongly as the owner occupiers group), the 'quality of council housing' and the 'access to council housing' are not rated as important in the choice of where to live as they were by the council house dwellers, although these factors, along with the 'cost of private rented housing', are ranked 27th, 28th and 29th respectively and rated 'of limited importance', and therefore as much more important than in the corresponding rankings given by the owner occupiers.

This ranking list produced by the respondents who live in tied accommodation seems to provide a ranking and rating of factors which fill in the middle ground between the two extreme ranking lists of the owner occupiers and the council tenants. This is reflected in the Spearman's Rank correlation of 0.79 between the ranking lists produced by those living in tied housing and those living in owner occupied housing, and one of 0.77 between the tied respondents and the list produced by the respondents living in local authority accommodation. These ranking lists are almost equal, again significant at the 99% confidence level, and stronger than the one between the council dwellers and the owner occupiers.

The Spearman's Ranks correlation between the ranking list produced by respondents of the fourth housing category, private and other rented accommodation, and the other three groups show that the perceptions of those living in private rented accommodation are much closer to those who own their own homes, and to a lesser extent to those who live in tied accommodation. The Spearman's Rank value of 0.89 between the owner occupiers and the private rented dwellers is very strong, as is the slightly weaker correlation of 0.85 with the tied housing ranking list, while the value of 0.68 produced with the ranking list for council house dwellers is much weaker.

This strong similarity with the ranking list produced by those who own their own homes is evident when the ranking list produced by those who live in private or other rented accommodation is analysed. As with the owner occupiers, the 'quality of the living environment' is rated as the most important factor in influencing the respondents' choice of where to live while 'pollution levels' are ranked third. Both factors have means above the 4.5 watershed which suggests that they are very important in the choice of where to live. 'Access to areas of scenic beauty' is ranked 19th with a mean of 3.99. As well as the topical environmental factors, the factors which are ranked and rated as the most important are once again those which manifest the images of the idyllic nature of rural life and the disturbing nature of urban life. 'Safety for children' is ranked 2nd, 'people are friendly' is ranked 4th, the 'pace of life', 5th, 'violent crime levels', equal 6th, non-violent crime levels, 8th, while a strong community spirit is ranked as the 9th most important. The 'convenience of the size of a place', whether a place is 'impersonal' or not, 'harmony between different races' and the existence of an 'active local community' are also all perceived as being important elements in deciding where to live.

The similarity with the ranking list produced by those who own their own home is most evident in the ranking and rating of the housing factors. The 'quality of the housing in general' has been ranked quite consistently between the different groups and it is ranked 13th by those who rent their house privately or from housing associations. However, the cost of owner occupied housing is ranked equal 11th by the private rented group. This compares well with 5th in the ranking list produced by the owner occupiers, while the factor was ranked only 20th with those who rent from the local authority. Also, where the 'quality of council housing' and 'access to council housing' were ranked and rated as being important in the choice of where to live by those

who were dependant on local authority accommodation, these factors are anchored at the very bottom of the ranking list as they were in the ranking list for those who own their own homes. Not surprisingly, for those respondents who live in private rented accommodation, the 'cost of private rented' accommodation is rated as important, and this factor is ranked 14th with a mean of over 4.00.

There is evidence in the ranking list to suggest that those who live in private rented accommodation are young, less affluent families who are living in rented accommodation until they can afford gain access to the housing market. As was mentioned above, the 'cost of owner occupied housing' was rated as important in the choice of where to live, where factors related to council housing were not. Also, the 'cost of living' is ranked 10th, 'employment prospects' are ranked 12th, and 'wage levels' are ranked 20th in importance which lends evidence to the picture of a group of respondents whose financial situation is a concern which is prominent above other traditional rural concerns. The fact that these are probably young families is indicated by the rankings of 'safety for children', which is ranked 2nd with a mean of 4.56, and 'local education provision' is ranked 15th, values which are comparable with those who live in council accommodation and higher than those who own their own home.

However, while there is evidence to suggest that the respondent group for those who live in private rented accommodation is dominated by young, less affluent families who are waiting to get a foothold in the housing market, there is also some evidence to suggest that these respondents are more mobile, and therefore slightly more affluent than those who live in council accommodation or tied housing. 'Access to health care' is not rated as so important by the respondents who are living in private rented accommodation as it is in the other groups (equal 6th vs 4th for owner occupiers, 1st by council and 3rd by those in tied accommodation), which suggests that there are is a lower proportion of elderly people than in the owner occupier class, and a higher proportion of mobile respondents than in the council house or the tied housing classes, while another essential provision for younger families which depends on personal mobility, education provision, is rated very highly by those who live in tied housing. Also, like the respondents who own their own home and are more affluent and more mobile, 'access to other important places' is rated as important by those who live in private rented accommodation while it is not by those who are dependant on tied accommodation and local authority housing.

Furthermore, 'unemployment levels' are not rated as important in the choice of where to live by the owner occupiers and private renters, while it is by council and tied housing dwellers, suggesting that there are a larger proportion of unemployed respondents in the latter two groups. Like the other housing groups, the traditional concerns of living in rural area, such as the 'travel to work time', the 'level of local services' and the 'shopping provision', are regarded as being important in the choice of where to live, whereas the factors which correspond to leisure and recreational activities are once again regarded to be 'of limited importance' in the choice of where to live.

9.3.2 Important Factors in Keeping Respondents Classified by Housing Tenure in Area

TABLE 9.8
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS
CLASSIFIED BY HOUSING TENURE IN AREAS

FACTOR	OWNER OCCUPIED	LOCAL AUTHORITY	TIED HOUSING	OTHER RENTED
Employment	4.32	4.20	4.55	4.47
Quality of Life	4.61	4.47	4.50	4.55
Attachment	4.36	4.60	3.95	4.62
Lack of Oppor'ty	2.65	3.18	2.32	2.71
Family	3.98	4.32	4.05	4.04
Inertia	3.32	3.52	3.47	3.51

Table 9.8 shows how important the six factors have been in keeping the respondents from the four housing groups in the area. 'Employment' has been important in keeping all the housing groups in the other. Not surprisingly for respondents whose home is tied to their employment, employment has been very important in keeping those respondents who live in tied housing in the area.

The quality of life' has been very important in keeping the respondents who live in owner occupied housing, tied housing, and private and other rented housing in the area, while the respondents who live in council housing have rated the factor with a mean of 4.47 which falls just below the 4.5 mean.

The mean values for 'quality of life' produced by all four housing classes were very similar ranging from 4.47 to 4.55, and this confirms that, despite the level of material affluence and the housing and social situation of the respondents, an affinity and familiarity with one's home place, added to a sense of place, identity and community will always tends to make one perceive that it has got a higher quality of life than other places which are relatively unknown.

However, as was suggested in Table 9.5 with the socio-occupational groups, the fact that the less affluent respondents who live in rented accommodation are more geographically confined in terms of where they work, shop and socialise, manifests itself in a stronger affinity and attachment to their community than more affluent and mobile respondents - who in the case of housing class are the owner occupiers - seems to be confirmed in the importance of the other factors in keeping the respondents in the area. 'A strong attachment to the area' is rated as very important in keeping those who live in council housing, and private and other rented accommodation, while the mean for owner occupiers is 4.36, and the respondents who live in tied housing 3.95. It is perhaps logical to assume that those who are dependant on tied accommodation have a stronger attachment to employment than the place where they live.

This idea of the respondents hailing from rented accommodation being less mobile, not only in terms of actual personal mobility but also in the ease of migration due to a comparative lack of education, skills and qualification, is reinforced in the ratings for 'lack of opportunity to move' and 'inertia'. Although the lack of opportunity to move elsewhere is rated of only of limited importance in keeping the respondents of all the housing groups in the area, the means are slightly higher for the council house and private rented housing than they are for the owner occupiers. Also for these two groups 'inertia' is rated as important in keeping the respondents in the area, while the mean for those who depend more on their job for where they live and less on an affinity to a community (respondents in tied housing) is still higher 3.47, which in turn is higher than the mean of 3.32 for the more affluent, more mobile, and less geographically and financially constrained respondents who own their own homes.

Although 'family ties' are rated as important by all the respondent groups and the means are all quite close together, the younger nature of the families who are in rented accommodation is reflected in the fact that the lowest mean is produced by those who live in owner occupied accommodation.

9.3.3 Important Factors in Attracting Incomers Classified by Housing Tenure into Study Area

TABLE 9.9
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA:
INCOMERS CLASSIFIED BY HOUSING TENURE

FACTOR	OWNER OCCUPIED	LOCAL AUTHORITY	TIED HOUSING	OTHER RENTED
Employment	3.57	3.91	4.21	3.15
Cost of Living	2.89	3.19	3.07	3.12
Quality of Life	4.43	4.19	3.87	4.59
Family Reasons	2.96	4.17	3.77	3.45
Housing Avail. Lived Before	3.24	4.00	3.69	3.65
	1.71	2.25	1.67	2.38

From Table 9.9 it is evident that the 'quality of life' is an important aspect in attracting respondents of all housing classes into rural areas. Indeed, for the respondents who live in private rented accommodation it is rated as very important. Once again, the 'cost of living' is rated as of limited importance to all the housing groups in attracting respondents to rural areas, and also return migration is not a significant factor for any of the respondent groups.

'Employment', unsurprisingly, is rated as quite important in attracting incomers who move in and live in housing that is tied to their employment, and with a mean of 3.91, it is also important for respondents who live in council housing. The greater affluence and therefore the fewer constraints experienced by those who own their own homes, and to a lesser extent those who live in private rented accommodation, is reflected in a mean of 3.57 which suggests that employment is only just important for those owner occupier respondents, while the value of 3.15 for the private rented group suggests that employment was only of limited importance in attracting that group into a rural area.

This idea of affluence offering greater freedom from the financial constraints which limit one's freedom of movement and freedom of choice in terms of where to live, shop, to a certain extent work, and even where to socialise, is illustrated in the importance of housing availability in attracting respondents into a rural area. The most important rating for the availability of housing in attracting respondents to an area (a mean of 4.00) was given by those who are dependant on local authority accommodation - the least

affluent group. Those who live in housing which is tied to their work and those who dwell in private or other form of rented accommodation also rated the availability of housing as important in their choice of where to live, whereas the more affluent respondents, who were able to buy their own homes, rated the availability of housing as of merely limited importance in attracting them in to the area. The strength of the positive image of rural areas and the perceived quality of life that exists in rural areas in comparison to urban areas in particular, is such that for those respondents who own their own homes, and even for respondents who cannot afford to, and who are constrained in where they can live through the availability of housing to rent, the 'quality of life' for all four housing groups was rated as being more important than the availability of housing in attracting the respondents into their particular rural area.

The relative immaturity of the families who are renting accommodation is exemplified in the rating of the importance of 'family' in attracting respondents into the area. 'Family' ties are rated as important by council dwellers (mean 4.17), and those living in tied accommodation (mean 3.77), which suggests a new partner in a young family moving into to the area, while the importance of family ties diminishes for those in private rented accommodation (mean 3.45), and those families who are more mature, demographically and financially, who own their own homes (mean 2.96).

9.4.4 Conclusion

It has been shown that there is variation between perceptions of respondents living in different forms of housing accommodation, and this is perhaps partly due to families of a certain financial and social maturity being able to afford to live in different kinds of housing, and therefore different concerns manifest themselves in their perceptions about what is important in the choice of where to live. However, many of the same factors appear towards the top of all the ranking lists, and this has less to do with individual economic and social circumstances, and more to do with perceptions of the importance of environmental and health issues, and the reinforcement of the common and popular stereotypes of the rural idyll and the urban nightmare, which seem to dominate the collective consciousness of all the respondents, and which make all the ranking lists correlate very strongly with each other.

9.5.1 Respondent Perceptions Classified by Gender

TABLE 9.10
RANKING LISTS OF MEANS OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY GENDER
What's important in the choice of where to stay

FACTOR	MALE		FEMALE	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Qual Coun	2.56	33	2.84	34
Q Hous Gen'l	3.96	11	4.08	13
Cost O.Cc.	4.23	7	4.17	11
Access Cou.	2.29	35	2.5	35
Cost P. Rent	2.52	34	2.85	33
Pub. Trans't	3.1	32	3.39	29
Travel Work	3.65	21	3.8	21
Access	3.58	22	3.69	23
Environm't	4.54	1	4.64	1
Pollution	4.4	2	4.63	2
Scenic B'ty	4.03	10	4.24	9
Climate	3.44	25	3.35	31
Cost Living	3.79	17	4.02	15
Wage Lev's	3.68	19	3.75	22
Eco. Dev't	3.12	31	3.15	32
Unemploy't	3.32	27	3.56	26
Emp't Pros.	3.88	14	3.93	18
Viol't Crime	4.28	5	4.45	5
Non-Vio C'm	4.23	8	4.38	7
Safe Kids	4.35	3	4.48	4
Size	3.88	13	3.95	17
Pace of L'fe	4.27	6	4.34	8
Comm. Spir.	3.93	12	4.22	10
Friendliness	4.17	9	4.45	6
Active Com.	3.46	24	3.68	24
Racial Harm	3.54	23	3.88	19=
Impersonal	3.65	20	3.88	19=
Place. to Go	3.28	29	3.4	28
Leisure	3.17	30	3.41	27
Sports	3.28	28	3.35	30
Services	3.85	15	4.11	12
Amenity	3.41	26	3.65	25
Shopping	3.81	16	4.05	14
Education	3.74	18	3.98	16
Health	4.31	4	4.5	3

It may be expected that there would be some interesting differences in the perceptions of men and women. Gender issues have become increasingly prominent in academia in recent times, and it would be interesting to examine whether there are any differences which manifest themselves in the perceptions of what is important in the choice of where to live between men and women, given that rural communities have historically been very macho environments where a 'traditional' relationship existed between the sexes,

characterised by the providing, dominant male and the slightly subservient female housewife. This is, however, a very impressionistic comparison, as it takes no account of geographical remoteness, class or age, or whether the respondents have lived in an area for all of their lives which are all factors may influence the relationship which exists between males and females.

The ranking lists in Table 9.10 reveal that there are few significant differences between the perceptions of males and females about what is important in their choice of where to live. Indeed the Spearman's ranking list correlation value is a very strong 0.97 which is significant at the 99% confidence level, and which indicates that the ranking lists are almost identical.

TABLE 9.11
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN KEEPING INDIGENOUS RESPONDENTS
CLASSIFIED BY GENDER IN AREA

FACTOR	MALES	FEMALES
Employment	4.52	4.14
Quality of Life	4.53	4.48
Attachment	4.38	4.41
Lack of Oppor'ty	2.62	2.60
Family	3.85	4.20
Inertia	3.58	3.22

Table 9.11 demonstrates that it is still predominantly the case that in rural areas that males do tend to be the providers with the jobs while the females, on the whole, fulfil the role of housewife and mother. For males, 'employment', with a mean of 4.52, is rated as very important in keeping them in the area, while for the females it is merely important, with a significantly lower mean of 4.14. Conversely, 'family ties', with a mean of 4.20, are much more important to the female respondent group which contains a significant number of wives and mothers, while for the male respondent group, the factor is rated as less important with a mean of 3.85.

The 'quality of life' is again the most important factor in keeping both males and females in rural areas, and there is little to choose between the two means (4.53 is the mean for men which makes it very important in keeping the male respondents in the area against a figure of 4.48 for females which is just below the 4.5 watershed). There is little to choose between the two sets of

respondents in terms of the importance of a 'strong attachment to the area' and a 'lack of opportunity to move' in influencing the indigenous respondents to stay in the area. Both males and females rate a 'strong attachment' to their area as important in keeping them there, while a lack of opportunity to move is of limited importance. 'Inertia' is also ranked as important in keeping indigenous males in the area, while it is thought to be of limited importance by the females who have stayed in an area for all of their lives.

TABLE 9.12
FACTORS IMPORTANT IN INCOMERS' DECISION TO MOVE INTO AREA:
INCOMERS CLASSIFIED BY GENDER

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>
Employment	3.70	3.51
Cost of Living	2.83	3.10
Quality of Life	4.34	4.41
Family Reasons	3.04	3.36
Housing Avail.	3.33	3.46
Lived Before	1.82	1.82

The lack of differentiation of the two respondent groups in to different ages, social classes and geographical areas, and the bias towards owner occupiers is evident in Table 9.12, where it is suggested that only 'employment' and 'the quality of life' have been important in attracting incomers of either sex into rural areas. 'Employment' has been slightly more important for male respondents, while there is a little evidence to back up the findings of Mooney (1990) who suggested that when couples get married it is usually the female that goes to stay with the male in rural areas, as 'family' issues are slightly more important in females moving into an area in comparison to males, although it is really of limited importance for both groups, as are the 'cost of living' and 'housing availability'. Return migration is quite unimportant in attracting respondents of either sex back to the area.

9.6.1 Social Groups : Summary and Conclusions

Classification in terms of economic and social categories is almost bound to turn up results which differentiate people according to factors which are directly related to their economic, social and housing circumstances in comparison with other groups. This is logical and the case - to a certain extent - in this study.

But the overall conclusion is also that image-led evaluations are distributed widely in the population, even in respondents from the lower socio-economic and housing classes. This chapter broke down the respondents' receptions by age group, socio-occupational class, gender, and housing tenure group to determine the influence of each of these on the perception of what is important in the choice of where to live.

The previous two Chapters have shown that there are some differences in the rankings of individual factors between respondents in different areas and between locals, incomers and non-Scottish incomers (and to a lesser extent between the individual subgroups in different areas), due to factors such as the individual economic, social and functional differences between areas, and the way that the reality of living in these areas is perceived by people who have lived there all their lives and by those who are moving in from more urban areas in search of an idyllic way of life. However, these were not as significant in affecting the ranking and rating of factors as the age of the respondents. There was a clear relationship between age group and the factors which were perceived to be important and unimportant in respondents' choice of where to live. The explanation for this pattern was put down to two main reasons. Firstly, the differing needs, values and wants which people of different ages, and families of different ages have. People tend to get more comfortable, financially, as they get older, and therefore financial, housing, employment and recreational factors give way to more utopian concerns of the rural idyll in respondents' perceptions and finally to community orientated needs and wants. Secondly, advertising and marketing strategies employ different techniques to different age groups. Adverts for products aimed at young people tend to reinforce the image of urban places being cool and exciting, while products aimed at older age groups are often associated with images of idyllic rural areas.

It was also shown that factors such as socio-occupational class and housing tenure, the rank and mean rating of several factors was also directly affected by membership of a social group. However, in all these cases the differences in the perceptions of the groups have manifested themselves in up to a dozen

or so factors, while the uniformity in perceived importance of the remainder has been such that, overall, the ranks have been similar, and strongly enough correlated for any differences (unlike those for age groups) not to have occurred by chance.

The findings for the different occupational classes reveal that for several of the factors there are some relationships between the perceptions of the different classes which could be explained by differences in material wealth and differing lifestyle patterns. This is especially true of the justification of whether respondents stay in an area or move into it.

The results also threw up a contrast between the perceptions of those living in owner occupied accommodation and those respondents who are council dwellers, suggesting that there are differences in perception at the socio-economic margins ie. between the majority who can afford to stay in their own home, and the minority who cannot afford even to buy their council house and are dependent on local authority accommodation.

There was no difference in the perception of factors with gender.

CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION

10.1.1 Introduction

"The quality of life is different up here but not as often envisaged by town dwellers or holiday visitors."

(Comment made on the questionnaire of a respondent who moved into Gairloch from London in 1974, questionnaire G62)

The general aims of this chapter, the last substantive one, are to draw the various strands of this dissertation together before final conclusions are made in Chapter 11, and also to touch upon some of the other issues affecting counterurbanisation, perceptions of quality of life in rural Scotland, and how the two tie in under postmodern cultural theory. This Chapter will also be devoted to discussing some of the other issues relevant to this research but which are outside the direct research sphere, such as the actual impact of counterurbanisation on the communities of rural Scotland where settlers migrate to.

More specifically, the aims of this chapter are five fold. Firstly, to tie up the work on the perception of quality of life undertaken in Chapters 3, 6, 7, & 8, by comparing the results of the repertory grid analysis with those of the survey questionnaire for Gairloch, and compare both of them with Findlay et al.'s study of British Cities. Obviously, there are methodological questions to be raised in terms of how useful is a questionnaire in really unearthing people's perceptions. Therefore, if the results from the repertory grid analysis and the questionnaire produce the same findings, then it could be assumed that both the questionnaire and the repertory grids are measuring the same aspect of respondents' perceptions, and this would be useful in validating the utilisation of a questionnaire survey in particular.

Secondly, a study of counterurbanisation in rural communities could not really be complete without at least touching on the impact of the social phenomenon in the communities where it is significantly apparent. Therefore, this Chapter will attempt to offer an analysis of the factors which mediate the extent of counterurbanisation in any one area, and the significance of the impact it is likely to have.

The third major part of this chapter will discuss the evidence elicited in the two previous chapters to support the postmodern theories of the way that rural areas are perceived in modern society, and the applicability of

Baudrillard's theories of the fragmentation of space into *petite locales*. Drawing upon the ideas outlined in this discussion, the chapter will also touch upon the factors which mediate the actual impact to the indigenous communities of counterurbanisation, and a revised hypothesis to account for the conflict that can occur between incomers and the indigenous communities and the increasing commoditisation of rural areas in post-Fordist times will be proposed.

Lastly, drawing upon the theoretical implications of this research, the chapter will broach the subject of the power of television in influencing the collective consciousness with regard to the way that rural areas are perceived. It will then debate whether there are any significant differences between urban and rural areas, it will question if very remote rural areas are indeed culturally different, and it will ask to what extent indigenous culture in these areas is indeed under threat.

10.2.1 The Comparison of Quality of Life Ranking Lists : Introduction

The first part of this discussion is devoted to the comparison of various ranked lists of factors which have been developed as important in respondents' quality of life, often represented as 'what is important in the choice of where to live'. A ranked list of factors was produced in the Repertory Grid analysis stage of this research (Chapter 3.8.3), and this list included elements of quality of life developed by Findlay et al.'s study on British cities (1988b). The questionnaire upon which the bulk of this study was based, was developed from the findings of the repertory grid stage, while the question structuring of the questionnaire is similar to that used in the study of British cities.

Therefore, it is a logical step to compare the results thrown up by these three studies. Not only is it an interesting exercise to roughly compare a study made using a sample drawn from British Society as a whole with the perceptions' of respondents taken exclusively from an area of rural Scotland, but a closely correlated set of results between those elicited from repertory grids and those from the questionnaire would both strengthen the validity of the results of both methodologies (especially a questionnaire study, about which there are always suspicions about what is really being measured), and reinforce the worth of developing the mass use questionnaire from a more intensive and painstaking interview technique.

TABLE 10.1
COMPARISON OF QUALITY OF LIFE RANKING LISTS

<u>RK</u>	<u>REPERTORY GRID ANAL.</u>	<u>QUESTIONNAIRE</u>	<u>BRITISH CITIES</u>
1	NON-VIOLENT CRIME	LIVING ENVIRONMENT	VIOLENT CRIME
2	VIOLENT CRIME	LEVELS OF POLLUTION	NON-VIOLENT CRIME
3	SHOPPING FACILITIES	VIOLENT CRIME	HEALTH PROVISION
4	PERSONAL SECURITY	NON-VIOLENT CRIME	POLLUTION LEVELS
5	LEVELS OF POLLUTION	SAFE FOR CHILDREN	COST OF LIVING
6	LIVING ENVIRONMENT	SCENIC BEAUTY	SHOPPING FAC'S
7	PACE OF LIFE	PACE OF LIFE	RACIAL HARMONY
8	IMPERSONAL (OR NOT)	FRIENDLINESS	SCENIC QUALITY ACC
9	SPORTS FACILITIES	HEALTH CARE ACCESS	COST OF OWNER OCC
10	PUBLIC TRANSPORT	COMMUNITY SPIRIT	EDUCATION PROV'N
11	CONVENIENCE OF SIZE	COST OF OWNER OCC	EMPLOYMENT PROS.
12	LEVEL OF AMENITIES	QUALITY OF HOUSING	WAGE LEVELS
13	ACCESS TO SCENERY	IMPERSONAL	UNEMPLOYMENT
14	LEISURE	LEVEL OF SERVICES	CLIMATE
15	UNEMPLOYMENT	CONVENIENCE OF SIZE	SPORTS FACILITIES
16	EMPLOYMENT PROS	EDUCATION PROV'N	TRAVEL TO WORK
17	TRAVEL TO WORK	COST OF LIVING	LEISURE FACILITIES
18	COMMUNITY SPIRIT	RACIAL HARMONY	QUALITY OF COUNCIL
19	QUALITY OF HOUSING	EMPLOYMENT PROS/TS	ACCESS TO COUNCIL
20	LEVEL OF SERVICES	SHOPPING FACILITIES	COST PRIV RENTED
21	RACIAL HARMONY	ACTIVE COMMUNITY	**
22	ACCESSIBILITY	WAGE LEVELS	**
23	EDUCATION PROV.	AMENITY PROVISION	**
24	ECONOMIC DEVEL	TRAVEL TO WORK	**
25	WAGE LEVELS	UNEMPLOYMENT	**
26	PLACES TO GO	PLACES TO GO	**
27	COST OF LIVING	CLIMATE	**
28	QUALITY OF COUNCIL	SPORTS FACILITIES	**
29	COST OF O. OCC.	PUBLIC TRANS SERVICE	**
30	FRIENDLINESS	ACCESSIBILITY	**
31	ACCESS TO COUNCIL	ECONOMIC DEVT	**
32	HEALTH CARE	LEISURE FACILITIES	**
33	COST PR. RENTED	COST PRIVATE RENT	**
34	CLIMATE	ACCESS TO COUNCIL	**
35	**	QUALITY OF COUNCIL	**

The repertory grid rank is taken from Chapter 3 of this study. The Questionnaire list is derived from the respondents of the Gairloch & Loch Torridon study area in Chapter 7. The Rank for British Cities is derived from Findlay, Morris and Rogerson (1988a).

Table 10.1 shows the three respective ranked lists, the thirty four factors of the summed standard deviation of the repertory grid analysis, the list produced by the questionnaire sample, again from the respondents of Gairloch (for comparison sake), and the list of twenty factors used by Findlay et al. (1988a) in their study on British cities. Of course these lists are not directly comparable. There was one more factor used in the rural questionnaire than in the repertory grids, and one or two of the factors had their names changed as the questionnaire was developed. To aid comparison with the twenty factors from the British study the respective factors have been highlighted in the other two lists.

10.2.2 The Results of the Repertory Grid Analysis Compared to Those of The Questionnaire Study

It must be acknowledged that some differences between the performance of factors will be due to the way the information was gained, while there will also be differences over the levels of comprehension of the questions, especially as the presentation of some of the factors were changed between the repertory grids and the questionnaire. It could also be argued that there is a fundamental difference between the two techniques in that comparing places in terms of quality of life elicits a reflective response, while asking them what is important in their choice of where to live elicits a pro-active one. In other words, the responses need to utilise and reflect on their experience of places, or their perceived experience of places (or even their experience of the perception of places) to differentiate places in terms of quality of life. When filling in a questionnaire by contrast, it may be expected that respondents will draw less on personal experience and more on the popular images of rural and urban areas when formulating their perceptions. Therefore, differences exist in the kind of perceptive process which the two techniques unearth.

However, even taking these points into account, a comparison of the ranking lists produced by the respondents of Wester Ross with repertory grids and questionnaires makes for interesting analysis. There are factors which are both rated as important in the choice of where to live, *and* actively used to differentiate between areas in terms of quality of life. There are also factors which are not rated as important in terms of a migrational decision when respondents rationalise their values on a questionnaire, but which

respondents do actively use to differentiate places in terms of quality of life, while in contrast there are factors which are ranked low in the repertory grid analysis but which are found towards the top of the list in the responses to the questionnaire.

Once again, the factors which are found at the top of both ranking lists are the factors of crime, the environmental factors and the factors which reflect the positive elements of the rural idyll. An interesting point is that in the list produced by the repertory grids, the most important factors are those which relate to crime and personal security (ranked 1st, 2nd and 4th) which predominate over environmental concerns (ranked 5th, 6th and 13th), while in the ranking list from the questionnaire the situation is reversed (the crime and security factors ranked 4th, 5th and 6th while the environmental factors are ranked 1st, 2nd and 6th.) This may be because environmental factors were very topical in the news at the time so that everyone filling out questionnaires rated them as very important in their choice of where to live, and while it is not quite so easy to differentiate places in terms of quality of life using environmental constructs, it is very easy to do so using perceived crime levels and a perceived threat to one's personal security.

Also featuring strongly in both ranking lists are the factors which reflect the positive elements of the rural idyll. Factors such as the 'pace of life', 'community spirit', the 'convenience of size', and whether a place is 'impersonal' or not are all included in this category. Interestingly, the 'friendliness of people' is ranked as the 8th most important factor in the choice of where to live by respondents of Gairloch, but in the repertory grids there are 29 other factors which have greater utility in differentiating places in terms of quality of life. This is because the friendliness of rural people over their urban counterparts is a mythical stereotype and a strong element of the urban/rural dichotomy. However, when it actually comes to differentiating places in terms of how friendly people actually are, respondents find that there are not really any tangible differences between people everywhere.

The main conclusions from the factors which are both the most important in differentiating places in terms of quality of life and the most important in the choice of where to live is that they generally all conform to the elements highlighted in the urban/rural dichotomy (Chapter 2.3.4), the negative simulacra of urban spaces and the positive simulacrum of the rural idyll which are stereotyped and strongly conditioned on television, in literature, in the mass media, and in advertising. Therefore, the fact that these factors head both ranks is a strong vindication of postmodern theory regarding the

influence of television and the mass media in shaping peoples' perception of reality, and developing their representations of space. Also, the fact that these factors appear at the top of both ranking lists is a vindication that both techniques are investigating the same phenomena, and that the questionnaire is indeed recording the relative importance of factors in respondents' perceptions.

There are several factors, however, which are ranked higher in the list produced by the repertory grid analysis than in the corresponding one for the questionnaire suggesting that, although these are not perceived as being that important in the choice of where to stay, they are actively used to differentiate places in terms of quality of life. For example, 'shopping facilities' is ranked 3rd in the repertory grid analysis in comparison to 20th in the questionnaire ranking list. This explanation for this may be because 'shopping facilities does not conform to any element of the urban/rural dichotomy, and it is not something that people actively consider when making a migration decision. However, shopping provision is a very tangible concern, especially in a remote rural area such as Gairloch which suffers from a lack of shopping provision, and a factor which people react to, so that the presence or absence of shopping is a construct which subjects can easily use to differentiate places. This explanation can be extended to other factors such as 'sports facilities', 'public transport provision', the 'level of amenities', 'leisure and entertainment facilities', and 'unemployment levels'. In each case the factor is ranked higher in the repertory grid analysis than in the questionnaire. These are factors which are not those people consider important in a choice of where to live or which could be said to be considered critical to the migrational decisions of incomers, and in each case these are factors which incomers to the area consider after they arrive, while they do not form part of the rural idyll or the urban nightmare. However, these are factors which are notable for their absence in the Gairloch (apart from unemployment), and which are perceived to be more or less abundant in other areas of varying quality of life. Therefore, it is a case of respondents reacting to the scarcity of the factor in Gairloch and they do not consider the factor important until after they have made a migrational decision.

'Travel to work time' and 'accessibility' are ranked higher in the repertory grid stage than in the questionnaire, but this, as has been discussed before, is because people who have lived in the area for all of their lives or have moved in to such a remote area are not concerned about accessibility or travelling to work, otherwise they would not live there. Therefore it is logical that these

factors are not rated as important in the choice of where to stay but they may be used to differentiate places in terms of quality of life.

There are also several factors which are ranked higher in the list produced by the questionnaire than in the one produced by the repertory grid. These are 'health care access', the 'cost of owner occupied housing', the 'quality of housing', the 'level of services', education provision', the 'cost of living' and the 'climate'. These are all factors which are all indeed important in the migration decision. Having good access to health care is important (although not so for respondents of Gairloch in comparison to other areas due to the proximity of the area), as is the cost and quality of housing, the level of services of an area, the quality and existence of the education provision, the cost of living, and even the climate. However when it comes to actually trying to differentiate places in terms of quality of life using these constructs, people simply do not have enough knowledge to do so, or the construct is distributed ubiquitously. For example, most places have access to reasonable health, educational and service provision, there are areas of high and low quality housing in most places, the cost of living in London is not that much different from that in rural Wester Ross and the climate does not vary in extremes across the UK.

Due to the bias of both samples towards owner occupiers who have little interest in rented or council housing the factors which reflect these issues are found at the bottom of both ranking lists.

Therefore, the fact that factors which reflect the stereotyped images of rural and urban spaces are ranked as important both in the choice of where to live and in differentiating places is important. As was mentioned above, the repertory grids produce a reflective perception response in respondents, while the questionnaire questions produce more of a pro-active one. The fact that both techniques provide similar results means that people's perceived experience of places are being calibrated by postmodern images of the rural idyll and the urban hell. This then is some evidence to back up the idea that the strength of television and the mass media in shaping people's perceptions has at least been partly responsible for elements of the counterurbanisation phenomena.

10.2.3 The Perceptions of the Respondents of Gairloch Compared to Those of The British Public

There is a strong comparison between both the ranking lists produced by questionnaires. Although there are only twenty factors in the list of factors

produced by the public in the British Cities study, the factors which correspond in the list from rural Scotland are ranked in much the same order. The only significant differences are that the crime factors predominate over the environmental ones in the list for British cities. This may have been a function of the time the respective questionnaires were administered, or it may be a function of the geographic locale where the questionnaires were administered.

The British Cities questionnaire was administered mostly in cities, and therefore the images which predominate are those of the negative simulacrum of city life. The positive images of rural life, exemplified by 'scenic quality access', are not as strong, because the study was not administered to people living in rural areas. However, a true comparison is not possible because the mythical, intangible elements of the rural idyll, which were developed into the rural questionnaire through repertory grid analysis, are absent in the list for British cities, mainly because it was impossible for the study group to develop indicators for them.

When comparing the ranking list of British Cities to the list of ranked standard deviations produced from the repertory grid analysis, it can be seen that 4 of the most important 5 construct factors appear at the top of the dimensions of the quality of life list, suggesting that these constructs are both important to a high quality of life, and also ones which people use to differentiate between areas of varying quality of life. Of the next 7, only one, 'sporting facilities' is on the British Cities list. This is perhaps a reflection of the study being designed to investigate what rural people's criteria for a high quality of life are. Living environment, pace of life, whether the place is impersonal or not, public transport convenience of size to live in and access to nice scenery are all elements of the rural idyll, and factors for which respondents' used a wide range of statement response scores while completing the grid.

Many of the British Cities factors occupy the lower reaches of the standard deviation list (8 of the last 10), but this does not mean that people do not perceive these factors as being important in their quality of life. It may be just that some constructs, as was mentioned before, such as the climate, are indistinguishably different from place to place, and although the weather may be important to a persons quality of life it is difficult to differentiate places in terms of it .

As respondents only elicited 15 to 20 constructs during the repertory grid test it is perhaps fair to assume that they are only actively using the first

twenty or so constructs on the respective questionnaire lists to separate areas in terms of quality of life. The fact that many of these are distinctive to rural areas and form part of the rural idyll is encouraging.

Elements of crime and personal security were found at the top of all three ranking lists. As was suggested earlier in these studies, where the perception of the rural idyll varies between people of different ages, between people of different socio-occupational groups, between different migrational groups and between respondents in different areas, the negative images of urban areas are perceived equally strongly by all respondents regardless of location, social class, or migrational group, and regardless of whether the respondent lives in a town or a city. This fact perhaps goes to explain why counterurbanisation has been such a significant social phenomenon in recent, postmodern times.

10.3.1 The Negative Impact of Counterurbanisation in Rural Areas

Much has been discussed so far in this thesis in general and in Chapter 6 in particular about the existence of counterurbanisation in different parts of rural Scotland, and the manifestation of this process in different kinds of population trends. However, no study relating to counterurbanisation could be complete without at least a brief word on the impact of this social process, both positive and negative, in these rural areas. Also discussed in this section are the factors which influence the extent of counterurbanisation in any area, and the factors which mediate the impact of this in-migration in different areas with particular attention being paid to the perceived conflict which occurs between incomers and indigenous respondents.

The negative effects of significant numbers of incomers on the indigenous communities have been well documented. These have been summarised in Table 10.2.

The raising of house prices due to competition from an increasing number of incomers is a problem which is common to many rural areas within Britain and one which has been attracting a lot of attention from academics, the press and housing authorities alike. The situation was reinforced by the urban property boom of the 1980s which gave city emigrants a huge capital advantage over rural dwellers after they sold their houses and incomers were consequently able to outbid local folk in any rural housing market. Thus, house prices in many rural communities have been raised out of the range of the indigenous members of the community, and with newcomers buying any available housing, opportunities to gain access to the housing market in

prestige rural environments for the young indigenous population, many of whom are already poorly paid, in areas where local authority housing provision has traditionally been low, have diminished.

The increase in conflict will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter when it will be analysed with regard to a postmodern framework (section 10.4.1).

TABLE 10.2
COUNTERURBANISATION: POSSIBLE DETRACTIONS FROM
INDIGENOUS QUALITY OF LIFE

1. RAISING OF HOUSE PRICES
2. REDUCTION IN ACCESS TO LOCAL HOUSING MARKET
3. INCREASING CONFLICT WITH COMMUNITY
4. AGING POPULATION STRUCTURE
5. DECLINE OF SHOPS, SERVICES AND CLOSURE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL
6. CONTRACTION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE
7. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
8. GENTRIFICATION OF HOUSING STOCK
9. APPROPRIATION OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP
10. THE SUBSTITUTION OF ABILITY (Appropriation of local economic control or means of production)
11. INDIGENOUS SOCIETY, TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE AND COLLECTIVE COMMUNITY HISTORY UNDERMINED

An influx of elderly people to replace young families who have moved out of a rural area will have implications for the traditional culture and community, while an influx of elderly people puts added strain on the health, care and social services. The loss of young families, and their replacement by families who are generally older and who do not have young children threatens the local primary school, which in many rural areas provides the focus for the indigenous community.

It is commonly accepted that incomers are more likely to utilise shops and services in the urban areas from where they have moved or where they work, and will have less loyalty to local shops and services, the viability of which will be threatened as a result. This has serious implications for the local population, particularly the immobile who are dependant on local shops and services.

The incomers to a rural area, as demonstrated in Chapter 6.3.1, tend to be more affluent in general than their indigenous counterparts. Therefore a higher proportion of them will have access to a car. This added freedom to travel to shops and services, as well as serving to undermine local shops and amenities, also undermines the viability of the local transport system. This again has serious implications for the immobile, who are dependant on the rural bus service. In many areas the public transport service is already marginal, while the service is often poor at the best of times.

Many rural areas, particularly those near large urban centres, and particularly those in the South of England, have undergone housing development, generally in the forms of private estates. These have the effect of attracting a proportionally large influx of incomers to rural villages, while such developments are generally perceived as detracting from the quality of the local environment. Many original houses in rural villages when bought by incomers are also cultivated to look more "authentic". This gentrification of the fabric of a rural village is also often perceived as being detrimental by the indigenous population who resent being lectured on what is authentic and traditional.

Another detrimental aspect to rural life due to the arrival of a large number of incomers is the widespread perception that incomers have tended to appropriate the political and cultural leadership of the communities they move into. There was much evidence from the eight rural areas in this study that it was incomers who were inclined to be motivated enough to go on community councils, community hall committees and other local political groups, and this was a source of conflict and ill-feeling in these rural areas. This is especially apparent in remote Highland areas and on islands (as was highlighted by Forsythe 1982), where the cultural norm of the indigenous people was to decline to put themselves forward for positions of authority in contrast to the incomers, who were much more pushy and less restrained.

Once in positions of political power there often exists the perception that incomers want things to be run in accordance with their rural idyll, in the way that they think matters should be run, which often differs markedly from the way that things actually are done, and have been done traditionally by the indigenous culture. Lewis and Maund (1976) suggested that the essential characteristic of rural values is that they are *local* in nature.

"Each rural society tends to have different sets of values and attitudes, and therefore, there is little uniformity in values over a wide area."

In contrast incomers promote national values which have been conditioned by their urban background and the rural stereotypes of the idyll pedalled by television and popular literature. This rural setting for newcomers' urban attitudes, including a much more materialistic attitude towards life, is in conflict with the indigenous culture. As Cloke and Goodwin (1992) suggest,

"it may be that new rural residents have hijacked existing cultures and replaced them with something very different."

This may not affect the way a rural area looks but it will have serious implications for the way it feels to live in a rural community. Lewis and Maund (1976) suggest that population and repopulation (to which could certainly be added postmodern in-migration) appear to accentuate the demise of the local value system - which is of critical importance to the quality of life and the sense of identity and community of the indigenous population - while depopulation contributes to its eventual collapse. They also suggest that given that incomers have friends in many other places and often socialise and work elsewhere, while locals lead more spatially restricted lives, the influx of incomers would appear to create a more segregated and behaviourally extensive society, whilst depopulation contributes to a collapsing society. Therefore, in-migration, especially people who have moved in, inspired by the mythical stereotype of rural life, and who try and change the way of life and the way things are done locally through the appropriation of political and cultural leadership, serves to undermine the indigenous society, the traditional way of life and the collective community history and indigenous culture.

10.3.2 The Positive Effects of Counterurbanisation in Rural Areas

However, as fond as indigenous "punters" and learned academics are of blaming the 'great white settlers' for all the problems of rural areas, in many cases the influx of in migrants can be beneficial to the community in question. Table 10.3 lists the main ways in which counterurbanisation can be of benefit to the community.

Therefore it can be seen from Table 10.3 that there are several ways in which the influx of newcomers can aid a rural community. An influx of people, especially in very remote, sparsely populated areas can keep population numbers above critical viability threshold levels for shops, services, and public transport provision in areas where these amenities were perhaps threatened through depopulation. Also an influx of younger families who are still economically active, as characterises postmodern population

migrants (Chapter 6.8.1), can maintain numbers in primary schools, and consequently maintain an often critical focus for the community.

TABLE 10.3
COUNTERURBANISATION
POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO INDIGENOUS QUALITY OF LIFE

1. POPULATION LEVELS MAINTAINED OR RAISED ABOVE SERVICE, TRANSPORT AND EDUCATION PROVISION THRESHOLDS
2. CONTINUATION AND EXPANSION OF SHOPS AND SERVICES
3. STIMULATION OF LOCAL ECONOMY
4. STIMULATION OF COMMUNITY COUNCIL, COMMUNITY RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNITY SPIRIT (ie. Provision of "Get up and Go")
5. STABILISATION OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE
- 6 IMPROVEMENT AND ADDITION OF THE LOCAL HOUSING STOCK

In many rural areas, shops and businesses can be on the market for months without a local buyer coming forward. Incomers can often provide the capital, the business acumen, and the motivation to run often marginal shops and services, which local people do not have either the inclination or the capital to invest in, thus maintaining important shops and services in rural communities. The influx of incomers, especially those who are still economically active, often provides a boost to the local economy. Ironically, many young people who may otherwise have left areas like Gairloch and Newton Stewart have been able to get jobs with house building firms which have profited by the influx of incomers. Also, sources of local employment include shops and hotels taken over by incomers, or in tourist orientated enterprises which have been set up by newcomers.

Although often accused of hijacking local community politics and trying to get the locals to do things according to their romantic idealised way, incomers can inject the necessary get up and go and urgency to get things done (eg. organising fund-raising community halls and swimming pools for example), which the local population are often to reticent or apathetic to achieve. Again, this is another form of the substitution of ability (see Chapter 6.10.2) Also, the imposition of urban values on rural communities may also include the formulation of various societies, clubs and activity groups to supplement traditional indigenous pastimes (mostly informal and often revolving around the consumption of large amounts of alcohol), and this is not necessarily detrimental to the community as a whole. Indeed, the social energy provided

by incomers can actually stimulate the community spirit in many ways. Councillor Grant from Moniaive insisted that the large proportion of elderly incomers did not detract from the community spirit of the village. He insisted in fact that quite the opposite was true as,

"an elderly population is not a depressed population. There is the bowling club, the snooker club, two village halls - both supported locally - the church hall and the "Evergreen club" which is the most active club in the village, and which is exclusively for senior citizens. Out of a population of 400, the Evergreen Club will get 70 people out to events. The old folk are at the hub of the village social life."

The postmodern in-migration of people in search of their rural idyll can help stabilise remote, isolated communities which may be under threat through depopulation. As was suggested earlier, councillor Davidson from Alford suggested that the influx of younger incomers, who had families and were still economically active, had served to stabilise the aging demographic structure of the Strathdon and Glenbuchat area.

Whereas development of estates in villages due to the popularity of rural locations have detracted from the quality of life of locals, and gentrification by incomers has annoyed the indigenous communities, incomers have come in and built houses in rural areas which has added to the housing stock, and many incomers have had the resources to improve the properties they have purchased, thus adding to the quality of the housing stock of a settlement.

10.3.3 Factors Which Influence the Degree Of and Form of Counter-urbanisation

It can be shown that incomers can have benefits to the quality of life of rural communities as well as detracting from it. However, there seems to be a great many contradictions. Incomers can either push up house prices and buy all the dwellings, or they can build and therefore add to the local housing stock. The influx of affluent incomers can undermine local shops and services, or they can take them over and keep population thresholds over viable levels. One persons gentrification is another persons improvement. Is it appropriation of community control, or the injection of get up and go? Is it undermining indigenous culture with urban values and ideas, or is it improving the way things are done and improving the quality of life with clubs and societies? Is it a case that incomers destroy indigenous communities, or do they actually provide some demographic and economic stability?

Obviously, the situation is not a simple one, and counterurbanisation will vary in intensity and impact from place to place, from region to region, from district to district, from parish to parish, and even between neighbouring villages. Indeed, there are three main issues to be determined here before the impact of counterurbanisation can be understood. These are an understanding of factors which make an area liable to be settled by urban emigrants, the factors which determine the impact that counterurbanisation will have on the indigenous way of life and the indigenous society, and thirdly, the factors which determine the perception the affects of counterurbanisation are seen as having on the quality of life of the indigenous community.

The first of these three issues, the extent to which an area is liable to be affected by counterurbanisation, has been touched upon at different times throughout this work. These factors have been summarised in table 10.4.

Table 10.4

FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE EXTENT TO WHICH A RURAL AREA IS LIABLE TO UNDERGO COUNTERURBANISATION

1. PROXIMITY TO URBAN CENTRES
2. THE PERCEIVED ATTRACTIVENESS OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT
3. THE OPEN OR CLOSED NATURE OF THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY
4. THE STRENGTH OF THE ECONOMY
5. THE PERCEPTION OF THE AREA AS A RURAL IDYLL

As was mentioned above, the influence of these factors in the counterurbanisation process has been discussed at different times elsewhere, so that only a small resumé about each one is necessary at this point.

The proximity of an urban centre determined the degree of counterurbanisation in Lewis and Maund's original model of urbanisation, but in the postmodern model the proximity of urban centres only has an influence in suggesting the dominant form of counterurbanisation, as very remote rural areas are popular with incomers for the very fact that they are located at a great distance from population centres. The general trend from this study is that rural environments close to urban areas are dominated by incomers who have moved out of the urban centre to commute, or have moved into the area to work in the urban centre and who want to live in the country but still remain close to the urban centre. In the English case, and in

the case of the Scottish central belt, many jobs tend to be located in green field sites on the urban-rural fringe.

The very rural areas are dominated by often economically active incomers who have moved in to seek a certain way of life which corresponds to their postmodern images of rural utopia. Generally the area in between, although all the processes operate in each rural area to some extent, corresponds to Lewis and Maund's repopulation area which is dominated by elderly retirees, being close enough to urban centres for occasional access, and not too remote for isolation to be a problem.

The perceived physical attractiveness of the rural area is critical in determining the extent of the counterurbanisation, especially regarding the areas of repopulation and postmodern in-migration. The beauty of the landscape is critical in the perception of the rural idyll, which in these two forms of counterurbanisation, is the dominant factor in the decision of where to move. The physical attractiveness of the rural area, although important, is not critical to commuters. The main factors for this group is a rural location away from the stresses of the city where they can live out their urban orientated way of life. The location is therefore a trade off between rurality and accessibility to the urban centre, the latter being of critical importance in their decision.

The fact that the Turriff area is not particularly attractive physically meant that it was not extensively colonised by incomers. Also, the perception of the close agricultural communities of Banff and Buchan not being particularly welcoming to incomers also contributed to make the area an unattractive one for incomers. Although opposition to incomers by the local population has not prevented colonisation of rural areas by great white settlers, these areas tend to be in 'prestige' environments, and therefore the hostility of the indigenous population is a detraction worth putting up with, whereas it becomes an increasingly important factor in more environmentally unspectacular rural areas. As one respondent who had moved into Turriff remarked, "I was grossly mis-informed about the quality of the people living in this area"

The strength of the economy, as has been discussed above, also affects the likelihood that an area will be settled by urbanites. This operates both at a regional and national level. The relative strength of the economies of regional urban centres determines the spatial extent of the economic gravity of the centre in terms of the distance that people are liable to the centre, and the numbers of people moving out into the countryside. The state of the national

economy and the state of the house market nationally will also have an affect on the number of elderly people retiring to rural areas, as was seen in Newton Stewart. The state of the national economy will also determine the likelihood of a number of economically active 'postmodern' quality of life migrants being willing to risk setting up in a remote area, and the extent that this will happen in less prestigious areas.

Finally, the extent to which an area conforms to a large number of individuals' perceptions of the rural idyll will have a bearing on how popular it is with incomers. For example, the Gairloch and Strathdon study areas are similar in that they are both remote, economically peripheral, prone to depopulation and both areas have experiences in-migration by economically active migrants seeking their rural idyll. However, a greater proportion of incomers make up the respondent sample in Gairloch than in Strathdon, because Gairloch is in the West Highlands, and therefore the scenery is perceived as being more stunning, the area is the quintessential Scottish Highlands of clans, crofts, kilts and whisky. It conforms to the sort of rural idyll captured in the film "Local Hero". Therefore, people have a stronger perception of the rural idyll of the West Highlands than they do of the edge of the Grampian Mountains so more people have subsequently moved there.

10.3.4 Factors Which Influence the Impact of Counterurbanisation on the Indigenous Society and the Traditional Way of Life

As far as the factors which determine the impact that counterurbanisation will have on the indigenous society and way of life, and the factors which influence the affects that counterurbanisation is perceived as having on the quality of life of the indigenous community, the best way of illustrating the sort of issues that are involved is to show the contrasting situation in two study areas, those of Gairloch and Loch Torridon in the West Highlands and Moniaive in Dumfries and Galloway.

The history and geography of any community is important in determining the impact of the counterurbanism process. An example of this would be the impact in the two contrasting communities of Moniaive and Gairloch.

Moniaive - a village seventeen miles from Dumfries - traditionally had a high population turnover due to its agricultural nature and the high numbers of seasonal farm workers it accommodated. Very few people in the village can trace their roots back in the village more than two or three generations. The village, therefore, always had a high turnover of and tolerance to incomers. Therefore, with the decline of the agricultural labour force it was a logical step

that Moniaive's function would change from an agricultural village, with a high population turnover, to a retirement village, with a high turnover of elderly people. Consequently, there is little conflict as it is almost impossible to define an indigenous population, a local identity, a traditional way of life and a local 'narrative of the Sign' which differs from the national norm, and therefore it is almost impossible within the community to define competing indigenous and incomer groups.

Gairloch, on the other hand, is a remote, peripheral crofting and fishing township some 70 miles from Inverness. It has suffered throughout its history from depopulation, and a large proportion of the indigenous population has the surname MacKenzie which reveals the Highland clan history, and the fact that many families can trace their families back for centuries, and there are correspondingly strong and identifiable kinship and community ties. The Free Kirk is also very strong, the Sabbath is observed, and there is a very strong local identity and sense of community fostered by centuries of economic and geographic isolation. There is also a great sense of difference from 'the South', a classic example of Baudrillard's *petite locale* (see Chapter 2.9.4). Therefore the large increase of postmodern in-migration which occurred during the late 1970s and 1980s came as much more of a shock to the people of this area. There is a lot of conflict evident within the community, particularly over housing access, and there are mutterings of hostility and opposition to incomers from the clearly defined indigenous population who feel that their values and their perceived way of life, especially regarding the church, are being undermined. Incomers are middle-class and generally much more dynamic and politicised than their Highland counterparts, obtaining positions on community councils and W.R.Ls, and telling the locals how things should be done.

Lumb (1982) in her study of population change in the Highlands proposed that the impact of counterurbanisation depends upon the size of the receiving population, the numbers of incomers to the area, the proportion of the receiving population who are indigenous, the proportion who have stayed there all their lives and not experienced life elsewhere, the length of time the incomers have been arriving (ie. if there always has been a constant flow of in-migrants or whether they have all arrived in the last twenty years) and where the 'great white settlers' originate from (ie. incomers from other parts of Scotland are less obvious and are perceived to be more sympathetic to the local way of life, whereas English incomers are perceived as being more intrusive and less sensitive). To this list I would add the factors of how remote

and how nucleated a settlement is as a mediator of how incomers will be received. Spatial separation is important in the self identity of a community and the more isolated, remote and tight knit a community is the greater the perception of difference from the outside world, and the stronger the perception of self-identity and community, and the stronger the perception of a unique way of life.

Derived from these illustrations, table 10.5 describes the factors which have an influence on the impact of counterurbanisation on the indigenous society and the traditional way of life.

Table 10.5

**FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE THE IMPACT OF
COUNTERURBANISATION ON THE INDIGENOUS SOCIETY AND
THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE**

1. THE FUNCTIONAL HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY
2. THE OPEN OR CLOSED NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY
3. THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE COMMUNITY HAS BEEN TRADITIONALLY PERIPHERAL OR REMOTE.
4. THE STRENGTH OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE
5. THE ATTITUDES OF INCOMERS; WHETHER THEY HOLD URBAN VALUES OR WHETHER THEY INTEND TO INTEGRATE
6. THE STRENGTH OF THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCE (Eg Strong Scottish Highlands vs English Urban)
7. THE SIZE OF THE SETTLEMENT
8. THE HISTORICAL DYNAMISM OF THE MIGRATIONAL SYSTEM THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COUNTERURBANISATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Therefore the potential impact of counterurbanism on the traditional way of life of a community is determined by eight factors. As was highlighted above in the case studies, the functional history of the community is an important factor in estimating the impact of in-migration. If the village has been an agricultural village where the turnover of incomers has been high, incomers of a different nature will not have that much of an impact, whereas a large numbers of incomers into a crofting township where little has changed over a number of years and where the area has no history of accommodating incomers will have a much greater impact on indigenous life.

If the community is an open one then it is unlikely that counterurbanisation will have as significant an impact on the indigenous population than if the

community was very close and tight knit, and where any affects on the local way of life such as access to housing or the closure of a local shop would be felt more strongly.

If a community is very proximate to an urban centre, it is likely that the community has evolved in a similar manner to an urban centre and that the local population are both quite familiar with urban values and used to assimilating people with urban values into their communities. However, if a community is very remote, and the local culture and social system has evolved over many years in isolation and depopulation has always been the dominant population determinant, then the shock of a significant number of incomers into such a community is going to be much greater for a community with little experience of accommodating incomers, and the potential changes to the local way of life (due to it evolving in isolation from urban influences) are going to be much greater.

Similarly, the strength of the traditional society and the traditional way of life are critical to the affect of counterurbanisation on the community. If, like the Gairloch case study, the indigenous rural society is strong and clearly bounded, and the traditional kirk orientated way of life and culture is strongly defined, then the potential impact of a large number of incomers with an alien set of values is potentially much greater than an area such as Moniaive where the indigenous society is difficult to delimit (given the historically transient nature of the community) and the traditional way of life and the traditional culture is even more undefined.

The attitudes of incomers is critical to the impact of their number on rural areas. This has been discussed at length in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2.9.6). Basically, if the incomers to an area try and integrate with the local community and do things the way the the indigenous community do them, then it is likely that they will be accepted, and that their impact to the traditional way of life will be minimal. On the other hand if the incomers attempt to impose their urban values on the indigenous society, and try and get the local community to do things their way then it is likely that the repercussions on the traditional community will be much greater.

The strength of the cultural identity of the cultures involved are also important. It is likely that incomers who are English and have a strong and well defined set of urban English values could have a stronger impact on traditional West Highland Crofting community than a person who has moved in from Dumfries into the retirement village of Moniaive, and whose cultural

identity is not particularly strong or noticeably different from those of the community they are joining.

The size of the settlement is critical to the potential impact of counterurbanisation on the traditional way of life of the community. A certain number of incomers in a relatively large rural community may go unnoticed, and despite their best efforts they may have no impact in the local way of doing things. However, the same number of incomers moving into a very small community will not only be noticed but if they want to, they are liable to have a large impact on the traditional way of life, and the indigenous culture.

As was mentioned before, the length of time that counterurbanisation has been a significant process affecting the community is a factor. A community only recently experiencing the phenomenon for the first time will experience more of a shock than a community which has a history of integrating numbers of newcomers.

These then are the factors which influence the impact that counterurbanisation is liable to have on the traditional way of life and the indigenous culture and way of life. But as has been said before, the perceived impact of counterurbanisation can vary between neighbouring villages.

10.3.5 Factors Which Influence the Perceived Effects of Counterurbanisation on the Quality of Life of the Indigenous Communities

What factors mediate the perception of the in-migration on the quality of life of the indigenous community? Table 10.6 notes eight factors which may influence the perceived impact of counterurbanisation.

The extent of the counterurbanisation process is, logically, a fundamental determinant of the perceived impact of it. If there are very few incomers moving into a rural area then their perceived impact on the local quality of life, whether it be positive or negative, is going to be relatively minimal. On the other hand, if counterurbanisation is widespread in a rural area, and is the dominant demographic process, there is more likelihood that it will be perceived as more of a problem or a benefit. Also, it is likely that the different forms of counterurbanisation will vary in their perceived impacts within the rural communities. In the semi-urban areas next to urban centres where the centre dominates the local way of life, it is unlikely that people moving into the area will be discerned as having the same impact on the indigenous quality of life in comparison with newcomers moving into very remote and isolated communities to search out their utopian way of life.

TABLE 10.6
 FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE THE PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF
 COUNTERURBANISATION ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE INDIGENOUS
 COMMUNITIES.

1. THE EXTENT OF COUNTERURBANISATION
2. THE LOCATION (PROXIMATE OR REMOTE TO URBAN CENTRES) AND THE FORM OF COUNTERURBANISATION
3. THE VIABILITY OF EXISTING SHOPPING PROVISION, SERVICES, PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND EDUCATIONAL PROVISION
4. THE FUNCTION OF THE COMMUNITY (eg. Relic agricultural village versus crofting township)
5. THE SOCIAL, HOUSING AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF INDIVIDUALS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY (eg. Wage levels, levels of car ownership, ease of access to public sector housing)
6. SOCIAL ORIENTATION OF INCOMERS (ie. Are the incomers perceived as being integrative and community orientated or urban orientated, disruptive and likely to utilise urban shops and services)
7. PERCEIVED UTILITY OF INCOMERS (Are they keeping shops open and providing jobs and recreation activities or are they buying up all the housing and undermining the traditional way of life)
8. INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF SITUATION (Do individuals - in their own personal social, economic and housing situations - believe that their quality of life is being affected positively, negatively or even at all by counterurbanisation)

Also, incomers can only really threaten the viability of existing shopping provision, service provision, public transport provision and the continuation of the local primary school if these services are operating very close to their margins. If a few incomers shopping elsewhere or having their own cars is enough to shut a shop or cut a rural bus route then it may be that they are precipitating a situation that would have happened eventually, and if the local shops and services are in a relatively healthy state anyway, then the incomers are not going to have a huge impact on the quality of life in terms of these services, as far as the indigenous community is concerned.

Once again, as was illustrated in the former case studies, the function of the community is fundamental to the perceived impact of in-migration on the indigenous quality of life. It is unlikely that incomers are going to have the same perceived effect on the quality of life on a commuter dormitory village or on a retirement village such as Moniaive than they would on a tight-knit and remote crofting township in the West Highlands of Scotland.

The social and economic well-being of the individuals who make up the indigenous population is also crucial to the perceived impact of in-migration on the local quality of life. If wage levels are low, levels of car ownership are low, and there is little access to council housing in the community, then the perceived detrimental impact of a number of affluent incomers, who are buying up the local housing stock and putting up house prices are liable to be much greater than if the indigenous community is much more affluent.

The social orientation of incomers are traditionally important to the perceived impact of incomers on the local quality of life, especially in very remote rural areas. If incomers try and integrate with the indigenous community they will be accepted without much comment but if they try and impose their values on the local community then this will result in a great deal of perceived conflict. A common claim in rural areas of Scotland is that if incomers "try and fit in with the our way of doing things then they are all right, but if they move in and try and change things then they will never be accepted."

Also the perception of whether incomers are useful to or detract from the local community is important in the overall image of counterurbanisation in the local way of life. If incomers are buying up businesses, keeping shops open, and providing jobs and recreational activities within the community, then they are liable to be looked upon with rather more favour than if they buy up all the housing, pushing up house prices, undermining the local shops and services, not integrating with the local community, and undermining the traditional way of life. As councillor Davidson from Alford suggested,

"Incomers tend to be accepted in to Strathdon and Glenbuchat if they do not try to interfere and run things or try and change things too much. However, Local people will not come forward to run social, community matters. If it wasn't for incomers there wouldn't be much happening."

Finally the perception of individuals within a community is critical. Do individuals in their own personal social, economic and housing situations, and given their own personal histories and their individual values, influences and circumstances, believe that their quality of life is being affected positively, negatively, or even at all by counterurbanisation. After all, no two people think alike, and it is more than possible that members of the indigenous community from similar backgrounds may have two completely disparate perceptions of the impact that in-migration has had on their community.

Although it has been shown that the perceptions of individuals are paramount in the perception of in-migration on the quality of life of a rural

community, perhaps the most important point that has come out of the last part of this chapter is that the situation varies between individual locations and places, and that studying the existence of counterurbanisation and the impact it has had in *individual* communities is paramount. Harvey has argued for the importance of studying places (see Chapter 2.12.1), and Massey (1991) has argued strongly on the matter.

"What gives place its specificity is not some long internalised history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations meeting and weaving together at a particular locus."

Therefore, counterurbanisation does not affect communities to the same extent, the form it takes in each area are different, as are the affects and the way the process is perceived within the community. This has been exemplified in the study areas investigated in this study. For example where house prices are very high in areas like Gairloch and Loch Torridon, house prices have been rising in the villages outside Dumfries but not astronomically. If a house goes on the market it is likely that a commuter will buy it, but that is because the young local people prefer to buy in the Barratt estates in Dumfries as community ties are not so strong and less likely to keep them in the area. Consequently, there is less strong feeling over the incomers, and house prices in these areas are actually cheaper than in Dumfries. In fact in villages such as Mouswald, incomers have actually helped revive village life and have helped revive the community spirit within the villages. Also, new housing has also meant that there are more people in the communities who are liable to get involved, and in many villages it is now worth organising events. For example, the lack of community provision meant that it was necessary to organise a mother and toddler group which in turn reinforced community spirit.

The accusation that incomers appropriate the local political community and cultural leadership does not hold up in the Dumfries area. This may be the case in remoter communities where the local people are more reticent to put themselves forward for office, but in this area, all villages have old local families who dominate community life, and it is the same faces who appear on community councils, hall committees, who are church elders, etc, and everything in the villages tends to be run by these locals. Therefore, it is actually difficult for incomers to get involved because the "elderly clique" are very resistant to change and very protective of their power, and any attempts by incomers to change things has resulted in conflict. Also, unlike the study

area in Wester Ross the traditional way of life is not that strong, and life is strongly linked to the urban way of life of Dumfries.

Also, further evidence comes from the experience in different areas of the *substitution of ability* (Chapter 6.10.2). In Gairloch a common complaint was that all the managerial positions in the estates and the Nature Conservancy Council were filled by incomers, while all the local kids moved out for an education but had difficulty finding jobs at home when they finished. However, in Wigtown which has tended to attract English retirees rather than in-migrants who are still economically active, the District Council has had trouble attracting "quality applicants". It was only by re-advertising twice and then raising the remuneration package that the councillors were able to fill the positions of a leisure manager and a housing manager with quality staff. Therefore, the substitution of ability, as with many of the other repercussions of counterurbanisation does not occur in all areas.

10.4.1 A Discussion of Baudrillard's Theories of Conflict and the Perceptions of Rural Life as Held by Incomers and Locals

The theories of Baudrillard were highlighted in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2.9). His theories on the representation of reality and simulacrum have certainly been vindicated in this study, as have the theorisation of hypereality and the importance of the media. However, the propositions on the local narratives of the Sign as a basis of conflict do not seem to have been proven.

The letter below from the Galloway Gazette would seem to back up the theory that differing perspectives on life, or interpretations of the Sign, between National perspectives and local narratives would provide the basis for conflict in rural areas.

Letter to Galloway Gazette (13 / 11/ 90)

"Sir I recently had the pleasure of another holiday in the delightful area of Galloway , which was only spoiled by two things.

Firstly, no matter which route was taken we were met at various points by the very unpleasant smell of cow slurry which had been spread on fields

As this is not one of the scents which appeal to the olfactory senses, I wonder if action could not be taken by the Environmental Health Authority under the Public Health (Scotland) act 1987 as this would seem to constitute a nuisance.

Secondly, the use of certain areas for the dumping of a miscellaneous collection of rubbish.

In this connection I might again refer the appropriate authority to the state of the former Railway Station at Kirkcowan which has almost been buried in a most unsightly manner, under a varied collection of items.

It is a great pity to see such a beautiful countryside so ill used by those who are supposed to be the guardians

Yours A. Morton

It has been noted by many commentators on rural affairs that newcomers cause conflict as house prices are driven up, local young people are denied access to the housing market, local political and community power is appropriated, urban values are imposed on rural communities as the rural way of life and the indigenous lifestyle and methods do not conform to those of the romantic vision of the rural idyll. The letter to the Galloway Gazette printed above illustrates the fact that many urban dwellers look upon rural areas as large theme parks and have little real understanding of the realities of living in the country.

Baudrillard (1988b), as was discussed in Chapter 2.9, suggested that conflict would arise when two differing interpretations of the Sign overlapped in space. This conflict would arise when the 'traditional' interpretation of the sign clashed with the imported institutionalised interpretation. This could take the form of the reaction to influence of modernism by the Free Kirk in the Western Isles. Similarly, in rural areas, as was suggested by the example from Forsythe, in Orkney, conflict occurs either when incomers use a rural community as a base for their urban lifestyles, or when 'great white settlers' come into a community and criticise the indigenous way of doing things because it does not confirm to either their preconceptions - conditioned by the simulacrum of the rural idyll - of how things ought to be done (the space of representation of one group intersecting the representation of space of another); or because the local way of doing things is not as "good", and is primitive in comparison to the way things are done in the city (conflicting interpretations of the Sign between the urban, ubiquitous form and the petite locales). These forms of conflict are perceived to exist in many rural areas.

Although, Forsythe (1982), an anthropologist, seems to provide convincing evidence to back up much of what Baudrillard was saying with her study in

Stormay (see Chapter 2.9.5), there was little clear cut evidence in the survey results to suggest that there was conflicting perceptions about what was important in respondents' choices of where to live. Although, there were differences in the ratings of several (see Chapter 8) individual factors by locals and incomers which could be explained by differing values, there was actually much more difference between respondents of different ages than there were between indigenous respondents and those who had moved in from elsewhere. So there would be little evidence to suggest that Baudrillard's concepts of the interpretation of the sign in rural areas hold true, and that they are markedly different from those of the incomers.

However, there is no doubt that conflict does exist. There were disenchanted murmurings in a few of the study areas, most manifestly in Gairloch and Loch Torridon. As one respondent noted for their reasons for moving into the Gairloch area (G 62). "I moved into the area to keep at least one money grabbing English Bastard out", and there were a lot of references to "The English" from people in communities such as Gairloch and Kinlochewe.

This would therefore suggest that either Baudrillard's concepts about the fundamental nature of cultural conflict do not hold true, or that this mechanism of differing interpretations of the Sign does not come out in the survey results.

There is certainly more ambiguity about the relationship between incomers and locals which could undermine Baudrillard's case. Cloke and Goodwin suggest that indigenous groups are actually more complex than the name suggests, "being multi-layered and experiencing different degrees of attachment to the rural place concerned." This highlights the difficulty of defining incomers and indigenous respondents. As has been mentioned before in this study, many incomers move in to marry in rural areas and are generally accepted without fuss. The term indigenous and incomer can change depending on the scale of analysis and what the viewer's points of reference and perspective. A person from a neighbouring hamlet can be looked upon as an incomer, while two people from each hamlet can consider themselves locals while someone from elsewhere in the region is an incomer, and *ad nauseam* until two people from Scotland can look upon an English person as an incomer.

However, the fluid relationship between outsiders and locals is merely a complicating factor and not one which can convincingly dismantle the postmodern theories. In clearly defined cases where there was little ambiguity

between incomer and local, such as Forsythe found in Orkney (1980), there seemed to be evidence to support Baudrillard's theories. So even allowing for the difficulties in defining locals and incomers, why does any basis for conflict not manifest themselves in respondents' perceptions about what is important in their choice of where to live? A revised theory proposed following the results of the social survey and other literature would suggest that the influences which condition one's sense of culture, and sense of identity and community, differ from those which condition what's important in the quality of one's life. Therefore, differences in interpretation of 'the sign', and therefore those which can eventually manifest themselves in conflict, occur in regard to the local culture and the local way of life in comparison to the national urban culture and way of life.

Indeed, the questionnaire survey used in this study does not tackle issues such as ideas of rural culture, community and identity, and that these are where the Baudillardian concepts lie, not in the factors perceived to be important in the choice of where to live which are universally conditioned constructs. Therefore a further hypothesis can be proposed based upon the ideas discussed in the conceptual framework and the findings of the questionnaire survey upon which this thesis is based. The perception of life reality is conditioned by many of the same cultural influences, but local narratives are culturally based, incorporating shared values, local history, traditions and dialects as well as modern conditioning influences, so that any evidence of conflict will be *culturally* based, and this is not investigated in this study.

The signifieds of the utopian rural idyll and the urban hell are conditioned not by local cultural influences, but by television, the mass media, advertising, and popular stereotype, which influence everyone regardless of where they live, and regardless of whether they are a migrant or a non-migrant. *This* is what is investigated in the questionnaire survey, and this explains the lack of difference between the perceptions of locals and incomers. The only differences that do occur are due to non-migrants having experience of the negative aspects of rural life, and the individual factors which reflect this are more prominent in the perceptions of locals than in the responses of incomers, many of whom's knowledge of rural life is based purely on idealised rural images. The chocolate box rural stereotype of a harmonious community in pleasant surroundings, whilst widely acknowledged as being somewhat mythical - especially on the social side (Chapter 2.7.1), is still held up to be a normative vision of rurality by postmodern migrants moving to the

remotest rural communities. Therefore, it is not a case that the ideas proposed by Baudrillard for urban areas are not proven in rural areas, but it is the case that any positive results would be found in manifestations of cultural differences between incomers and locals, and these have not been investigated in this study.

The similarity between the perceptions of indigenous respondents and those who have moved into a study area, as well as being evident in the ranking lists of Chapter 7, are illustrated by the comments made on the respondents' questionnaires. The incomers one would expect to mention factors relating to the quality of life in rural areas and there are indeed constant references to it. One respondent from Manchester drew specific comparison with the perceived quality of life in Manchester when she moved into Gairloch when she reports that they,

"moved into this area mainly to get away from the violence, etc, which was already rearing its head in Manchester in 1980. Also the education system in that area was going rapidly down hill, my husband saw a job advertised in this area, applied for it and got it. Hence the move. However, I have visited this area in the past, as a 'tourist', and feel that it would be a good place to live." (G95).

This respondent encapsulates much of the spirit of the growth of counterurbanisation to very rural areas for quality of life, the perception of danger in the city, and the perception of the rural area once visited as a nice place to live. Similar sentiments are echoed by another respondent who had moved into Strathdon (St 19) who suggests that he decided to move to an area because it offered,

"an opportunity to escape the noise, stress and pressure of city living; more chance to relax." A respondent who had moved into Strathpeffer remarked that the "Highlands in comparison to the South East of England are cleaner, not so many cars, people have time for each other."

There are also many references to the safety and educational opportunities in smaller schools available to children in rural areas. One respondent who has moved into Strathpeffer from Southampton suggested that he was influenced by the "environment and schooling" while another who had moved into the same area from Birmingham mentioned her "children's health and well being" (S134 and S138).

These sorts of comments may have been expected from incomers, who have gathered their perceptions of rural areas from visiting as tourists and from the popular stereotypes of rural life portrayed on television, the mass

media and in popular literature. However, the importance of these influences in shaping the perception of reality is such that much the same sentiments were exhibited by indigenous respondents who had stayed in the area for all of their life and who should have first hand experience of the realities of rural living. There were countless references to the high quality of life, the safe environment to bring up children, the absence of crime and the absence of the rat race in respondents' decisions to stay in their respective rural areas. A few of these examples have been chosen to illustrate this point. This partly explains why 'quality of life was the most important factor in respondents' reasons for staying in all study areas. A dental nurse from Gairloch (G68) suggests that the area is a great place to raise a family, good schooling, good small community, little crime, scenery fantastic, etc", while a teacher in Kirkcowan near Newton Stewart (N112), makes reference to the rural beauty and the easy access to a variety of landscapes the feelings of safety and security generated by low crime levels and the pace of life. A respondent who has lived in Strathpeffer for 27 years (S35) makes reference to the good climate, the very friendly people, the minimal class distinctions ("provided more English do not move in!"), and the low rate of serious crime. A married nurse from Strathpeffer (S127) feels that the area is,

a "safe and friendly area to bring up our children aged three and five. Their freedom and confidence in this small village is very important during their childhood years".

The absence of hassle and the rat race, and the quality of life are mentioned by another respondent who has lived all his life in Gairloch (G55), while another respondent in Gairloch mentions the community spirit, the fact that everyone knows each other, and the slower pace of life in her reasons for not moving out of the area. In a similar vein, a sales adviser who has also spent all her life in Kirkcowan (N104) cites the low crime rate, the lack of air pollution, the fact that the village isn't impersonal, the high quality of life and the slower pace of life in her area.

Therefore, the same factors seem to be important in the quality of life of both indigenous respondents and incomers in rural areas, which suggests that it is the same influences such as television, the mass media and advertising which is shaping their perceptions of rural reality rather than anything environmental and social conditioning.

Although the perception about what is important in the choice of where to live is conditioned by external media driven influences, conflict may occur over the perception of the local rural way of life and the indigenous culture

and the threat that incomers, by appropriating political control and attempting to impose their own values, pose to the perceived indigenous way of life, and therefore to an indigenous person's source of identity, sense of place and sense of community belonging. Living on an island or in a defined rural locale is a perceived state which provides a tremendous sense of community, and a security of identity and place. This pro-rural, pro community attachment, which cannot be identified from the perceptions of the ranking lists in Chapter 7, needs to be distinguished from the attractions of the countryside for urbanites.

This is illustrated in some of the comments added to the the questionnaires. Many of the respondents' reasons for staying in the area relate to employment, inertia and the fact that farms are traditionally handed down from generation to generation. For example one farmer from Turriff (T147) claimed that the farm had been in the family for about 100 years, while another farmer from Moniaive was indignant to receive a questionnaire asking him to rate what was important in his choice of where to live as his family had farmed there since 1802 (M50). The passing on of farms and crofts in these communities through many generations leads to a tremendous sense of attachment, sense of place and community spirit, and the essence of this is captured in comments such as the one made by a woman from Turriff (T12) who suggested that her "husband's family have been farming in this area for 5 generations and we have no intentions of leaving", while another farming wife from Turriff (T 71) cited the "strong ties of birthplace and of previous family generations having lived in this area". This sense of place and identity is perhaps most strongly exhibited in the comments made on the questionnaires of return migrants in these rural areas. One returned migrant from Strathdon (St28) suggests that the

"language customs, music humour and general attitudes to life are those of my early childhood. I've come home. I've always loved the hills and this part of Aberdeenshire and it's got all my requirements for a good way of life."

The proposition of the attachment to a rural area being most strongly articulated by those who have moved out of it to experience the world and then returned to their roots is exemplified by a return migrant from Strathpeffer (S113), who notes the importance of "the quality of the environment, the lack of pollution, and relative absence of crime as well as a strong attachment from my upbringing, as the most important factors in my decision to retire to the area", while another returned migrant from Strathpeffer (S18) also talks of returning to his roots.

The increasing placelessness in time and space leads disorientated and threatened urban dwellers to search for a source of stability. They obtain this from the rural idyll which is grounded in time (the nostalgic rural past) and place, and gives an acquired sense of identity within the spatially defined community of the village which they join. However, the indigenous community and the indigenous culture may not measure up to either the romanticised rural idyll, or the local way of doing things is not considered proper when judged by the values of the in-migrants, therefore incomers draw upon their urban conditioned way of living, and try and shape the community so that things are done either as they are done in civilisation. Their need of identity and community is a reaction to postmodern life, and their conception of what form this should take is from the rural idyll. Incomers draw upon this model to say how things should be, and therefore conflict occurs with the indigenous community who feel threatened.

However, even this is not a simple matter, for (as was discussed in the conceptual framework, Chapter 2.11.2) the traditional way of life is not actually considered until it is under threat, and then when rural values *are* threatened, as in the case of Shetland and oil, the rural way of life is politicised, re-invented to a certain extent, stereotyped, romanticised and ultimately idealised. Therefore, a rather ironic situation can occur in rural areas where a semi-mythical indigenous 'way of life' and a romanticised set of values are threatened by semi-mythical national 'way of life' and a romanticised set of values. Therefore a semi-mythical locale narrative is in conflict with a semi-mythical meta-narrative.

10.5.1 Rural Cultures : Do They Exist in Postmodern Times?

Although a postmodern analysis has been applied to rural geography in this study to explain the increase of migration to remote, isolated communities, to account for the perception of respondents in terms of what is important in their choice of where to live, and to go some way to explaining the conflict that can occur between the indigenous population and the incomers, it must be stressed that with all research there is no conclusive proof for these propositions and that alternative theories also abound. Cloke and Goodwin (1992) express caution regarding using a postmodern framework developed for urban geography in a rural framework, as

"in an eagerness to join in with these new developments, rural research may come to borrow inappropriate ideas and begin to use somewhat overreaching concepts in a rather cavalier fashion".

They warn of the dangers of "attempting to fit these rather forced categorisations where the actual processes and components of the supposed shift all too often remain unspecified."

Therefore, care must be taken to ensure that adopting a postmodern framework to rural geography is both appropriate and relevant. Perhaps the most important alternative hypothesis for the social and cultural situation in rural areas was outlined in the conceptual framework, and suggests that there really isn't that much difference between urban communities and rural communities. As Lewis and Maund (1976) point out,

"what is being studied is not discrete societies, but a rather complex and interrelated system of communities, the overwhelming majority of British people, whether or not they reside in built up areas, share an essentially urban culture."

Indeed, everyone in Britain today speaks English. Most families have someone who goes out to work as part of the national economy, people buy the same kinds of food, clothes and consumer products, regardless of where they stay. Society *as a whole*, regardless of location and degree of rurality, reads the same newspapers and magazines, and sits down of an evening *en masse* to watch Coronation Street. Indeed, few people in Britain today do not watch increasingly large amounts of television, and as has been illustrated in the results in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live, the same television conditioned signs shape everyone's perceptions to an increasing degree. Indeed, as was suggested in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2.4.6), the Trojan horse of television has had an homogenising affect on British culture and the perceptions of the British people, as it feeds information and sells certain desirable lifestyles to everyone regardless of where they live, and it is television, not "great white settlers" which has sounded the death knell for the indigenous rural 'way of life'. In-migration to seek a rural idyll is merely the symptom, television, the mass media and advertising is the cancer which has rendered the rural communities of Britain as essentially the "aesthetic frill" (see Chapter 2.11.6) on the macro-urban system of Britain, where quaint dialects and unspoilt environments are becoming unique selling points for another increasingly expensive and exclusive commodity for the affluent service classes to consume, just as central locking and electric windows sell cars.

However, this alternative hypothesis that there is essentially no difference between urban and rural life may hold up as a model in rural areas with relatively high populations and communities whose population patterns,

employment and social networks are dominated by the proximity of urban centres, but it can be strongly argued that this is not the case in other more isolated areas of low population density. In remote areas where everyone does know each other, where there is no anonymity, and where there are certain social pressures to adopt certain attitudes and ways of behaviour - the 'indigenous culture' - rather than being identified as different, there is an inherent reinforcement of one's sense of community and identity. In islands and remote rural areas idiosyncratic customs, ways, values, social patterns and dialects are preserved and indeed exaggerated to heighten the sense of place and community; the "we're different" syndrome. This is a self generating state, as the reinforcing of difference and the sense that a place is special reinforces the native sense of identity with community and place, which in turn strengthens the attachment to the community and the suspicion of other places and other ways of life. This helps to keep a large number of the indigenous population in the community and therefore serves to reproduce it. Therefore, although 90% of their life may be no different to anyone else in the country to use an arbitrary estimation (in comparison to 25 or 50 years ago when 25% of their life may have been unique), if the members of a rural community believe they are different then that 10% ,which is spatially specific and which preserves their indigenous values (or the "local narrative" of the Sign), is *critical*, especially when it becomes an issue or where there is a perception of a threat, either from incomers or the increasingly dreaded influence of television.

Unfortunately, as has been demonstrated elsewhere in this chapter, it is these remotest communities, where this sense of difference and uniqueness is most heightened, that are being settled by incomers who are wanting a slice of this non-urban distinctive character and sense of place in increasing numbers. Also, as has been discussed earlier on in this chapter, it is on these most remote rural communities that this counterurbanisation will have the greatest impact relatively, where this in-migration will have the greatest perceived affect on the local way of life and the local quality of life, and where the impact, as perceived by the local respondents, is most likely to be negative. Therefore it is the most peripheral and sequestered communities with the lowest population densities that are under threat, and will experience the greatest relative impact of counterurbanisation and the greatest amount of conflict.

10.6.1 The Validity of Postmodern Theory in Rural Geography

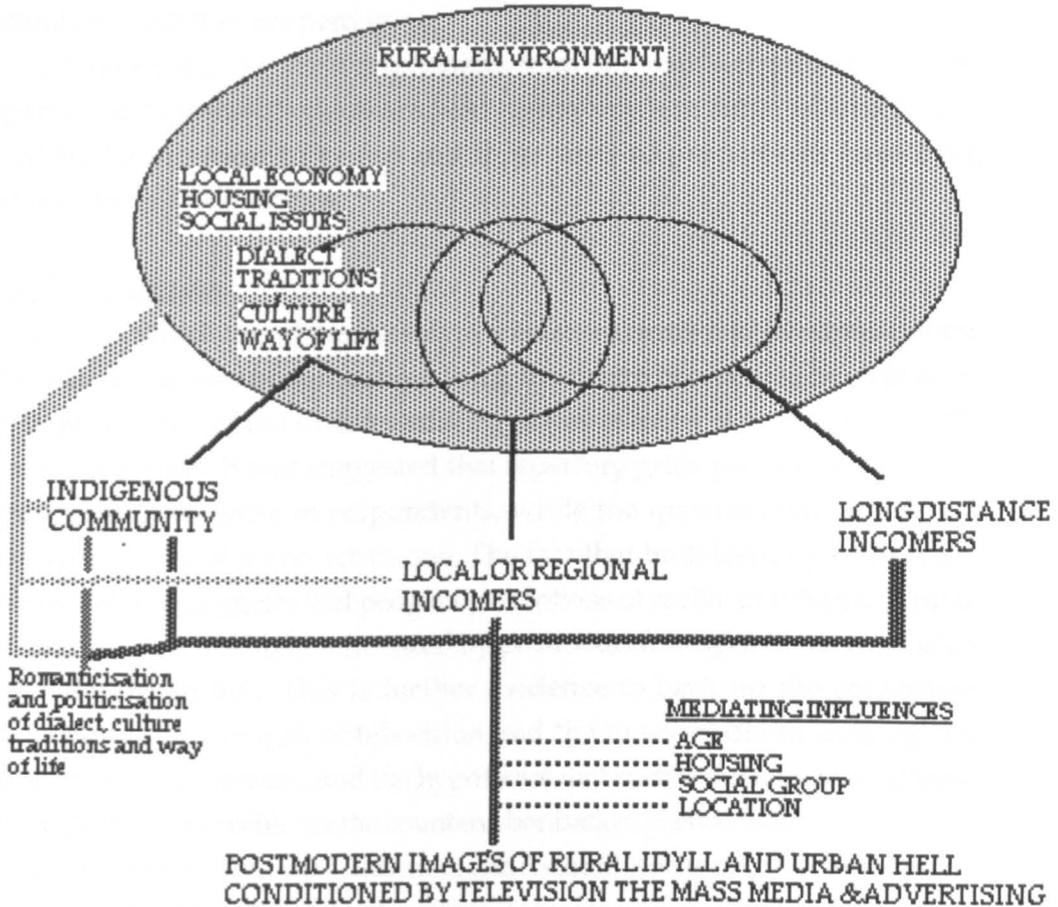
This study has shown that postmodern theory has a lot to offer rural geography, particularly in terms of how rural areas are perceived in comparison to cities and other urban spaces. In people's perceptions, the factors which make up the elements of the urban/ rural dichotomy have been conditioned into the collective consciousness through popular stereotype on television, in literature, in the mass media and in advertising, and respondents' expressed elements of the simulacrum of the rural idyll and the urban hell as needs and wants in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live. The images of the negative images of urban life were universally important in people's perceptions, regardless of social or geographical group, while the positive images of rural areas were particularly prevalent in older, more affluent respondents in more isolated rural areas, especially amongst incomers who had moved in from outside Scotland. Indeed there is evidence in the most remote rural areas that the strength of these images in people's consciousness has manifested itself in a migrational process, the migration of economically active people over long distances to the most remote rural locations in search of their rural idylls.

The importance of the postmodern channels of media, and advertising images in shaping the perception of reality in the collective consciousness were highlighted in section 10.2.2, with the comparison of the ranking lists from the repertory grid analysis and the questionnaire study for respondents of the Gairloch and Loch Torridon area. As was mentioned in this section, the repertory grid analysis was a reflective method of analysis, where respondents had to reflect on their experience of different places to differentiate them in terms of quality of life, while the questionnaire was a more pro-active analysis, where respondents merely had to rate factors as important and where they were more likely to draw upon popular signifieds and images in rating what is important. The fact that both methods of analysis produced similar results illustrated the importance of the media in shaping the perception of people's individual reality of urban and rural space in postmodern times.

Figure 10.1 attempts to model the way that rural areas are perceived by different groups. At first this diagram seems rather complicated, but it attempts to show the perception of a rural environment. For the indigenous population their culture, dialect, traditions, way of life and the social, economic and social conditions of their community all are part of the community of their perceptions, and in turn these factors are a conditioning

influence on the local people's perceptions and sense of identity and community.

FIGURE 10.1
THE PERCEPTION OF RURAL COMMUNITIES



When in contact with a threatening outside set of values, these values and factors get politicised (as in the Shetland example), distorted, exaggerated and romanticised. Peoples perceptions can become as distorted from reality as those of incomers, whose view of rural life is based purely on stereotyped television and media images. As has been demonstrated earlier in this study, the indigenous respondents' perceptions are also strongly influenced by the popular perceptions of urban and rural areas illustrated by the urban/ rural dichotomy.

The perceptions of a rural community held by incomers who have moved in either locally or from elsewhere in the region are conditioned both from

local conditioning factors and those postmodern conditioning influences, so that their perceptions of rural life have a stronger basis on reality than incomers who have moved in over long distances and whose perceptions are almost totally based on popular image and stereotype. The perceptions of all respondents are mediated by their particular age, socio-economic and housing circumstances, their particular residential history, and the particular rural area that they are perceiving.

Therefore, this results in respondents from different backgrounds holding perceptions some of which are held commonly and some of which vary wildly from group to group and these sorts of perceptions have been illustrated in these studies.

10.7.1 Conclusion

Factors which reflect the stereotyped images of rural and urban spaces are ranked important both in rationalising the choice of where to live vis-a-vis the questionnaire, and in differentiating places in terms of quality of life with repertory grids. It was suggested that repertory grids produce a reflective perception response in respondents, while the questionnaire questions produce more of a pro-active one. The fact that both techniques provide similar results suggests that people's perceptions of reality in urban and rural areas are being strongly influenced by postmodern images of the rural idyll and the urban hell. This is further evidence to back up the contention regarding the strength of television and the mass media in shaping the collective consciousness, and the hypothesis that such influences have at least been partly responsible for the counterurbanisation phenomena.

It has been shown that incomers can benefit the quality of life of rural communities as well as detracting from it. Incomers can either push up house prices and buy all the dwellings, or they can build and therefore add to the local housing stock. The influx of affluent incomers can undermine local shops and services, or they can take them over and keep population thresholds over viable levels. Incomers can gentrify or improve. Similarly appropriation of community control and undermining indigenous culture with urban values can be perceived as injecting get up or go, fresh ideas, and improving the way things are done and improving the quality of life. Incomers can indeed destroy indigenous communities, while they can actually provide some demographic and economic stability?

The degree to which an area is liable to be counterurbanised depends on its proximity to urban centres, the perceived attractiveness of the physical

environment, whether the community is open or closed, whether the area is perceived as a rural idyll, overall and the strength of the national economy.

The actual impact of counterurbanisation on the indigenous community and the traditional way of life, whatever that is perceived as being, depends on the size of the settlement, the functional history of the community and the degree to which it has been traditionally isolated and peripheral in the national economy, whether the community is open or closed, the strength of the indigenous community and the traditional way of life, the attitudes of the incomers (and the locals), the strength of the cultural identity of the community and the degree to which the incoming group are perceived as being different, and the history of counterurbanisation immigration into the community. The factors which mediate the perceived effects of counterurbanisation on the quality of life of the indigenous people include the actual extent of in-migration, the location, the form of in-migration and whether there is a history of absorbing incomers within the community, the viability of existing shops, services and infrastructure and the strength of the local economy within the area, the function of the community, the social, housing and socio-economic circumstances of the recipient population, the social orientation of the incomers and their perceived utility to the community, and the individual perspective of the individual community member.

Baudrillard's theories (1988b) regarding the underlying reasons for conflict were not proven for rural areas, although it was suggested that the questionnaire survey did not tackle issues such as ideas of rural culture, community and identity, and that these are where the Baudillardian concepts of conflicting perceptions of the Sign lie, not in the factors perceived to be important in the choice of where to live which are universally conditioned constructs.

This study has shown the postmodern theory has a lot to offer rural geography, particularly in terms of how rural areas are perceived in comparison to cities and other urban spaces. In people's perceptions, the factors which make up the elements of the urban/rural dichotomy have been conditioned into the collective consciousness through popular stereotype on television, in literature, in the mass media and in advertising, and respondents expressed elements of the simulacrum of the rural idyll and the urban hell as needs and wants in terms of what is important in the choice of where to live.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSIONS

11.1.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine the relationship between counterurbanisation and perceptions of quality of life within rural Scotland using a postmodern conceptual framework. More specifically, it has argued that a significant component of counterurbanisation, especially in remoter rural areas, has been the migration of people away from the perceived ills of cities and towns to country areas which are perceived as offering a more idyllic quality of life. This thesis has also argued that migration to more remote rural areas has increased as a reaction to increasing perception of the urban rural dichotomy in the collective consciousness, stereotypes which are being increasingly reinforced in peoples minds through television, literature, the mass media, and advertising, the importance of which in shaping images of reality have increased in postmodern times.

In this study, repertory grid analysis was utilised to minimise the input and influence of the interviewer in eliciting which factors were used by people in rural areas to differentiate between places in terms of quality of life. From these results, a questionnaire was developed which investigated the respondents social and housing circumstances and migrational histories, and which asked them to rate factors in terms of how important they were in their choice of where to live, and how important factors were, either in keeping them in their home area, or attracting them in to the area. The questionnaire was administered in eight study areas chosen from three regions, which contrasted in distance from urban centres within each respective region, but were comparable between the regions. A fifty percent response rate was achieved from the sample, and the results from the survey produced the bulk of the findings and the main conclusions of this research. These will be outlined in the remainder of this chapter.

11.2.1 Conclusions : Overview

This piece of research followed a structured pattern. An observed and well documented social trend, counterurbanisation, was taken, and hypotheses were presented regarding how important of the perception of quality in rural areas was in influencing this process, and the applicability of postmodern cultural theory in providing an explanation for the importance of this perception in explaining the urban-rural turn around. Therefore, under the Scottish context, different manifestations of counterurbanisation were

identified in different parts of rural Scotland, and people's perceptions of what was important in their choice of where to live were compared and contrasted with the aim of explaining both people's motivations helped shape the migrational pattern, especially in the most remote areas; and also to investigate the applicability of postmodern theories regarding the importance of images and *signifieds* (a significant proportion of which is media and television produced) in shaping people's perception of the reality of rural and urban life. Therefore, from these two aims, the influence of postmodern conditioning influences in shaping certain images of the quality of life in rural and urban areas (the stereotype of the urban/rural dichotomy), and consequently influencing a major social/migrational process, although not quantified, could be tangentially deduced.

Figure 11.1 reproduces the above relationship diagrammatically

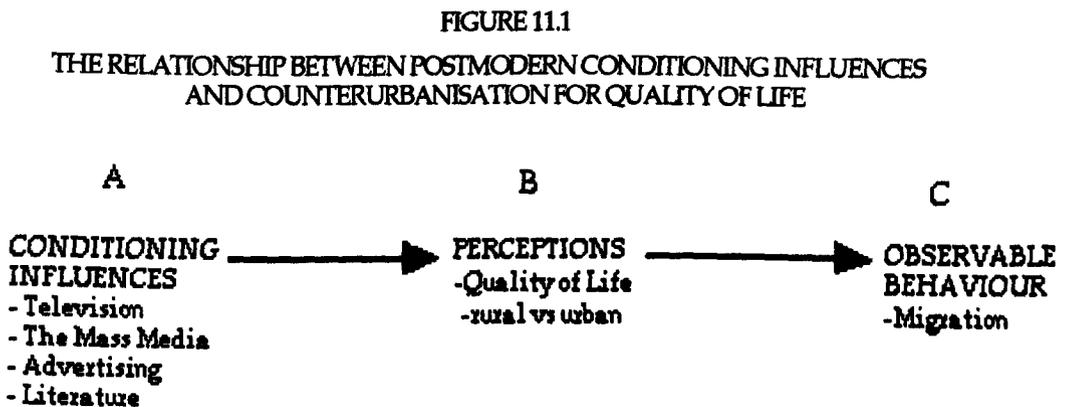


Figure 11.1, illustrates the relationship between postmodern conditioning influences, the perceptions of people in society, and counter-urbanisation which can be proposed following the results of this thesis. The conclusions of this thesis will be outlined below according to this structure.

11.3.1 The Utility of Postmodern Theory in Rural Geography

The study has shown that postmodern cultural theory has a lot to offer rural geography, particularly in terms of how rural areas are perceived in comparison to cities and other urban spaces. More specifically, a number of points can be concluded about postmodern theory from this research.

i. Postmodern cultural theory has enabled the phenomenon of counterurbanisation for reasons of quality of life to be theorised logically. The need for a sense of identity and place, and to a certain extent community has

become ever more important to society in an ever changing world. People have turned to religious fundamentalism, to nationalism, and to the re-invention of their heritage in order to fix their bearings against constantly changing times. Others have sought a sense of place and time in a stereotyped rural idyll, which is fixed in space (the old country village), and time (the timeless past). This has resulted in the growth of migration from cities to the most remote rural areas, while rural space and rural communities has become a desirable image to be consumed in a consumption based capitalist economy.

This situation has been reinforced by the increasing use of idealised rural images in advertising, as producers link their product to an attractive image of a safe, beautiful, tranquil haven, a tactic which reinforces the image of the rural idyll in the minds of the public as much as does the product which is being sold. This, in turn, reinforces the migrational trend.

ii. Postmodern theory is also critical in helping us to understand the perception of reality which people base their decisions on. There is strong evidence from the results of this study that postmodern methods of communication, namely television, literature, the mass media, and advertising are instrumental in thrusting images and signifieds reflecting popular stereotypes of urban and rural places encapsulated in the urban/ rural dichotomy (Chapter 2.3.4) into the collective consciousness. People, as was highlighted in the results from the repertory grid analysis and the questionnaire, then draw upon these images to form their perception of reality, even at the expense of their own experiences. Although, this is merely an interpretation from the results of a questionnaire study, which can only investigate these theories tangentially, there is evidence that people's decision making, in terms of counterurbanisation, is actually based upon this *hyperreal* model of reality of image and stereotype, rather than a more rational decision based on knowledge and experience. This is an important conclusion for geographical research.

iii. The research of the literature also concludes that indigenous cultural expressions are also open to the same romantic postmodern conditioning as those of the migrants. Local people in communities also have to make sense of their time and place, especially when their cultural identity is threatened by changes in the world economy and the homogenising affects of television which manifest themselves in the alien values of the young of a community, and the more tangible threat of incomers. Therefore, locals, especially the more elderly elements, also draw upon stereotyped images and signifieds of the romanticised past, exaggerate the propriety of the old ways, and hark

back to old values, traditions, and customs, often through rose tinted spectacles which omit the harshness and squalor of rural life in the past, especially in remote Scotland.

Although, life for rural people today may be little different than anywhere else, be it urban or rural, what difference does exist is politically important for people in rural communities, and perceived to be greater than it actually is. This is because perceived difference is expressed as a sense of uniqueness and cultural difference. This is crucial to a sense of place, community, and identity, and is embedded in culture, tradition, dialect, shared personality traits, and of fundamental importance to geographers, this sense of uniqueness and difference is *spatially* embedded.

iv. Baudrillard's theories (Chapter 2.9) regarding the importance of the media in shaping peoples perception of reality seem to have been vindicated. However, there was only a little evidence in the results to support his theories regarding differing interpretation of reality between incomers and locals constituting the basis of the conflict which is well documented in rural communities where counterurbanisation has occurred. This is *probably* because the factors which the respondents were asked to rate relate an ideal quality of life, and all respondents would adopt similar images, signifieds and simulacra of urban and rural space to answer the questionnaire, as all respondents watch the same television, read the same newspapers and books, and are influenced by the same advertising techniques. Local narratives are culturally based however, and any differences in the perceptions of locals and incomers would likely be manifested in a clash between locally conditioned influences expressed as local culture, and a nationally conditioned culture as was imposed on the islanders in Forsythe's (1982) study by the incomers. Cultural values were not measured by the questionnaire.

v. The results produced by this study, specifically those which showed the complexity of the migrational and counterurbanisational trends in different study areas, have underlined the importance of studying difference in process in different places. The importance of individual places, and the study of how phenomena vary between different individual places is of critical importance in postmodern theory.

This study has also underlined the difficulties in separating peoples perceptions of reality from popular stereotype and media conditioned image when attempting to analyse the decision making process, and the difficulties of isolating pure knowledge are also acknowledged in the postmodern thesis.

11.3.2 The Importance of Postmodern Conditioning Influences in Shaping People's Perceptions

The results from the study show strong evidence that postmodern conditioning mediums appear to have a strong influence over peoples' perceptions, in this case regarding what factors they rate as important in the choice of where to live.

i. The factors which reflected the postmodern images of the urban/ rural dichotomy and highly topical issues such as green environmental concerns and health care issues were all perceived as being important in the choice of where to stay by all the respondents. These were rated as more important than more tangible concerns of living in rural areas such as housing, access, and employment opportunities, although it was noted that the latter were of critical significance to a minority of the respondents, while the publicly held postmodern images of rural and urban spaces would be held by the majority of the respondents.

ii. The homogeneity of the responses was a major factor of the results of the survey. Although there were some differences in the rating of individual factors, which could be explained by a few of the factors being of critical importance to members of specific social groups, perceptions expressed in ranked lists of factors did not vary significantly overall between different places, between locals and incomers, and between members of identifiable socio-occupational, housing tenure, or gender groups. This seems to accentuate the importance of the postmodern conditioning influences such as television, the mass media, literature, and advertising, which are so influential in shaping people's perception of reality that the popular stereotypes of urban and rural places held in the collective consciousness are more powerful than the wants, needs and values held by disparate social groups.

The only statistically significant differences were found when the age of respondents were considered. This can not only be put down to people of different ages having different priorities expressed in terms of needs and wants, but also a significant component is that postmodern marketing techniques use images of exciting urban spaces when advertising to the young, while the products consumed by older elements of society are more likely to be associated with idealised rural images in adverts.

iii. The fact that these positive images of rural life and negative ones of urban life were important both in differentiating places in terms of quality of life (as was shown in the repertory grid analysis, a reflective mode of analysis

where respondents had to use their perceived experience of places), and in what was important in respondents' evaluations about their choice of where to live (as demonstrated by the questionnaire results which were based on a more reactive or pro-active method of analysis, where respondents would perhaps be more inclined to draw upon idealised images to rate the importance of factors), illustrated the importance of postmodern conditioning influences in shaping people's perceptions of reality.

11.4.1 The Perceived Importance of Factors in Influencing Respondents' Choice of Where To Live

The perceived importance of factors in influencing respondents' choice of where to live were elicited from the results from the questionnaire survey. The main conclusions about the factors which were ranked and rated as important or unimportant in their questionnaires are summarised below.

i. As was stated above, respondents rated upon the factors which reflected the postmodern signifieds and images of the rural idyll and the urban hell, and factors which reflected topical issues which are constantly given coverage in the media such as the environment and the health service, as the most important in their choice of where to live.

These topical and *hypereal* factors were generally rated as more important in their quality of life than those those factors which reflected the traditional concerns of living in rural areas such as access to shops services, amenities and education provision, the quality and cost of housing, employment opportunities, wage and unemployment concerns, and the cost of living. It was hypothesized that this was because the factors reflecting the stereotyped images of urban and rural areas and the topical factors were held by everyone due to the importance of television, the mass media and advertising in shaping people's perceptions, while the traditional rural concerns were only of critical importance certain specific elements of rural societies.

The factors which were not perceived as important were those related to the provision of leisure and recreational provision and amenity, which do not form part of the images of urban and rural areas encapsulated by the urban/rural dichotomy, which the indigenous population have grown up with and taken for granted, and which are only considered by incomers after they have moved into the area. Other unimportant factors include the factors relating to the public transport service, which is generally nonexistent in rural areas, and the factors relating to the public and private rented housing sectors, which are

no longer considered important by the majority of the population in rural areas who either own their own homes, or would like to be owner occupiers.

ii. The general conclusion based on the comparison of ranking lists was the homogeneity of the responses given by rural people in Scotland who had returned their questionnaires. However, when the ranking and rating of individual factors were compared, it was evident that there were differences in the perceived importance of specific factors which was related to migrational, socio-occupational, housing, and age differences between the respondents.

For example, more factors were generally rated as important by indigenous respondents than by incomers, and the additional factors thus rated by the locals, who had actual experience of rural life, tended to correspond to those reflecting the traditional concerns of rural living outlined above. The incomers, especially those who had moved into the area from outside Scotland, and who were therefore more likely to have moved in over a long distance to seek their rural idyll, perceived fewer factors to be important. Having little or no actual experience of rural life, those tended to be the ones which reflected the stereotypical postmodern images of urban and rural life of the urban/rural dichotomy.

The factors which reflected the negative images of urban life were uniformly rated as amongst the most important to avoid in the choice of where to live by all respondent groups. The perceived importance of those which reflected the positive aspects of rural living showed much more fluctuation between the groups, and it was the more affluent groups, such as non-Scottish incomers, the most affluent socio-occupational classes, owner occupiers and the older age groups which rated these factors as the most important. It was concluded that this was because the respondents in these groups were affluent enough that other concerns did not impinge on their perceptions as being important, and they could *afford* to rate environmental concerns and those relating to their rural utopias as important in their choice of where to live.

By contrast the less affluent social groups did not rate these factors as being so important, and other concerns such as employment prospects, wage levels, the provision of shops, services and education provision, access to and quality of council housing, and the recreation and leisure provision, etc were perceived as relatively important by the young, members of younger families, the less affluent socio-economic classes and people living in rented and

council accommodation; social groups which were generally more likely to be made up of members of the indigenous community.

iii. The disparate values, interests, needs and wants of people of different ages, the different easing of financial, housing and employment pressures as people and families mature, and the differing advertising and marketing images which are aimed at people of different ages has resulted in the only statistically significant differences between ranking lists occurring between the oldest and the youngest respondent groups, with different age groups exhibiting the strongest and most logical patterns in the ratings of a number of factors between different age groups.

As was suggested above, other patterns, although not so well defined were found, suggesting that membership of a respective migrational group (ie. whether respondents were indigenous or incomers), socio-occupational class, and housing tenure would also be predictive in rating how important in a respondent's perceptions a number of factors would be.

11.5.1 Counterurbanisation

The main conclusions from the research regarding counterurbanisation and rural Scotland are outlined below.

i. The results confirm that elements of counterurbanisation were apparent in all but one of the eight rural study areas investigated, and that there were different migrational processes apparent in varying proportions across all of them. There was evidence of migrants moving out of major urban centres to commute, and moving from further afield, as well as elsewhere in the region, to the rural areas outside urban centres to live out an urban orientated way of life in a more rural location. There was also evidence of elderly respondents moving in to more rural areas to retire to an attractive rural setting, and more importantly for this study, there was evidence of migrants migrating to the remotest rural areas in order to seek a better quality of life.

The newcomers into the rural areas, as could have been expected, were generally of a more prestigious socio-occupational group than the indigenous respondents in the sample areas. They were also more likely to be older (which is logical, given that the older a person gets, the more likelihood there is that they will have moved at least once for reasons of employment, marriage or housing), and in six of the eight study areas, incomers were also more inclined to own their own homes, although this could partly be a function of age.

There was only a little evidence, however, to support the assertion that incomers were more mobile, expressed as distance travelled to work, although this could be because no-one travels very far to work from anywhere in rural Scotland, and there was no firm evidence, for the same reasons, of a large number of incomers who have moved into rural communities but who commuting out to work in major centres elsewhere. Indeed, many of the newcomers to the two remoter study areas tended to work very close to where they were living. Therefore, the significant long distance commuting to major economic centres which is apparent in studies of prestigious rural environments in England was not apparent in the eight study areas chosen in rural Scotland.

ii. The overall conclusion about the migrational processes operating throughout rural Scotland is that the picture is a complex one, both within areas and in terms of counterurbanisation. Within each there is natural in and out migration occurring due to relationships developing and people getting married, employees being moved in and people moving due to career changes, and the the opportunities and constraints of the housing market, the availability of local authority housing, and the tendency for people to move up the housing market as they get older.

The overall picture in terms of counterurbanisation is also very complex. The migrational processes of population, repopulation, depopulation and in-migration to seek a better quality of life were all evident to some extent in each area, while the extent of the process varied between each area, as did the hierarchy of the dominance of processes in shaping the social character of each area. Consequently, the dynamism of the migrational system also varied between the eight areas.

The Gairloch and Loch Torridon area was characterised by depopulation and in-migration by incomers seeking a high quality of life in a remote rural idyll. There were a significant number of respondents from the Gairloch sample who had migrated over a large distance to Gairloch and Loch Torridon because the communities were perceived as being idyllically rural and offering a high quality of life. There was also evidence of this happening in Strathdon and Glenbuchat, Strathpeffer, Moniaive, and Newton Stewart.

To a significant extent in Moniaive and Strathpeffer, and also to a lesser extent in Newton Stewart there were elderly people retiring to an attractive, but relatively accessible rural environment, which they possible had some knowledge of and which they perceived offered a higher quality of life.

The proximity to centres of regional employment had attracted people whose movement was predominantly job led, in from elsewhere in the region, to Aberdeen was also apparent in Dumfries, although the dynamism of the process in this case was much less as Dumfries is a smaller centre in size and economic importance, and to Strathpeffer, although the process here was not quite so significant.

The unexceptional scenery of the agricultural areas around Banff, added to the close nature of the farming communities proved unenticing to incomers, with the area proving something of an *anti-idyll*. Similarly, the proximity of centres such as Aberdeen and Dumfries meant that there were very few migrants to these areas who had moved over long distances predominantly to seek a higher quality of life.

11.5.2 Postmodern Counterurbanisation

One of the more significant conclusions in terms of linking the three components of postmodern theory, the perception of quality of life in rural areas, and counterurbanisation was the clear evidence in the results from Gairloch, and a little in the questionnaire replies in Strathdon and Glenbuchat to propose the existence of *postmodern counterurbanisation* to outlying parts of rural Scotland. This takes the form of a very significant influx of newcomers over the last ten to fifteen years, over and above the normal population turnover, who have migrated over long distances to the remotest parts of Scotland, seeking out their utopian rural idyll in areas which have previously been too remote to attract large numbers of retirees. These migrants may have little or no prior knowledge of the areas, and have based their decisions on a perception of a quality and way of life in the area which has been built up in their minds, not through tangible information, but by a romantic perception of the area conditioned by influences such as television, the mass media, literature, films such as *Local Hero*, and advertising, which have reinforced the popular stereotypes of the increasing discrepancy between the quality and state of life in rural and urban areas.

Furthermore, a great deal of these postmodern migrants are still economically active. They have forsaken life in the rat race for a better life in a community which offers them a sense of time and place. Many have bought or set up tourist related businesses, or bought shops and hotels. This has resulted in a *substitution of ability*, as the young, talented and ambitious indigenous members of a community leave in search of a career, training and

further education, while it is incomers who fill all the managerial and professional positions, and own and run many of the local businesses.

The temporal aspects of postmodern migration were also theorised, with economic recession making migration less of a financial possibility for so many settlers and therefore the process will undergo a lull on the back of the current recession. A period of boom following the recession, however, during which crime, decay, depression, violence and social problems in cities would probably increase, will result in an acceleration of the postmodern counterurbanisation process.

11.5.3 The Effects of Counterurbanisation in Rural Areas

From the literature, fieldwork observations, respondents' comments on questionnaires, and interviews, it can be concluded that counterurbanisation has an effect in the communities where it is significant, and that these effects vary in intensity, and the degree to which the rural community perceives the process to be having an effect, either positive or negative, on the community. The main conclusions are as summarised below.

i. The extent that a rural area is liable to be affected by counterurbanisation depends on several factors. These are the proximity of the area to major urban and economic centres, the perceived attractiveness of the physical environment, the perception of the area as a rural idyll offering a high quality of life, whether the indigenous community is 'open' or closed, and the strength of the national economy.

ii. Incomers, or 'great white settlers' as they are sometimes disparagingly called, can be perceived as having both a negative influence or positive influence on the communities which they move into.

In terms of detracting from rural communities, the growth of the image of the rural idyll as a commodity to be consumed, and the corresponding migration of urban consumers has resulted in the environment of rural villages being adversely affected by the construction of new housing schemes, and the gentrification of the existing housing stock, while newcomers, by their actions in the housing market, have been held responsible for raising house prices and reducing indigenous access to the housing market. An influx of elderly incomers also ages the population structure, while the future of a rural primary school could be threatened. Incomers are also thought to be more affluent, more mobile, and have less allegiance to more expensive shops and services, so that in many areas the decline of local shops, services, amenities and the public transport has been placed at the hands of in-

migrants. More seriously incomers, especially in remoter rural areas, have often appropriated both the local political and cultural control of the community, and the means of economic control and production (the substitution of ability), with the effect, whether it be real or perceived, that society, culture, traditional way of life, and collective community history of the indigenous community is undermined, often leading to the development of conflict between the incomers and the locals

However, incomers can also be perceived as having a positive effect on rural communities. They can actually maintain population levels above those needed to make shops, services and public transport viable, while an influx of young families can maintain a primary school. and actually stabilise the demographic structure. Incomers are often the only people who are willing to run shops and services, while an influx of affluent, economically active newcomers can stimulate the local economy. Similarly, incomers can provide much needed stimulation to get things done, both in local community affairs, and recreational activities, community events and community spirit. Counterurbanisation has also been responsible for the expansion and improvement of the housing stock in many rural areas.

iii. Incomers can either detract from or enhance the communities they move to. The factors which mediate the impact on the indigenous society and the traditional way of life include the functional history of the community, whether the community is open or closed, the degree to which the community has traditionally been peripheral or isolated and the tradition of historical dynamism of in and out migration, the actual existence and strength of the traditional society and the traditional way of life and the strength of the cultural identity of the community, whether the incomers are integrative or whether they insist on imposing their urban values, and the size of the settlement.

Also the extent to which the problem of benefit is actually perceived as such by rural communities is going to vary from place to place and from person to person. The factors which mediate the perceived impact of counterurbanisation on the quality of life of the indigenous communities are as follows. The actual extent of the process, the location, in terms of whether it is happening in an area close to an urban centre or in a isolated backwater, and the nature of the process. The viability of the existing shops and services will also influence whether or not they are actually being affected. Similarly, the social, economic and housing circumstances of the people in the community will determine the extent to which they are being affected, as will

the historical function of the community, the social orientation of incomers and whether they are perceived as being of utility to the community. Perhaps most importantly, the individuals own perception of the situation based on their own perception based on their own values and circumstances will be crucial in determining whether counterurbanisation has had a positive or negative influence on their own quality of life.

11.6.1 Concluding Point

This study has investigated one of the leading growth processes, counterurbanisation, using a postmodern conceptual framework. A predominantly theoretical approach was chosen to compliment the large amount of statistical evidence for the existence of urban-rural turn around which has tended to be empirical and descriptive rather than investigating the processes of *why* people move from cities to rural areas, particularly to those which are very remote. The study accepts that people *choose* to live in rural areas but argues that this choice is socially conditioned, and due to the influence of the mass media, advertising and television, this social conditioning is widespread. People are therefore choosing where to live within a set of learnt and strongly reinforced social parameters.

This study also concludes that stereotyped images of rural and urban areas, conditioned by indirect influences such as television, the mass media and advertising, have been incorporated into the collective consciousness, and have come to represent peoples' models of reality. These perceptions of an increasing differentiation between the quality of urban and rural life have resulted in an increasingly significant migrational process, as people move to the country from cities to seek their rural idyll. This has resulted in the commoditisation of rural space with little regard for economic or employment factors in many people's migration decision. Given the increasing importance of television in Western culture, and the social consequences in cities which are liable to be precipitated by economic difficulties associated with the current recession, counterurbanisation for quality of life, rather than slowing down, is going to be an increasingly critical social process in remote and physically attractive parts of the Western World. This process, therefore, is going to have major implications for the communities where it occurs and the planning responses which it will invariably elicit.

THE APPENDIX

The Appendix contains the following,

- | | | |
|--|----|-----------|
| 1. An example of a completed repertory grid | pp | 498 - 499 |
| 2. The cover letter sent out to accompany the survey questionnaire | pp | 500 |
| 3. A survey questionnaire (uncompleted) | pp | 501 - 504 |
| 4. The formula and theory of the Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient | pp | 505 |
| 5. The formula and theory of Standard deviation | PP | 506 |
| 6. The formula and theory of Standardised Z-scores | pp | 506 - 507 |

**TEXT
CUT OFF IN THE
ORIGINAL**

**TEXT
BOUND INTO THE
SPINE**

REFERENCE (12)

LOCATION
KINLOMENE

DATE
25/10

12/K3

DURATION
1h 1/2 hrs

SEX - F

AGE - 35

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE - 11 1/2

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY - ABERDEEN

EMPLOYMENT STATUS - HOUSEWIFE - BGB

OCCUPATION POLICE MA WOMAN

MARRIED ✓

NO. OF CHILDREN

0-2	1 3-5	1 6-9	1 10-15	16-18	18+
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CAR(S) —

TENURE: MORTGAGE OUTRIGHT OWNER PRIVATE RENTED COUNCIL OTHER

NOTES

HUSBAND - (CROFTER)

EX POLICEMAN

→ 4 employees
in Highland region
2 local men
N.C.C.

WHITBREAD

WILLS

→ leave top (live off invested earnings) after selling up)

GARRISON

- EST MACKENZIE → leave at 16 - or have low pay and no prospects

hostility to women!

FAIRLOCH
BOOK

→ Estate of N.C.C.

→ degree management v)

↳ ability to manage →

N.C.C.
↳ management policy

local men → incentive economies not practice

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY & TOPOGRAPHIC SCIENCE

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David Gray
Geography Department
Glasgow University

Dear Sir or Madam,

What is important in your choice of where to live ?

I am a post-graduate student conducting research in the Geography Department into the opinions of people in your area about what is important in your choice of where to live. Also, I am interested in knowing the reasons why you are living where you are today. I would be very grateful if you would complete and return the accompanying questionnaire.

Why was I sent a Questionnaire ?

Your name and address were selected from the voters roll.
You do NOT have to identify yourself on the questionnaire.

Is it confidential ?

All answers given in this survey will be entirely confidential

Why should I return it ?

The purpose of this survey is to identify what factors rural people consider important in choosing where to live. Your views, as part of the survey, will be of use to planners in your District and Regional Councils. Your answers will be kept anonymous.

The return post to me is already paid using the envelope enclosed

Please note that even if you have little interest in the research, your opinions will still be of value to me. The questionnaire should take 15 minutes to complete.

Many thanks in anticipation

David Gray

PART 3

If you were able to choose to live anywhere in Scotland or the rest of the UK, how important would certain factors be in influencing your decision? Please rate the level of importance of each factor by scoring on a scale below giving a number between one and five.

- 5 = VERY IMPORTANT IN CHOICE OF WHERE TO LIVE**
4 = QUITE IMPORTANT
3 = OF LIMITED IMPORTANCE
2 = QUITE UNIMPORTANT
1 = NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT IN CHOICE OF WHERE TO LIVE
DK = DON'T KNOW

Using the scale shown above, could you circle the level of importance you would ascribe to the following factors in influencing your choice of where to live. Circle a number in each case.

1. QUALITY OF COUNCIL HOUSING	5	4	3	2	1	DK
2. QUALITY OF HOUSING IN GENERAL	5	4	3	2	1	DK
3. COST OF OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING	5	4	3	2	1	DK
4. ACCESS TO COUNCIL HOUSING	5	4	3	2	1	DK
5. COST OF PRIVATE RENTED ACCOMMODATION	5	4	3	2	1	DK
...						
6. PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
7. TRAVEL TO WORK TIME	5	4	3	2	1	DK
8. ACCESS TO OTHER IMPORTANT PLACES (e.g. A MAJOR CITY OR MARKET TOWN)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
...						
9. QUALITY OF LIVING ENVIRONMENT (THE VISIBLE LANDSCAPE AROUND YOUR HOME)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
10. POLLUTION LEVELS	5	4	3	2	1	DK
11. ACCESS TO AREAS OF SCENIC BEAUTY	5	4	3	2	1	DK
12. CLIMATE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
...						
13. THE COST OF LIVING (e.g. COMMUNITY CHARGE LEVEL, FOOD COSTS)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
14. WAGE LEVELS	5	4	3	2	1	DK
...						
15. INCENTIVES WITHIN AREA FOR ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	5	4	3	2	1	DK
16. LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT	5	4	3	2	1	DK
17. EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	5	4	3	2	1	DK

18. LOCAL VIOLENT CRIME RATES (e.g. CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
19. LOCAL NON-VIOLENT CRIME RATES (e.g. BURGLARIES, VANDALISM)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
20. SAFE FOR CHILDREN	5	4	3	2	1	DK
...						
21. CONVENIENT SIZE OF PLACE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
22. PLEASANT PACE OF LIFE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
23. COMMUNITY SPIRIT	5	4	3	2	1	DK
24. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
25. ACTIVE LOCAL COMMUNITY (e.g. COMMUNITY GROUPS, COMMUNITY EVENTS)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
26. HARMONY BETWEEN DIFFERENT RACES	5	4	3	2	1	DK
27. PLACE ISN'T IMPERSONAL	5	4	3	2	1	DK
...						
28. PLACES TO GO AND THINGS TO DO IN SPARE TIME. (e.g. PUBS)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
29. LEISURE FACILITIES (e.g. CINEMAS, THEATRES AND MUSEUMS)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
30. ACCESS TO INDOOR AND OUTDOOR SPORTS (e.g. SPORTS AND LEISURE CENTRES)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
31. THE LEVEL OF LOCAL SERVICES (e.g. LIBRARY, BANK SERVICES POST OFFICE)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
32. THE LEVEL OF AMENITY PROVISION. (e.g. LOCAL HALL, CHILDREN'S PLAY AREAS)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
33. SHOPPING FACILITIES	5	4	3	2	1	DK
34. LOCAL EDUCATION PROVISION (LOCAL PRIMARY AND CONVENIENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
35. ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE (e.g. DOCTOR, DENTIST, HOSPITAL)	5	4	3	2	1	DK

PLEASE TURN TO NEXT PAGE

PART 4

Please complete **PART A** IF YOU HAVE LIVED IN THE AREA MOSTLY ALL YOUR LIFE.
Please complete **PART B** IF YOU HAVE MOVED INTO THE AREA FROM ELSEWHERE

PART A

Using the same scale 5 = **VERY IMPORTANT** to 1 = **NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT**, could you rate how important the following factors were in keeping you in the area. (**DK = DON'T KNOW**)

1. EMPLOYMENT (i.e. YOU HAVE GOT A JOB IN THE AREA)	5	4	3	2	1	DK
2. QUALITY OF LIFE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
3. STRONG ATTACHMENT TO THE AREA	5	4	3	2	1	DK
4. LACK OF OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
5. FAMILY TIES	5	4	3	2	1	DK
6. INERTIA (e.g. YOU HAVE ALWAYS LIVED HERE AND NOTHING HAS HAPPENED TO MAKE YOU THINK ABOUT MOVING ELSEWHERE)	5	4	3	2	1	DK

ANY OTHER IMPORTANT REASONS (PLEASE SPECIFY).....
.....
.....

PART B

Using the scale 5 = **VERY IMPORTANT** to 1 = **NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT**, could you rate how important each of these factors were in your decision to move to the area. (**DK = DON'T KNOW**)

1. EMPLOYMENT	5	4	3	2	1	DK
2. COST OF LIVING	5	4	3	2	1	DK
3. QUALITY OF LIFE	5	4	3	2	1	DK
4. FAMILY REASONS	5	4	3	2	1	DK
5. HOUSING AVAILABILITY	5	4	3	2	1	DK
6. LIVED THERE BEFORE	5	4	3	2	1	DK

ANY OTHER IMPORTANT REASONS (PLEASE SPECIFY).....
.....
.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

SPEARMAN'S RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENT (r_s)

The distribution of factor means for groups of respondents was found not to correspond to a normal distribution curve, with many of the factors having means over 2.5, and correspondingly few having mean values below that figure. The Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient (r_s) was deemed to be appropriate because it does not require normally distributed data.

The technique is called a 'rank' correlation because rank order is used to determine the association between the two sets of values, and not the actual values themselves (Hammond and McCulloch 1974). In this example, the ranking lists of factor means, which respondents in different groups have produced, were compared in order to determine whether there was enough cumulative difference between the rankings of individual factors between two lists for it to be statistically probable that the two ranks are not the same.

The formula is

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n^3 - n}$$

d is the difference in rank in each pair of values for a factor

n is the number of pairs

For each pair of ranking lists

H_0 was that there was no relationship between the ranking lists produced by the perceptions of respondents in different groups.

H_1 is that there is a correlation between the two ranking lists

With n being 35 (there were 35 factors in the ranking list; if the value of r_s is more than 0.43, H_0 is rejected and the correlation is significant to the 99% confidence level. This means that there is one chance in one hundred that a coefficient as high would have occurred from randomly paired data. The higher the value of r_s the more significant is the result, and the greater similarity between the lists.

STANDARD DEVIATION

The standard deviation is a measure of the dispersion of a series of given values from their arithmetic mean. It is calculated first by obtaining the arithmetic mean, and then by measuring how much each value differs from it. It simply squares the differences between the the mean and the values, (the *variance*) thus eliminating the influence of negative differences, sums them and then takes the square root of the result so as to return to the original units of difference.

The formula for this is

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{\sum (x - \bar{x})^2}{N}}$$

x is the value of each individual case

\bar{x} is the mean

N is the number of cases

STANDARDISING: Z-SCORES

Z-scores were used to standardise proportions of variables such as age group and housing tenure in different areas, so that the proportion of respondents in each group for an area could be compared, even though the intervals classifying the groups were not standardised. For example, the z-score proportion of respondents who were teenagers in the sample could be compared to the z-score produced by the proportion who were over 60, because although there may only be a few teenagers and a lot of pensioners in the sample, the relative proportions of these which the area contains can be compared because the z-score for each group was calculated with reference to the proportion of these age groups found in *other* areas.

The formula for this is

$$z = \frac{R - \bar{x}}{s}$$

R is an individual proportion for an area

\bar{x} is the mean of the proportions for all areas

s is the standard deviation for all scores

Therefore proportions of age or housing tenure groups in an area can be compared to each area regardless of their magnitudes because they have been standardised against the mean proportion of those groups in other areas, calibrated in standard deviation units either above or below the mean.

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